1935

Early Commerce of Southern Indiana

Grace C. Campbell

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EARLY COMMERCIAL SOUTHERN INDIANA

by

GRACE CLARK CAMPBELL

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Department of History
Butler University

The decade beginning with 1820 marks the close of the age in which the economy of Indiana was centered primarily in the country. The railroad spurs from the Old Northwest have brought within a day's journey the most valuable agricultural resources of the State. This led to a specialization in transportation and a corresponding economic development. The social and governmental necessities, the story of other local products, and the possibilities of future development.

Division of Graduate Instruction
Indianapolis
1935
FOREWORD

The purpose of this paper is to give an approximate idea of the extent to which commerce developed between southern Indiana and the South prior to the period beginning with 1850, as well as to show how this mutual interdependence led to the formation of strong economic ties between the two sections. There is also an attempt made to show that this economic interest strengthened the social ties naturally resulting from the fact that a large percentage of the early settlers of southern Indiana came from beyond the Ohio River.

As complete records of this early commerce never have existed, it is impossible to ascertain definite information of the amount, and no pretense of having done so is made in this study. Neither has any attempt been made to mention each shipping point or trade route, an achievement impossible to accomplish when each stream on which a flatboat could be launched and floated constituted a shipping point, and each road over which a wagon could be driven was a trade route.

The decade beginning with 1850 marks the close of the era during which the economic interests of Indiana were centered primarily in the South. During that period railroads were built which made accessible the more lucrative markets of the East. This led to a revolution in transportation and a consequent realignment of sectional economic connections, the story of which seems properly to belong elsewhere.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of the following persons in the preparation of this thesis: Miss Esther McHitt, of the Department of Indiana History and Archives, Indiana State Library, for assistance given in the use
of the library; Professor A. Dale Beeler, of Butler University, under whose
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structive criticism.

Indianapolis, Indiana.

April 24, 1935.

Grace C. Campbell
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EARLY COMMERCE OF SOUTHERN INDIANA

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF INDIANA

That geographic conditions constitute an important factor in determining the life and character of a people long has been understood. Therefore, a study of those conditions in any section of a country must be the first step in an attempt to understand any specific economic development. This is particularly true of commerce, which, certainly until the modern days of railways and airlines, largely depended upon those highways provided by nature for the transportation and interchange of commodities.

The advantages possessed by Indiana for early commercial development are many. It is not cut into sections by barriers of any kind. Its surface is gently rolling, sloping generally to the southwest and to the Mississippi. The northeastern section, that of DeKalb, Allen, and parts of Wells and Adams counties, forms a part of the Erie basin. There the St. Joseph river from the northeast and the St. Mary from the southeast converge to form the Maumee, which, executing a peculiar turn, carries its waters to the Atlantic by way of Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and the St. Lawrence river. Westward across the prairies, just a few miles from the junction of these three rivers, where Ft. Wayne now stands, are the headwaters of tributaries of the Wabash, the waters of which find their way to the sea by way of the great Mississippi. Only a few miles of portage are necessary in order to make the entire canoe trip from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, thousands of miles.

1. "Civilization is at bottom an economic fact... Beneath the economic fact lie the geographical conditions." Seuple, American History and its Geographic Conditions, p. 201.
through the heart of the continent!

Northwestern Indiana borders directly on Lake Michigan, then just to the south, diverted by a gentle swell of land, the Kankakee river flowing westward reaches the Illinois and the Mississippi. Easy portages connect with other rivers and with Lake Michigan to the north and east.

Of infinitely greater importance to early Indiana settlers than any other waterway, was the Ohio river and its tributaries. This great river forms the southern boundary of Indiana, and with its subsidiary streams provides means of communication between Indiana and the South, as well as the East. By means of the Kanawha, Kentucky, Green, Cumberland, and Tennessee rivers, emigrants from the South were enabled to reach the Ohio, and by the Whitewater, Blue, Wabash, and numberless smaller streams, to penetrate into the state and found settlements. Although the great mountains to the southeast did not form an impassable barrier to emigration, they effectually shut off commercial relations with the people in the east; flatboats could not go upstream, least of all up hill; neither were mountain roads sufficiently good to permit the passage of heavily loaded wagons. The settlers realized that their economic existence depended upon free access to the Mississippi and its outlet. This was assured first by the purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803, and definitely by the War of 1812, which cleared the outlet of the river permanently. Nature had made the valley of the Mississippi a geographical unit; the "Great Purchase" ended whatever danger there might have been to its having become a separate political unit as well!

The accompanying chart compiled from the Census reports of the United States shows the origins of the population of Indiana in 1850. Unfortunately returns for earlier years fail to give that information, but all available sources show that the great bulk of early immigration came from south of the
ORIGINS OF NATIVE POPULATION OF INDIANA IN 1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Me.</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>Ala.</td>
<td>395</td>
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<tr>
<td>N.H.</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>Miss.</td>
<td>257</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vt.</td>
<td>3,183</td>
<td>La.</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass.</td>
<td>2,078</td>
<td>Tex.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.I.</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>Ark.</td>
<td>161</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conn.</td>
<td>2,483</td>
<td>Tenn.</td>
<td>12,734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.Y.</td>
<td>24,310</td>
<td>Ky.</td>
<td>63,651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.J.</td>
<td>7,687</td>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>120,193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penn.</td>
<td>44,248</td>
<td>Mich.</td>
<td>1,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Del.</td>
<td>2,735</td>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>541,079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Md.</td>
<td>10,177</td>
<td>Ill.</td>
<td>4,179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.C.</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>1,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Va.</td>
<td>41,619</td>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.C.</td>
<td>33,175</td>
<td>Wis.</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.C.</td>
<td>4,069</td>
<td>Cal.</td>
<td>000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga.</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>Terr.</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fla.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>931,392</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The total number of those born in the United States excluding Indiana is 390,513. From the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, and Kentucky came a total of 170,625 immigrants. Adding to that number those from the remaining southern states east of the Mississippi we have 172,411, almost 60% of the total number born outside of Indiana. If we consider that one-third of those entering Indiana from Ohio were born in states farther south, which seems a conservative estimate, the number would total more than 60%.

In addition to those who had emigrated into Indiana from the southern states, there undoubtedly would be a far greater percentage of citizens who were born in this Hoosier state or in neighboring states, but whose ancestry came from the South. For instance, a certain family of Clarks moved first from Virginia into Delaware, then into Ohio, and thence into Indiana. This was typical of the time, each succeeding generation moving a little farther west.

Unfortunately, the Census reports previous to 1860 do not give population origins.
Ohio. In addition to those who came by water, were the even greater numbers who came overland, over the old roads which usually followed the buffalo trails. Such was the Wilderness Road, over which thousands traveled on their way to new lands of hope and opportunity. This road led from the Watauga settlements to Boonsborough, branching by way of the present Bardstown to "The Falls of the Ohio", or more directly north to Cincinnati by what is now the Lexington road. At Cumberland Gap this trace connected with another from the east. After crossing the Ohio, old buffalo and Indian trails led across southern Indiana, from Cincinnati to the sites of Madison, Salem, Louisville, and Vincennes, with countless less important spurs branching off into the wilderness. Of these roads, one particularly well known and perhaps the most important was the old "Buffalo Trace", "Governor's Road", or "Harrison's Trace", as it was variously called, leading from Louisville by way of Corydon and Paoli to Vincennes.

Not only was the extreme southern parts of Indiana populated by people directly from Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina, but of points as far north as Henry, Hendricks, and Johnson counties this was equally true. Orange county was settled almost entirely by North Carolinians.

One continuous road from Philadelphia by way of Cumberland, Maryland, along what is now the eastern boundary of West Virginia, past Ft. Chiswel to Cumberland Gap, was over eight hundred miles in length. Roads from nearly all parts of Pennsylvania led to this main line. Another which led nearly due west from Richmond, Virginia, joining this one at Ft. Chiswel, provided a route for those westbound from Virginia and points south.

Even as early as colonial days it was realized that if trade followed its natural course that of the colonists west of the mountains would fall into the hands of the enemies of England, while, later, after the Louisiana
purchase, the eastern merchants realized that some artificial means of communication was necessary if they were to obtain any appreciable part of this trade. This appreciation was greatly responsible for the building of the Cumberland Road, which with the Baltimore and Ohio, the Pennsylvania, and the New York Central railroads later on, as well as the Erie Canal, eventually diverted the trade from its natural course and unified the East and West.

But to achieve importance commercially, a region must possess not only highways, but resources which make possible the production of a surplus of certain products in demand elsewhere. For the most part, the soil of Indiana is very fertile, capable of producing grains, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Corn, its major crop, made possible the feeding of countless thousands of hogs, which thrived not only on corn but also on the wild fruits, acorns, and other nuts which fell to the ground in Indiana's great forests, which extended from the Ohio beyond the central part of the state. Much of these forests consisted of hardwood trees, Evansville until recent years being the most important hard wood center in the United States. These forests provided refuge for a great abundance of wild game, which provided not only food, but for over a century that all-important commodity of early trade, furs. From the sap of the maple trees was made great quantities of sugar and sirup, part of which went down river in exchange for other commodities.

Coal, limestone, and potter's clay were the most important mineral products of Indiana. However, until after the Civil War it was essentially an agricultural state. Consequently, her imports must have been such articles as she could not manufacture in the home, as well as tea, coffee, sugar, and spices, while her exports would necessarily consist of the surplus of...
agricultural products, such as hogs, corn, cattle, beans, and articles of like nature.¹

Even the most cursory study of the commerce of a region focuses immediate attention to the navigable streams found there. With our conception of the meaning of the term, it is astonishing to find how many such streams were declared to exist in Indiana. It should be recalled that the Ordinance of 1787 provided that the "navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between same, shall be common highways, and be forever free, as well to the inhabitants of said territory as to the citizens of the United States and those of any other states that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor." This meant, of course, navigable for the canoes and bateaux of that period, and early legislation was based on that understanding.²

The Fourth Session of the General Assembly at Corydon, January 18, 1820, declared a large number of the streams of Indiana to be navigable, while the 1826 session of the Legislature increased the number. The following is a list of streams declared at some time to be navigable, as they are given by Gottman.³

1. White River, from the mouth to the main forks; West fork to Muncie, (Delaware Towns); East fork above the mouth of Flatrock.
2. The Muscatatuck, mouth to main forks; North fork to Vernon; South fork to mouth of Graham's ford.
3. Big Blue River to Fredericksburg.

¹ For a list of the agricultural products of Indiana as given by the United States Census, 1850, see Appendix.
² Earey, "Internal Improvements in Early Indiana", Indiana Historical Society Publications, V(1922), 60.
4. Whitewater River from the State Line and the West fork to the North boundary of Fayette County.
5. Longhur Creek from the mouth to Hartford.
6. Anderson Creek from the mouth to the forks.
7. Poison Creek from the mouth to Cumins's mills.
8. Oil Creek from the mouth to Aaron Cunnigham's mills.
9. Raccoon Creek west to the mill of Brooks, Robbins, and Rose.
10. Big Creek from the mouth to Black's mill.
11. Patoka River from the mouth to Roseley's mill.
12. Indian Creek from the mouth to Dickerson's mill.
13. Indian Kentucky Creek from the mouth to Brook's mill.
14. Little Pigeon Creek to Barker's mill.
15. Big Pigeon Creek to Fairchild's mill.
16. Big Sand Creek, Driftwood to forks.
17. Sugar Creek from Blue River to Hough's mill.
18. Busseron Creek to Eaton's mill.
19. Lick Creek to Lost River, Lost River to Shirley's mill.
20. Mississinewa River to Lorrallen's mill in Randolph County.
21. All of Blue River in Shelby County.
22. Sugar Creek in Shelby County.
23. Brushy Fork, of the Muscatatuck.
24. Eel River to Gray's mill in Putnam County.
25. Fourteen Mile Creek, Black, Beanblossom, Twin, Clifty, Salt, Log Lick, Plum, and Big Indian Creeks.
CHAPTER II

TRADE OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD

1 FRENCH OCCUPATION

Following close upon the first explorers of the Wabash and Ohio river valleys came the French fur traders. The great fur companies of Quebec and Montreal established their agents in the French military posts. Those of Indiana were located at Kekionga, now Ft. Wayne, among the Miamis; at Ouiatanon, near the present site of Lafayette, with the Weas; and at Vincennes, in the territory of the Piankashaws. These strategic positions controlled the Wabash-Maumee trade route. There the coureurs des bois hunted and trapped, while the traders in charge of the posts treated them and their Indian brothers with fine impartiality, exchanging coarse blue and red cloths, guns, powder, beads, knives, hatchets, and so on, not forgetting the ever-popular "firewater", for packs of valuable furs. These were loaded into boats, sometimes as many as forty packs averaging one hundred pounds to the pack, and sent by the Wabash-Maumee route to the great fur houses of Canada. The annual trade of Ouiatanon alone during the French occupancy is estimated to have averaged forty thousand solliars per year.1

At that time, both Ouiatanon and Kekionga were a part of the province of Canada, while Vincennes belonged to Louisiana, the dividing line crossing the Wabash about where Terre Haute now stands.

The earliest record of a cargo taken down river seems to be that given by Bernard de la Harpe.2 He states that one Sieur Juchereau arrived at "a

trading point on the Ouabache" in 1702, and collected thirteen thousand buffalo skins during the two years of his stay there. Upon his death, a Mr. Lambert with forty men took them to Mobile. How many he may have collected and shipped off at other times or to other markets the writer does not say.

No effort was made to keep any account of the value of the fur trade. Benton says that twenty thousand skins were said to have been shipped out of the Wabash valley in 1702, and that in 1705 "a shipment of fifteen thousand hides were sent out of the same region to one point alone, Mobile". He adds that there were vast amounts of all kinds, and quotes Hutchins as follows:

"The great plenty of furs taken in this country induced the French to establish this post (Vincennes) ... and by a very advantageous trade they have been richly recompensed for their labor ... They raise Indian corn, wheat, and tobacco ... They have a fine breed of horses and large flocks of Swine and Black Cattle." From the Wabash settlements, six hundred barrels of flour were shipped to New Orleans in 1746, a surprising amount considering the sparsity of population.

By 1760 the English fur traders had pushed westward far enough to try to take control of the Wabash-Maumee route, the best connecting link between Louisiana and New France. Rivalry over the Ohio and upper Mississippi river valleys, coveted by each nation at first principally because of the rich opportunities afforded for the fur trade, finally led to the French and Indian

1. Benton, The Development of the Wabash Trade Route in the Old Northwest, Johns Hopkins University Studies, XXI (1903), 26; from Monette, History of the Mississippi Valley, I, 162; also from Magazine of American History, XXI, 398.


War, in which the French were defeated and forced to give up their forts and trading posts to their British conquerors. However, the individual Frenchman as a rule remained in his old territory, ultimately coming under American domination during and after the Revolution.

II BRITISH OCCUPATION

Although according to the terms of the Treaty of 1763 the French were to give up their trading posts and forts in the Illinois country, they were slow to do so. The French fleur de lis flew over Fort Chartres two years after the signing of the treaty, while within the territories of Vincennes and Quittanc, as well as of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, the Indians regarded the French, not the English, as their "fathers" and protectors. To occupy this territory was "to the Englishman of 1765 ... as difficult ... as the wilds of central Africa or the Antarctic would seem to us today." ¹

By the terms of the Proclamation of October 7, 1763, the lands of Indiana and the Old Northwest not ceded by or purchased from the Indians, were to be held as Indian lands, and the settlers were forbidden to enter there. Had this been strictly enforced, it would have meant the expulsion from the upper Ohio of all white settlers located there, and naturally aroused great bitterness of feeling.

The principal object of the Proclamation was to help in the pacification of the Indians, but the desire for the fur trade was not without consideration. The great English companies such as Boynton, Wharton, and Morgan, William and Daniel Murray, George Morgan, and Thomas Bentley, prepared to reap a rich

¹ Volwiler, Crogan and the Westward Movement, p. 22.
harvest. In 1767, the former firm employed three hundred fifty boatmen to transfer their merchandise for the Indian trade down the Ohio. In 1766 they had completed sixty-five boats for the same purpose. The amount of goods sent west in 1766 amounted to fifty thousand pounds, consisting partly of the highly necessary gifts, - brightly colored cloths, jew's harps, mirrors, "ear bobs", etc., - to the Illinois country. However, trade did not flow in as had been expected. Trouble constantly arose with the Indians. George Croghan, a well-known Indian trader, was sent west on several expeditions to establish friendship between the Indians and the English and to promote trade between them. His story as told by Volwiler is one of thrilling adventure, and his work of the utmost importance. He reported to Gage in 1767 that he was convinced that peltries amounting to at least eighty thousand pounds were shipped annually to New Orleans, where they found their way either into French or Spanish markets. Capt. Forbes declared that the Crown of Great Britain had all of the expense while the French reaped all of the profit of the fur trade. Even English traders were attracted by the profits of the high prices paid in the New Orleans market and consequently many an "English" pelt found the "French" market.

Gage saw no way to remedy the evil except to erect military posts at the mouths of the Illinois and Ohio, and one on the Wabash, but although Lord Shelburne, then secretary for the southern department, favored the plan, it was vetoed by the Board of Trade as being a means of antagonizing the Indians and inviting trouble.

1. Roll, Indians, p. 82.
Desire for the fur trade was one of the reasons for the formation of the great land companies seeking enormous tracts of land in the western wilderness, one of which, the Mississippi Company, sought a grant of 2,500,000 acres along the Mississippi, Ohio, Tennessee, and Wabash rivers. Benjamin Franklin while at London urged the establishment of such a colony as a means of securing the fur trade.

The Quebec Act almost led to anarchy on the part of the colonists west of the mountains, and was one of the most important causes of the Revolution. However, when that war did break out, the Indians preferred to help the English rather than the colonists, the trader Croghan being one who helped to incite them against the Americans.

As to the exact amount of trade carried on we have no means of knowing. It must have been very great to have led to such bitter rivalry or to establish the great fortunes which resulted from it. Benton gives an approximation of the value of the annual output from Quitsanin in 1778 at eight thousand pounds sterling, and from Vincennes at five thousands pounds. These were marketed in New Orleans, which was considered by the settlers of the lower Wabash settlements to be their market. That the fur trade continued to be important long after the days of either the French or English occupation is common knowledge. A record exists showing that furs to the amount of $3,679.37 in value were sold to one trader as late as 1859.

3. Ibid., p. 27.
CHAPTER III

MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION

The earliest commerce on the rivers was carried on by means of great barges, either keelboats or flatboats. The immense forests of southern Indiana provided the material for the building of these clumsy affairs, in itself no small undertaking. The rivers were full of snags and bars sufficiently dangerous to the best boats built, while the penalty exacted for careless workmanship was only too often the loss of boat and cargo, perhaps life itself.

Giant poplars provided the gunwales, and usually the flooring, weatherboarding, and doors. Oak was second in demand; perhaps it furnished an equal amount of the inch or one and one-half inch lumber for the double floors.

Some of the flatboats were entirely covered, others only partly so. The former were called "Orleans" boats, the latter "Kentucky" boats. Heathcote Picket, of Switzerland County, is credited with having built the first "Orleans" boat, about 1796. 1

The width of the boats averaged about sixteen feet, and the length perhaps sixty feet. They held an immense amount of produce, a sixty foot boat being capable of transporting as many as six hundred dressed hogs. Although the keel-boats might be poled up river, the flatboats almost never were, but were sold for the value of the lumber after the cargo was disposed of. Sometimes the owner himself built a new home down river using the lumber in his boat to do so.

Frequently the boats were built by the farmers themselves. The father and his son might do all of the work, from cutting down the tallest and largest poplar for the gunwales to nailing on the double layer of flooring. They were built up side down, then turned over when finished. This provided employment for the so-called "slack" season, as the boats must be ready for loading when the spring freshets or the late fall high water came. Sometimes a group of neighbors would build a "fleets" of a half dozen or so, then proceed down river together. Old newspaper files frequently show the same name season after season in the list of those leaving for New Orleans with a flatboat load of produce.

In the early 1800's, as the region later to become the state of Indiana became more thickly settled and the flatboat trade increased proportionately, some made a trade of building boats, while many others, actuated by a desire for adventure as well as a longing to escape the deadly drudgery of the farm, became flatboat pilots. The stories of their adventures read like fiction.

1. Detailed descriptions of the building of flatboats may be found in *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, by Col. Wm. M. Cockrum, pp. 509-612; also in *History of Travel in America*, by Seymour Dunbar, I, 231-236.

2. The Lawrenceburgh Palladium mentions John Crozier as leaving with a flatboat for New Orleans each autumn from 1822 to 1834, always in the first two or three days of September or October, presumably the time of high water. In Dearborn County, about six miles southwest of Lawrenceburgh, are the remains of the little town of Crozier, once fairly prosperous, but as did the flatboats it served its purpose and is now no more.

3. One of the many stories told by flatboat captains is that of Captain Wilson Daniels, in the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, 11, 99-101. His uncle, later Captain Isaac Wright, left Troy soon after 1800 with a cargo of pork. At Natchez he transferred his cargo to a keelboat and cordelled it up Red River to Hatchihochez, La. He there disposed of his cargo, bought the boat, and followed keelboating, not returning to Troy for over twenty years, and then only to take away with him his young nephew, whose mother had "made him a fine suit of Fried Jeans clothes", the finest ever made in Troy, to do him honor in his trips about the world.
Snags and sandbars were comparatively minor dangers of their journeys, as many places along the river were the rendezvous of pirates and thieves. Many a flatboat with its entire cargo and crew disappeared on the trip down river, never to be heard of again. Even if the flatboat merchant did succeed in getting his cargo safely to market, he still faced the problem of getting home with the proceeds. Before the days of steamboats, the return from down river usually was made on foot or horseback, on the dreaded Natchez Trace. Sometimes a keelboat was obtained, loaded with necessities and a few luxuries for the people at home, and cordelled up stream. After steamboats made their appearance, it was a comparatively simple matter to return alive and with the money earned by the trip.

Despite the dangers, - perhaps partly because of them - every youth looked forward to a trip down river. It was his only contact with the outside world. New Orleans was the glittering metropolis toward which all eyes were turned. It is impossible to overestimate the influence which these visits, ever increasing in number, had upon the social development as well as the political sympathies of the people of Indiana, differing only in degree with that felt by early Europe as a result of the Crusades. Southern manners, Southern customs, were the ideal of the beau monde, while each boatload of produce sent down river, each shipment of merchandise up river, cemented more firmly the ties binding the two sections. The Ohio united rather than divided that region between the Appalachians and the Mississippi, which was rapidly becoming a unit. It was the East against the West until the days of railroads. So important are the avenues of transportation!

It is interesting and rather surprising to observe that in 1831 Indiana sent to the port of New Orleans more flatboats than did any other state
excepting Kentucky and Ohio. In 1849 the number from this state far exceeded that from any other. That a large percentage of all flatboats reaching that city even so early as 1829 came from Indiana is further substantiated by John Matthews, who says that is was agreed that fully half of all boats came from Indiana, and that he himself was sure that at least one-fourth came from the White river.

The flatboats remained an important means of communication as late as 1850, and did not disappear entirely until the Civil War made navigation of these waters impossible. However, a new means of travel made its appearance on the Ohio in 1831, when the steamer New Orleans, or Orleans, descended from Pittsburg, where it was built, all the way to New Orleans. It was a ship of about 400 tons burthen and cost approximately $38,000. There were two cabins, one aft for ladies and a larger one forward for gentlemen. It was built by the firm of Livingston and Fulton, Pittsburg, steamboat builders. One member of the firm related an incident in his experience in the spring of 1839, on the levee at New Orleans, as follows: "I marveled the astonishment of the numerous persons at the amazing quantity of flatboats from Indiana, and amongst others, two foreign gentlemen... One (of whom) said to the other, 'Indiana must be a very large State, or she never could send so many boats.' Little did they think that all those boats were from a very small portion, perhaps less than a tenth part of our State. The great number of Indiana boats was the common topic of the boatmen as well as strangers. All seemed to agree that one-half of the boats then at New Orleans were from Indiana - And I thought that one-fourth of that number were out of White river."

1. See Table A.
2. See Table B.
3. In the Indianapolis Journal, Aug. 1, 1834, Mr. Matthews related an incident in his experience in the spring of 1829, on the levee at New Orleans, as follows: "I marveled the astonishment of the numerous persons at the amazing quantity of flatboats from Indiana, and amongst others, two foreign gentlemen... One (of whom) said to the other, 'Indiana must be a very large State, or she never could send so many boats.' Little did they think that all those boats were from a very small portion, perhaps less than a tenth part of our State. The great number of Indiana boats was the common topic of the boatmen as well as strangers. All seemed to agree that one-half of the boats then at New Orleans were from Indiana - And I thought that one-fourth of that number were out of White river."
of the firm, Nicholas Roosevelt, great-uncle of the illustrious Theodore, with his bride, was on board. The trip was full of stirring incidents, both pleasurable and otherwise. At all points such as Louisville or Cincinnati the travelers received a welcome equaling for those days that given Lindbergh when he crossed the Atlantic. Many stops were made to take on fuel, mostly wood, for which Mr. Roosevelt had contracted in the course of a trip by flatboat from Pittsburg to New Orleans the previous year.

The Roosevelts eventually arrived on the broad waters of the Mississippi, just in time to experience the terrors of the great earthquake of that year. Many old landmarks were obliterated, even the contour of the river banks were changed in places; flatboats were swallowed up, but the steamboat managed to survive, reaching New Orleans in January, 1812, having been nearly three months on the way. She was then used in the New Orleans and Natchez trade, and closed her career by carrying reinforcements to Jackson's army just before the battle of New Orleans.

Steamboats from that time on descended the river, rarely at first, but, finally in great numbers; at first slowly to rival the old flatboats, keelboats, and sailing vessels, finally to put them off the river, until they themselves found their business taken by the railroads.

In 1815 the Enterprise, Henry Shreve, Captain, docked at Louisville, having left New Orleans May 6 and arriving at Louisville May 31. She had proved that such a feat was possible. From that time, the future of the steamboat "on Western waters" was assured.
CHAPTER IV

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF SOUTHERN INDIANA COUNTIES

I. SOUTHEASTERN INDIANA

The Whitewater valley, or the "Gore" as it formerly was called, in south-eastern Indiana, received the first influx of settlers from the older states. Many came down the Kentucky or Licking rivers by way of the Ohio directly from southern points; many others came from Ohio, but of these many had southern ancestry. They found rich soil, much of which was covered with immense forests of oak, poplar, sycamore, and of many other varieties, but which when cleared produced fine crops of corn, wheat, potatoes, tobacco, etc. Great droves of hogs were raised. These were marked by the owner's private mark, recorded at the county seat, then allowed to run wild in the forest and feed on the mast to be found there. They were driven by the hundreds to market, often many miles away, being fed on "Congress" land as they passed through.

Because of its proximity, most of the produce of this region was taken to Cincinnati, which early became a great pork-packing center. Then, as now, it was the most important market for southeastern Indiana. Cincinnati merchants advertised regularly in the local papers, and sold to many of the local dealers their needed supplies.

As a rule, produce was sold to the local dealer who in turn disposed of it to the more important houses in the larger cities, much as does the modern commission man. However, even in those days it was sometimes felt that better results could be obtained by dealing directly with the ultimate purchaser. An instance, related by Perret Dufour, is that of a farmer living a few
miles back from Vevay in 1818, who brought 1000 pounds of pork to town, but upon being offered only $1.25 per hundred in Vevay, took it to Louisville where he received $1.75 per hundred, although he was three days and two nights returning against the current.¹

The principal trading points of this section were Lawrenceburgh, Rising Sun, and Aurora, in the extreme southeast; Vevay and Madison, a little farther down river; and Brookville and Centerville, to the north. All these had been settled in the early part of the national period, Vevay in 1804, Madison in 1812. Madison early became an important pork-packing center, Lawrenceburgh distilled whiskey, and Vevay made wine. However, the Census reports of 1820 show that only 3,229 persons were engaged in manufacture in Indiana, while 61,315 were farmers. Most of the agricultural produce was consumed at home, yet no insignificant amount was sent to market, considering the newness of the country and the sparsity of the population. Complete records of early shipping do not exist. The editor of the local paper might entreat prospective shippers to give him the date of shipping, a record of their cargoes, etc., as did that of the Lawrenceburg Palladium, August 21, 1832, but there was no way to insure co-operation. A flatboat might be built and launched on any creek when the water was sufficiently high. Insurance companies have some records, but not previous to 1832, and even then by no means all boats were insured. The personal items and the advertisements in the newspapers do enable us to obtain a much greater knowledge of the occupations of the people and of their agricultural products than it would be possible to gain otherwise.

¹ Dufour, "Swiss Settlement of Switzerland County", Indiana Historical Collections, XIII, 63.
From August 24 to November 24, 1832, out of seventeen boats listed in the Palladium, we find eleven insured. Six are bound for New Orleans and the remainder are destined for coasting. Among the items listed are 1,568 live hogs, 768 for New Orleans; 34,000 lbs. pork, not including 6,000 hams; 63 kegs of lard; 76 head of cattle; 1,450 bushels of corn; 65 barrels of whiskey; 360 barrels of flour; 222 barrels; 300 brooms; 200 pairs of shoes; 250 dray shafts; - a motley assortment, surely, but such lists enable the reader to vision something of the life of the early settler.

At the same time that this produce was going down river, shipments from the South were being unloaded at the wharf for the merchants of the city, and we find the notice "Just Rec'd from New Orleans" making frequent appearance in the Palladium. The following are typical:

JUST REC'D

per Steam Boat "Arab"

700 lbs. Leaf Sugar
1 cask Pepper
1 cask 4th proof Brandy
1 cask Holland Gin
1 cask Port Wine

for sale by
May 6, 1832
Shaw & Pretzeman

1. Many boats stopped at plantations along the Mississippi or went up one of its tributaries, disposing of their cargoes directly to the plantation owners. Such boats were called "coasters". Many plantation owners depended upon these river boats to furnish them with corn, pork, and produce of all kinds, especially for the slaves. This brought the Hoosier in direct contact with the slave-owners and developed mutual economic dependence.
JUST REC'D FROM NEW ORLEANS

per Steam Boat "Henry Clay"

25 sacks Coffee
24 Bbls. Sugar
2 Bage Pepper
1 Bag Allspice
1 Tierce Rice
2 Bbls. Wine
1 Bbl. Rum
72 Boxes Raisins
5 Bbls. Molasses

for sale by
May 10, 1834
Dunn & Co.

Even as late as 1848 a trip to the Southern metropolis was a feat of sufficient importance to be noted in neighboring papers, as the Palladium of January 1, 1848, notes that F. L. Grissand of Vevay had just returned from New Orleans, bringing with him a choice lot of groceries, all new!

Trapping, even in this older region, could not have been entirely a thing of the past as late as 1839, as Joseph Groff advertised for "Coon and Mink Skins" in the Lawrenceburgh Political Beacon, February 2 of that year, while at the same time we read that the firm of Ferris & Co. "has received 100 gallons of honey from Cuba!" Salt was shipped in from the Kanawha River in great quantities, not only to Lawrenceburgh, but to all shipping points along the Ohio. A single shipment of 310 barrels, as that noted by J. M. Darrow in the Political Beacon of December 15, 1832, are common. The merchants of the river towns supplied

1. Lawrenceburgh Palladium.
not only their townspeople and their immediate countrymen, but merchants of
the interior towns as well. Not salt alone, but all supplies were obtained
in this manner and hauled many miles inland.

The Falls of the Ohio were a great obstacle to navigation. The shipper
sometimes "shot" them if water was sufficiently high. It not, the cargo had
to be portaged, the vessel taken over the Falls, then reloaded. A cargo of
livestock was managed with comparative ease. It was simply driven off, walked
around the falls, and then reloaded.

The price for shipping to New Orleans by steamer in 1829 was $1.25 per
barrel, but it dropped to seventy cents in 1830.¹ Flour selling for $4.50 per
barrel in Lawrenceburg brought as much as $5.75 in New Orleans, while bacon,
hams, etc., sold for about a cent a pound more down river. At the same time,
sugar selling at from five to six cents a pound in the Southern market sold
at from ten to thirteen cents retail, up river.²

The Lawrenceburg Palladium, July 1, 1826, gives the following state­
ment of the amount of produce shipped from that point from January 1 to May 1,
1825. The editor explains that many small sums of oats, flax seed, hoop poles,
etc., were omitted, also that a complete list of boats was not available. He
believes that the total value of shipments would be between $80,000 and
$100,000.

¹ Lawrenceburg Palladium, Jan. 30, 1830.
² The Brookville American of Oct. 3, 1846, quoting from the Lawrenceburg
Beacon, gives the following receipts and shipments from that port for the week
ending Sept. 25, 1845: Shipments, 1360 bbls. flour, 761 bbls. whiskey, 15,000
lath, 662 empty bbls., etc. Receipts from up country, 5,500 bu., 456 sacks,
43 bbls. wheat, 226 sacks corn, 42 sacks and 15 bbls. flaxseed. The price of
wheat was 56¢ per bu., of flaxseed 90-95¢, and of flour $3 to $3.15 per bbl.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14,140 bu. corn</td>
<td>$7,070</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 horses</td>
<td>3,825</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135 T hay</td>
<td>2,720</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 head cattle</td>
<td>1,125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,131 bbls. pork</td>
<td>12,786</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,693 bbls. lard</td>
<td>4,786</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>426 live hogs</td>
<td>2,485</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76 hhdns. ham</td>
<td>3,112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 bbls. ham</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 bu. potatoes</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186 bu. flour</td>
<td>558</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 gal. whiskey</td>
<td>125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>435 bgs. tobacco</td>
<td>4,768</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74 doz. chickens</td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,250 lbs. blk. pork</td>
<td>421</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$43,488</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Sept. 23, 1829, to May 1, 1830, the Palladium records 70 boats, no mention of insurance or value of cargo being made, nor of amounts of butter, cheese, candles, dried fruit, etc., frequently mentioned.

20 calves
731 head cattle
2702 head live hogs
17 horses
238 sheep
83 turkeys
60,000 ft. pine boards
267 doz. chickens
40 doz. brooms
4000 lbs. bacon
740 bbls. blk. pork
50,000 lbs. blk. pork
3117 hogs lard
19 hhdns. hams
326 bbls. oats
30,400 bu. corn
217 T hay
10 bales hay
100 bgs. tobacco
42 bbls. beans
80 bbls. dried fruit
330 bbls. potatoes
905 bu. potatoes
54 bbls. cider
60,000 ft. pine boards
40 doz. brooms
480 bbls. flour
581 bbls. corn meal
486 bbls. apples
81 bbls. whiskey
1 T castings
3 bbls. brandy
75 bbls. buckwheat
2 bgs. butter
300 light sash
1 set Windsor chairs

A few miles farther down river, in Switzerland County, is the little town of Vevay, settled by the Dufours of Switzerland for the "cultivation of the vine". In 1803, the settlers, being pleased both with the quantity and quality of their product, determined to advertise it; therefore, two kegs containing five gallons each, were placed across the pack saddle on a horse and
taken by J. F. Dufour to Washington, where he presented them to President
Jefferson. In 1808 eight hundred gallons, in 1809 twelve hundred gallons, and
in 1810 twenty-four hundred gallons of wine were produced. This was the most
important article of export from Vevay, and was shipped down river as well as
finding a ready market at Cincinnati, Louisville, or other points nearer home.

There was, however, another article of commerce peculiar to Vevay, a
certain type of straw hat made by tying the straws together instead of plaits-
ing them. They were made in the home by the women who were taught by the wife
of one of the Dufour brothers. It seems that they were very popular, finding
a ready sale in Cincinnati, but especially down river. Although Mr. Dufour
does not say, we suspect that the colored population wore most of them.

Another novel experiment was made at Quercus Grove, a tiny hamlet in
Switzerland County, settled in 1816 by Daniel D. Smith and others, in what
was then a dense oak forest. Smith had conceived the idea of stripping the
bark from the oak trees, drying and grinding it, then shipping it to England
to be used in making dye. It seems that he actually sent one or two shiploads
of the bark to England—surely one of the strangest cargoes ever to be trans-
ported either by river or ocean—but the venture was not a success. The dye
was a failure, disease found the little community, Smith left, and today it
is one of the many old towns we have, not quite obliterated, but whose hopes
for growth lie buried in the past.

of 1830. Ripley County exported its cargoes down Laughery Creek to the Ohio.
Aurora has one of the best harbors on the Ohio, and many cargoes of potatoes,
onions, flour, pork, beans, etc., were launched from that point. A little

2. Ibid., p. 30.
farther down was Rising Sun, founded in 1814, also a popular point from which to start the journey down river. The records of the Rising Sun Insurance Company show cargoes of fourteen flatboats having been insured to the amount of $117,704.28. This was during the interval between August 22, 1835, and November 9 of the same year.

Brookville, Franklin County, situated in the forks of the Whitewater River, was the principal outlet for that region. Salt from the Kanawha came up the river in sufficient quantities to supply the neighboring territory, as well as the usual sugar, molasses, tea, coffee, and all varieties of dry goods and other necessaries from Cincinnati or Louisville, which in turn had received them from New Orleans or Pittsburg. In 1844 we read that Cannelton coal is for sale there. Cotton also was being brought up river to supply its cotton factory. By June, 1839, boats had been run up as far as Brookville on the Whitewater canal, but not until June, 1844, was there a packet running regularly between that point and Cincinnati. June 21 of that year the Brookville Indiana American published the glad tidings that The Swan would run every week day between the two points.

Rush County was a leader in the production of corn, oats, sheep, horses, and sugar. In 1840 it ranked second in the production of oats, fifth in corn, and first in hogs, horses, and sugar. At that time Indiana was one of the chief sugar-producing states, it having ranked third according to the Census of 1850. The surplus of these commodities was loaded on flatboats and floated down the Flat Rock river into the White at Columbus, and so on down to the Ohio and the Mississippi. Hogs often were driven the entire distance to

2. United States Census, 1840.
3. This refers to maple sugar.
Although Flat Rock was declared to be a navigable stream in 1824, Brant and Fuller declare that ten men were required to take a boat to the mouth of the Muscatatuck, and five from there on. On the Driftwood navigation was possible only by day. The destination of these flatboats usually was New Orleans. The last one "flotted out of Driftwood in the spring of 1844, a few months before the completion of the I. & M. R.R."

Madison is located at a point where the Ohio River makes a deep bend to the north. This gives that city the advantage of a location nearer to the center of the state than is enjoyed by any other port on the same river. Consequently an immense amount of produce from the interior was brought there to be marketed, and that city became an important base of supplies for the back country.

Madison for many years was the chief pork-packing center not only for the state, but for the Ohio valley as well, later ranking second to Cincinnati. Farmers brought their hogs to market by wagons, by flatboats, or simply drove them through the woods. This latter method did not always meet with favor from the farmers through whose country they passed, as farms in those days seldom were fenced, and the hogs sometimes failed to show a preference for "Congress" land. Thousands of barrels of pork found their way to all points along the Mississippi as well as to New Orleans, sometimes eventually to

2. Ibid., p. 391.
European ports. The return cargoes consisted of the usual sugar, spices, tea, coffee, etc.

In May, 1831, three thousand pounds of raw cotton were received by two Madison merchants. The Indiana Republican of June 21, 1831, notes an additional arrival of eleven bales of Alabama cotton. Like entries frequently appear afterwards. Also, on July 18, 1833, Park and Stone "inform the public, and especially the merchants of the interior, of this state and the northern part of Kentucky, that their steam mill for manufacturing Cotton Yarns is now complete." This meant continued shipment of raw cotton from the South.

Some of the "Dry Goods" advertised for sale sound rather strange to us today. One such lot contains men's Italian satin handkerchiefs, ladies' colored worsted and cotton hose, tortoise combs, broadcloths, casimeras, and satinetts in black, brown, blue, and green, as well as "elegant" gilt and mantle looking glasses. Another merchant, not to be outdone, offers direct from New York and New Orleans, super cloths, including fancy colored silks, "crapes" robes and merino shawls, also "barrage" and merino dress handkerchiefs.

II SOUTH-CENTRAL INDIANA

In the more central part of southern Indiana we find Fredonia and Leavenworth, Tell City and Troy, and many other smaller settlements, each of which played its part in early commerce, as well as the larger ones of New Albany and Jeffersonville.

1. Madison Indiana Republican, May 16, 1831.
2. Ibid., May 4, 1830.
3. Examples of like nature might be added indefinitely. It must be kept in mind that all trade was not simply up and down the Mississippi, but that a great many of the river craft confined their operations to the Ohio and its tributaries, reaching far down into Kentucky and Tennessee; but never venturing upon the Mississippi itself. It was through the work of such local boats that southern Indiana grew to feel closely bound to such southern points as Lexington or Bowling Green.
A road from Leavenworth merged with the main line connecting New Albany, Salem, Paoli, Bedford, and Bloomington. Another connected it with Corydon and points east. This made it of comparatively easy access to the back country, and as it has an excellent harbor, it became an important shipping point for that region.

The uplands of this entire locality were covered with oak, poplar, and walnut, while in the creek bottoms were the sugar, elm, and sycamore. Flow beams were made of the white oak by a Mr. Best, of Leavenworth. John Bahr, of the same place, earned the title of "Hoop-Pole King". He bought them by the thousands, usually from the farmers who had made them at home as time permitted, then shipped them to market. It was not unusual for two or three days to be required to get a load to market over the pioneer roads. Pelts of bears, deer, panther, wolves, squirrels, and foxes also were marketed by the farmer hunters. Large amounts of maple sugar were made in the spring. From the peach orchards brandy and whiskey were made for shipment south. Cooperage became an important business, as "tight" barrels were needed. Wine and lime also were shipped in barrels. Heat packing became important also. Hogs were driven to Leavenworth from as far away as Bloomington.

In contrast to those regions which were first to receive the advantages of the railroads, flatboat trade did not die out but increased in importance until the 'fifties', when, according to Pleasant it was at its best. Great

1. The Leavenworth Arane, Jan. 24, 1839, gives an itemized list of exports from that port between Sept. 20, 1838, and Jan. 23, 1839, the total value of which was $66,190.

2. H. E. Pleasant, in the History of Crawford County, p. 104, tells how a group of men from Davieus, Martin, and Lawrence counties started out to drive two thousand hogs to Leavenworth, supposedly feeding them on "Congress" land along the way. However, the hogs failed to differentiate between lands publicly or privately owned. As a consequence, the irate farmers rebelled and the hogs were killed.

3. Ibid., p. 75.
cargoes of lime, corn, whiskey, meat, and other articles came down Big and Little Blue rivers, Turkey Fork and Bogard Fork, and thence from Leavenworth down the Ohio.\(^1\)

The first flatboat from Medora, Jackson County, had a cargo of hickory-nuts, walnuts, and venison hams; Dubois county sent its cargoes of corn, hides, bear meat, lumber, venison, hoop-poles, beans, etc., in the early "thirties" down the Patoka. These boats usually were built and launched at Jasper, the last one leaving there in 1877.\(^2\)

Cannelton for a time seemed to have a bright future; coal was found there in 1836 and shipped in vast amounts from that point.

In 1849 Hamilton Smith, of Kentucky, in a series of articles in the Cannelton Democrat and the Louisville Journal, urged the building of factories of all kinds, using coal for power. His arguments were in part as follows:

"She (Indiana) not only sends the tree to New England but she sends a thousand miles for the axe to cut down the tree, and across the ocean for the chain to drag it to the river. Of potter's clay she has enough to supply the world, yet she sends to Staffordshire for her common plates. Black walnut is now cut on the banks of our rivers, floated to New Orleans, shipped to Boston, sawed into veneers, and often brought back to us as the covering of bulky and fragile furniture. The tree which leaves us at the price of a few hours labor comes back at the cost of five hundred days labor .... in the manufacture of cotton to be confined to the rugged hills of New England? .... Here, on the Ohio river, we are within earshot of the cotton fields of Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas - on a river navigable at all seasons of the year - where provisions are, and always will be, cheaper than in any other part of the United States - in a perfectly healthy position, and as far south as is compatible with this important consideration."\(^3\)

As a result, a company was formed and a cotton mill built in Cannelton. Cannel coal was used for power and raw cotton brought up from the South. It

1. Wilson, History of Dubois Co., p. 73.
2. Ibid, p. 73.
was put into operation in 1861. Twelve charters in all were obtained for manufacturing cotton, one company having a capital of one hundred thousand dollars. Stock was sold in southern cities, a Mr. Morgan and Mr. Maunsel White of Louisiana being among the stockholders. The Civil War put an end to the building industry.

New Albany and Jeffersonville were the two largest of the last group of towns mentioned, and were, of course, the most important, providing an outlet for Clark, Scott, Washington and Floyd counties. The products of these counties were similar to those about them, and were sent down river by flat boat and later by steam. New Albany boasted the largest ship yards in Indiana, building altogether thirty steamboats. Among these were the Wabash, in 1827, the Volcano, in 1830, the Wanderer, in 1830, and the St. Martin, in 1832. Jeffersonville is credited by Hunt with having built nineteen steamboats in all.

Clark County was peopled mainly by immigrants from North Carolina, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky. About 150,000 acres of what is now Clark County was given to George Rogers Clark and his followers for settlement following the Revolution. In 1794 James Noble Wood and his wife settled on the present site of Utica and established the first ferry boat there. He made three trips to New Orleans, in 1805, 1806, and 1807 respectively, when the entire country between Natches and Louisville was unbroken wilderness. On his return trips, he walked over the Natches trace, then Choctaw and Chickasaw Indian country.

1. De Bow, Commercial Review of the South and West, VII (1849), 454.
Springville, about four miles north of the Ohio, was, according to Baird, in 1789 the only purely American settlement off of the river. It consisted principally of a store which served as an Indian trading post. In 1801 it contained about one hundred inhabitants, and became the county seat; however, Jeffersonville took away this honor the following year, and now the town has completely disappeared.

The location of Jeffersonville, at the head of the Falls of the Ohio, was such as to make it an important place for the making and launching of all types of river craft. The early keelboats were supplanted as shipping increased by the flatboats, or broadhorns. Newspapers of the early decades of the nineteenth century published both here and New Albany make frequent mention of the loads of hay, grain, potatoes, eggs, butter, poultry, calves, salt pork, and in the later years, of small fruits and garden vegetables. These usually were taken to New Orleans, but sometimes were peddled along the coast of the lower Mississippi and its tributaries. In other instances, the boatmen were brought into intimate contact with the institutions of the South.

Many coal and salt boats passed up and down the river. These usually went in pairs, fastened together by means of a cable; they required a crew of eighteen men, and twenty-one when passing the Falls. Single coal boats gave employment to a crew of ten men, thirteen when passing the Falls, and had a capacity of nine hundred tons of bituminous coal.

Many men were engaged solely in the hazardous occupation of acting as "extra crew" in "shooting the Falls", as to do this with comparative safety to boat and cargo required expert manipulation. Many others were regular river pilots or captains, both in flatboat and the later steamboat days; in fact, Jeffersonville was called the "Mother of steamboat captains", and river
talk was on every tongue. ¹

An attempt was made to build a canal in 1818. The Jeffersonville Ohio Canal Company was formed. They were to have a capital stock of one million dollars, which was to be obtained principally by means of a lottery! It was to be finished by 1824, and was expected to make Jeffersonville a booming city. Power from the canal was to turn the wheels of the factories located there, which, because of such great advantages, were expected rapidly to multiply in number. They thought that if they just started the canal by means of a little ditch, then turned the water in, the canal would dig itself! It seems that one hollow log did float almost the length of the ditch once in time of high water, but otherwise the project was a failure. The Louisville residents, less optimistic concerning the help provided by nature, proceeded to build a canal on the Kentucky side, and thus the Jeffersonville project came to an untimely end.

The Howard Ship Yards were started by James Howard, from Glasgow, Scotland, home of ship-builders. The first ship, the Hyperion, was launched in 1834. From that time until the Civil War, ships were built in these yards, as well as in those at New Albany. This industry provided employment for many, not only in the construction of the boats themselves but in their subsequent navigation.

The railroads were not completed until after the close of the period of 1850, the Pennsylvania not being in operation from that point until 1853.

¹ Baird, op. cit., p. 321.
In southwestern Indiana are located Evansville, Vincennes, and Terre Haute, as well as many smaller towns of minor importance today, but each of which contributed a not inconsiderable amount to the commerce of earlier years. The prosperity of these tiny villages vanished with the coming of the railroads. Hindostan, Point Commerce, Mt. Tabor, and Grand View, as well as Eugene, farther up the Wabash, each in the days of the glory of the river a thriving little hamlet, now find their importance long since departed.

Mt. Tabor was situated about thirteen miles north-west of Bloomington, on Beanblossom creek, which was navigable - for flatboats - in high water. There the farmers gathered, built their boats, hauled their produce from miles around, and, when the water was sufficiently high, started on the long journey south. Mt. Tabor, rather than Bloomington, which did not enjoy the advantage of "navigable" water, was for some time the leading commercial center of Monroe County, and held hopes of future greatness.

Hindostan was located at the falls of White River, in what then was Daviess County. A trail from Clarksville to Vincennes crossed the river at this point. The falls furnished power and also were on a good trade route. In 1820 Martin County was organized and Hindostan became the county seat. A commodity known as Hindostan oil stone was made from products hauled from French Lick over a road now lost, then sent down river. This with the usual

1. Kate Milner Rabb says in the Indianapolis Star, June 11, 1926, that the entry of land on which this town was laid out was the first obtained from the United States in this part of the country. The entry was made by Fred Sholtz in 1812.
Point Commerce was located at the junction of the Eel and White rivers, just about where the Cross Cut Canal joined or crossed, opposite the present site of Worthington. In canal days this was a fine location for water commerce. The Allison brothers quickly sensed the importance of the location and in 1836 located there, where they did a thriving business. They bought up the products of the neighboring country and shipped them down river. They engaged extensively in pork-packing. Cloth was woven, lumber sawed, whiskey distilled, and flour made by their workers. Grain and furs were bought from the neighboring farmers. Most of this produce was sent to southern markets, principally to New Orleans. In the usual business season they shipped twenty-five or thirty flatboats loads; in 1841 forty-one loads were sent to New Orleans. Most of their supplies came from that city; others came from New York to Pittsburgh, thence by flatboat to Louisville, from which point they were hauled by wagon to Point Commerce. But in 1864 they had a big fire in Point Commerce; the Allisons had engaged too extensively in too many pursuits and consequently failed; the railroads took trade away from rivers and canals, and at last Point Commerce was absorbed by its younger rival, Worthington.

Many present day residents of Attica have never heard of the old town of Eugene, only about thirty miles distant, on Big Vermilion River, and yet in early river and canal days it was a shipping point of far greater importance than Point Commerce.

1. Howard B. Houghton in the Indianapolis Star, June 12, 1926, quotes Thomas de la Hunt in "an unsigned and undated scrapbook" as giving the settlement of Hindostan as early as 1775, the settlers being French traders and trappers from the neighborhood of Vincennes.


3. Ibid., p. 66.
than either that city or Wiliamsport. In 1847 forty-two flatboats, a number exceeded only by Terre Haute at any point north of the south line of Vigo County, left there, transporting down river a total of 3,684 tons of produce, consisting chiefly of bulk meat and corn.\(^1\)

Although the southern part of Dubois County was settled by Germans, the remainder, as well as those of Orange and Daviess, came from the South, usually from Kentucky, but in many instances indirectly from North Carolina or Virginia.\(^2\)

Hatches was a favorite shipping point of the farmer boatmen from that region. Their principal export was corn, but they also shipped many cargoes of bacon, horses, and mules, as well as other things too numerous to mention. Mr. William Helphinstine, of Washington, Indiana, much as did the Allisons of Point Commerce, bought up corn from miles around, shipped it by flatboat down river, usually to Hatches, then returned by steamer.\(^3\) Many rare and beautiful

1. United States Census, 1850.

2. The Helphinstine Family Records show that Hugh Aikman, son of John Aikman, was the first white child born in Daviess County. His father had come from Kentucky in 1810 and settled in the "sugar land" section. He himself built two forts as protection against the Indians, also the first brick house ever built in that section. The bricks were made by hand press from clay on the land; the timber, cut from their own forests, was planed in their own mill. Miss Ida B. Helphinstine, a teacher in the Indianapolis schools at the present time (1936) taught school in the schoolhouse built on land given by her grandfather, Mr. Aikman, for that purpose.

3. Mr. Helphinstine of this city, who made a few of the last trips of this kind with his father, relates a number of incidents relative to these river trips. On one of these trips, the cargo consisted of forty mules, also one horse and a little colt, all belonging to Mr. T. B. Graham. It seems that the Hatches landing was at the base of a decidedly steep hill, up which the "cargo" had to be driven. The horse, reaching the top of the hill before Mr. Helphinstine arrived with the mules, was mounted by a negro boy who hastily rode away, escaping into the city.

A little dog, taken by boatmen at Washington, escaped at Memphis and walked all the way home!

Every merchant must of necessity have a trademark; that of Mr. Helphinstine was RUSTY BACON, the letters of which stood for the Arabic numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10.
In 1827 arrivals were more frequent, those most frequently noted being of vessels plying between Louisville and the Big Vermilion.

We find in the Terre Haute Courier that Richard Pruett had left there about the third of December with a "boat heavily freighted with cider, apples, and butter, on a trading voyage down South", that the products were almost exclusively from his own farm, and "is, perhaps, the first cargo of the kind that has ever left the Wabash as high up as this". In the same edition the editor notes that "the state of the Southern market is of utmost importance to the people of the Wabash". We also read that a Captain Bratton had started on his forty-first trip to New Orleans, his first eighteen having been made out of the Kentucky River, the first in 1802. The trip noted was evidently being made on a "broadhorn", as we are told that "the circumstance of his being now, in his 62nd year, capable of commanding and assisting in working a broadhorn is a striking evidence of the healthfulness of the country and the regularity of his life."

The Wabash Express testifies to the profitableness of the southern trade in 1847, as follows:

"This class of citizens (produce dealers) have been 'in clover' this season, and we fancy they almost walk 'lopsided' with the gold in their pockets, the proceeds of their operations in the river trade ... Vigo can't have much less that $150,000 in cash more within her limits than there was six months ago."

The oldest and in many respects the most interesting town in the state from a historical point of view is Vincennes. It is most unfortunate that more information of its economic relations in early days is not available,

but as in all other localities, we can only form an impression from material at hand. Most of the records that were made have long since been lost, and in few instances was there any especial effort made to keep anything approaching a complete record of the business transacted. As stated in a previous portion of this paper, we do know that immense amounts of furs were sent down the Wabash even as early as the French occupation. That fur trading and trapping continued to be profitable even as late as the 1840's we learn through newspaper articles. That the usual fur products gradually supplanted the furs, we learn in the same manner. The early papers contain many advertisements of "Sugar Kettles", while some other merchant wants "Deer and Bear Skins, also Feathers". In 1804 William Bullett and Charles Smith give notice of the receipt of a "large and general assortment" of goods which they are "determined to sell" for "Cash, Wheat, Flour, Beef, Pork, Peltry, Corn, and Fur". Beeswax and tallow also are frequently asked for. Among the many articles advertised by the merchants for sale, "Just Rec'd" either from New Orleans or Philadelphia, are spices of every variety, tea, coffee, sugar, rice, and amazingly large quantities of alcoholic beverages. Hardware of all kinds, but especially hatchets, axes, guns, and knives are important items, while such luxuries as "Levantine fancy silk handkerchiefs", imitation as well as silk and cotton shawls, "striped and white jeans", British and India cloths, show that there

1. Western Sun, Jan. 2, 1817.
2. Western Sun, Sept. 11, 1804.

Note: The headings of these advertisements are frequently as unusual as their contents are startling. A heading such as "LOOK HERE" is by no means unusual, while on May 7, 1814, the reader is warned against buying one Molly and her child Abraham, as "they belong to W. H. Harrison!" On Aug. 2, 1811, Wm. M'Cullure advertises a "likely NEGRO WOMAN about 35 yrs. old" on a credit of 12 months. Feb. 17, 1817, the administrators of the estate of Henry Vanderburgh give notice of the sale of a negro woman and her child to the highest bidder, the sale to take place in Vincennes, "at the door of Peter Jones", Feb. 28, 1817.
existed a certain economic prosperity.

According to an estimate made by "a Vincennes paper", quoted by the Richmond Public Ledger in 1829, an immense amount of produce was finding its way to southern markets from Vincennes and other points above on the Wabash. Bache, in Emigrant's and Traveler's Guide, speaks of the "immense" amount of trade on the Wabash, and makes the statement that between March 5 and April 16, 1851, fifty-four steamboats arrived and departed from Vincennes alone, also that it was estimated that at least one thousand flatboats entered the Ohio from the Wabash in the same year. One from Posey County was loaded with hoop-poles and pumpkins. The value of produce sent annually to market from the Wabash valley was estimated at approximately one million dollars.

Although the above gives only an estimate of the amount of commerce carried on between the valley of the Wabash and the South, it cannot be questioned that the amount was sufficiently great to furnish a strong tie of economic interdependence between the two sections.

Evansville, on a north bend of the Ohio, in what is known as the "Pocket", is the most important of the old Ohio river towns in this part of the state, although such villages as Rockport and Mt. Vernon, as well as such tiny ones as Grand View, Cypress, and Newburg, witnessed the launching of many flatboat loads of supplies in the old days. Evansville was the largest and furnished the best market; consequently it drew heavily from the back country. Shippers from such inland points as Washington, Princeton, and Jasper shipped their merchandise there on the return trip up river after the appearance of the

1. Richmond Public Ledger, July 1, 1829.

steamboat, and hauled it by wagon the rest of the way.

As we have seen, Evansville became the southern terminus of the old Wabash and Erie Canal. This was very advantageous during canal days. Then, too, just a few miles above Evansville is the mouth of Green River, which, with its tributaries, the Pond and Barren rivers as well as Rough Creek, reach almost to the Tennessee line and as far east as Somerset.

From Evansville to Louisville, on both sides of the river, well back into the country, were dense hardwood forests. This was true also of the Green River country. Hardwood logs from all these points were floated down river in enormous quantities, to be made into lumber by Evansville’s mills. These were then sent on by flatboat, barge, and steamboat, first down river, then later up country by canal, making Evansville for many years the greatest hardwood market in the world.\(^1\) When a fleet of rafts manned by the "Green River Roarers", and loaded with hardwood logs from Bowling Green and its vicinity, arrived in town, it was time for all good men to stay away from the river front!

Logs were not the only article brought from the Green River country, however. Gilbert tells his readers that "coon" skins were almost legal tender, and that bear and wolf skins were regular articles of barter. As late as 1866, merchants from Green River brought furs and without a cent of money obtained their entire stock of groceries from S. E. Gilbert, wholesale grocer in Evansville. They also brought tobacco, molasses, flour, pork, beef, wheat, hides, leather, eggs, and bran. Great quantities of tobacco were received daily from the interior of Indiana and from up the Ohio, as well as from the

\(^1\) Gilbert, History of the City of Evansville and Vanderburgh Co., p. 142.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 32.
Green River country, by the Pendich Brothers, whose establishment early became the greatest tobacco factory in the world.

The following extracts present a graphic picture of Evansville in the early days:

"The river was king and Evansville situated as it was at a vantage point on the Ohio gave evidence of a magnificent future. Along the water front one could always witness a scene of life and restless activity. There upon the levees ponderous wagons, carts and drays crowded each other for space and workmen engaged in every imaginable occupation hurried from place to place. Vast quantities of produce, lumber, salt, cotton, tobacco, grain, agricultural implements and furniture lay piled upon the wharves and the river banks."

This is further substantiated by Gilbert, who presents the following picture:

"Evansville became an El Dorado to which men of all classes flocked ... Merchants buying produce and shipping it southward and furnishing supplies of tea, coffee, sugar, spices, and manufactured goods to the farmers multiplied and the volume of business transacted increased so rapidly as to occasion wonder and amazement. Long lines of wagons from points as far inland as Vincennes, Terre Haute, and Lafayette came to Evansville to effect these exchanges. Magnificent steamers daily landed at the wharf and lay for hours discharging and receiving freight."2

Gilbert then proceeds to give the following account of the activity on the wharf:

"There would be hundreds of bales of cotton from the southern boats to go north, hundreds of hogsheads of tobacco ... from various points in Kentucky and from some of the counties above Evansville to be shipped south, and flour, furniture, and thousands of parcels of groceries and drygoods ... I have seen as many as six boats side by side lying at the wharf ... So heavy was the traffic that many of these boats were unable, even with their carrying capacity, to handle the freight and took with them model barges one on each side, which were filled with freight before they got out of the Ohio."3

1. Evansville Courier, March 27, 1910.
2. Gilbert, op. cit., p. 47.
3. Ibid., p. 130.
England and Spain, as well as New York, kept tobacco buyers stationed in Evansville throughout the year. New Orleans had its cotton factors there as well. William Ross states that in the days before the Civil War, some two hundred "drummers" traveled out of Evansville, mostly by boat, and to points south. In fact Evansville both economically and socially was essentially a southern city.

Evansville early became the distributing point for coffee throughout the Green River valley and southwestern Indiana. Coal was shipped on the river in both directions. Fluorspar was received from Livingston and Crittenden, Kentucky, iron ore from Bear and Nolan Creeks, and rock asphalt from Green River.

Regular packet service was maintained between Evansville and New Orleans, as well as with other points. The Caledonia was one New Orleans packet. The Cicero plied regularly between Evansville and LaFayette, as did the Ocean and the Monticello. The Fawn and the Gallant provided transportation between Evansville and Henderson, Kentucky. In the period between 1840 and 1860, Mr. W. F. Hisbett, of the firm of Mackey, Hisbett, and Company, made many trips up the Tennessee River with boats loaded with dry goods which he exchanged for cotton. This cotton helped to supply the Evansville Cotton Mill, which made sheetings and drills. Mr. A. F. Stewart of New York bought nearly all of the drills, "the finest in the world", which were manufactured there. These drills were used for sailboats, in competition with those of New England manufacture. Mr. John A. Wright, father of Governor Joseph Wright, went down the Green and Tennessee rivers,

buying lumber for the Halfinch Lumber Company. Sawyer, Wallace, and Company of New York made $75,000 on one shipment of tobacco bought in Evansville.

Peanuts as well as cotton and lumber came to this point from the Tennessee River country. Now all of these activities have ceased. The peanuts and cotton are now shipped to St. Louis, while Memphis has taken Evansville's place in the hardwood market.¹

Beginning with the decade of 1820, many peddling wagons containing a miscellaneous assortment of supplies for the farmer and his family, traveled out of Evansville. These wares were sold to the farmers for cash, or exchanged for eggs, chickens, feathers, turkeys, butter, and even bacon. The peddlers usually tried to take the produce thus obtained to Louisville or to Vincennes, where they either sold it to the local merchants or shipped it down river. In either case, the southern markets determined the price received both by the peddlers and the farmers. Coon skins were almost legal tender, often used in payment of taxes.²

Salt was at first home made at Saline banks at Shawneetown and brought home in sacks, but later most of it came by boat from the Kanawha. One of the most frequent notices which appear in the newspapers of all shipping points is that of the arrival of boats loaded with salt.³

Hillis and Howe advertised the arrival of all sizes of boat cables from Boston by way of New Orleans, also direct from New Orleans "40 Bbls. Molasses, 25 Boxes Raisins, 4 Casks Rice".⁴ By the time of the Civil War this city was

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¹ Elliott, A History of Evansville and Vanderburg County, Indiana, pp. 99-100.
² Elliott, ibid., pp. 54-55
³ Ibid., pp. 54-55
⁴ Evansville Journal, Dec. 4, 1847.
one of the most important shipping points in the valley of the Ohio and Mississippi, but as the railroad began to supplant the river for long hauls, steamers were used mainly for short trade routes only, and the days of the glory of the river were lost in the past.

Nothing has been said regarding trade from points such as Lafayette, much farther north in the Wabash valley. These communities, although not a part of the geographical section of southern Indiana, in early days sent most of their surplus produce to the South by way of the Wabash and its tributaries.

However, as the northern part of Indiana was settled, and the Michigan Road and the old Chicago Road were improved, trade was diverted to Chicago, which with other northern markets gradually supplanted those along the river.

Although no mention has been made of the trade of many communities which are located in this corner of the state, the information available unquestionable shows that the citizens of old southwestern Indiana depended upon the South both as a market for their surplus and for their imports as well. The interest of a people is centered upon the factor which controls its prosperity. That being true, the interests of early southwestern Indiana must indeed have been those of the South.

1. One evidence of the mutual interests of Indiana and the South was the large attendance at Indiana University of Southern students. Indeed, the enrollment from this section evidently was considered sufficiently important by the Indiana State Legislature to merit special consideration, as it passed the following law, approved June 17, 1862:

"The board of trustees through its president shall give at least one month's notice of the commencement of each session of the university, in at least one newspaper in the cities of Indianapolis, Louisville in the State of Kentucky, and in New Orleans in the State of Louisiana." Rev. 1862, Vol. 1, p. 507.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

As canals and railroads connecting Indiana with the East were built, trade was diverted more and more from the South. Whereas formerly a shipment to the Ohio valley from New York came down the Atlantic to the Gulf and thence to New Orleans, where it was reshipped and sent north by the river steamers, it now would be transported directly west by a newer route. This deprived New Orleans of the wharfage and warehouse charges, as well as the work of loading and unloading. It also rapidly took from that city much of the direct trade with the Ohio valley, upon which she had grown to depend. All this was a great blow to New Orleans, which, when too late, many Southern men tried to remedy. They advocated the building of a railroad connecting Mobile with the Ohio, also New Orleans with the Ohio either directly or by connection with the Mobile road; the dredging and clearing of the Mississippi; and investments by Southern financiers in Ohio valley cotton manufactories. 1 Conventions were held, one at Memphis in 1845, and another at Chicago in 1847, for the purpose of determining some plan of action. 2

John C. Calhoun was made chairman of the Memphis convention. He spoke of its purpose — to further economic unity between the two sections — and of the spirit of union and co-operation which always had existed between them. In bringing the convention to a close, he spoke in part as follows: "They (the two sections) are bound together by ties which can never be severed ..."

1. Dillow, III (1847), 328. Lewis Troost of Ala. proposed a railroad connecting Mobile with the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi. Only thirty-nine miles of this road was completed by 1852.

2. The five delegates from Indiana attending the Memphis convention were A. T. Ellis, Wm. Bunch, Wm. Wise, Thos. Bishop, and John J. Chandler.
Dillow, I (1846), 13.
there is too much in common between the two sections, too many similar interests, too many sympathies and connections, for them ever to act otherwise than united. Bound together in this way, their destinies are one. Elevated or depressed, it must be together.\textsuperscript{1}

But little was actually accomplished. In 1847 Mr. Buckner H. Payne of New Orleans lamented that nothing was being done by that city to get the channel of the Mississippi improved, while northern trade was slipping away. He must have spoken truly when he said, "The people of slave states are always the last, or generally so, in adopting those improvements necessary to facilitate commerce and cheaper transportation from the point of production to the point of market.\textsuperscript{2}" He showed the costs of double draying charges, and the necessity of reducing them if New Orleans were not to lose a still greater amount of its trade. Flour shipped to New York from Cincinnati via the Ohio River and the Erie Canal cost at least fifteen cents less per barrel for transportation, while it was worth at least fifty to seventy-five cents more in the Eastern market. He stated that a shipment of fifty thousand sacks of flour via New Orleans cost at least two thousand dollars each way for drayage, plus storage bills.

However, neither Mississippi nor Louisiana sent a delegate to the Chicago Convention in 1847.

1. DeBow, I (1846), 20.
2. DeBow, III (1847), 43.
In January, 1848, an article written by the Hon. E. M. Huntington appeared in DeBow's Commercial Review, a periodical which enjoyed a wide circulation in southern states. In discussing the imminence of direct railroad transportation between northern states and the East, he urged the South to foster the manufacturing of cotton, iron, and hemp on the tributaries of the Mississippi.1

But the railroads continued to form new economic and political bonds between the East and the Old Northwest, gradually weakening the old allegiance to the South brought about through many years of trade as well as by ties of blood; shippers resented the excessive charges and dilatory methods of improvements at New Orleans; greater profits accrued from trade at Eastern markets; in spite of the exhortations of such farsighted men as Huntington, White, and Calhoun, Southern money was invested all too slowly in Northern ventures; finally the Civil War came on, effectually wrecking the hopes of DeBow and his associates.

Just what might have been the result had railway connections been established between Indiana and the South before they were completed between that state and the East, or if Southern capitalists had done more to help infant

1. DeBow, V (1848), 14.

Mr. Huntington's article reads as follows:

"By the investment of her surplus capital she (the South) will enlarge her market at home for the product of her cotton fields, and in time link indissolubly together those great interests of cotton production and cotton manufacture. Connected as we are by an immense extent of navigable rivers ... our geographical affinities are all powerful; and if, superadded to these, our interests are combined by the system of policy to which I have alluded, no agitations growing out of Southern institutions can ever disturb this powerful sympathy ... Nature, by those powerful arteries of commerce, our noble rivers, and by those immense coal fields which lie along the southern boundaries of Indiana and Illinois, and which with the cotton of the South, constitute the pabulum of the most important manufacturing interests of the country, must forever, with preponderating force, throw the West and the South together."
Indiana manufactures, is of course a matter of conjecture. At the time of the Civil War, there was much sympathy with the South; to what extent might this have been intensified? How might a stronger feeling of sympathy have been manifested? We cannot answer. It seems probable that we might experience a favorable result in our commercial life, in that cotton manufacturing might have been so firmly established as to survive the war, and southern Indiana might be today the center of a great textile industry, giving employment to thousands of people, and bringing much additional wealth to the state.

However, it was impossible for Indiana, a pioneer agricultural community, to provide the necessary capital to compete with the older established manufacturing centers of the East; the Southern financiers failed to seize their opportunities, and Indiana transferred her allegiance from the South to the East. The Civil War definitely marked the end of the old days of economic, political, and social unity between the people of Southern Indiana and those south of the Ohio.
### APPENDIX

**FLATBOAT ARRIVALS IN NEW ORLEANS IN 1831**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Amount Wharfed</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>$1,460</td>
<td>Penn.</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>Va.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>1,808</td>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>3,096</td>
<td>Ky.</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>3,786</td>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>1,848</td>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>Ill.</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>Tenn.</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>Ala.</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>Ark.</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>732</td>
<td>Miss.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>La.</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,620</td>
<td>$16,521</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,940</td>
</tr>
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</table>

1. Brookville Republican, March 1, 1832, from New Orleans Emporium.
### FLATBOAT ARRIVALS IN NEW ORLEANS FOR YEAR

**ENDING AUGUST 31, 1849**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>Oct.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>191</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>92</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aug.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,163</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. DeBow, J. B. B. Commercial Review of the South and West, VII (1849), 427

Note: This table shows that the bulk of the flatboat trade took place between November and May. In April, Indiana has listed 108 arrivals in a total of 194. Of the total for the year, more than one-third are from Indiana.

For the year ending August 31, 1851, out of a total of 946 arrivals, 298 were from Indiana, while for the season ending in August, 1846, from a total of 2,381 arrivals, 70% were from Indiana, being surpassed only by Ohio, with 817 boats to its credit. Commerce of such comparative importance necessarily had to result in a unification of the two sections.

Each loaded flatboat paid a duty of $6, boats and barges over 70 ft. in length $10, those less than 70 ft. also keelboats and rafts, $3.
### AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF INDIANA
FOR THE YEARS OF 1840 AND 1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARTICLE</th>
<th>AMOUNT</th>
<th>1840</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>RANK OF STATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>Bushels</td>
<td>4,049,375</td>
<td>6,214,468</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rye</td>
<td>Bushels</td>
<td>129,621</td>
<td>78,732</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>Bushels</td>
<td>22,155,887</td>
<td>52,964,363</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oats</td>
<td>Bushels</td>
<td>5,981,605</td>
<td>5,655,014</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>241,036</td>
<td>553,203</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>619,980</td>
<td>1,182,966</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hogs</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>1,623,608</td>
<td>2,263,776</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wool</td>
<td>Pounds</td>
<td>1,237,919</td>
<td>2,610,287</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>Pounds</td>
<td>1,820,500</td>
<td>1,044,620</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maple Sugar</td>
<td>Pounds</td>
<td>3,727,795</td>
<td>2,921,192</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beeswax and</td>
<td>Pounds</td>
<td></td>
<td>935,329</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honey</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molasses</td>
<td>Gallons</td>
<td></td>
<td>180,326</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine, domestic</td>
<td>Gallons</td>
<td>10,286</td>
<td>14,065</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes, Irish</td>
<td>Bushels</td>
<td>5,525,794</td>
<td>2,083,337</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. United States Census reports, 1840 and 1850.
# Pork Packing in Indiana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CITY</th>
<th>1844</th>
<th>1845</th>
<th>1846</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>6,400</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td>46,000</td>
<td>63,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lafayette</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrenceburg</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connersville</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evansville</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurel</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brookville</td>
<td>8,500</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ft. Wayne</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covington</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attica</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terre Haute</td>
<td>27,000</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1. DeBow, VI (1846), 65.
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