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WRIGHT, JERRY JAYE

A HISTORY OF SPORT, GAMES, AND AMUSEMENTS AMONG PIONEER CULTURES IN INDIANA, 1670-1820

The Ohio State University

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A HISTORY OF SPORT, GAMES, AND AMUSEMENTS AMONG PIONEER CULTURES IN INDIANA, 1670-1820

Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Jerry Jaye Wright, B.A., M.Ed.

****

The Ohio State University

1980

Reading Committee:
Dr. Barbara A. Nelson
Dr. Paul C. Bowers
Dr. Bruce L. Bennett

Approved By

Bruce L. Bennett
Adviser
Department of Health, Physical Education and Recreation
DEDICATION

To Mary Lee, a wonderful lady and close friend during this undertaking, without whose continuous support, encouragement, untiring assistance, love, and understanding patience this study might not have been successfully completed.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to express his sincere appreciation to those persons who contributed to this dissertation. Without their valuable time, patience, and cooperation, the study could not have been successfully completed;

To Dr. Bruce Bennett, dissertation committee chairman and advisor, for his guidance and encouragement during the research of this study and throughout the Doctoral program.

To Dr. Barbara Nelson and Dr. Paul Bowers, for serving on the dissertation committee and for their assistance and constructive criticism.

A special thanks to Mrs. Eleanor Devlin, consultant for library research, The Ohio State University, for her direction and guidance in getting this project underway.

And finally, a special thanks to all those archivists, reference librarians, and library staff at the various university, local, and state libraries and historical societies for their invaluable assistance in completing this study.
VITA

July 30, 1944 ....... Born – Richmond, Indiana

1962-1964 .......... Associate Degree, Cincinnati Institute of Art, Cincinnati, Ohio


1967-1972 .......... Commercial Artist, Advertising Services, Richmond, Indiana

1972-1974 .......... B.A. Saginaw Valley State College, University Center, Michigan

1974-1975 .......... Instructor of Elementary Physical Education for Teachers and Assistant Basketball Coach, Saginaw Valley State College, University Center, Michigan

1975-1976 .......... M.Ed. and Teaching Associate, Department of Health, Physical Education and Recreation, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio

1977-1980 .......... Teaching Associate, Department of Health, Physical Education and Recreation, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

PUBLICATIONS

Contributions made to: Toward A Healthy Lifestyle Through Elementary Health Education, By Burt, Meeks, and Pottebaum,

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Physical Education

   Studies in History and Comparative Physical Education and Sport. Professor Bruce L. Bennett

Minor Field: Health Education
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

From the earliest cultures of civilization there is conclusive evidence that man has always engaged in some form of play. He has developed new activities or adopted those of cultures around him in accordance with geographic and climatic conditions for the purpose of his own recreation and amusement. More recently such activities of recreation and amusement have been identified and classified as games, sports, athletics, recreational activities, dance, etc. A form of these activities served as training for defense and protection, while others were oftentimes caught up in religious ritual, as well as providing a social outlet, thus playing a significant role in various cultures' development, existence, and survival. These cultural habits were evident among the early peoples of Europe and Asia, and evidence indicates that the early inhabitants of North America shared similar characteristics.

The history of sport, games, and amusements in North America began with the first accounts of Columbus, other early explorers, and the native American Indian cultures. The native inhabitants were quite different from the European explorers in language, their religious beliefs, life-style, even the color of their skin, as well as their sports, games, and amusement activities.
As proof of these differences many explorers took back to Europe jugglers and ball players to perform in the royal courts of their kings and queens.¹ Further differences were found in the equipment used for various games among the Indians. Some of the tribes used a ball made of a strange, resilient material which bounced, and still later travelers gave accounts of a game in which the players carried "... in their hands two wooden spoons, curiously carved, not unlike our large iron spoons."² These reports by early explorers of a rubber ball and a game much like lacrosse, both of which were unknown in Europe, provide evidence that the native cultures of North America did engage in sport-like activities.

The discovery and settlement of the North American continent was shared mainly by three great European powers, Spain, England, and France. Although Spanish explorers were perhaps the first to explore the southern coastline of Florida, the Caribbean Sea, and Gulf of Mexico, they did little to settle and colonize these areas. It was the English and later the French who promoted the first real colonization in the New World during the early seventeenth century.³


³Historians often consider the "New World" to include North, Central, and South America. However, for the purpose of this study the "New World" will refer to the North American continent.
The seventeenth century was a solemn time for colonizing a foreign and oftentimes inhospitable new land. Separated from civilization by thousands of miles of ocean, many of the early settlers, more specifically those settling in the New England colonies, clung to strict puritanic beliefs, restraining from pleasurable pastimes and working together in the eyes of the Lord. Colonists settling in the middle and southern colonies also exercised their new religious freedom, but at the same time did not hesitate to take part in a variety of recreational activities.

By the eighteenth century, however, the primitive struggle for survival was not as prominent, and Americans began to imitate the sporting customs of Europe, more particularly those of England. In a work published in 1931, entitled American Sports (1785-1835), Jennie Holliman attempted to trace the origins of American sports which were practiced during the early period. The following quotation illustrates her general conclusion that the principal American sports had a strong English heritage:

They (sports) were brought to America by the English. Here, the sports and recreation grew according to the environment found in the new country. Yet it is evident that sports in America during these years of history kept the color and form of European sports.\(^4\)

As a result of Holliman's research and similar studies in the area of sport history, sports and physical education historians

have largely agreed that American sport received its greatest influence from an English heritage.

While the English were colonizing the eastern coastline of North America, French explorers were discovering the St. Lawrence River valley. But unlike the permanent settlements of the English, the French voyageurs, fur traders, soldiers, and Jesuit priests approached colonization in the New World from a different perspective. These representatives of France formed an alliance whose mission was to civilize and bring Christianity to the native Indian tribes, explore and hold new lands for France, and develop the fur trade adding to the economic wealth of France. As a result of this approach, these goals continued through the French period of colonization, and more often than not the only French settlements in New France were those which grew up around the Jesuit missions and the fur trading posts.

The early French inhabitants in the New World found life very tenuous, especially during the long, hard winters they had to endure in Canada, and along the St. Lawrence River and upper Great Lakes region. Facilities and equipment necessary for engaging in the sophisticated amusements so popular in the social life in the Louis' court of France were unavailable. But to brighten their drab life-style, explorers, traders, and

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6 Ibid., pp. 38-39.
voyageurs frequently organized social functions which allowed them to test their skills in hunting and fishing in order to provide a varied menu for such occasions. Such festive social functions were often the only means of relaxation and amusement among the early French in the New World.

The mass migration of Europeans to North America created a need for exploration of new lands beyond the Appalachian Mountains and the Ohio River. Perhaps the most significant of these lands were known as the Northwest Territory, presently consisting of Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana. At various periods of time, spanning some two hundred years, this vast geographic wilderness came under the influence of three different cultures, Indian tribes, the French, and the English speaking British and American pioneers. Each state which was carved out of the Northwest Territory has an ancestral heritage which can be traced to one, and in most instances, all three of these cultures.


8Beginning in the early 1600's numerous tribes of the Algonquin family held the lands north of the Ohio River and upper Great Lakes extending westward into the Mississippi valley. In 1669 La Salle began his exploration of interior lakes and rivers reaching the confluence of the Illinois with the Mississippi in 1680. By 1700 French fur traders had achieved a hold on the vital arteries of the western country. By 1750 English influence was evident in the territory, and 1763 saw complete British take over of the territory northwest of the Ohio. In 1779 George Rogers Clark began his conquest of British outposts in Indiana and Illinois opening the way for American settlement.
Because of a personal heritage and interest, of the five states which comprised the original Northwest Territory, the author selected the present state of Indiana and the sports, games, and amusements of its early cultural inhabitants during the period of 1670 to 1820 as the focus of this study.

Statement of the Problem

It is the purpose of this study to investigate, determine, and examine recreational pastimes as to the kinds and types of sport, game, and amusement activities indigenous to three classifications of cultural influences: Indian tribes, the French, and English speaking peoples, in what is now the state of Indiana during its early period of exploration and settlement, 1670 to 1820. English speaking peoples will be further classified into British influence which was predominantly military, and the early settlers who came to Indiana from the southern and eastern colonies.

The delimitations for the study, 1670 to 1820, best represent Indiana's periods of inhabitance by the three cultural classifications. It was approximately 1670 when both white and Indian cultures entered the state and began exploration to open the land for future settlement. It was 1820 when the last of the Indian cultures were removed from the state, opening the central and northern regions for settlement. Indiana's southern and eastern borders were settled by a large population of ethnic groups before 1820, and are
representative of those cultures who settled the state's central and northern lands after 1820.

As a significant aid to the problem under investigation, the study will include examination of the following sub-problems:

1) To investigate the effects and influences the climatic environment, as well as topographic and geographic, might have had on each culture's sports, games, and amusements during the period being studied.

2) To investigate any effects and influences Indian sports, games, and amusements might have had on the white cultures, and those of the white cultures on the Indian tribes, and other white cultures entering the state during the period under investigation.

3) To investigate significant effects and influences cultural occupations might have had on sports, games, and amusements during the period being studied.

4) To investigate religious practices among the three cultures and the influence these practices might have had on their sports, games, and amusement activities.

5) To investigate and determine if the sports, games, and amusements enjoyed by immigrating cultures to Indiana during the period under investigation were brought with them, or if they were developed as new activities as a result of a new way of life in Indiana.

6) To compare sports, games, and amusements in other areas of the country, eastern colonies and settlements in the
north and south, with those in Indiana during the period under investigation.

Need for the Study

The sport history profession is relatively new and still in its embryonic state of development. Recently there has been concern within the field for the development of a scholarly body of knowledge in the area of sport history in order to promote further interest and enhance the growth and development of the profession.\(^9\) It is to this end that this study is undertaken.

During the early development of Indiana from a part of the Old Northwest Territory, to independence from France and British controls, to statehood, several cultures immigrated to and migrated within its boundaries seeking new ways of life or a new frontier upon which to pursue old ways. There are data available indicating that these cultures engaged in some form(s) of recreational activity, sports, games, and amusements. Therefore, the establishment of the cultural development of their recreational activities, like that of music, art, and literature, would provide a further dimension to the social history of the cultures of Indiana.

To date, available data have not been focused into any type of historical study. Therefore, there is a definite need to research, organize, and assemble all the pertinent data into one document in order to preserve the historical development of sports, games, and amusements, and their cultural significance among the early peoples of Indiana. Furthermore, this study will be a valuable resource to educators, historians, and future researchers, in addition to contributing greatly to a body of knowledge in the area of sport history.

**Scope of the Study**

The scope of this study focuses on inhabiting cultures during a one hundred and fifty year period in Indiana history. After some investigation into the problem, it became evident that certain uncontrollable variables be considered. To begin with the geographic scope of the study, the territory which became Indiana, introduced such variables as climate, socioeconomic heterogeneity, different rates of cultural assimilation, and different cultural values oftentimes based on religious beliefs. In addition, it was necessary to establish a baseline date within which span of time there were significant cultural influences inhabiting the Indiana country. The following paragraphs will present an overview of Indiana's history during the period under investigation. The intent is not to present a specific, comprehensive
breakdown of dates, events, cultural differences, etc., but to present sufficient evidence to support the time span delimitation, 1670 to 1820, and the chronological divisions to provide a better understanding of the cultural relationship with historic events.

Jesuit Missionaries and fur traders occupied lands southwest of the Great Lakes perhaps as early as 1650, while Robert Cavilier de La Salle explored Indiana's entire lower boundary in 1669-70, and the northwestern region of the state in 1671 or 1672. Further evidence shows that missionaries Claude Allouez and Claude Dablon explored Indiana north of the Kankakee River from 1670 to 1672. In 1669 the large population of Miami Indians which inhabited northwestern Indiana migrated westward to escape hostile Iroquois' attacks. But by 1671 or 1672 the Miamis and other tribes from Illinois began returning to northern Indiana, and by 1680 had migrated

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10 Logan Esarey, A History of Indiana From its Exploration to 1850 (Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart Co., 1915), p. 3. There is some controversy as to French inhabiting Indiana at this early date. More recent histories of Indiana place French influence in the State in the early 1670's; see John D. Barnhart and Dorothy L. Riker, Indiana to 1816; The Colonial Period, p. 62, and Howard H. Peckham, Indiana, p. 18.


13 John B. Dillon, A History of Indiana From its Earliest Exploration by Europeans (Indianapolis: Bingham and Doughty, 1859), pp. 2-3.
eastward and south into the Maumee and Wabash River valleys.\footnote{14} These data are conclusive evidence of Indiana's inhabitance during the late 1660's and early 1670's. But because it is probably impossible to determine an exact date, the year 1670 was selected as a baseline date for the study because it represents a point at which time a significant influence of cultures began to inhabit the Indiana country.

During the period under investigation the Northwest Territory contained a vast wealth of forests, fur, rich farmland, and strategic waterways. This land of abundant resources was home to many Indian cultures, and enticed early white explorers to open up the land for future settlement. This early exploration enabled a variety of cultures to leave significant influences on the new frontier.

In addition to the nomadic Indian cultures present in the state, the French were probably the first white people to inhabit Indiana, beginning with the Jesuit Missionaries, explorers, and fur traders, and still later by French settlers. The early French peoples came down from Canada along the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes into Indiana in search of a waterway to the Mississippi River which would connect the French territory in the north with Louisiana to the south.

During the French period numerous fur trading posts were established along the Wabash River and its larger tributaries.

\footnotetext{14}{John D. Barnhart and Dorothy L. Riker, Indiana to 1816, The Colonial Period (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1971), p. 66.}
Two of the more noted posts were Post Miami, at the present site of Fort Wayne, and Post Ouiatanon, near present day Lafayette. But in 1733, under the command of Sieur de Vincennes, the first permanent settlement in Indiana was established on the Wabash where Vincennes now stands. The settlement at Vincennes opened land which was dominated by fur trading to farming and an agrarian way of life. Vincennes became the connecting link of the French north with the French south. By 1750 several upper class French families had made their way up the Mississippi River, establishing plantations near Vincennes, and bringing to Indiana a flavor of southern culture.

This same period saw some British influence in the state as both the French and British sought the support of the Indian tribes to do their bidding for supremacy of the fur trade and the Northwest Territory. In 1763 the Treaty of Paris was signed, ending the long and bloody French and Indian War and giving control of the Indiana country to England.

Early British influence was relatively short with little or no meaningful direction. It was predominantly military in nature with troops eventually garrisoned at a few of the

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15 Some evidence indicates the settlement at Vincennes existed early in the eighteenth century. This was probably only one of the many trading stations along the Wabash. The first permanent settlement at Vincennes also falls under controversial dates, 1730 to 1735. However, 1733 appears to be more consistently agreed upon by historians.

16 Esarey, A History of Indiana From its Exploration to 1850, p. 24.
previously occupied French posts. Although the French had officially turned the Indiana country over to England, there seemed to be no hurry to take possession of the posts along the Wabash. This was due in part because, at the close of the French and Indian War, and as a direct result of the Treaty of Paris, England found herself in possession of more territory than King George III and his ministry could effectively govern. Therefore, he issued what became known as the "Proclamation of 1763" forbidding the colonial governors to sell lands to anyone beyond the headwaters of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic. Until the King's further notice these lands were to remain as a hunting ground for the Indians.17

It was not until 1777 that any form of English authority appeared on Indiana soil. But many settlers defied King George's Proclamation, and with the opening of the Cumberland Gap in 1775, and more reliable travel on the Ohio River, many English speaking settlers had already taken up residency in the Wabash valley.

By 1800, with the successful conquest of Vincennes by Colonel George Rogers Clark in 1779 and the Greenville Treaty which brought an end to some twenty years of Indian conflict in 1794, settlers from eastern states flooded the river valleys of the Wabash, White, and Ohio in the Indiana country.

17Esarey, A History of Indiana From its Exploration to 1850, pp. 23-24.
In 1800 Congress established the Indiana Territory, and in 1816 Indiana became the nineteenth state to join the union. By 1818 Indiana contained a population of approximately 70,000 in twenty-eight counties in the southern region of the state.\textsuperscript{18}

A study of Indiana history revealed too many dissimilar cultural practices among its immigrants to effectively deal with in this study after 1820. The last of the Indian tribes had been relocated from the state, and numerous first generation Americans from the New England colonies, refugees from Germany, transients, and "stop-overs" to points further west flocked to Indiana after statehood. Therefore, it was decided to end the study in 1820 because this mass movement would make it impossible to isolate and study the recreational activities of each new culture. Each of the cultural influences present in the state to 1820 will be examined in order to determine the kinds and types of sports, games, and amusements which played a significant role in their everyday life-style.

A difficult problem was the development of an operable, but valid, definition of the terms sport, games, and amusements. The definitions offered in The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles\textsuperscript{19} indicates some similarities in the meaning of each term. Therefore, a definition


of sport, games, and amusements more applicable to the study was developed. 1) Sport: any vigorous activity requiring skill and/or physical prowess, and often of a competitive nature. 2) Games: any activity engaged in for the purpose of diversion, pleasure and amusement. Placed on a continuum, game type activities may range from a highly competitive nature requiring physical skill, to an intermediate level for the purpose of recreation, to activities of which the outcome is determined by fate and of which the participant has little or no control. 3) Amusements: any activity or event engaged in or observed to entertain or occupy in a light, playful, or pleasant manner. An amusement activity may require physical prowess and skill, or attempt to disguise identity through mimicry and the pursuit of vertigo.

**Methodology**

Historian Thomas Woody once commented on approaching the method of historical investigation: "It is well to note that history as a science is concerned in the first place with ascertaining facts as accurately as possible." Henry Steele Commager stated, "There are as many kinds of history as there are historians, and each historian writes his own kind of

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history."\textsuperscript{21} In light of these two respected historians, this study will employ a historical and descriptive method of research to collect and evaluate both primary and secondary sources and present the findings as accurately as possible.

A review of literature revealed no complete source(s) relating to the history of sport, games, and amusements in Indiana during the period under investigation. Therefore, the gathering of data relating to the subject involved extensive research and study of documents, diaries, personal papers, newspapers, as well as pertinent secondary sources, which reflect the history of the country which became Indiana. These materials are housed in various university and historical society libraries and archives throughout Indiana. Those facilities providing significant assistance included the main libraries and archives at the Universities of Indiana, Purdue, and Vincennes, the Lilly Library at Indiana University, the Indiana State Library and Historical Society at Indianapolis, and historical societies located at Vincennes and Fort Wayne. The Ohio State University Library and the Ohio Historical Society Library also provided many valuable materials for the study. Each of these sources appear in the bibliography.

All collected data was subjected to external criticism to establish authenticity, in the case of primary sources, and internal criticism to establish accuracy of both primary

and secondary sources. In determining the accuracy of sources four key factors were considered: 1) knowledge and competence of the author; 2) time delay, which considered the amount of time which may have elapsed between an event's occurrence and the recording of the facts; 3) bias and motives of the author; and 4) consistency of the data by comparing each piece of evidence and/or sources with all other sources of the same nature to insure complete agreement.

After collection, review, and evaluation of all available sources, data found pertinent to the study were organized, the findings synthesized, and conclusions formulated and presented in an attempt to answer previously postulated questions on pages 6 and 7. In providing answers to the postulated questions, the descriptive method was employed. Because of the interrelationship of cultural characteristics involved in the study, occupations, politics, education, religion, etc., the description of data were presented in a chronological ordering in accordance with each dominant cultural influence within the delimited period of the study:

1. The colonial heritage of the Indiana cultures to 1783 in the southern and mid Atlantic colonies.
2. The Indian cultures in Indiana to 1820.
3. The French culture in Indiana to 1763.
4. The British culture in Indiana to 1795.
5. The American Pioneer Cultures in Indiana to 1820.
It was felt that this chronological organization more nearly paralleled the historical sequence of immigration to the Indiana country, its exploration, and eventual settlement.
CHAPTER II

THE COLONIAL HERITAGE OF THE INDIANA CULTURES

It has been suggested by Hannible Duncan in his book, *Immigration and Assimilation*, that since an immigrant is a product of biological and cultural processes, an understanding of him depends upon a knowledge of forces which have shaped him. Thus, one must comprehend the essential conditions of his homeland before a comprehensive study and understanding can be made of him in his new environment. In view of Duncan's suggestion, evidence shows that the dominant cultures which eventually inhabited Indiana had their heritage in the Atlantic coast colonies and other parts of North America. Therefore, in order to better understand, and for the purpose of making some comparison of cultural habits and customs, namely sport, games, and amusements, this chapter will present a brief historic overview of the dominant cultural influences which settled North America.

For almost two hundred years after its discovery, 1492, North America had virtually no inhabitants or history with the exception of the native Indian tribes. The continent was the theater for ambitious Europeans seeking to escape political, economic, educational, and religious strife and endeavor.2

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2 Ibid., p. 3.
Although interest in the New World was eventually shared by three great nations of the period, Spain, France, and England, it was Spain, with her mighty armadas and royal supporters who first dispatched adventurous explorers to reap the newly discovered overseas wealth.

By 1492 Spain's greed led her explorers to push into the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico in search of mineral wealth. And, by the early sixteenth century large contingents of Spanish adventurers had tramped across regions of the New World like nomads exploring the coasts of South and Central America, extending their campaigns as far north as the land that became Virginia, and westward into the Mississippi Valley. During this early period Spain had an excellent opportunity to explore and colonize the New World. But unable to foresee clearly the future, Spanish galleons continued to plough the waters and shoreline of the Gulf in search of mineral wealth, establishing only two significant settlements within the limits of North America, St. Augustine on the peninsula which became Florida, in 1565, and Santa Fe in the southwest, in 1582. In the centuries that followed Florida became a strategic position for Spanish holdings in the Gulf and aided in keeping the English colonist at bay until 1763.

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For many years France and England were aware of the progress Spain had made establishing recognition in the New World. However, both nations were late-comers in seeking direct access to the overseas wealth, as each were still recovering from the long and consuming Hundred Years' War which finally ended in 1453. But in spite of the late start it was the first generation of French and English colonists who later made their way to the Indiana country. Therefore, before investigating the French and British cultural influence in the New World and their eventual migration to Indiana, it is necessary to present briefly the topographical and climatic characteristics of the state which influenced exploration, migration, and eventual settlement.

The Indiana Country

The territory northwest of the Ohio River passed into American hands at the close of the American Revolution in 1783. To provide for its settlement the Continental Congress passed an act in 1785 for the purpose of surveying and selling the land.\(^5\) Two years later, 1787, Congress passed what became known as the Northwest Ordinance providing that the newly acquired territory should eventually be divided into not less than three nor more than five states.\(^6\) Indiana became the second state to be carved from this vast wilderness.


The topography and climatic conditions of Indiana have undergone various changes since the cultures defined in this study inhabited the territory. Therefore, although current literature was reviewed, much of the following description of the Indiana country was based on sources compiled during the period under investigation.

The part of the Northwest Territory which became the state of Indiana comprises an area of 36,354 square miles, bounded on the north by the state of Michigan, and by the states of Ohio and Illinois on the east and west respectively. The entire southern boundary is formed by the Ohio River, and the Wabash River becomes the western boundary just south of Terre Haute.\(^7\) The face of the Indiana countryside is divided essentially into three topographical surfaces. The southern region along the Ohio River is somewhat hilly and broken, while the central portion extending northward to the Wabash River becomes flat owing its levelness to the deep glacial deposits of soil and gravel left by the ice age. Some of the areas of the central prairies however, are very wet and marshy annually. Across the Wabash extending north to Lake Michigan the upper country becomes mostly level and abounds in flat prairies, small lakes, and swamps.\(^8\)


An abundance of waterways of varying sizes wind their way across the state and eventually southward emptying into the Ohio River. The largest of these rivers, and the river which played a significant role in the lives of early inhabitants, is the Wabash. The Wabash has its beginning in northwestern Ohio where it interlocks with the headwaters of the Miami and St. Marys Rivers. From this point it flows a northwesterly course of some sixty miles before assuming a general southwesterly course dropping more than 300 miles before entering the Ohio. At various points along its route the Wabash receives numerous watery tributaries of varying sizes, including the more significant Eel, Mississinewa, and Tippecanoe Rivers from the north, and the White and Potoka Rivers in the central and southern regions.9

In his topographical description of the United States, Melish described the Wabash as being navigable for large keelboats as far north as Ouiatenon, near present day Lafayette, where there are shallow rapids. Above Ouiatenon the River is navigable for large canoes, and in nearly all the tributaries to their sources.10 The abundance of navigable rivers provided roads for the early French explorers, and routes for travel and commerce for fur traders, Indian tribes, and later settlement, as well as aiding in a way of life for all of

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10John Melish, A Geographic Description of the United States (Philadelphia: Published by the Author, 1822), p. 249.
Indiana's early cultural inhabitants.

The climate of the Indiana country varies in much the same manner as its topographical surfaces. Like much of the eastern and central portions of the United States, Indiana has strongly marked seasons. In the northern region above the Wabash River summers are mild, but short, while the winters are long and oftentimes severe. Moving southward the winters become milder and much shorter. In the extreme southern region along the Ohio River, temperatures remain mild much of the year as evidenced by Warden in his travel accounts through the state in 1815:

The fine weather generally continues to Christmas, and spring commences about the middle of February. The peach blossoms about the 1st of March, and the woods are green by the 10th of April.\(^5\)

Just above the falls of the Ohio River the mean temperature for January is 47° degrees, and for July, 80° degrees.\(^6\)

The milder climate of the southern and central region, along with the glacial deposits of rich soil, present ideal agriculture conditions. Virtually every kind of grain, grass, and fruit is raised: apples, cherries, peaches, along with wheat, corn, and tobacco to name only a few.\(^7\)

These physical characteristics of the Indiana country were significant influences in the early settlement of the

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\(^7\) Warden, loc. cit.
southern and central regions. The natural waterways, climate conditions, and the geographic topography of the Indiana country played a major role in the various life-styles which evolved during the cultural occupation by Indian tribes, the French priests, explorers and fur traders, the British, and the American pioneers who permanently settled and developed the country which became the state of Indiana.

The French In North America

The French influence in North America evolved from a variety of initial objectives, each occurring at different periods of time and in three geographic locations: Canada, the Atlantic coast colonies, and Louisiana and the Mississippi Valley.

The French Influence
In Canada

Canada was thought to offer the same vast mineral wealth Spain had discovered in South and Central America as well as a direct route to Cathay and the Far East. Attempts to explore this possibility began in the sixteenth century when Verrazano led the first official French expedition along the Atlantic coast northward from North Carolina to Newfoundland in 1524.14 In 1534 an expedition led by Cartier sailed inland up the St. Lawrence River as far as Montreal, where six years later the severe Canadian winters and the hostile Iroquois rendered

unsuccessful the first attempts at French colonization in the New World.\textsuperscript{15}

After several voyages of exploration in the St. Lawrence valley and unsuccessful attempts at colonization, French objectives for this new land began to change. Although it failed to offer the mineral wealth Spain had found along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, the land the Indians called Canada, despite its sometimes severe climate conditions, did offer a wealth of resources in the form of rich land, fishing, and fur, each of which could support colonization. This realization enabled France to maintain some influence in North America, as each spring French fishermen voyaged to fish the bountiful waters of the Grand Banks and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.\textsuperscript{16} The fur trade with the Indians had also developed considerable economic importance as the increased demand for furs in Europe led many French fishermen and fur traders to establish permanent residence in Canada.\textsuperscript{17}

Representative of the early French culture who elected to inhabit the New World and seek their fortune in the fur trade were for the most part a rugged, crude, uncivilized lot consisting of the lower class of French citizenry and

\textsuperscript{15}Howard Mumford Jones, \textit{American and French Culture; 1750-1848} (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1927), p. 78.


\textsuperscript{17}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 10-11.
oftentimes prisoners from the bastilles. Once in the wilderness it became necessary to develop sound survival skills such as hunting, fishing, and fighting, as well as the strength and stamina to handle a canoe during long voyages. These activities made them tough and proud of their physical prowess.  

Despite the hard life and the rugged characteristics of the French fur traders, they retained a need for the gay, carefree amusements of their cultural birth. These recreational needs were oftentimes fulfilled by the same survival skills necessary for sustaining daily life. Social gatherings sometimes lasting several days, especially during the long winter months, included the daily appointment of a "Chief Steward" responsible for providing fresh game for the marathon affair.

Dancing and gambling at card games were also enjoyed during these social functions. Playing cards were apparently in abundant supply among the early Canadian colonists. In the autumn of 1685, supplies and monetary funds for payment to the small garrison of troops at Quebec were months overdue. Jacques de Meulles overcame the cash problem by issuing paper money made from packs of playing cards. The sporting

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18 Eccles, France in America, p. 117.


20 Eccles, op. cit., p. 114.
skills of canoe racing and maneuvering were also popular pastimes among the early fur traders. By 1534 the Reformation had gained a substantial foothold in Europe, presenting still another purpose and direction for France in the New World. French citizens now embracing the Protestant religion looked toward the North American continent for religious freedom. By the close of the sixteenth century French Huguenots began immigrating to French land holdings along the St. Lawrence River.

Despite the presence of early fur traders, fisherman, and French Huguenots in Canada, France did not recognize her first permanent settlement until Quebec was firmly established in 1608. Permanent settlement brought with it the Jesuit movement to plant the Catholic faith and evangelize the savage Indian tribes in Canada. It also initiated a religious conflict between followers of the Catholic and Huguenot faith. The Huguenots had exhibited no desire to establish permanent settlements in New France, nor any attempt to convert the Indians to Christianity. Conversely, they placed


23 Jones, American and French Culture: 1750-1848, p. 78.

every obstacle in the path of their Catholic counterparts who sought to accomplish these ends, and it soon became obvious that the vast regions claimed by France were not large enough to contain both religions. 25

The French Influence In The Atlantic Coast Colonies

The Edict of Nantes, while it recognized and confirmed the Huguenots' civil and religious rights, greatly exasperated their enemies resulting in continuous immigration to North America. In a single year, 1687, some six hundred French Protestant refugees settled in the English colonies 26 from New York southward into Virginia and the Carolinas. 27

Available evidence does not indicate that the French cultural influence in the English colonies spread to Indiana in its pure state during the scope of this study. However, the French immigrants were seemingly quick to accept and engage in many of the English pastimes, and perhaps introduced a few recreational activities of their own. In virtually every area of their influence "the French had acquired the reputation for introducing dance, music, billiards, and the fabric of liquors, sweetmeats and savory patties." 28

26 Baird, History of Huguenot Emigration to America, p. 176.
27 Jones, American and French Culture; 1750-1848, p. 89.
28 Christian Jun Schultz, Travels on an Inland Voyage Through the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Through the Territories of Indiana, Louisiana,
The Huguenot immigration brought to the English colonies an era of upper class culture as many were "men of birth and breeding and of good estate in France; of a far higher average culture than the English and Dutch of New York." For a time the upper class breeding of the French refugees was a source of controversy among the colonists of English blood, reviving national antipathies and classifying them as aliens and foreigners legally entitled to none of the privileges and advantages of natural born British subjects. However, by 1700, the once heated friction had cooled.

In New York the French played an important role in giving shape to colonial society. "Socially," says Fosdick, "they were a most effective factor, tempering the tone of society, and in large measure creating it." The French manner of taking wine, a finicky regard for dress, elaborate verbal ceremony, an exaggerated respect for women, as well as an interest in music and the playhouse, the gaming table, and the dueling system soon became the vogue in the English colonies.

Mississippi and New-Orleans; Performed in the Years 1807 and 1808, II (New York: Printed By Isaac Riley, 1810), p. 178.


30 Ibid., pp. 327-328.

31 Ibid., pp. 222-223.

32 Jones, American and French Culture; 1750 to 1848, pp. 220-221.
and music was available from French dancing masters and musicians.33

In the southern colonies of Virginia and the Carolinas French colonists took pleasure in their own recreational activities of billiards, dueling, and the theater, and shared equally the English love for cockfighting and horse racing. The French were by nature lovers of the turf, and bred and raised horses for both sport and profit.34 In 1734 the first races with "blooded" stock were run in Charles Town with a saddle and bridle being awarded to the winners. In the years that followed prizes for various races increased in value ranging from silver punch bowls to elaborate embroidered waistcoats.35

In addition to these sporting loves among the southern colonists, reckless, high stakes gambling with cards in both French and English society was infectious.36 A French traveller to colonial Virginia gave further insight into the sporting practices of the French and English cultures in the

33 Jones, American and French Culture; 1750-1848, p. 223.


colonies, stating:

... while the management of the plantation is left in the hands of the overseer, the owner lounges at his ease, drinks, goes to the races, fights duels, ... supports the play-house, and goes abroad. The oldest and best French wines are imported, theatres are built; troupes of actors come to amuse society, to the scandal of New England. At the horse-races the cock-fighting persons appear and bet on the horses. 37

From this account it is evident that the English colonists eventually cast aside their antipathies toward French immigrants and shared in each others leisure and sporting practices.

The French Influence In Louisiana
And The Mississippi Valley

It could probably be said that the ground work for French colonization in the Mississippi Valley was laid by La Salle during his early exploration of the northern border of the Mississippi Basin in the mid-seventeenth century. Occupation of the Basin became a valuable asset to the fur trade in the Northwest and Canada, and enabled the French to deter, for a while, the westward expansion of the British and English colonists.

However, possession of the Mississippi Basin and actual occupation of Louisiana did not begin until Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville established a settlement at Bilocchy (Biloxi) in

From the beginning French colonizing efforts were hampered by the insufficient numbers of colonists. Only a sparse population, mostly fur traders and voyageurs, could be found in small posts scattered over the vast Mississippi Valley. In 1702 d'Iberville began planning occupation projects to encourage the immigration of French families to establish and colonize settlements along the lower Wabash, Ohio, and Natchez Rivers. However, his projects were formulated during a period of financial crisis in France, and were thought to be too expensive for the minister's approval.

In 1715 d'Iberville's projects were postponed.

The French people inhabiting the Mississippi Valley comprised a cultural mixture of Canadian fur traders, Jesuit missionaries, black slaves, military personnel, and perhaps what could be considered socially upper middle class citizens from France. Many of the socially prominent families elected to settle in Louisiana where they pursued their livelihood as planters. The immigration of Protestant Huguenots to Louisiana was not encouraged, thus preserving the Catholic faith in this newly inhabited region of the New World.

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39 Ibid., pp. 94-95.

40 The plan of d'Iberville to establish settlements along the Wabash River may well be the evidence some historians have cited to document the settlement of Vincennes in the early eighteenth century. (Ibid., p. 353.

41 Ibid., p. 163.
However, because King George III disallowed certain laws passed in the colonies conferring naturalization privileges, a few French Huguenots did immigrate from the New England colonies to Louisiana.\textsuperscript{42}

This cultural mix no doubt precipitated a variety of recreational activities. There were no kings or self-constituted magistrates to regulate manners and morals, or to enforce rules against idleness, as there had been in the Mother Country and the English colonies. In comparison, the liberal influence of the early French settlers in the Mississippi Valley far outweighed that of Puritan New England.

In the remote trading posts along the upper inland rivers the survival skills of hunting, fishing, canoeing, and sometimes brutal fighting were popular sporting pastimes. Although frontier life was lonely and hard, when the need for amusement and entertainment arose, it was satisfied with social gatherings where food, whiskey, gambling, and dancing were enjoyed by all.

Because of the cultural influence of the English colonies, it is highly possible that the Huguenots who immigrated to Louisiana from the eastern colonies brought with them a flavor of English sporting practices. However, no conclusive evidence was found.

Although gambling in some form appears always to have been a popular pastime among the French of all classes,

\textsuperscript{42}Lambert, \textit{History of French Louisiana}, p. 175.
Louisiana, and particularly New Orleans, was the North American point of entry for several more sophisticated games of chance. The game of Faro, once prohibited in France during the rule of Louis XIV, was again revived during the Regency of the Duke of Orleans and brought to Louisiana in the early eighteenth century. Poque, or Poker, was also of French origin and brought to New Orleans about the time of the American occupation.

Because of the French reputation for dancing, billiards, and music, the enjoyment of these activities is most likely to have existed in Louisiana and the Mississippi Basin. The Mississippi River and its tributaries provided a natural highway for bringing together a variety of French cultures and transporting their sports, games, and amusements throughout North America.

The English In North America

For a long time England took little interest in the new lands explored and claimed for her by John Cabot. But toward the close of the sixteenth century, as hostilities toward Spain increased, and Englishmen began to urge colonization,

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44 Ibid., pp. 21-22.

England awakened to the potential offered by the New World, and began taking a keen interest in western colonization.  

The first colonial charter was shared by two colonizing companies, the Virginia Company and the London Company, each of whom was granted exclusive rights to settle a narrow belt of land extending along the Atlantic coast from Cape Fear northward to the southern limits of Maryland, and from Maryland northward to Halifax, respectively. Any intermediate districts were open to the competition of both companies.

Despite earlier colonizing failures there, the coastal region that became Virginia remained the objective of England's early colonizing efforts, resulting in the first successful permanent settlement at Jamestown in 1607. For the duration of the seventeenth century British colonization rapidly spread throughout the Atlantic coastal regions that became the original thirteen American colonies.

Unlike the Spanish, the English colonists were not adventurers thirsting for gold and conquest, nor were they voyageurs, traders in fur, or priests intent on bringing Christianity to the Indians, like the French. Instead, Englishmen who established the first successful colonies each had very


48 Wright and Fowler, op. cit., p. 3.
different purposes. In 1607 the Virginia Company sent 120 colonists to Jamestown in search of quick fortunes. In 1620 the Pilgrims established in Plymouth, Massachusetts their own religious community based upon strong Puritan beliefs. Nevins and Commager identify the early colonists as being:

... drawn from the same large middle-class stratum...
The great majority of the emigrants to both Massachusetts and Virginia before 1660 were yeomen, mechanics, shopkeepers, and clerks of modest means; while many in all parts of America were indentured servants, who paid for their passage by a stated term of labor. Their real wealth lay in their sturdy integrity, self-reliance, and energy.⁴⁹

Although there was an eventual sprinkling of several immigrating cultures, by 1790 the English dominated the population of the eastern colonies.⁵⁰ Therefore, as people tend to be the natural carriers of culture, it is understandable that these new Americans established institutions as well as sporting patterns which reflected their heritage in the European countries.

In addition to the chiefly British influence in the New World, the narrow Atlantic coastal belt witnessed some influence from many non-British cultures during the period. Therefore, it is difficult to generalize about the cultural habits of the early colonists as being predominantly English. By


⁵⁰Even as late as 1790 English immigrants comprised 82.1 percent of the population of this country. (Hannibal Gerald Duncan, *Immigration and Assimilation*, New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1933, p. 479).
1664, the Dutch had founded New Netherland in the area of New York, and settled the lands along the Hudson and Upper Mohawk Valleys. A handful of Jews from a colony in Brazil arrived to settle the area around New Amsterdam in 1654, and by 1685 several hundred families of French Huguenots had made their way to the middle and southern colonies. Each of these cultural influences developed their own life-style and customs in accordance with geography, climate, and purpose of each new settlement. In this respect many of the sports and amusements followed a diverse pattern in each of the colonies.

The New England Colonies

In seventeenth century New England the dominant cultural influence was Puritan, with their religious self-discipline, detestation for idleness, and hard work in the service of God. The majority of Puritans were of England's lower social strata who had followed John Wycliff's (1324-1384) earlier defiance of political authority of the Roman Church and the Pope, and expressed a general dislike for high Churchism, along with "a deep-seated [sic] antagonism [sic] to the amusements, forms of worship, and the spirit and drift of the ruling class." From this struggle evolved a Puritanical


religious element, which, when combined with an off-shoot of Calvinism, sought the North American continent to pursue religious freedom.

An acute sense of self-discipline regulated almost every aspect of Puritanical life, including sport and amusement pastimes. Church attendance was compulsory on the sabbath and all forms of amusements forbidden. On all other days a long, hard full day's work was expected from everyone.

During the early period of the New England colonies, 1600's, there were few violations of the strict code of Puritanism, more specifically against sport and amusements. However, one incident was recorded on Christmas Day, 1621, when Governor Bradford discovered recent arrivals to Massachusetts "in ye Streets at play, openly; some pitching ye barr, and some at Stoole-ball, and shuch-like sports."\(^{53}\)

Bradford's account of sporting activities among the colonists is evidence that no matter how strict the discipline, human nature demands some form of recreational diversion. The Puritans fulfilled their recreational needs with social working activities. Training Days or Muster Days, Lecture Days, Election Days, and Work Bees provided occasions for worth while civic functions which were oftentimes accompanied by sporting contests, games, frolics, and balls.\(^{54}\)

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By the end of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, the constant influx of immigrants from England, a few French Huguenots, and other cultures tended to break down Puritanical exclusiveness. This outside influence had a significant effect on the recreational pastimes of all the New England colonists. So great was the influence that Sunday ordinances were passed, called "Blue Laws", banning football, sledding, gaming for money, stage plays, and horse racing.

Entering into the mid-eighteenth century, although still more sober than her neighboring colonies to the south and west, New Englanders as a whole exhibited little evidence of their former dedication to the "Puritanical" way of life. Never before had the lower and middle classes had so many forms of entertainment available to them. In Boston children played ball games on the commons in summer, and skated on its ponds in winter. Their parents found enjoyment in the numerous taverns where they engaged in various amusements ranging from stage shows and dancing, to card games, shilling, and throwing at cocks. In the less urbanized communities, hunting, fishing, and bowling on the green continued to be popular recreational diversions.

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55Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, p. 95.
56Spears and Swanson, History of Sport and Physical Activity in the United States, p. 45.
57Bridenbaugh, op. cit., p. 436.
58An extensive investigation into shilling and throwing at cocks failed to uncover further evidence about these
Despite the strong influence of strict Puritanical beliefs, there were available to the early New England colonists a variety of recreational activities. Those who chose to participate apparently rationalized their motives as morally sound.

The Middle-Atlantic Colonies

Although the early American population was of British origin, there were considerable areas in the colonies where alien accents and non-British blood were common. For many years while the English settled the coastal regions of Virginia and Massachusetts, waves of European immigrants of varying nationalities entered the North American continent, establishing colonies inland from the Atlantic seaboard. This mass migration brought an increased variety of cultural customs, making it difficult to distinguish a single clear-cut cultural picture even as late as 1820.\(^5^9\)

Seeking to practice the customs of their homeland, the Dutch settled in New York where only limited adaptation to the American climate and fertility of the soil was necessary for agricultural development of the Hudson and Lower Mohawk Valleys.\(^6^0\) In and around Albany, Dutch family names, habits, activities in relation to rules, playing procedures, etc. (Bridenbaugh, Cities in The Wilderness, pp. 116-117-279).


and customs continued unchanged as late as 1784.\textsuperscript{61} By 1760 a handful of Swedish families, who later made a slight impression on the western movement, settled along the Delaware River.\textsuperscript{62}

In Philadelphia the cultural influence was still greatly that of the earlier British experience. However, as early as 1716 the Quaker influence of German and English immigrants could be observed in the city,\textsuperscript{63} as well as the Susquehanna and Potomac River valleys.\textsuperscript{64} In the early eighteenth century the back country of Pennsylvania and New York had absorbed the migration of German and Scotch-Irish, as well as a large number of New England settlers.\textsuperscript{65}

The variety of cultural influences in the Mid-Atlantic colonies formed what was, perhaps, the first ingredients in the American melting pot. Although language and religious practices limited their association and socializing to people of their own kind, the cultural practices in the Middle States presented a broad likeness to those of their former


\textsuperscript{62}Paxson, \textit{History of the American Frontier}, p. 3.


\textsuperscript{64}Harlow Lindley, \textit{The Quakers in The Old Northwest} (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1912), p. 3.

\textsuperscript{65}Paxson, loc. cit.
homeland. As observed among the earlier cultural inhabitants in North America, manners and customs among the Middle colonists took on a class structure based on religious, economic, and educational principles.

Aside from the hunting and fishing activities necessary for survival, the cross cultures presented a variety of sporting pastimes. In New York the Dutch did not take life quite so seriously as did the English colonists. Although they, too, had to labor hard for a living, they seemingly found sufficient time for amusement and recreation. They gave amusements a large place in their scheme of life, and within a short time the sports and games of the Fatherland, especially bowls, nine pins, and dancing, were quite common in New Netherlands. The Dutch burghers thought nothing sinful about holidays, and often enjoyed horse racing or the barbarous sport of riding (or pulling) the goose.

The commercial expansion of Mid-Atlantic towns from 1690 to 1720 brought about a greater accumulation of wealth than had been witnessed by the seventeenth century. Wealthy New Yorkers amused themselves at boat racing, shooting matches, gouff (golf), battledores and shuttlecocks, cricket, and fives (a game similar to handball). Cockfighting and animal baiting had its devotees among the wealthy upper

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66 Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, p. 119.
67 Ibid., loc. cit.
classes as well as among the common people. 68

In Philadelphia it was not uncommon to observe young adults actively pursuing foot racing, riding, skating swimming, fishing and fowling, as these were recreations lawfully open to men. 69 Among those amusements of the Quaker faith, simple, innocent activities such as riding, swimming, and skating afforded pleasant outdoor sport. 70

In the back country, men engaged in work-type sports such as hunting, wrestling, felling trees, shooting matches, and house and barn raisings, each of which were to be repeated on the western frontier.

The Southern Colonies

The cultural influence in the southern colonies developed largely around the English gentry class, an English system of government, an agrarian economy, and the Anglican Church. The social order was a product of two conflicting forces, European ideas of class distinction and pioneer conditions that tended to produce a more democratic society.

In England land had always symbolized aristocracy. Whenever wealthy London merchants wanted to improve their social status, they often sought to purchase freeholds in

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69 Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, p. 278.

the country, or to marry their sons or daughters to country gentlemen who could assure their heirs of being landed proprietors. Although very few of the British immigrants who settled in the southern colonies were from aristocratic stock, those who eventually formed the upper planter class by acquiring sufficient Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina soil, made every effort to imitate the country families of England.

However, early in the colonial period there emerged a sharp cultural contrast between the gentry of Virginia and their counterparts in the Carolinas and other southern colonies. The Virginia gentry exhibited liberal ideals of the Enlightenment. "They were more educated, urban, philosophically minded and conscious of their responsibilities as natural aristocrats." It was not uncommon for prominent planters to send their off-springs to Europe to become educated in the manners of social culture and refinement.

In the southern colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, the planters "had little to do with ordinary farming or trade, with liberal theology, with radical politics, or with intellectual pursuits." Only a few old, established families

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72 Ibid.
75 Nye, op. cit., p. 115.
directed all phases of social, economic and political life. And, the moderate climate and slave labor enabled most of the planters to pursue a livelihood of leisure and social pleasure.

In North Carolina the Scottish Highlanders were the only large contingent to immigrate from their native home seeking the salubrious climate, fertile soil and a liberal form of government. They were men of wealth and merit, and once settled along the Atlantic coast became land owners and farmers. However, less than five percent belonged to an upper gentry class comparable to those found in Virginia and South Carolina. In 1730 Scotch-Irish, German, and English colonists poured into North Carolina's back country, chiefly from northern colonies in Pennsylvania. However, a few came from Maryland, Virginia, and New Jersey. During this same period, about 1730, Quakers from Pennsylvania migrated southward into the Shenandoah River Valley of Virginia. Shortly after 1760, Quakers from England and Ireland pushed still further southward across Virginia extending the Quaker influence into the Carolinas and as far south as Georgia.

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century two basic cultural orders were distinctive in the south. The Planter society, characterized by attention to upper class English

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77 Ibid., p. 78.

and European cultural models, acquisition of land, slavery, and largely Anglican in their religious practices, and the less powerful class of farmers and artisans of the Calvinist faith, with less attention to intellectual life and aristocratic cultural models.

Despite the cultural contrasts in the south, each class shared an enthusiasm for many of the same sports and amusements. The upper class gentry imitated the sports and social life of the country families of England, as every young southern gentleman was expected to excel in dancing, fencing, riding, and conversation. In North Carolina for example, planters engaged in square dancing and the minuet, and as early as 1737 a dancing master could be found in every little town.79

In South Carolina, Charleston was the center for social entertainment. "Plays, balls, and concerts enlivened the winter season, while the summers offered such diversions as horse races, cock-fights, and outdoor musical programs at the Orange Gardens."80 Perhaps the most popular pastime among all the southern cultures was the old English sport of cockfighting. It was not uncommon to witness such an event in the numerous taverns, or on the outskirts of town at virtually any time during the day or night. It brought

79LeFler and Newsome, The History of A Southern State, p. 120.
together men of all classes and afforded opportunities for wagers on the outcome. 81

Horse racing received equal devotion with only the amount of the wager distinguishing between the classes. In Virginia horse racing was the dominant amusement among the gentry. The horse was their pride and the race course their delight on Saturday afternoons and holidays. 82 Jane Carson described the seventeenth century race track as:

... a straight path about a quarter of a mile in length laid out in an abandoned field near a convenient gathering place - a church, a court house, or an ordinary (eating house) located at a cross-road. The narrow path, ten or twelve feet wide, had an open space at each end large enough for the horses to maneuver into position and pull up to a quick stop. The finish end of the track was customarily marked by upright stakes or poles, where the judges stood. 83

As early as 1788 fives and "Coits" (quoits) were popular among the Virginia planters. In Orange County, Virginia the court house steps provided ideal fives courts, while many taverns and inns provided their customers with a special area for the game of quoits. The sometimes dangerous sport of long bullets, the rolling or slinging of a heavy iron ball between a goal defended by two players, was practiced in the streets of Virginia as well as North Carolina towns. 84

81 Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, p. 23.
Of the southern colonies, perhaps early Marylanders reflected the greatest British influence in their leisure pursuits. Like their southern neighbors, horse racing was equally popular among Maryland cultures, in addition to cricket, and hunting with hounds. 85

The sporting activities among the remaining cultures of the south, Scotch-Irish and Germans, resembled those amusements popularized in the back country of the middle colonies from which they came. Their major activities were of the "rough-and-tumble" variety, fighting, hunting, and gambling on informal horse racing, foot racing, and cockfighting. Social gatherings combining the work sports of cornhusking, barn raising, and quilting parties with play activities were also popular pastimes. 86

These social practices combined with basic cultural institutions, economics, government, religion, and education, and were to form a composite of cultural patterns which eventually found their way westward to Indiana. The eastern colonies would serve as a reference point from which to draw social and cultural practices as England and other European countries had served for the early colonists. Due to the diverse life-style from which early cultures came to Indiana,


86 Lefler and Newsome, The History of A Southern State, p. 120.
and oftentimes as a result of the diversity they encountered there, they brought with them only those cultural practices which were of necessity and that could easily be adapted to their new environment. This study will attempt to tell the story of these practices, and in particular the sports, games, and amusements popular on the Indiana frontier.
PLATE I

INDIANA AS IT APPEARED TO THE FIRST EXPLORERS IN 1670 WITH LOCATION OF INDIAN TRIBES
PLATE II

INDIANA AS IT APPEARED TO THE WHITE MAN AFTER 1750 WITH LOCATION OF INDIAN TRIBES
INDIANA
AS IT APPEARED TO THE WHITE MAN
AFTER 1750
WITH LOCATION OF INDIAN TRIBES
CHAPTER III

THE INDIAN CULTURES
IN INDIANA

An accurate history of the Indian cultures which inhabited Indiana can scarcely be kept in geographical bounds, since the Indians were nomadic in their habits. In 1670, when the white man began to arrive in increasing numbers, Indiana actually had a very small Indian population. But the white man's continued westward advancement eventually forced many eastern tribes to take refuge in the Indiana country, further complicating the historical study of the cultural habits of the tribes considered native to Indiana.

Archaeological evidence indicates that Indian cultures inhabited Indiana thousands of years prior to the white man's appearance beginning with the prehistoric mound builders as early as 4,000 B.C. However, during the period under investigation there were principally seven tribes associated with the state named for the Redman, "Indiana", land of the Indian. These tribes included the Miamis, which were the most prominent, the Delawares, Potawatomis, Piankashaws,

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Kickapoos, Wyandots, and the Shawnees.\(^3\) In addition, several offshoots of the principal tribes inhabited the state, the more noted ones being the Eel Rivers, and the Weas, each of which was a branch of the Miami tribe.\(^4\)

Despite differing cultural titles, the Indiana tribes were largely members of the Algonquian-speaking group, each of whom shared many customs and characteristics.\(^5\) Therefore, for the purpose of this study, and the simplification of investigating the recreational habits among the Indian cultures of Indiana, hereinafter these Indian tribes will be referred to as the Indiana Algonquians.\(^6\)


\(^4\)Erminie Voegelin, Emily J. Blasingham, and Dorothy R. Libby, *Miami, Wea, and Eel River Indians of Southern Indiana* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974), pp. 1, 151; Having been the first to arrive in Indiana, the Miamis, Weas, Eel Rivers, and Piankashaws are often considered native to the state. The Delaware, Shawnee, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, and Wyandot began entering the Indiana country on a permanent basis during the mid 1700's, bringing the total population of Indians in the Indiana Territory to perhaps 100,000 by 1790; (C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians, A History*, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972, p. 52).

\(^5\)Wilson, *Indiana, A History*, p. 27.

\(^6\)It is recognized that overgeneralization can be a danger when consolidating respective tribal customs into single cultural patterns. However, in a study of the Illinois tribes, Alvord suggested that while the customs among tribes may have differed to some degree, their fundamental similarities provided general data warranting one tribal classification known as the Illinois. Because the principal tribes which inhabited the Indiana country were of Algonquian stock, it was felt that Alvord's rationale for classification is applicable to the Indian tribes of Indiana; (Clarence W. Alvord, *The Centennial History of Illinois*, I, Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1920, p. 39).
This phase of the study will be an attempt to establish the cultural conditions and practices of the Indiana Algonquians as they existed among native tribes and those which later migrated to Indiana. The data are largely organized as answers to the postulated sub-problems presented in the introduction of this study. While attempting to answer these questions, it is recognized that a precise cultural analysis of the customs and habits of the Indians who inhabited Indiana before the coming of the white man is extremely difficult. However, since there were Indian cultures present in the Indiana country from the outset of the white man's exploration and eventual settlement, some attempt must be made to identify Indian practices and determine the possible influences the cultural patterns of the white explorers, fur traders, and settlers had on them.

Because of the migratory characteristics of the Algonquian tribes, portions of these data collected pertaining to the Indian cultures in Indiana during the period of this study were taken from sources compiled during their inhabitation of other geographic areas in North America. Therefore, the assumption was made that as various Algonquian tribes migrated to the Indiana country, they brought with them their cultural customs and habits. Perhaps some of the best accounts of Indian cultural patterns can be found in the diaries and journals of the early French explorers, the
Jesuit priests, and the travel accounts of Nicolas Perrot.

The Indian cultures which came to inhabit Indiana were a proud people whose resistance to the invading white man had reduced their numbers to small bands scattered throughout unfamiliar wilderness. The infinite numbers of the white man along with their advanced technological practices, continued to lead to Indian undoing, destroying their livelihood and occupying their lands. In addition to technology and strength in numbers, the vices of the whites were equally prevalent with even greater disastrous results. In whiskey the frontiersman, fur trader, and even later settlers, had a cheap commodity for which the unsuspecting Indian would pay a high price. The price was his highly valued furs, and upon becoming intoxicated, he would barter all his possessions, including making his mark on any paper or treaty for his lands. Whatever personal morality the Indian possessed was destroyed by the white man's lust and easy access to Indian women.

8Although the Jesuit Relations present accounts of Indian and French cultures throughout Canada and the Northwest Territory, volumes LV through LXXI contain the most data pertaining to those tribes who inhabited the lower Great Lakes region, Indiana, and the Mississippi Valley; (Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents; Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791, Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1897).


"Sexual disease spread quickly and inevitably through the tribes within a few years after each one was brought into contact with the border." ¹¹

But before the gradual deterioration inflicted by the white man, those tribes who became the Indiana Algonquians were a proud people with strong religious and moral practices, and a highly disciplined life-style. Elmore Barce described the early tribal inhabitants of the Indiana country stating:

The Indian, before corrupted by the whiteman, was a man of majestic structure, both as to physique and morals. The fermentation and distillation of liquors were wholly unknown to him - the introduction of venereal disorders was the work of the whiteman. They (Indians) rarely suffered from ill-health, had square shoulders, sound teeth, and clear skin, and seemingly exempt from many of those diseases brought about by a luxury and pampered ease. The free, open, hard life of the rivers and the forest and plain gave birth to a creature who despised licentiousness and indulgence as something inimical to his physical prowess and his fitness for the chase. The undisputed fact remains that he was moral, clean, shunning all those corroding influences which tended to impair his usefulness or enervate his arm. ¹²

With these characteristics in mind, let us investigate further the cultural practices of the Indiana Algonquians.

**Economic and Occupational Practices**

As is characteristic of every society, the Indiana Algonquians had established patterns for satisfying basic economic


necessities. These patterns were divided into those needs of the first order, food, clothing and shelter, and those material goods acquired to satisfy individual and/or tribal prestige and esteem. The material goods most prized by the tribes before and during the time of their earliest contacts with the white man consisted of the primary order of food stuffs, roots, nuts, corn, fruits, and fresh meat.\textsuperscript{13} The secondary order of goods consisted of kettles, hatchets, skins of deer and beaver fur, blankets, occasionally guns, slaves, and warm, comfortable cabins.\textsuperscript{14} In addition to sustenance of life, each of these items were used as barter in the acquisition of wives and the appeasement of avengers.\textsuperscript{15}

However, with the arrival of the first French missionaries and explorers, the Indiana Algonquians began to upgrade their somewhat prehistoric life-style. As Glenn A. Black, one of Indiana's most distinguished archaeologists, has written, "when the Indian maintained contact with whites

\textsuperscript{13}Blair, The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley, pp. 118-119.

\textsuperscript{14}The Algonquian tribes, as well as other eastern woodland Indian cultures, lived in dwellings constructed from a wooden framework and covered with large sheets of tree bark. These dwellings were often referred to as cabins or lodges by the white man. In this study the homes of the Indiana Algonquians will be referred to as cabins.

for very long, he ceased to live an aboriginal life."  

Black's theory finds support as by 1760 many of the Indiana tribes had become modernized and quite prosperous due to the French influence. Many wore clothes made from European cloth at least part of the time, while ready made French clothing had prestige value and was worn for show on top of the native clothing made from animal skins. The women enjoyed the luxury of cooking with iron kettles, preparing foods with steel knives and utensils, and sewing with needles and thread. The men discarded their traditional war clubs for guns, steel knives, iron hatchets, axes, and hoes. Such modernization necessitated less time for clearing land for new fields, building dugouts and boats, erecting cabins, and the hunting and preparing of meat.

In order to achieve these basic needs, food, shelter, etc., with or without the French influence, the tribes developed a relatively simple, but rather permanent economic organization which organized every tribal member into an efficient division of labor.


The women were extremely laborious as to them fell the responsibility of providing all the staples of the diet, with the exception of meat, the construction and care of the cabins, and the preparation of skins and pelts for the family's clothing. The meat, provided by the husband, was left at the cabin door to be carried inside and prepared for cooking.\(^{19}\)

The soil and climate conditions of the Indiana country was conducive to abundant growth of wild fruits, roots, and nuts and berries which would, when accompanied with wild game from the forest, have sustained life with little effort.\(^{20}\) However, the Indiana Algonquians were not content to subsist entirely on nature's wilderness resources. The women accepted the duties of planting and harvesting an annual crop of which seemingly served to more than merely subsidize a primary need for food. The spring planting and fall harvest were celebrated in elaborate ritual with ceremonies such as the "Dance of the Green Corn," a special ceremony sacrificing the first grains of the harvest in thanksgiving.\(^{21}\)

\(^{19}\)Blair, The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley, pp. 75-76.


\(^{21}\)The ceremony of the "Green Corn" and the sacrifice of the first grains of the harvest was one of the many festivals of the Miami and Delaware tribes. The celebrations included a large feast, dancing, including the "Green Corn" dance, and games and contests of various types; (History of Knox and Daviess Counties Indiana, Chicago: The Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1886, p. 14).
Corn, although cared for by the women, served as a highly complex component that helped to regulate and standardize the behavior of the whole tribe. It was a regulator of time as it required other seasonal tasks to be carried out in preparation for the planting and harvest.\textsuperscript{22}

The major economic role of the men was that of providing meat for his family. This included game from the forests as well as fish from the rivers and streams. To fulfill this responsibility there were numerous sub-tasks to which the men directed their attention. Time was spent in the development of hunting and fishing skills, the preparation and maintenance of weapons, locating the game, and the organization and preparation of the hunting party. Additional economic obligations among many of the Indiana Algonquian men included procuring wooden poles suitable for building cabins. Those men who possessed the necessary skill also made canoes.\textsuperscript{23}

The attainment of material goods beyond the satisfaction of primary needs, that is, individual and/or tribal esteem,

\textsuperscript{22}Although the women planted and harvested the corn, the men of most tribes, especially after contact with the white man, cleared the fields, prepared and maintained planting and harvest implements, and shared in the ceremonies. The children sometimes assisted in the planting and harvest.

\textsuperscript{23}The construction of a canoe involved stripping hickory bark from a log in one piece, about ten feet in length, and sewing the ends with filaments of bark. The sides were reinforced with ribs of wood sewed in place. Those men highly skilled in canoe making could complete one in a couple of hours; (Shirley S. McCord, com., \textit{Travel Accounts of Indiana, 1679-1961}, Indiana Historical Collections, XLVII, Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1970), p. 113.
was dependent upon trade and/or war. Of trading, as previously alluded to, the increased contact with the white man and his possessions enabled tribes to establish a more complex system of economic gain which gradually supplemented the more militant means of achieving greater wealth and economic supremacy. However, among primitives, making war was an accepted cultural practice among the men, and before contact with the white man, served as a means of acquiring possessions in the form of loot or slaves.  

Although material goods were often acquired through war, it is difficult to determine if the need for esteem was the motivation for war. The many years of war with the Iroquois nation were seemingly rooted in disputes over land and its occupancy rights. These wars also depleted their ranks and caused hardship indicating that they probably did not participate in war for the mere purpose of individual and/or tribal esteem. Upon contact with the French the majority of Indiana tribes were content with trading as a means of acquiring material gain. Thus, the practice of war would seem to be of decreased importance in the attainment of economic wealth among the Indiana Algonquians.


25 The depletion of ranks was especially true among the Miami tribes who were driven from Indiana and surrounding areas into Wisconsin by the Iroquois in the early 1600's; (Logan Esarey, A History of Indiana from its Exploration to 1850, Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart Company, 1915, pp. 10-11).
Policies of Community and Family Life

The community and family life of the Indiana Algonquians was based on a strong blood relationship with the main tribe. Each nation, Miami, Delaware, Potawatomi, etc., was divided into clans identified by animal totems, Bear, Turtle, Wolf, etc., for the purpose of keeping the race clean and pure. Each clan had its own village headed by one or more chiefs, depending on the size of the village, usually an older male who had distinguished himself in some act of bravery during the hunt or at war. To the head of the clan fell the responsibility of keeping his subjects in order. However, his influence seldom extended beyond those members of his own village.

Maintaining discipline was a necessary element in the total organizational concept of the clan. Not only did it unite the clan for the purpose of strength and protection, it also helped to preserve the family unit, a cultural element highly regarded among the Indiana Algonquians. The practice of polygamy was universally accepted depending upon wealth and tribal status. A man was permitted as many wives

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as he pleased, each bearing his off-spring. However, the average number of children borne by each wife which reached adult life scarcely exceeded two. Each wife and the whole of his descendants constituted the nucleus of his primary group, and received equally his protection.

Family loyalties were not restricted to the husband's immediate family. It was not uncommon in the event of his death or physical impairment for his brother(s) or sister(s) to assume or see to the fulfillment of his family obligations. If the wife of the deceased should remarry or to be escorted within a year of her husband's death, she would suffer disgrace and even torture at the hands of his relatives.

These cultural practices served to strengthen the blood kinship, maintaining the organization and function of the family and clan as an extension of the primary group, the tribe.

Although the Indiana Algonquians exhibited a high regard for the family unit and its preservation, they did not always agree with a chief's or council's governing policies. Governing policy among the Indiana tribes was based on powerful tribal law established to ensure conformity as a means of protecting the entire nation. However, the vision of these


29 Harrison, A Discourse on the Aborigines of the Ohio Valley, p. 89.

governmental policies was oftentimes short-sighted as many were formed from prejudices, taboos, religious ritual, and outdated social customs passed on from previous generations.

Tribal government was essentially divided into two levels, the family level and the clan level. Each level was operated in a democratic manner. Issues at the family level were decided by a family council consisting of men who had proven themselves worthy by exhibiting successful feats as a hunter or warrior. Issues at the clan level were resolved by a council made up of the heads of each family along with the clan's chief or chiefs. Although democratic, the council process was also highly individualistic. Because men only became family heads upon their achievements in hunting and war, and clan chiefs only after repeated acts of bravery and heroism, council meetings for selection of new members sometimes erupted in heated arguments as each perspective member perceived his own self-concept as being higher than others. Final selections of new members were made by the reigning council members.

The carrying out of council decisions was somewhat difficult as most tribal members did not know what it meant to obey. Therefore, to maintain order and respect for authority it was often necessary for a chief to entreat the members of his clan to follow his will. Perrot observed this

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31Harrison, A Discourse on the Aborigines of the Ohio Valley, p. 87.
characteristic among Algonquian tribes and stated:

The father does not venture to exercise authority over his son, nor does the chief dare to give commands to his soldiers — he will mildly entreat; and if any one is stubborn in regard to some (proposed) movement, it is necessary to flatter him in order to dissuade him, otherwise he will go further (in his opposition). If the chiefs possess some influence over them, it is only through the liberal presents and the feasts which they give to their men, and here is the reason which induces them to pay respect to their chiefs; for it is characteristic of the savage always to incline to the side of those who give them most and who flatter them most.32

When inducements were unsuccessful, the chief resorted to persecution supported by tribal law and the religious punishment by the supernatural to ensure the best interests of the clan.33

Educational and Religious Practices

The education of Indian youth has often been characterized as informal and lacking in systematic methods and principals. But despite its informal approach, descriptions of the teaching of Indian children among Indiana tribes show that they were well educated as to the functions related to tribal economic and political goals, and to fulfill their place in the society of which they were members.34 It was

32 Blair, The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley, p. 145.

33 Harrison, A Discourse on the Aborigines of the Ohio Valley, p. 87.

34 Kinietz, Delaware Cultures Chronology, p. 45.
toward this end that all Indiana Algonquian children were educated.

Both the male and female child were nurtured in such a manner as to best prepare them to endure the greatest hardships of life. They were compelled to bathe their bodies in cold water daily, and fast for certain periods of time depending on their age. A considerable amount of instruction was conveyed by example and explanation incidental to actual practices by the parents or other elders, and by the relation of stories and myths. The child then learned by imitation and was rarely punished or criticized for mistakes, usually allowed to experience the consequences of a sometimes fatal error. The educative value of play was recognized and games were encouraged as preparation for adult life.

Young boys were given as toys models of implements they would use in later life in the practice of hunting and war. For example, at approximately age nine or ten a boy was given a small bow with straws for arrows with which he would play at hunting small game. As he grew up and became more highly skilled in its use, the size and effectiveness of the weapons were increased until his hunting, trapping and fishing skills

35 Harrison, A Discourse on the Aborigines of the Ohio Valley, p. 87.

36 Kinietz, Delaware Cultures Chronology, p. 46.

37 Virtually every North American Indian tribe utilized some type of play activities during some phase of the child's educational process; (Nathan Miller, The Child in Primitive Society, New York: Brentano's, 1928, p. 149).
were of the most proficient in the forest.  

The educational practices of young girls were patterned around the daily routine of their mothers. Girls helped their mothers in the fields, hoeing the ground, and planting and harvesting the corn. At an early age they were given dolls to develop their maternal instincts, and instruction in the fundamentals of making baskets and pots. Thus, it can be determined that the educational methods of teaching the Indiana Algonquian children, even when incorporated with the element of play, were largely directed toward the future welfare of the clan.

Many of the religious practices of the Indiana Algonquians sought to comfort them from superstitious fears which they could not understand. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Indian tribes of the Indiana country had conceptualized a supreme being often referred to as "The Great Spirit." This religious concept developed in part from previous contact with whites in general, and Jesuit priests and missionaries in particular, before their migration to Indiana. But despite their approach to the Christian concept

40Kinietz, Delaware Cultures Chronology, p. 46.
41The mission of the Jesuit priests was to civilize and Christianize the Indian cultures they encountered in North America. Other religious denominations influenced the Indian
of one God, most tribes during the early period in Indiana retained their non-Christian beliefs in sacrifice, myths, and evil spirits. They employed medicine men and ritualistic ceremony as a mediator to grant individualistic favors and assistance, to appease the spirits, and to ensure a peaceful, secure existence.

Such ritualistic ceremony served to fulfill social needs as well as those of worship. Religious ceremonies often lasted two to three weeks, and were filled with feasting, dancing, and low organization games. Dancing was the major activity at religious gatherings and was the medium through which they worshiped their God and asked for favors. So significant was the role of dance in their social and religious scheme, the dancing grounds were considered sacred. Near the dance ground some tribes erected a large dance hall constructed from poles and bark where they could continue

tribes in Indiana, more notably the Moravian Church who established the Moravian Mission among the Delawares on the White River in 1799; (Lawrence Henry Gipson, ed., The Moravian Indian Mission on White River, Indiana Historical Collections, XXIII, Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1938).

42 Pease and Werner reported that the Miami tribe seemingly had no religion, while other tribes worshiped the buffalo, the bear and other animals as their manitou; (Pease and Werner, The French Foundations, p. 363).


44 Blair, The Indiana Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley, p. 291.
their dancing in the event storms or heavy rains interfered with the outdoor program.45

Despite the Indiana tribe's strong paganistic religious practices, the priests and missionaries enjoyed some success converting tribe members to Christianity. However, by the close of the eighteenth century, the white influence in the Indiana country had helped precipitate a religious revival of old ways as a means to unite the tribes and mount a final defense of their lands.46

In the religious practices of the Indiana Algonquians there seemingly emerged an element of individualism, as well as the concern for the tribe, which had appeared in each of their cultural institutions. Despite their Christian belief in a supreme being and the welfare of the tribe, on a whole, their religious practices were almost pragmatic with little or no concern for the moral question of right or wrong.

45 Of the Indian tribes in Indiana constructing dance hall facilities, the Delaware are perhaps the best known. They constructed a large building for their "Big House Ceremony," a ceremony of worship and dance celebrated indoors. For full details and description of the "Big House Ceremony" see; (Frank G. Speck, A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, II, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1931).

46 Neolin of the Delaware, Wangomen of the Munsie, and Tecumseh of the Shawnee were three prophets who preached revival of their state of living before the coming of the white man; (C. A. Weslager, The Delaware Indian Westward Migration, Wallingford, Pennsylvania: The Middle Atlantic Press, 1978, p. 61).
Recreation and Leisure Practices

For the researcher, the investigation of any human culture from an earlier time is often obstructed by variables which make difficult the determination of precise happenings. Cultural practices sometimes overlap or are extensions of other events or activities. When a situation of this nature occurs data can only be gathered, evaluated, and a value judgment derived by the researcher. For example, leisure activity is somewhat difficult to measure in that much of it is intangible, and because it closely parallels the cultural practices of work. Thus, it could be argued that each is dependent upon the other for its existence. If this theory is accepted, an exact measurement of leisure and work could easily be assessed based on the amount of time spent engaged in each. However, with this premise further difficulty arises in that both leisure and work contain the variables of motive and value for each participant. A work related activity for one person may be a leisure activity for another.

The recreation and leisure practices, sport, games, and amusements, of the Indiana Algonquians fall into just such an overlapping classification. Keeping in mind the survival conditions in the Indiana country during the period under investigation, among the Indiana Algonquian men, the skill development necessary for hunting and war may have been an easy task for many young braves, thus, providing a certain amount of pleasure and ensuring plenty of game for their
families. At the other extreme, for the young brave who was not as adept at such skills, practice became work and presented a threat to self esteem and possible starvation for his family. Therefore, it would appear that leisure activities among the Indiana tribes were functionally related. Further support for this premise is presented by Edward Gross who indicated that if measurable leisure really existed in a culture it would be functionally related to the work institutions that benefited the whole culture.47 Gross' concept was evident among each member of the Indiana tribes from an early age as part of their education and developmental process. The young men and women played at developing their future work related responsibilities. And, through their play, developed a value system of those characteristics of courage, physical prowess, and the necessary skills to achieve personal success and enjoyment.

Among the Indiana Algonquians the amount of leisure time available was seasonal, but seemingly in abundance for both the women and men. Despite the laborious responsibilities of the women, much of their time was passed in idleness. This was true not only on a daily basis, but also of certain seasons of the year. Although she was burdened with numerous chores, once they were completed she had little to do. For

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example, once the cabin was organized with all the belongings in place, they were rarely changed. When the skins had been dressed and clothing made from them, it was worn until it was worn out. The periods of time while the husband was away on the hunt were also filled with leisure. It was only when he returned that a fire had to be made, water carried, meals prepared, skins dressed, etc. The period between the planting and harvesting of the corn was also filled with leisure time.

Among the men, when their responsibility for providing game and protection of the clan was completed, the remaining time was spent in gaming, dance, and singing. Contact with the white man and acquisition of his European made goods further increased the amount of time available for the leisure activities of games and dance. By the early 1800's many of the Indiana tribes had developed a semi-sedentary lifestyle and often spent their time engaged in drinking and games of chance.

Among the Indiana tribes the leisure activities engaged in, dance, games, were ritualistic in nature and were

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48 Schoolcraft, The Red Race of America, p. 75.
oftentimes an extension symbolic of their religious ceremonies. Perhaps a possible explanation for this carry-over relationship between leisure and religious practices was presented in a report by Stewart Culin to the Bureau of American Ethnology. In the report Culin stated that:

References to games are of common occurrence in the origin myths of various tribes. They usually consist of a description of a series of contests in which the demiurge, the first man, the culture hero, overcomes some opponent, a foe of the human race, by exercise of superior cunning, skill, or magic. Comparison of these myths not only reveal their practical unity, but disclose the primal gamblers as those curious children, the divine Twins, the miraculous off-spring of the Sun, who are the principal personages in many Indian mythologies... Always contending, they are the original patrons of play, and their games are now played by men.52

Culin also observed in his report that:

In general, games appear to be played ceremonially, as pleasing to the gods, with the object of securing fertility, causing rain, giving and prolonging life, expelling demons, or curing sickness.53

This observation indicates the origin of games among the tribes as being for religious purposes. In this respect games might be regarded as:

an experiment in which the dramatization of war, the chase, agriculture, the magical rites that secured success over the enemy, the reproduction of animals and the fertilization of corn, is performed in order to discover the probable outcome of human effort,


53 Ibid., p. 34.
representing a desire to secure the guidance of the natural powers by which humanity was assumed to be dominated.54

Perhaps this observation would suggest a belief in predestined fate. And, perhaps the belief in such fate sparked the desire to test the outcome of human effort against it, and prompted their passionate fondness for games as a part of their life-style. Culin's research showed that a well-marked affinity existed in American Indian games, even among the widely separated tribes. Any variations seemed to be more in the materials employed, due to environment, than in the object or method of play.55 The games of the American Indians were divided into two general classes; games of chance and games of dexterity. The games of chance fall into two categories; those games in which implements such as dice are thrown at random to determine a number or numbers, and the sum of the counts kept by means of marks, sticks, or pebbles. The second category allows one or more players to guess in which of two or more places an odd or particularly marked lot is concealed with the success or failure resulting in the gain or loss of counters.56

The games requiring dexterity fall into four categories ranging from games of high organization requiring a high degree of skill development, to game type activities of low

55 Ibid., p. 31.
56 Ibid., loc. cit.
organization requiring lesser skill development. These categories included shooting type activities with the bow and arrow, either at live game or at moving or fixed targets, ball type games in highly specialized forms, ball games in a lesser specialized form, and racing game activities.\textsuperscript{57}

The data gathered pertaining to the games and recreational activities of the Indiana Algonquians indicates the same organizational structure. However, for the purpose of this study the aforementioned structure of games of chance and dexterity were further broken down into three classifications; sport, which included games of high organization requiring a high degree of physical skill; games, those activities of lower organization and upon which the outcome is dependent upon chance; and amusements, which included dance, music and storytelling.

**Sport, Games, and Amusement**
**Practices of the Indiana Algonquians**

It is important here to keep in mind the definition of sport, games, and amusements which was developed for this study. Sport was defined as "any vigorous activity requiring skill and/or physical prowess, and often of a competitive nature."\textsuperscript{58} However, in attempting an analysis of the sporting


\textsuperscript{58}See Chapter I, pages 14-15.
practices of the Indiana Algonquians, it became evident that certain work skills such as shooting, hunting, and fishing might also fall into a classification of sport skills. In keeping with the intent of the original definition of sport, it is necessary to illustrate its relationship to work activities.

Sport In Work

The efficient use of vigorous activity, quickness, agility, and physical prowess was of vital importance for the survival of the Indiana tribes. Sylvester Rowe, a hunter and trapper in the Indiana country described the methods employed by the Indians in hunting game when he observed on a hot August day:

... an Indian boy, or youth, sixteen or eighteen years old, who, bow and arrow in hand, was creeping towards a duck that sat quite still on the water at the edge of the pond. There was ugly black mud all over the marsh, and into this the Indian's feet sank deep at each stealthy step. He was stooping very low in order that the grass might hid his movements, and he scarcely seemed to shake the stems and blades as he glided noiselessly along. Evidently the duck was quite unsuspicious of danger. Nearer and nearer the archer crept, until the coveted game was but ten to fifteen yards distant; then, drawing his arrow to the head, he let drive, hitting the duck through the body at the butts of the wings and killing it almost instantly. Now the whole manner of the young savage changed in a second. He bounded forward, seized his victim, and then ran away with it at full speed, until lost to view in the dark wood beyond the marsh.59

In Rowe's account can easily be seen the sport-like skills necessary for the laborious task of hunting as well as sport-game activities.

**Sport In Games**

In addition to those sporting skills required for work in which individuals tested themselves against nature, the Indiana tribes participated in certain highly organized, competitive activities which pitted clan against clan, tribe against tribe, and even men against women. The most noteworthy of these activities were the Indian ball games. The tribes had several kinds of ball games in which they took delight. They were so addicted to these that it was not uncommon for them to give up food and drink, not only to participate, but to watch the game. Those who watched often wagered among themselves on the outcome.

Perhaps the most popular of the ball games among all the tribes in the Indiana country was a form of football. An explicit account of Indian football was given by Jacob Burnet who was entertained with the game by Delaware chief, Bu-hon-ge-he-las while on his way from Cincinnati to Detroit in 1796. Burnet stated:

> In the course of the afternoon he got up a game of football, for the amusement of his guest, in the true aboriginal style. He selected two young men to

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60 The data collected showed that the same game of football, with only slight variations, was played by the Miami, Delaware, Shawnee, and Potawatomi tribes.
get a purse of trinkets made up, to be the reward of the successful party. That matter was soon accomplished, and the whole village, male and female, in their best attire, were on the lawn; which was a beautiful plain of four or five acres, in the center of the village, thickly set in blue grass. At each of the opposite extremes of this lawn, two stakes were set up about six feet apart.

The men played against the women; and to countervail the superiority of their strength, it was a rule of the game that they were not to touch the ball with their hands on the penalty of forfeiting the purse; while the females had the privilege of using their hands as well as their feet; they were allowed to pick up the ball and run and throw it as far as their strength and activity would permit. When a squaw succeeded in getting the ball, the men were allowed to seize - whirl her round, and if necessary, throw her on the grass for the purpose of disengaging the ball - taking care not to touch it except with the feet.

The contending parties arranged themselves in the center of the lawn - the men on one side and the women on the other - each party facing the goal of their opponents. The side which succeeded in driving the ball through the stakes, at the goal of their adversaries, were proclaimed victors, and received the purse, to be divided among them.

The contest continued about an hour, with great animation and various prospects of success; but was finally decided in favor of the fair sex, by the herculean strength of a mammoth squaw, who got the ball and held it, in spite of the efforts of the men to shake it from the grasp of her uplifted hand, till she approached the goal, near enough to throw it through the stakes. 61

The score in the game was kept by an elderly man who removed one of twelve small sticks about two or three inches in length that lay in a pile on the ground before him. Each time the ball was kicked or carried between the goalposts, a twig from the pile was placed in a row for either the men or

the women. When the twelve twigs were used up, the game was declared over, with the side having the most twigs the winner. In the event of a tie play continued until the deciding point was scored. At the game’s end, rewards were collected from the spectators for the players of merit, not necessarily the winner.

Indian ball games were played in fixed seasons, often-times as the accompaniment of certain festivals or religious rites. Among the Indiana tribes, football began in the spring with play continuing through the middle of June. It was considered wrong to continue play after this date. In mid June, upon completion of the final game, an old lady cut open the ball in ceremonious fashion. As the deer hair stuffing fell to the ground, she prayed, thanking the Creator for allowing the people to live and play, and asking that He permit them to live and play in the future. The deer-hide cover was then given to a worthy player to be kept until the following season, when once again it was stuffed and made ready for play. Apparently however, some tribes continued to play during the whole summer season as the enthusiasm was so

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65 Weslager, loc. cit.
great that games were often played at the expense of economic needs. 66

The ball game of crosse was played by some of the Indiana Indians. 67 The game derived its French name from the design of the playing implements which were made from sticks crossed at one end with a flat, leather netting. The playing field consisted of a large, open rectangular area with goals marked by posts on two opposing sides. The object of the game was to catch and pass a wooden, egg size ball with the netted implement through the opponent's goalpost. The size of the teams was quite large, ranging from twenty to several hundred players. The only rule was that each side be equal in number. There were no referees and often games became very physical, almost violent, resulting in injury. A match was completed when one team had scored two goals. 68

During his travels Nicolas Perrot observed a game of crosse being played as entertainment of a Miami chief:

More than two thousand persons assembled in a great plain, each with his racket; and a wooden ball was thrown into the air. Then all that could be seen was the flourishes and motions through the air

66 The Shawnee played football so much they neglected their crops and to hunt for food; (Kinietz, Delaware Culture Chronology, p. 71.

67 The game of crosse had the same basic characteristics as the modern game of Lacrosse. Among the Indiana tribes it appears to have been played most frequently by the Miami and Potawatomi tribes. Evidence is conflicting as to whether the Delaware engaged in the sport.

of all those rackets, which made a noise like that of weapons which is heard in a battle. Half of all those savages endeavored to send the ball in the direction of the northwest, the length of the plain, and the others tried to make it (ball) go to the southeast; the strife, which lasted half an hour, was doubtful. Games of this sort are usually followed by broken heads, arms, and legs; and often persons are killed therein without any other injury occurring to them.69

The playing of crosse usually began in the spring after the melting of winter's ice and snow, and continued at least until "seed-time" in the fall. Games began in the afternoon as players painted with vermilion and decked out with ornaments made their way to the playing field. Each team had its leader who announced to his players the hour the competition was to begin.70 Like football, the game of crosse attracted many spectators, many of whom placed wagers on the outcome.

Among some of the tribes a ball game with similar characteristics to present day field hockey enjoyed some popularity. During his travels in 1810, Christian Schultz reported that:

After their business was settled, they formed themselves into parties at ball-playing... Their manner of ball-playing is very similar to what you have seen by the name of hirley; a word often substituted for shinny but, instead of the curved stick used on that occasion, they have a long curved racket, strung with deer sinews, with which they can strike the ball to an astonishing distance. Whenever the ball was lodged among the crowd of

69 Blair, The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley, p. 345.
70 Ibid., p. 94.
players, you would have supposed there was a bloody battle going on, as everyone struck pell-mell together with their rackets not in the least heeding whom he knocked in the head...71

The penchant for gambling at sporting events among the Indiana tribes extended beyond football and crosse. One of these events was footracing. Footraces were oftentimes massive events with as many as 1,500 participants in a single race. The course was laid out over a specially marked route, usually half a league in length (approximately one and a half miles). All the contestants were started at the same time with considerable jostling for position. Races were occasionally held near white settlements, resulting in frequent wagering between the white settlers and Indians as to the winner. The wagers usually consisted of furs put up by the Indians against the trade goods of the white man.72

The sporting practice of wrestling was enjoyed by older boys, approximately sixteen to twenty years of age. Matches took place among both Indians and occasionally a white youngster. Simon Kenton, an early traveler to the Indiana country recalled seeing Tecumseh wrestle an opponent in the snow.73

71 Christian Jun Schultz, Travels on an Inland Voyage Through the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Through the Territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi and New-Orleans; Performed in the Years 1807 and 1808, II (New York: Printed By Isaac Riley, 1810), p. 101; According to Kinietz this shiny type game was played by the Delaware and a few smaller branch tribes; (Kinietz, Delaware Culture Chronology, p. 71).


In addition to football, in which they competed with men, women of the Indiana tribes competed against each other in two games which required the skill characteristics earlier described. The first of these had similar characteristics to our present game of volleyball. The game was played with an inflated bladder, and the object was to keep the bladder continuously in the air by striking it with open hands.\(^7\) The second game was called Takersia, and was more highly organized. Play required a court area and the knowledge of a relatively elaborate scoring system. The game was played by two contestants each equipped with a stick some five feet in length, the object of which was to catch a small, rolling hoop on their stick and lift it from the ground. If in attempting to lift the hoop it stopped spinning, one point was earned. But if the hoop continued to spin with the manipulation of the stick, the contestant received two points.\(^5\)

Based on these data, it can be determined that each of the aforementioned activities required certain skill level competencies and physical prowess to ensure successful performance in accordance with the definition of sport as applied to this study.


\(^5\)Ibid.
Game Type Diversions

Again, before presenting in detail the lower organizational game activities of the Indiana tribes, it is important to review the definition of games as it applies to this study. Examination of data showed that game type diversions were divided into two classifications; those activities requiring a certain amount of physical strength and skill, and those involving chance or fate of which the player had little or no control. Like sport activities, game type diversions were also quite popular among the Indiana Algonquians.

To date a search of the literature revealed in detail only three popular game type diversions played by adult males. Other diversions were mentioned, but very scant descriptions were given. The first of the three popular games was an activity involving the lifting of huge, flat stones of varying weights. The specific rules and methods employed in lifting are not clear. But during the early period before the significant influence of the white man in the Indiana country, lifting stones was a trial young warriors participated in to demonstrate individual vision of power. Through meditation or intensive concentration many young men were said to have possessed sufficient power to lift stones weighing several hundred pounds with only one hand.

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77 Kinietz, Delaware Culture Chronology, p. 133.
The game of hopping was a simple activity of which the object was for the contestant, while holding one leg in hand, to cover as much distance as possible in three hops. Each player began his hop at a predetermined starting position, and the total distance was measured after each trial.\(^7\)

A game resembling quoits was engaged in both before and after the significant white influence in the Indiana country. Before contact with the white man the game was played with stone discoids thrown or pitched into a designated area marked on the ground. The white influence, however, introduced new materials and methods for playing the Indian version of the game. The previously used implements of flat stones were replaced with rings made from wild grapevines, rope, and even metal, which were tossed over a peg placed in the ground some distance away.\(^8\)

In his travels through the Northwest Territory in 1772-73, Reverend David Jones observed that "during the winter season, part of their (Indians) time is spent at playing a game which they called Mamundis."\(^9\) However, Jones did not elaborate on the details of the game.

Perhaps among the children was played the greatest variety of low organizational games. The activities of the

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\(^7\)Kinietz, Delaware Culture Chronology, p. 133.

\(^8\)Weslager, The Delaware Indian Westward Migration, p. 188.

\(^9\)The game of Mamundis was more commonly played among the Delaware tribes; (David Jones, Rev., A Journal of Two Visits Made to Some Nations of Indians on the West Side of the River Ohio, in the Year 1772-1773, New York: H. C. Houghton and Company, 1865, pp. 77-78.
young players were designed to develop strength, agility and resourcefulness necessary for adulthood. Target games with bows and arrows were played daily, utilizing still targets as well as moving ones. One boy would roll a hoop made from a wild grapevine and laced with leather sinew, while another youngster ran some distance to the side attempting to shoot an arrow through the moving target. In addition, running and jumping games as well as swimming were daily activities enjoyed among Indian youths. Other amusements such as top spinning and mimic fighting were engaged in by Indiana Algonquian youngsters. However, the more highly organized sports such as ball games were only played by men and women, or youths and maidens nearing adulthood; not by the younger members of the tribes.

Of all the recreational activities practiced by the Indiana tribes, sport, games, amusements, games of chance appear to have occupied a major portion of their time. The wagering on ball games and other sporting type events was a mere carry-over from their unsatisfiable passion for gambling. Such passion and excitement for games of chance often led to the complete impoverishment of one or more players at each game, gambling until all their possessions, clothing, weapons, ornaments, even a wife, were lost on the last throw.

of the dice. But despite an occasional loss of property they rarely evinced either sadness in loss or joy in winning, always playing with the most remarkable external tranquility as honorably as possible, never cheating one another.

The game of straws seems to have been a diversion quite popular among the Indiana Indians, as there are several accounts describing this game of chance. Father Charlevoix presented one version of the game in a narrative stating:

This day the Pottawatomies were come to play the game of straws with the Miamis. The game was played in the chief's cabin and on the open ground before it. The straws used are little twigs of the bigness of a wheat stalk, and no more than two inches long. They take a bunch of these, generally containing a hundred and one straws, but always an odd number. After giving them a good mixing up, with many contortions of their bodies and many invocations of their favorite genni, the whole are divided into packets of ten, with a sort of awl or pointed bone. Every one takes his packet at hazard, and the one who gets the eleven straws gains a certain number of points. Sixty or eighty play the game at a time.

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85 The playing of the straws game was not clearly understood by the white man. Of the various accounts of the game available, all are similar yet different; (Robert J. Aley, and Max Aley, The Story of Indiana and Its People, Chicago: O. P. Barnes, Publisher, 1912, pp. 25-26); For further reading on the game of straws, see Blair, The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley, pp. 96-99; Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, X, pp. 321-322; Cash, The Potawatomi People, pp. 15-16.
Other game type diversions included dice games. Among the Indiana tribes these were usually played with plum or peach stones (seeds of the fruit), and varied in rules and playing procedures. Occasionally a crude, six-sided dice was carved from bone, each side painted a different color. When plum or peach stones were used, they too were painted, black on one side and yellow on the other. The popular game played was called bole (bowl) or dish, receiving its name from the small wooden bowl in which the dice were shaken and tossed from onto the ground. The number of dice used varied between tribes. Some used between five and seven, while other tribes played with six to twelve. Here again, gambling to win or lose appeared to be the major motivation. An account of one dice game further illustrates the method of play:

The player would put the dice in a dish and, holding it by both sides, snapped it upward repeatedly causing the dice to leap and bounce around. He would then slam the bottom of the dish against the ground and spill the dice. When they stopped moving, if the majority were the same color, the roller would then collect the bets, which were represented by the seeds that lay on the ground. Villages sometimes bet their entire wealth against each other at this game. When someone threw a perfect six, the Indians sometimes immediately started a dance of celebration.

The moccasin game, a game that resembled the present day shell game, seemingly held different meanings for those tribes.

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87 This account describes the playing procedure among the Potawatomi tribes; (Cash, *The Potawatomi People*, p. 15).
who played it. For some it was merely another game of chance for wagers to be made, while for others it represented a more serious religious ceremony in connection with the wake of a deceased member of the tribe. In this instance the game was only played the night before the funeral. Regardless of the circumstances for its play, the methods did not very among tribes, and gambling was the motivational objective.

A description of the game is as follows:

Moccasin is commenced by placing a blanket or two upon the ground, placing four moccasins upon the blankets. A small ball is made use of. They draw cuts to know which party has the ball first. One of the party that it falls to hides it under one of those moccasins and one of the other party looks for it, if the ball is under the moccasin he first draws, he had found it, if not one of the same party hides it again and it counts one in their tally, or if he turns over last he has found it and one of his party hides it, but if it is not under the one he first draws or if he turns them up and it is not under the one that he turns up last, it is considered not found and the same party hides it. The party that has the ball to hide sings and the other party is silent. For their tally they use three balls or sticks and every time the ball is hid and not found by the other party, one of those balls or sticks is given to the party that hid it until the three come to gether which is game and the party that has the balls has beat. They agree how many games they will play for the property that is at stake. They frequently make large bets upon this kind of game especially when one tribe plays against another.

During the later periods in this study, and after contact with the white man, a few of the Indiana tribes engaged

88 The Potawatomi and the Delaware appear to be the most avid players of the moccasin game, the Delaware playing only as a prelude to a funeral ceremony; (Kinietz, The Delaware Culture Chronology, p. 137).

89 Ibid.
in card games utilizing the white man's playing cards. So popular were these games, it was not uncommon to play all night, and until the cards were worn out, gambling away their last possessions.\(^90\) In cards, as in other forms of gambling, superstition played a major role. Players made special requests to their God to win his favor and ensure success in the game. Some players kept a piece of stone, referred to as a thunderbolt (crystal), at their side during play in hopes it would bring them good luck.\(^91\)

Game type diversions among the Indiana tribes were diverse, and, from the available data to date, appear to have attracted or permitted predominantly male participation. Those diversions requiring physical strength and skill, especially among the youth, were designed to develop and maintain survival skills. The extensive practice of those diversions of which the outcome was dependent upon chance, seem to have been engaged in for mere pleasure. The acquisition of wealth appeared not to have been a motivating factor as, when a player had won all of an opponent's possessions, he would oftentimes continue in the game until he too had lost all his winnings. The moccasin game was the only game of chance found to have had religious significance among some Indiana tribes, although almost all players asked their God for


\(^{91}\)Ibid.
favor in all games they played.

Amusement Type Diversions

The data presented earlier in this chapter pertaining to sport and games indicates a definite interrelationship with amusements in accordance with the definition designed for this study; "any activity or event engaged in or observed to entertain or occupy in a light, playful, or pleasant manner." This interrelationship existed for the participant who enjoyed playing an activity, the spectator who received a sense of enjoyment from observing it, as well as the spectator who derived pleasure from wagering on the outcome. In this light sport type games as well as lower organization games could also be categorized as amusements. However, in this study the focus on amusement activities will be limited to dance, music, and storytelling.

It was a custom among the Indiana Algonquians to provide entertainment for visiting guests, both Indian and white, and on special occasions. Such entertainment consisted of dancing and public games, which were previously mentioned. The dance practices of the Indiana tribes can seemingly be divided into two classifications; those dances conducted as a mode of religious worship, and those engaged in for recreational pleasure.

Dancing for the purpose of religious worship was celebrated at large festival gatherings sometimes lasting several days. During these gatherings there were feasting, games, and socializing in addition to dancing. One of the more common religious dances engaged in was the "dance of the green corn." In a diary entry of September 9, 1802, John P. Kluge briefly described the ceremony:

Today and the following days many Indians passed through our place on their way to Chief Tedpachsit who has prepared a great heathen festival and has invited all the heathens to it. This festival takes place every year at the time of corn harvest. According to their ideas no one should eat of his planted corn till this sacrificial festival is past, otherwise the worms will eat it or it will not grow well any more. For these heathen horrors, hunters are sent out who must procure a certain number of bears and deer. To this a large quantity of whisky is added. Then they begin to eat and drink, and dance day and night.93

The principal festival of the green corn was celebrated in the month of August, the exact time being determined by the maturity of the corn, the head Chief, and the counsellors of the village. It was a ceremony of thanksgiving for the first fruits of the earth, and lasted four to twelve days.94

Some of the Indiana tribes chose to hold their dance ceremonies indoors in a specially constructed house. A missionary who came to Indiana in 1801 described some Indian


94The dance of the green corn ceremony was a characteristic of the Miami and Delaware tribes; (Jedidiah Morse, A Report to the Secretary of War on Indian Affairs, New Haven, Connecticut: N. Whiting, 1822, pp. 105-106).
The dances were held in the council house, which was the most important structure in each village. ... a council house, about forty feet in length and twenty feet in breadth, where they usually celebrated their sacrificial feasts and dances. ... These dances were invariably got up in the night, and sometimes continued for weeks together. The whole was concluded by a sacrificial feast, for which the men had to furnish the venison and bear's meat, and the women the corn bread; and everything had to be prepared in the council house before all feasted together amid the observance of certain rites.\(^5\)

Both men and women participated in dance ceremonies. Women were not permitted to dance the war dance, however, unless a woman had suffered the loss of a family member during a battle.\(^6\)

Dancing for the purpose of recreational pleasure was enjoyed by all tribal members. Three of the more common dances were known as the buffalo dance, begging bear dance, and the circle dance. Although most tribes had their own religious dance ceremonies, many of those dances enjoyed as recreational diversions were borrowed from and shared among other tribes.\(^7\) Dance routines employed similar characteristics, with participants dancing alone, or in single file, with the men taking dance positions in front of the women. On occasion certain dances called for the women to dance in

\(^5\)This reference probably refers to the long houses of the Delaware. Such buildings housed the sacred Big House Ceremony; (Aley, The Story of Indiana and its People, pp. 24-25).
\(^6\)Kinetz, Delaware Culture Chronology, p. 136.
\(^7\)Weslager, The Delaware Indian Westward Migration, p. 121.
one spot while the men danced around them. On still other occasions both sexes joined hands at which time they danced promiscuously.\footnote{Weslager, \textit{The Delaware Indian Westward Migration}, p. 121.}

The music of the Indiana tribes was very closely related to their dancing practices. Singing took the vocal form of a chant which assisted in rhythmic timing during dancing. Storytelling was a popular pastime, especially among the older members of the tribes, as it was not uncommon for the men to relate incredible stories which oftentimes could not be relied upon as truth. This was not to say they were addicted to telling falsehoods. But when an audience was inclined to listen, particularly white men, they took the opportunity "of diverting themselves in their leisure hours, by relating such fabulous stories, while they laugh at the same time at their being able to deceive a people who think themselves so superior to them in wisdom and knowledge."\footnote{The leisure practice of storytelling was especially popular among the Delaware tribe; (John Heckewelder, \textit{History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations}, New York: Arno Press Inc., 1971, pp. 321-322).}

As a less amusing pastime, storytelling provided a means of conveying dreams and experiences, and to educate and convey tribal heritage to each new generation.

In summary, it is evident that sport, games, and amusements played a significant role in the cultural patterns of the Indiana Algonquians, as each were interrelated with their
economic, educational, political, and religious institutions. Even before significant contact with white cultures, play type activities were employed for the purpose of skill development necessary for economic survival. In addition, skills developed to ensure survival were related to criteria, hunting achievements, and heroism in battle, necessary for leadership of family and clan. Further relationship of play type activities was evident in religious practices as a vehicle for worshipping their God, as well as the educational and growth development of youth. The success and preservation of each of these institutions was dependent upon each member of the tribe, and the welfare and survival of the tribe were dependent upon each institution.

In addition to play patterns for institutional needs, all of the Indiana tribes engaged in a variety of play activities, ranging from complex games to storytelling, for the purpose of mere pleasure. There were recreational activities for all tribe members. However, sport and game activities appear to have been dominated by male participation. Contact with the white man did not appear to have influenced the types of play activities in which they engaged. Any changes in game rules and the introduction of new game type activities were more evident from other tribes which migrated into the Indiana country, or as a result of geographic and climatic conditions which necessitated different materials and constructional methods of implements and facilities, and seasonal participation.
The white influence did, however, up-grade their living standards and increased the amount of time available for leisure. The Indian tribes of the Northwest Territory often referred to the days of French supremacy as a kind of "Golden Era" when the two cultures lived a tranquil coexistence.¹⁰⁰ The only directly related influence of white cultures was on the game of quoits and cards. However, sufficient data was unavailable to determine if quoits and card games were brought directly to the Indiana tribes by white cultures, or by migrating tribes with previous white contact. With these two possible exceptions, the sport, games and amusements of the Indiana Algonquians during the period defined in this study appear to have been the direct and natural outgrowth of aboriginal institutions indigenous to the native tribes and those which migrated to the Indiana country.

CHAPTER IV

THE FRENCH CULTURE
IN INDIANA

The early French period is perhaps less familiar than any other segment of Indiana history. Yet French explorers, missionaries, and fur traders constituted the dominant European influence in this area for nearly a century. The first white men to discover and occupy the part of the Northwest Territory which became Indiana were independent fur traders, explorers, and voyageurs, one of whom may have reached the Indiana country as early as the middle 1600's.¹ Sufficient data to substantiate French inhabitants within Indiana's boundaries at this early date are unavailable. However, by the 1670's a significant population of French culture had entered the area in the form of missionaries, fur traders, and explorers. Each of these groups had embarked on a mission: a mission to Christianize the Indian tribes, to establish and monopolize the fur trade, and to

¹In 1657, Sanson, the Royal Geographer of France, made a map of New France on which the Maumee River, some of its tributaries, and the adjacent country was correctly delineated, thus indicating that prior to that time someone had visited and navigated the streams; (William Henry Smith, The History of the State of Indiana from the Earliest Explorations by the French to the Present, I, Indianapolis: The B. L. Blair Company, 1897, p. 4).
explore and claim new territories for France.²

The French Regime in the Indiana country prior to 1763 and the English occupation, exhibited essentially three periods of socio-economic culture. However, during each period there was an overlap of cultural classes. The period from 1670 saw the influence of the Jesuit Missionaries, early explorers, and a few fur traders. This period was very brief, however, as by about 1679-80 the European demand for furs brought an influx of licensed fur trappers, traders, and voyageurs to inhabit the regions along Indiana's vast network of rivers and streams.³

As a result of the prosperous fur trade, some Frenchmen realized the strategic worth of the Indiana country and the Wabash valley as early as the close of the seventeenth century. And, during the first half of the eighteenth century there were voices in the wilderness calling for the development of French control in that region, or at least for the erection of outposts along the Maumee and Wabash river route to hold back the encroaching British. French interests demanded that this water route be kept open, for it had become

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³All French fur trappers and traders were required to be legally licensed by King Louis XV. Offense of this law carried the death penalty; (Byron L. Troyer, Yesterday's Indiana, Miami, Florida: E. A. Seeman Publishing, Inc., 1975, p. 17).
one of the main paths of communication between Canada and Louisiana. During this same period further interest developed over the Indiana country when the Chickasaw Indians made traffic on the upper Mississippi above the Ohio extremely dangerous. By travelling up the Ohio River to the Wabash, trade goods would by-pass the hostile Chickasaws and arrive safely at their destination.

The need for protective outposts along the Wabash trade route necessitated work crews, composed predominantly of Indians and a few French woodsmen, to construct the posts, and military officers and garrison troops to man them. The construction time for each outpost was lengthy. But by approximately 1733 the completion of outposts at three strategic points along the Wabash, Post St. Phillippe, Post Ouiatanon, and Post Vincennes, enabled the French to maintain commercial and military hegemony until the close of the Seven Years' War in 1763. On April 10, 1732, the Illinois and Indiana country came under direct French control when

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5Logan Esarey, A History of Indiana from its Exploration to 1850 (Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart Company, 1915), p. 22; In the early period of Indiana's history, the Ohio River was thought to be a tributary of the Wabash, with the Wabash River emptying into the Mississippi; (Justin Winsor, ed., Narrative and Critical History of America, IV, New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1886, p. 178.

6See page 104 for a map of the Wabash River and the location of strategic French posts.
PLATE III

INDIANA AS IT APPEARED TO THE WHITE MAN
AFTER 1730 WITH LOCATIONS OF FRENCH POSTS
the Company of the Indies surrendered its charter to the King of France. From this date marked the third socio-economic period, that of the actual French settlement of the Indiana country. 7

Originally, the sole purpose of planting outposts was to make good her claim to the Indiana country. The French government felt that a scattering of several posts with a dozen or so families and a small garrison, was far better than a large settlement requiring a fort and a large garrison of soldiers to protect them. Further, it would not upset the overall objectives upon which New France was being developed. Permanent settlement would surely destroy the fur trade, the Jesuit's evangelistic work among the Indians, and the voyageurs' and explorers' wilderness way of life. However, the completion of the three smaller posts attracted people bent on permanent settlement, and necessitated an increase in military personnel.

The first official French post was Post Ouiatanon, near present day Lafayette, which dates from 1717. 8 Post Ouiatanon, pronounced We-aht-an-non, was named for the Wea Indian tribe

7 Esarey, A History of Indiana from its Exploration, p. 22.

8 Before 1717 there were a few small, single building type trading posts scattered about the Indiana country. But Post Ouiatanon was the first post officially built by the French government and manned by a military garrison; Frances Krauskopf, trans. and ed., Ouiatanon Documents, Indiana Historical Society Publications, XVIII, Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1955, p. 139).
whose villages occupied the bank of the Wabash across from the post. In addition to military personnel and transient fur trappers, about fourteen families lived in and around the post.⁹

Post St. Phillippe became the second French outpost constructed by the close of the year, 1719.¹⁰ It was often referred to during the French influence as Post Miami because of the many Miami Indians who inhabited the area, and was later rebuilt and renamed Fort Wayne after the British and American takeover. During the French period, although occupied by a small garrison, Post St. Phillippe was little more than a trading post with few permanent settlers.¹¹

The posts at Ouiatanon and St. Phillippe fulfilled the original French objectives. However, Post Vincennes, the last of the three posts to be completed, about 1733, became more than a mere stopover point for traders in route to New Orleans and Canada.¹² Due to the moderate climate, the rich


¹⁰There is some conflict as to the exact date of Post St. Phillippe. Of the sources consulted for this study, the dates vary from the close of 1719 to the spring of 1721; (Wallace A. Brice, History of Fort Wayne From its Earliest Known Accounts, D. W. Jones and Son, Printers, 1868, p. 11).

¹¹Brice, History of Fort Wayne, p. 11

prairies along the Wabash, and 5,000 acres donated in common by the Miami Indians, Vincennes attracted French families bent on permanent settlement.\textsuperscript{13} All classes of people descended on Post Vincennes during French control. In addition to the fur trappers, traders, and small farmers, by 1750, several upper class French families had migrated up the Mississippi from New Orleans to Vincennes where they established plantations.\textsuperscript{14} Thus, Vincennes is recognized as Indiana's first permanent settlement of significant size and importance.\textsuperscript{15}

During the French Regime, for the purpose of government control, the Indiana country was divided somewhat vaguely through its central regions between Canada and Louisiana. Post St. Phillippe and Ouatanon were under Canadian jurisdiction in the district command at Detroit, while Post Vincennes was an outpost of Louisiana in the district of Illinois, governed from Fort Chartres on the Mississippi.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{13}The Miami tribe gave to Post Vincennes 5,000 acres of land for common use by the settlers. Because Post Vincennes belonged to the French empire, the land was said to have belonged to Louis XV and not the people. However, an occasional grant was given from the tract to individuals of some prominence; (John B. Dillon, \textit{Oddities of Colonial Legislation in America; The Origin and Growth of Pioneer Settlements}, Indianapolis: Robert Douglass, Publisher, 1879, p. 305).

\textsuperscript{14}Esarey, \textit{A History of Indiana from its Exploration}, p. 24.

\textsuperscript{15}By 1787 the French population in Vincennes was approximately 520; (James S. Pula, ed., \textit{The French in America; 1488-1974}, Chronology and Fact Book, New York: Oceana Publications, 1975, p. 61).

\textsuperscript{16}Wilson, \textit{Indiana A History}, p. 45.
During these years, there appeared to have been two rather mobile social classes, each of whose influence was evident in one or more of the three periods. Among the higher of these two classes were the Jesuit Missionaries, whose presence was evident during the entire French influence, military garrison officers, and government supported explorers and officials. These upper class leaders were usually immigrants from France by way of New Orleans or Quebec. The lower of the two classes consisted of garrison soldiers recruited from the slums and prisons of France, and of small farmers, trappers, and traders, many of whom were first generation Canadians. The non-military lower caste, who was by far the largest group, were mostly of Viking heritage from the small villages in the Norman part of France.17

Each of these social classes made up the French Regime which became the dominant white culture in the Indiana country from 1670 to 1763. The upper class were recent arrivals and modeled their social and cultural habits after those they had left behind in Paris. They were men of education and material worth who settled within the protected confines of the newly established outposts. Their homes were built of heavy hewn timbers with large, low ceilinged rooms with high mantel pieces and wood carved moldings around

17Troyer, *Yesterday's Indiana*, p. 17.
doors and windows. Occasionally their homes contained a billiard table, candelabra, or a silver set which had survived the long, hazardous river excursion from New Orleans.

The lower class trappers and traders were quick to assume the living habits of the Indian cultures they encountered. It was not uncommon to find them living a communal existence, eating, sleeping, dressing, and lodging in the manner of their Indian friends. They lacked formal education, and most of them were illiterate, unable to read or write even their name.

Because of the various classes of French culture which inhabited the Indiana country, it is difficult to characterize the French influence into one specific class. Therefore, the focus of the French influence in Indiana during the period under investigation was delimited to the two French classes previously defined. The cultural institutions, including the

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19 The luxury items such as billiard tables, candelabra, etc., were rare and more commonly found among the upper class who settled at Vincennes; (William E. Wilson, *The Wabash*, New York: Farrar and Rinehart Inc., 1940, p. 34).

20 Jones, op. cit., pp. 159-160.

21 Volney states that as late as 1796 no form of education was available and that scarcely six out of nine Frenchmen could read or write; (C. F. Volney, *A View of Soil and Climate of the United States of America*, Northumberland-Court: C. Mercier and Co., 1804, pp. 122-123).
sport, games, and amusements of the French were grouped together for the purpose of presentation, but were characterized as those of the upper and lower classes.

**Economic and Occupational Practices**

For the French habitant during the regime in Indiana, there were several means of securing economic and occupational needs. Usually characterized by class strata, Frenchmen of the early period engaged exclusively in a one-man operation of trapping and trading furs. During the later periods trapping and trading continued, but with the influx of population and eventual settlement, many Frenchmen hired themselves out as voyageurs to transport consignments of goods to and from Quebec or New Orleans. Others devoted their efforts to agriculture, tilling the soil for wheat and corn, their by-products of flour and meal for which New Orleans was dependent. Entering into the period of French settlement, the military life of a garrison soldier offered a sometimes dangerous, yet comfortable and secure existence.

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22 In a single year, 1705, twenty thousand hides and pelts are said to have been shipped from the Wabash valley; (Burke Aaron Hinsdale, The Old Northwest, New York: Townsend MacCoun, 1888, p. 50).

With permanent settlement the agrarian ways of the earlier period became more numerous and in some instances increased in scale. The lands held in common were still cultivated predominantly by the small, lower class farmer. But by the mid 1700's agrarian life took the form of the southern plantations as a few upper class French families migrated into the Wabash valley from New Orleans. Sometimes these small plantations were worked by Negro slaves. However, slavery was never as prominent among the French in the Indiana country as in those settlements along the Mississippi. 24

Increased permanent settlement brought the blacksmith, the carpenter, and tavern owner to the outpost communities. But with these potential economic advances, the French were not especially industrious. Industrious energies were still spent with the fur trade and farming. However, these efforts were for the most part seasonal. As a result, trappers, voyageurs, and farmers spent much of their time in idleness. During the declining years of the French Regime, the once seasonal idleness developed into a pastime, and the French

habitants became content and passive in their life-style.\textsuperscript{25} Volney, who visited Vincennes during his travels through the Indiana and Illinois country in 1796-97, described the French citizens as "ignorant, and filled with apathy, indolence, and poverty," and for the most part, "carefree, irresponsible, and unenterprising in their economic endeavors."\textsuperscript{26}

**Policies of Community and Family Life**

Before the close of the French Regime in 1763, even with the influence of Quebec and New Orleans, the French habitants in the Indiana country remained somewhat insulated from the outside world of the period, and became gradually assimilated with the Indian cultures. The French rarely entered into conflict with them, nor excessively abused their forests or drove away the wild game upon which they so largely depended for subsistence. They never asked for or took away any Indian lands. They only asked for the right to establish small trading posts to be used as centers of traffic with the Indians themselves. The small plots of land around the various posts, and those held in common for agricultural

\textsuperscript{25}The exact cause of change in the French life-style is difficult to determine. But perhaps one explanation was the constant turmoil, in particular at Vincennes, which saw the French come under British rule, followed by Virginia under George Rodgers Clark, and finally the Americans; (Howard Mumford Jones, American and French Cultures, 1750-1840, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1927, pp. 159-169).

\textsuperscript{26}Volney, A View of Soil and Climate of the United States of America, pp. 122-123-373.
purposes, were given freely without French request.

Many of the later French habitants were not of pure blood. The early fur trappers, voyageurs, and explorers rarely brought women with them into the wilderness. Those men who married took Indian wives and adopted the Indian way of life, readily becoming an Indian himself in thought and in deed. He lived with them, fighting in their battles, and joined in their hunting parties, content to share the produce of the chase and of their gardens.\textsuperscript{27} Their lifestyle was Indian in nature. The women burdened most of the labor, planting and tending the small fields of corn, and preparing the meat and furs of the hunters and trappers.\textsuperscript{28} These practices of the early French produced a culture of half-breeds, as it was not uncommon for first generation French to have an Indian bloodline, nor for an Indian to trace his lineage back to some daring fur trader or a gallant French soldier. John Law, probably the first historian of Vincennes, described this generation of French habitants as he had viewed them in earlier days as:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{27}David Baillie Warden, \textit{A Statistical, Political and Historical Account of North America}, II (Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable and Company, 1819), p. 311.
  \item \textsuperscript{28}William M. Cockrum, \textit{Pioneer History of Indiana} (Oakland City, Indiana: Press of The Oakland City Journal, 1907), p. 20.
\end{itemize}
... with tall arrowy forms, mild, peaceful, always polite, their typical dress including a blanket Capote, a blue Kerchief round the head, and sandals on the feet. 29

As the Indiana country became more permanently settled, many Frenchmen continued to take Indian wives. However, unlike earlier intermarriages, the wife moved from her Indian village to live with her husband in his white environment. 30

The first French habitants to bring their wives and families with them were garrison officers in charge of the outposts along the Wabash in the early 1700's. Soon, more and more families began to settle around the three main French posts of the period. 31

By the mid 1700's, due to its location, fertile soil, and moderate climate, Post Vincennes had become the most prosperous and active of all the French outposts. The Post itself was a small piqueted structure in which approximately twenty married soldiers and a few civilians resided. 32

However, just beyond the protective piquets French trappers,

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fur traders, and farmers pursued a life-sustaining existence. Their homes were usually one story affairs built of hewn logs, with thatch or hewn shingled roofs. The more prosperous habitants lived in whitewash, stucco coated houses with piazzas extending around all four sides concealed behind the high piquet fences that enclosed their yards. Each of these homes contained small vegetable and flower gardens, usually tended by the wife and children.33

The farming of common fields had been a centuries-old tradition in France where land was scarce, and had become an equally efficient method of agriculture in the Wabash valley. Farm lands were located on the rich prairies surrounding the post, and were divided into strips one arpent in width by some forty arpents in depth, oftentimes extending from the rear of the homes.34 The New Orleans planters who came to Vincennes owned their own land, but also worked the soil with family members and an occasional slave.

Despite the work habits of the early French, there appears to have been a decline in work related skills during


34An arpent is an old French unit of measure for land equal to approximately 0.85 acre; (Jones, American and French Cultures, 1750-1840, pp. 159-160); Near Vincennes there were mainly three prairies used for agriculture. Perhaps the best known was the Cathlinette Prairie named for a bush that grew in the vicinity located southeast of the village; (Leonard Lux, "The Vincennes Donation Lands," Indiana Historical Society Publications, XV, April, 1949, pp. 431-432).
the latter period of settlement. Volney reported on one of his travels to Vincennes that:

... their women neither sew nor spin, or make butter, but pass their time in gossiping and tattle. The men hunt, fish, and roam in the woods, bask in the sun. They do not lay up, as we do, for winter, or provide for a rainy day. They can't cure pork or venison, make sour krout, or spruce beer. In addition, they were a very socially oriented people. They were polite, agreeable, and very religious, yet fond of merry making with music, dance, and playing at cards. For each class socializing was an important part of French culture, reflecting many facets of their life-style. As Volney observed, sufficient time for even simple conversation was so important to the Frenchman. He stated:

... at other times he (Frenchman) stays at home, and spends the time talking with good humour, or in quarreling and scolding. Neighbors pay and return visits; for visiting and talking are so indispensably necessary to a Frenchman from habit, that throughout the whole frontier of Canada and Louisiana there is not one settler of that nation to be found, whose house is not within reach or within sight of some other. In several places, on asking how far off the remotest settler was, I have been answered: 'he is in the desert, with the bears, a league from any house, without having any person with whom he can converse.'

Perhaps it was this need for socialization and protection that prompted the communal village life-style which characterized the French settlements.

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35 Volney, A View of Soil and Climate of The United States of America, pp. 122-123.
36 Ibid., pp. 385-386.
The close proximity of friends and neighbors also simplified community government. During the latter period of French influence, habitants of the Indiana country retained their almost inalienable social charm, but seemingly lost nearly every trace of their early enterprising ambition characteristics. They seem to have taken little interest in politics and civic affairs, accepting the patriarchal government of the post commandant as their "little" father, and the Priest as their father. Together with villagers to form a council, the fathers exercised their powers in a kind and paternal manner. However, at such meetings the role of the counsel was largely administrative rather than formulation of public policy. The agendas usually included such items as determining the time for plowing the fields, or repairing or building roads and buildings. Counsel meetings were usually conducted after Sunday's mass as the people assembled outside the church. In the private home, family life was similarly organized in a parental manner.


38 Wilson, *Indiana A History*, p. 46.
Educational and Religious Practices

Sufficient data was unavailable to determine the exact religious and educational practices of the early trappers, fur traders, and voyageurs. The early French habitants had no means of formal education, and were as a whole illiterate. Their educational practices probably consisted of those basic lessons necessary for sustaining life, and were learned by doing, or from an older, more experienced individual. As a result, for the most part ignorance and illiteracy prevailed, with the village priest providing the only instruction, usually religious in nature, to the children. Thus, in addition to the Sunday service, the priests, in a sense, became the first school teachers in the Indiana country.

At almost the same time these adventurers entered the Indiana country, Jesuit Missionaries from Canada began evangelizing the Indiana tribes. These early missionaries preached Catholicism, and as permanent settlement developed, the habitants of both the upper and lower classes shared the same religious faith. Their intellectual, spiritual,

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40 Probably the first formal school in the Indiana country was started at Vincennes in 1795 by Father John Francis Rivet. Father Rivet conducted school for French and Indian children until his death in 1804; (Thomas T. McAvory, *The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. 76-106).
and social lives were deeply rooted in the ceremonial rites of Catholicism, led by the village priest.  

The social need of the French habitants are further exhibited in their observance and celebration of holy days. During such holy days, the villagers celebrated by first attending church, followed in the afternoon with games and visiting, and by an evening of dancing. Each of these activities received the blessing of the reverend father, and enjoyed considerable practice in the Indiana country.

Recreational and Leisure Practices

Although Gross' hypothesis indicates that "if measurable leisure existed in a culture it would be functionally related to the work institutions that benefit the whole culture," an examination of data pertaining to the French cultural classes in Indiana indicates little or no distinct philosophy or practice of, or differentiation between leisure

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41 The parish of St. Francis Xavier was established at Vincennes in 1749 by the Jesuit Priest, Father Sebastian Louis Meurin. Records from this church date from April 21, 1749; (Gilbert J. Garraghan, "Vincennes: A Chapter in the Ecclesiastical History of the West," Mid-America, II, April, 1931, pp. 9-10).

42 Monette, History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi, p. 186.

and work. Therefore, one might conclude that leisure did not exist in sufficient, measurable quantity, or that the quantity was so great it overshadowed the work effort. Based on these data presented, there is evidence to support that leisure time probably dominated over work time among the Indiana French.

Although each class of French culture had economic roles to fulfill in order to sustain an existence, each possessed considerable amounts of leisure time. The trappers, fur traders, and voyageurs lived much the same life-style as their Indian consorts, hunting, trapping and exploring the wilderness. Each of these livelihoods took them away from a home and an occasional Indian family, for long periods of time. During the latter period of the French Regime, for those trappers and traders who were more settled, the family or hired hand tended to domestic chores as well as the fields and gardens. Thus, upon the adventurers' return they were free to leisure until the next expedition.

The rich prairie soil, moderate climate, and the abundance of natural food products, particularly in the Wabash valley, required no one to work very hard or for very long in order to supply his personal needs. Farm work and

In his study Faust concluded that leisure time was "the time we are free to do what we choose to." (J. W. Faust, "Leisure and Living," Playground, XXIV, September, 1932, p. 323).
routine tasks were carried out by the entire family, or an occasional slave. The latter was more common among the upper class planters. Thus, it can be surmised that considerable leisure time was available to both upper and lower class farmers.

Although colonization was not the main objective of the French, when it developed, the system of small outposts favored military efficiency. The duties of the garrison soldier consisted mainly of warding off attacks from unfriendly Indians or the later encroaching British, and were directly in contrast with civilian cultural patterns of work. The majority of military personnel had come directly from France. Upon assuming duties on the wilderness frontier, they were forced to adjust to the new environment and adopt new skills and values that were entirely foreign to the work roles as they had known them in France, Quebec, and New Orleans. In addition, the variety of duties and endless waiting which characterized military life of the period was not conducive to the development of good work habits, but encouraged patterns of idleness and leisure.

Further evidence of leisure patterns over work can be observed among the villagers in their habits of communal living for the purpose of fulfilling socializing needs.45

45 Volney, A View of Soil and Climate of the United States of America, pp. 385-386.
Their lack of interest in politics and civic government, and their contentment to entrust the workings of their community and their lives to the commandant and priest, indicates further an absence of work related patterns. Even their religious faith, Catholicism, perhaps encouraged leisure activity as holy days were frequently celebrated with night-long balls and reveling. Card games and billiards were engaged in after Sunday mass, apparently with the blessing of the local priest and the church. Of such activities Major Stoddard, Lieutenant Governor of the Upper Louisiana Territory in 1804, wrote:

... but after the exercise of church are over, they usually collect in parties and pass away their time in social and merry intercourse. They play at billiards and other games, and to balls and assemblies the Sundays are particularly devoted.

The French attitude for devotion to Sunday prayer and amusement was further described by Major Stoddard when he wrote:

They (the French settlers) are of opinion that there is truth and undefiled religion in their amusements ... When questioned relative to gayety on Sundays, they will answer, that men are made for happiness, and that the more they are able to enjoy themselves, the more acceptable they are to their Creator. They are of opinion that a sullen Countenance, attention to gloomy subjects, a set form of speech, and a stiff behavior, are more indicative of hypocrisy than of religion.
Thus, it would appear that the Catholic church itself was a significant factor in the development of leisure attitudes among the Indiana French. The church condoned amusement activity and provided numerous occasions for participation through fete-days and holy day celebrations of the eighteenth century.

During the investigation there was no evidence of fulfilling social needs with a blending of work tasks as was so often found in the quilting bees and houseraisings of the American pioneers. Perhaps the only possible work related leisure activities were canoeing and shooting, each of which will be discussed later in detail. Based on these data presented, it would appear that the social character of each class of French culture, their religious philosophy, and the relatively easy access to economic needs determined the amount of time available for leisure, and not the time spent away from work.

Sport, Games, and Amusement Practices of French Cultures in Indiana

It is difficult to establish and present a detailed account of the leisure practices of the early French, as it would appear that the majority of participants were illiterate and unable to describe and record their own cultural habits. Those literate participants and observers made only casual references to their recreational pursuits. As a
result, the early cultural *habitants* became virtually extinct in amalgamation with the British and American influences which followed. Their habits, manners, recreational pastimes, even their language, were no longer pure. Because of this impurity and early illiteracy, much of the available literature pertaining to French recreational habits occurred late in, or after the Regime, and were recorded in the journal and diary accounts of British and American travelers. Therefore, in addition to these data, reference to some of the sport, games, and amusement activities of the early French culture in the Indiana country are based on the assumption that trappers, fur traders, and voyageurs, and eventual settlers, probably brought their recreational activities from Canada and New Orleans.

Based on available descriptive data, the recreational activities of the Indiana French were divided into two general categories: activities requiring either physical skill or dexterity, or both of these elements, and those activities requiring elements of chance or fate of which the participant has little or no control. For the purpose of presenting the French recreational practices, the two general categories were further classified into sport, games, and amusements. It is necessary to keep in mind the definition of these classifications designed for this study.\(^49\)

\(^49\)See Chapter I, pages 14-15.
Sport Type Diversions

Canoeing was the sport type activity most frequently mentioned among the French voyageurs. With smooth strokes from decoratively designed paddles, they propelled their crafts over thousands of miles of waterways annually transporting furs and supplies to Quebec, Detroit, Ouiatanon, Vincennes, and back to the Illinois. As the voyageurs paddled along they sang to pass the time. John Ogden, who travelled through lower Canada in the late eighteenth century, observed that "the watermen constantly amused us with their singing in a measure which is harmonious and animates them to greater dexterity and expedition." It is difficult to determine if the physical prowess and dexterity required to maneuver a canoe through swift and often treacherous river waters was a skill practiced during leisure time in preparation for work. However, it was not uncommon for voyageurs to form teams, grease their bark canoes with deer tallow to resist the water, and match their skills against one another in a race. These competitions for canoe racing, however,


51 John C. Ogden, A Tour Through Upper and Lower Canada (Litchfield, Massachusetts: Printed By The Author, 1799), p. 45.

52 Reynolds, loc. cit.
appear to have been more for pleasure than preparation for work, further supporting the dominance of leisure practices among the Indiana French.

Although data provided many casual references to hunting and shooting, especially among the early trappers and traders, an exhaustive search of sources failed to discover sufficient descriptive material to classify hunting and shooting as a sporting pastime. The participation in the "chase" with Indian friends, and the time spent in hunting and fishing are indications the early Frenchman had to depend upon his gun and hunting skills for survival. But references to actual sporting practices of shooting for the purpose of developing hunting skills were not found.

Although horseback riding and horse racing were popular pastimes among the royalty of France, and there were seemingly an abundance of horses among the Indiana French, not a single reference to this sporting practice was found. The early French at Vincennes kept woolly ponies, decendents from Norman stock, in pole-type stables near their homes.53 And, Nathan Hoskins recorded on a trip through the western country that wild horses roamed the prairies and forests in parts of Indiana and Illinois. Hoskins stated:

They (horses) are a small sized Canadian breed and very hardy. The method of taking them is in pens or with ropes having nooses attached to them. The business of

53Wilson, Indiana A History, pp. 45-46.
catching and breaking them, has been mostly attended to by the French who make them an article of traffic; their common price is from fifteen to thirty dollars. 

Despite these references to catching and breaking horses, descriptions of racing or riding were not found. It is curious to surmise however, that among a culture seemingly devoted to leisure pursuits, an occasional competition between the fastest horse in the village conceivably took place on a Sunday afternoon following mass.

The only other sporting type activities alluded to during the research was an occasional footrace among children, and a fighting or wrestling match. However, it would appear that these activities were unstructured, and sufficient data were not available to determine a true sporting intent.

It is curious to note why recreational and leisure patterns did not appear to have developed to a competitive sporting nature. Perhaps the laws restricting sport activities to the royal members of the Louis' court in France had some influence. Or, there is the possibility that sport type activities did not exist in the former environment, Canada, from which the majority of Indiana French migrated. This postulation receives some support from a study made of the leisure practices of French Canada, which concluded that

a number of games of almost ritualistic nature existed, but nothing to qualify as sport.\footnote{Prosper Bender, "Holidays of the French Canadians," \textit{Magazine of American History}, XX (December, 1888), pp. 461-468.} Perhaps too, the natural characteristics of the Indiana French earlier described, idleness, apathy, and indolence, reflected no apparent competitive instinct for sport competition.

These theories can only be surmised as it was not the intent of this study to investigate in detail sociological habits and philosophic beliefs which may have dictated French leisure and recreational patterns. The fact remains however, that based on the data collected to date, with the exception of canoe racing, the French \textit{habitants} in the Indiana country did not participate in sport type activities in accordance with the definition developed for this study.

\textbf{Game Type Diversions}

In keeping with the definition of game type activities as it applies to this study,\footnote{See Chapter I, pages 14-15.} an examination of data showed that game type diversions among the Indiana French were divided into two classifications: those games of higher organization requiring keen hand/eye coordination and manipulative dexterity skills, and lower organization games involving chance or fate of which the participant had little or no
control. As of this study, data collected revealed in some detail only two game type diversions which comply with the aforementioned classification guidelines. Data did produce a casual reference to playing of marbles, but details as to playing procedures and its popularity among age groups were unavailable.

The two most frequently mentioned game type diversions among the French habitants were billiards and playing at cards. Billiards appear to have been most commonly played among the upper class commandants, priests, and plantation owners at Post Vincennes. Captain Busseron, who served under both French and British rule at Vincennes after 1765, had a billiard table in his private home. Captain Busseron's morning ritual was described by Wilson who wrote:

The meal finished, he (Captain Busseron) lighted his pipe and went into the parlor, where he paused for a moment and ran his stubby fingers affectionately over the green cloth of the billiard table. This was a morning ritual that he could not omit even today. It (billiard table) had cost him a pretty penny to get the table up the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Wabash from New Orleans, and his pride in it was the greatest of his many little vanities. He hefted one of the crooked cues in his hand and let the butt of it drop with a light thump on the floor. Then he bent over and, sighting down the cue at an uneven ball, winked with satisfaction at his skill and made a clucking sound with his tongue. Tomorrow, when everything was settled, he would have a game with Father Gibault.57

Whether or not a game of billiards was actually played between Captain Busseron and Father Gibault is unknown. But this reference to Father Gibault as an apparent billiards player is further support that the Catholic faith condoned recreational pastimes. The only other reference to billiards which might indicate its popularity among the early French at Vincennes was found in a letter from Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton to Frederick Haldimand, Commander in Chief of British Forces, dated December 31, 1778. Hamilton stated:

Took down two billiard tables in the Village and confiscated all the spirituous liquors - the source of immorality and dissipation.58

There were other descriptions of billiard play dating from the late 1700's and early 1800's which will be cited during later periods in this study.

Playing at card games was a popular pastime among all classes of Indiana French. An exhaustive search of sources failed to produce descriptive data as to the popular type of card game(s) of the period. However, the popularity of the card game, faro, which spread rapidly up the Mississippi from New Orleans during the mid-eighteenth century may have reached the French settlements in the Wabash valley.59 During the


winter months card playing seems to have been especially popular, as men frequently gathered at a friend's home where they drank and played cards until the early morning hours.60

The garrison soldiers stationed at outposts along the Wabash also passed their idle moments engaged in card games and gambling activity. In a letter from Reverend Father E'toemme de Carheil to Monsier Louis Hector de Callie'res, Governor, dated 30 August, 1702, he listed the occupations of the French soldier. Father de Carheil stated:

The 4th occupation of the soldier is gambling, which at the times when the traders (fur traders) assemble sometimes proceeds to such excess that they are not satisfied with passing the whole day, but they also spend the whole night in the pursuit. And it happens but too frequently that, in the ardor of their game, they forget - or, if they do remember, they scorn to observe - the feast-days. But what makes their misconduct on this score still worse is hardly ever unaccompanied by the general intoxication of all the players; and drunkenness is nearly always followed by quarrels that arise among them.61

The concern Father de Carheil expressed for gambling and drinking among the garrison soldiers further indicates an apparent abundance of leisure time among the Indiana French.

Based on these data collected, the French habitants appear to have engaged in the two aforementioned game type


diversions. Card games were enjoyed by all classes, while billiards were a popular pastime among a few upper class habitants who possessed the necessary provisions.

Amusement Type Diversions

Activities classified by distinct characteristics as amusement type diversions for this study were extremely popular among the French cultures in the Indiana country. Such diversions consisted of social gatherings where the participants engaged in feasting, singing, dancing, and storytelling. It must be recognized that some interrelationship exists in this study's definition of sport, games, and amusements as it applies to dance. Dancing employs a certain amount of physical prowess and dexterity necessary for sport and game type activities, but during the French period, did not require the same competitiveness.

As has already been presented, each class of Indiana French were a lively and pleasure loving people who made the most of all social occasions. Their communal living habits brought about an almost family togetherness within their class which promoted a sharing of events, both pleasant and unpleasant, among an entire village. One such event which attracted village interest was the wedding of a local young couple. A wedding focused on virtually every amusement pastime of the French. There was feasting, singing, dancing and

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revelry, some of which began several days prior to the actual ceremony. In preparation for the wedding banquet the women of the village gathered and sang songs as they prepared chickens for the feast. The young men also gathered round in mock assistance of the preparation of the fowls. Margaret Sweeney described their actions stating:

They (the women) sang while the young men picked imaginary fowls suiting the action to the words as the various parts were picked - the head, the bill, the nose, the neck, the back, the wings, the thighs, the tail. If any young fellow made a mistake and "picked" the wrong part, his "forfeit" was to kiss one of the maidens at the banquet table. Naturally, many mistakes were made, and many penalties paid before the song was finished.63

In addition to weddings, fete-days, name days, and christenings were celebrated in a similar manner with dancing and merry making lasting two or three days.64

Perhaps the most colorful social event celebrated by the French habitants was the annual King Ball, a series of entertainments held at various homes in the village, the first of which was always held on Epiphany, the sixth of January. Epiphany commemorated the coming of the Magi, and celebrated the last day of the Feast of the Nativity which continued for twelve days after Christmas.

64Levering, Historic Indiana, p. 21.
On the sixth day of the new year the carefree revelers of each cultural class participated in their own celebration of the King Ball. Members of the lower class chose their king and sang their rollicking songs and ballads, while the residences of some prominence chose their king with an era of pageantry and sophistication.

Preparation for the King Ball began on New Year's Eve with the selection of the king. This process began when the young men of the village gathered at the home of the oldest madame, or some other prominent social leader. A large cake had been prepared into which was placed four beans. The cake was sliced and served to each of the young men. The first man to discover a bean was designated as king, and the three remaining bean holders became his attendants. The king and his court then arranged to give a ball on the night after Epiphany. The king selected a young lady as his queen, as did each of his courtiers choose a partner. During the celebration the more prominent class danced the stately minuet and varsovienne. But despite class differences, each group spiritedly ate, drank, and were merry.65

While dancing did not appear to have been engaged in as a mode of religious worship, it was common activity at celebrations of religious holy days. However, extensive research failed to unveil detailed description as to the types and/or methods of performance of these dances.

65Sweeney, Fact, Fiction and Folklore of Southern Indiana, p. 21.
To summarize, during the long period the French held control of the territory that became Indiana, there was little or no attempt to develop and colonize the land. Their business was hunting, trapping and trading in furs, and to clear the land, build roads, or to make permanent improvements would only injure the natural environment so important to their occupation. Thus, they lived in harmony with the Indian tribes they encountered, and built only a few block house posts and a few crude buildings to serve as stations of trade at strategic points along Indiana's watery highways. The European demand for furs and the enticing lure of the wilderness frontier brought an influx of French cultures which eventually led to permanent settlement and an agrarian way of life. However, unlike the French settlements along the upper and lower Mississippi, with the exception of a few habitants around Vincennes, the French cultures in the Indiana country were less refined in their cultural habits.

Despite the somewhat crude, less refined existence of the Indiana French, they shared equally the vivacious love for the social life and leisure activity with their northern and southern neighbors. To insure sufficient socializing contact, they lived a communal existence in small, quaint villages usually surrounding a military outpost. They looked to the commandant and village priest for government and religious leadership, and spent much of their waking moments in idleness and leisure activity. Although research revealed only casual references to leisure and recreational
pastimes, sufficient data was available to classify these activities into sport, games, and amusements.

The abundance of wild game and the variety of natural food products produced in the fertile soils and moderate climate, especially in the Wabash valley, provided easy access to basic economic needs, and enhanced the availability of time for leisure pursuits. The nature of their economic institutions, trade, and the central locations along major water routes did not however, appear to have precipitated an influx or an acceptance of new sport, game, and amusement activities from other cultures. Further investigation did not indicate that the Indiana French adopted or participated in Indian recreational activities. However, among those early trappers and traders who lived with the Indians as one of them, it is conceivable that they shared in the Indian's recreational pursuits.

New sport, game, and amusement practices based on living conditions presented in a new environment did not appear to have developed among the Indiana French. The descriptive data available pertaining to leisure activities indicates they exhibited similar recreational patterns as those of early French habitants of Canada and New Orleans. An

\footnote{The French found many of the recreational activities of the Indian tribes very difficult to understand. This was especially true of their game of straws and other games of chance; (Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents; Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791, X, Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1897, p. 321).}
abundance of conclusive data in this area is lacking at this time. Perhaps this is due to the inhabitant's illiteracy, or perhaps they were too busy amusing themselves to record such events.

Religion appears to have played a significant role in their leisure life-style. Sunday mass was almost always followed with social events in which the congregation engaged in feasting, games, and dancing. Whole villages observed holy days with festive celebrations, "that the more they are able to enjoy themselves, the more acceptable they are to their Creator." However, dancing during holy day's celebrations did not appear to have been a mode to worship their God.

For the French habitants of the Indiana country, their religious philosophy of self enjoyment as criteria for acceptance by their Creator, their, as a whole, deeply religious ties with Catholicism, the tranquil setting and generous bounty of the Wabash valley, and their seemingly carefree, easy-going approach to living, appear to have been significant factors which precipitated their participation in social leisure and sport, game, and amusement activities.

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67 Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana, pp. 316-317.
CHAPTER V

THE BRITISH INFLUENCE
IN INDIANA

The British influence in the Northwest Territory and the Indiana country began as early as 1715 when traders from the eastern colonies began entering the territory with British-made goods for trade with the Indian tribes. Early French recognition of British encroachment and the possible consequences had prompted the construction of three French posts along the Wabash. But by the late 1730's many English traders were still underselling the cost of French goods to the Indians. By the year 1744 a thirty-year truce between France and Great Britain was severed and a new series of wars broke out which eventually affected their American colonies and the quest for the fur trade in the Ohio and Wabash valleys.²

¹In December of 1717, Marquis de Vandrevil, governor and lieutenant general of New France, entered in his journal that for the past year and a half English traders from Carolina had made their way westward to trade among the Ouiatanon tribe; (Frances Krauskopf, trans. and ed., Ouiatanon Documents, Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Publications, 1955, p. 160).

In contrast to the vast area of French territory and its sparse population, the British colonies contained more than a million people confined to a narrow belt of land between the Allegheny Mountains and the Atlantic coast. These provinces were becoming comparatively crowded, and each year many enterprising families of English, Scotch-Irish, and German extraction pushed westward toward the mountain borders. By 1750, despite the French and hostile Indians, the mountain barriers were being penetrated in increasing numbers, and the French soon found their possession of western lands and monopoly of the fur trade threatened. However, during this time only a few adventurers advanced as far west as the Indiana country. Many of these early adventurers, as well as those settlers who followed, were first generation Americans. Their cultural habits and recreational pastimes will be presented in the following chapter.

Although there were a few English traders in the French occupied territory northwest of the Ohio, there were no permanent settlements of English speaking peoples in the Indiana country until the late eighteenth century. Spearheaded by the French and Indian War, the British advancement continued, however, with temporary conquest of Post Ouiatanon by

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Lieutenant Edward Jenkins on November 5, 1761, and Post Miami by Lieutenant John Butler on November 6 of that same year. By giving presents and making promises to the Indian tribes around these two posts, the British were able to hold these strategic positions along the Wabash trade route until the finalizing of the Treaty of Paris on February 10, 1763. This brought the total of British troops stationed west of Pennsylvania to about six hundred.

As a result of the outcome of the Seven Years' War, England suddenly found herself with more worldly property than she could effectively govern. The frontier received from France was enormous, and Britain was more interested in some areas than in others, mainly the Northwest Territory. After the war, early control was administered from Detroit and other posts on the Great Lakes. As a result of this distant control, the British virtually ignored the post at

4Krauskopf, Quiatanon Documents, p. 156.

5Randolph C. Downes, Council Fires on the Upper Ohio (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1940), pp. 103-104.


Vincennes. Once they had gained control of the Mississippi valley, they no longer looked upon Vincennes as significant. The apathetic French habitants there now sided with the British and were permitted to select their own leaders who would act on British behalf. Thus, with control of the Northwest Territory, the Indian tribes, and the fur trade from Detroit, the British seemed to be in no hurry to take possession of the Upper Wabash posts on a permanent basis.

During this time, Posts Ouiatanon and Miami were inadequately manned, and the early years of British occupation saw constant friction between the Indian tribes, usually incited by the French and the English traders. Such friction gradually intensified, until, in the spring of 1777, the British reinforced the garrisons at Posts Ouiatanon,

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8 Lieutenant John Rumsey took command of the post at Vincennes for the British in 1766. He found the Post in a state of deterioration, but made repairs and renamed it Fort Sackville. On April 8, 1772, General Gage issued an order for dispersal of all French citizens from Vincennes. The citizens rebelled and sent a petition through General Gage to England's Lord Hillsborough. Before the petition was acted upon, Hillsborough fell from power and was replaced by Lord Dartmouth who was not in favor of expelling the French at Vincennes. Instead he declared them British subjects. In May, 1777, Lieutenant Governor Edward Abbott took command of Vincennes (Fort Sackville). However, he left in early February, 1778, leaving Fort Sackville deserted and the settlement without defense; (August Derleth, Vincennes, Portal to the West, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968, p. 26); (Joseph Henry Vanderburgh Sommers, Old Vincennes New York: Graphic Books, 1962, p. 32).

Miami, and Vincennes, and began to exercise the first real English authority in the Indiana country since the close of the war in 1763.\textsuperscript{10}

After the French and Indian War, the Indiana country still contained many French traders, all of whom were angered over the new trade regulations imposed by the British. These traders, seemingly bent on revenge, constantly incited the Indian tribes against the British, making it extremely difficult to win their alliance. Further conflict arose as more and more English traders and American settlers ventured across the Appalachian Mountains into the valleys of the Wabash and Ohio.\textsuperscript{11} Due to the lack of interest in Vincennes, the British were extremely vulnerable along the Ohio and Wabash Rivers, thus enabling George Rogers Clark to successfully conduct raids in the area in 1778.\textsuperscript{12} In addition to the conflicts in the interior, the American Revolution was raging in the Atlantic colonies. Each of these crisis contributed to the decline in British authority and their


\textsuperscript{11}The Proclamation of October 7, 1763, temporarily prohibited white settlers beyond the head waters flowing into the Atlantic until a more exact boundary reflecting the claims of both white settlers and the Indians could be ascertained; (Jack M. Sosin, \textit{The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763-1783} (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967), pp. 10-11.

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 116.
eventual withdrawal from North America under the provisions of the treaty signed in Paris in 1783.\textsuperscript{13}

But the advent of peace brought no order for the withdrawal of British garrisons from the interior and the Indiana country. For the next eleven years Britain refused to fix any date for surrender of the keys to the west in order that she might maintain continued control of the fur trade.\textsuperscript{14}

The final British surrender of the Northwest Territory came with the negotiation of the Jay Treaty in 1794, which provided for complete withdrawal from all interior posts by January 1, 1796. Complete withdrawal of garrisons, arms, and stores did not occur, however, until late July of that same year.\textsuperscript{15} The British continued to maintain some military authority over the Northwest Territory and the tributaries

\textsuperscript{13}In accordance with the provisions of the treaty signed in Paris, and finalized September 3, 1783, all British troops and garrisons would be withdrawn from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty to the United States; (David Hunter Miller, ed., Treaties and Other International Acts of The United States of America, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1931, pp. 151-157); Alfred Leroy Burt, The United States, Great Britain and British North America from the Revolution to the Establishment of Peace After the War of 1812, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940, p. 82).

\textsuperscript{14}According to their own estimates during this period, London imported annually from Canada furs worth about two hundred thousand pounds, of which nearly two-thirds came from the American side of the treaty line; (Michigan Pioneer Historical Collections, XLIX, Lansing: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford Co., 1921, p. 289).

\textsuperscript{15}John B. Dillon, Oddities of Colonial Legislation in America (Indianapolis: Robert Douglass Publisher, 1879), p. 528; Burt, The United States, Great Britain and..., p. 82.
to the Upper Mississippi until Commodore Perry administered a fatal blow to the English Navy on Lake Erie in the autumn of 1813. 16

As can easily be determined, the significant British influence in the Northwest Territory and the Indiana country during the period from 1763 to 1796 was predominantly military in nature, although a few English traders did enter the territory to trade with the Indian tribes. However, the nomadic-like life-style of the traders made it virtually impossible to determine specific cultural habits. A search of sources did reveal some evidence of leisure and recreational activities among British military personnel while they occupied the former French outposts along the Wabash. Therefore, it was felt that pertinent data describing British recreational habits, although only brief accounts, should be treated as a part of the sport, games, and amusement pastimes of the early cultural inhabitants of the Indiana country. Due to the sometimes less conventional life-style of military personnel, there was a slight variation in the format of this chapter in relation to practices of economics, occupation, religion, education, and governing policies.

Economic and Occupational Practices as Related to Policy

Because British soldiers were under the supportive care of the king, their economic status was essentially provided for as long as supplies could be shipped to the various garrisoned outposts. Therefore, they had only to comply with the occupational duties set down for them in accordance with military and governmental policies of the Crown and the British Army chain of command.

Many military occupational duties and governing policies were a result of the Proclamation of 1763. Under the Proclamation, British governing policy in the Northwest Territory was concerned with four principal objectives: one, laying down definite boundaries for the new land acquired from France in North America; two, encouraging settlement of these areas by British subjects; three, opening up, under strict regulations, the Indian trade to all English traders; and finally, assuring the Indian tribes living in the transappalachian and Great Lakes region that the British government intended to keep faith with them by forbidding settlement on their lands except by orderly processes involving

\[17\text{Rations, clothing, arms, and equipment could be shipped conveniently down the Ohio and by way of the Great Lakes. But delivery could only be made to northern posts when the waters of the Wabash and Maumee Rivers were at a sufficiently high level; (James Ripley Jacobs, The Beginning of the U.S. Army, 1783-1947, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1947, pp. 148-149).}\]
specific authorization on the part of the British Crown. Thus, the occupation of the British garrisons in the frontier became the enforcement of Proclamation policies.

However, the wishes of the British Crown were not always reflected in the actions of her military forces. Even with the presence of military garrisons, from 1763 to 1783 the inhabitants in the Northwest Territory felt but lightly the ruling hand of the Mother country. The life-styles of the Indian tribes and remaining French were virtually undisturbed. Partial responsibility for light-handed British authority fell to the garrison troops and their attitudes toward the Indian tribes. Unlike the early French, British soldiers thought themselves superior to the Indians and did not associate with them, particularly to the point of inter-marriage or living with them. Instead, for the most part, they kept the Indians outside their stockades while they remained aloof inside. Such feelings exhibited toward the Indian tribes made it extremely difficult to exercise authority and to gain their trust, friendship, and the peaceful relationship the British Crown desired.


19 John D. Barhart and Dorothy L. Riker, Indiana to 1816; The Colonial Period (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1971), p. 138; Aloofness and disassociation with the Indian tribes was a more common practice among British officers. However, there were exceptions.
The British directed similar attitudes toward the American settlers who attempted to enter the Indiana country. In the spring of 1794 British soldiers under the command of Colonel Alexander McKee entered the Maumee valley to reopen Post Miami. McKee himself set up a trading station outside the Post where he provided hostile Indian tribes with arms. With adequately equipped Indian allies, they were confident of halting Anthony Wayne’s army and the American advance-ment. 20

For the most part, however, British soldiers were too few in numbers, stationed great distances apart, and frequently inadequately supplied and improperly trained for the duty of policing the frontier. 21 This was perhaps due in part to the attempted fulfillment of the principal objectives devised by the British Crown. Much of the time was spent in preparing and surveying new territories and boundaries, 22 and building and maintaining garrison posts. 23

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23 J. Leitch Wright, Britain and the American Frontier, 1783-1815 (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1975) p. 91.
leaving insufficient time for proper military training.

The economic and occupational institutions of the British soldier during the period under investigation appear to have been fully provided by the British Crown in the form of enforcing and carrying out prescribed governmental policy. Little or no attention seems to have been given to individual work related objectives or the development of a livelihood outside the military environment. At times even military responsibilities, especially in the areas of training were neglected.

Religious and Educational Practices

The British victory and the territorial acquisition of spoils from the Seven Years' War led to a thin deployment of troops and created an urgent need for enlisted military personnel. Recruiting, however, was oftentimes a very slow and frustrating task. Therefore, in order to fulfill this critical need, prospective soldiers were often kidnapped and forced into enlistment, while others were among the idle and less educated from Britain's slums and prisons.24 This method of conscription left the British Army in a state of

decay from which it did not fully recover until after 1815.25

To trace the exact method of conscription and the route taken to North America by the soldiers eventually garrisoned at the Wabash posts, would involve exhaustive research and perhaps considerable difficulty. Therefore, an assumption was made that a large percentage of British soldiers sent to North America and the Indiana country during the period came generally from the economic and educational environment previously described.

Religiously, it is equally difficult to characterize the British soldier as being predominantly of one religious faith. The reformation which brought an end to Catholic domination provided British subjects with religious freedom to pursue new faiths such as the preachings of Martin Luther and John Calvin. However, despite the religious beliefs of British soldiers in Indiana, religion, which had been one of the reasons which enabled the French to gain the affections of the Indian tribes, was entirely lacking in British relations with the race. The soldiers, and especially the English traders, were generally unscrupulous in their dealings with the tribes and oftentimes each other, and appear to have rarely practiced sound religious morals.26


Based on a general survey of pertinent data, it appears that probably British military enlisted personnel in the Indiana country were moderately to poorly educated, and although of a variety of religious faiths with God, did not always practice them religiously.

Recreational and Leisure Practices

Although only limited descriptive data were found to indicate specific leisure and occupational practices, it would appear that these habits among the British soldiers garrisoned in the Indiana country were not interrelated. Such evidence would seem to refute Gross' hypothesis for measuring cultural leisure.²⁷ However, the work and leisure patterns of military personnel, especially on the wilderness frontier, is not representative of the entire British military service or of all British culture.

Work and leisure patterns among British soldiers were seemingly divided into distinguishable time elements, a time for work and a time for play. This characteristic was evident in the English distribution of presents to the Indian tribes. Presents given by both soldiers and traders were measured out grudgingly, and once the gifts had been

distributed, the work was completed, and the givers went on their way. The Indians found this procedure difficult to accept, as such previous dealings with the French were always shared in festive celebration with food and drink.  

When the soldiers were not busy with surveying boundaries, keeping the peace, and other military occupational duties, much of their time was spent in quarrelling, drunkenness, gambling and insubordination. Such behavior made difficult the task of finding men capable of living up to the responsibilities of noncommissioned officers. Time again certain men thought worthy were promoted, only to be reduced in rank for drunkenness or fighting. Further contribution to such soldier behavior was enhanced by the Indians, traders, half-breeds, and squatters who inhabited the area around the various posts. Soldiers would frequently consort with them, especially after consuming quantities of alcohol. Drunkenness was so profuse among the soldiers that men were frequently unfit for duty for days at a time.


31 Neglect of duty as well as drinking and fighting were punishable with the lash. But it would appear to have been ineffective. It must also be taken into consideration that
Based on the evidence presented, there appears to be a differentiation between work and leisure patterns among the military garrisoned in the Indiana country. Their leisure habits would seem supportive of Faust's study on leisure and living. However, the soldier's choice of leisure activity, drinking and revelry, often kept him away from work patterns, and enabled him to engage in virtually an almost total leisure life-style. Thus, there appears to have been an abundance of leisure time available among British soldiers garrisoned at Indiana posts. However, with only a few exceptions to be discussed later, leisure patterns were unstructured with little or no meaningful direction.

Sport, Games, and Amusement Practices of The British Influence in Indiana

Only limited data were found pertaining to recreational activities practiced by the British during their occupation of the Indiana country. However, available data were sufficient to be classified into sport, games, and amusements much of these data describing the leisure practices among the British soldiers in the Indiana country were from a time period later in the British occupation of North America, 1790's. Therefore, there were considerably outside cultural influences and lax disciplinary regulations which probably contributed to leisure patterns of revelry behavior not earlier practiced.

In his study Faust concluded that leisure time was "the time we are free to do what we choose to." (J. W. Faust, "Leisure and Living," Playground, XXIV, September, 1932, p. 323).
as defined for this study.\textsuperscript{33}

**Sport Type Diversions**

Sources revealed only four recreational pastimes practiced among the British military in Indiana which fall into the category of sport. Although not competitive in nature, each required some physical prowess, agility, and dexterity, and were participated in on a seasonal basis. During the winter of 1789-90, at Post Miami, Major Henry Hay, British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, recorded in his journal that he went ice skating one Friday in January. Major Hay described his recreation stating:

This is the coldest day we have had since my arrival. But very fine overhead (clear) - wind began to blow excessively hard about day break & continued so to do. I scated [sic] for the first time yesterday upon a marrai (marsh) about ½ mile at the back of the village - this marrai falls into a creek which goes by the name of le Rouisso de Rioll which falls into the Miami. This creek takes its name from a Frenchman who once had a hutt close by it.\textsuperscript{34}

As the winters appear to have been sufficiently cold to freeze ponds and streams for skating, summer temperatures thawed these watery areas for swimming and fishing. Although there was no specific reference found describing swimming activities, a garrison order issued in June of 1791 at Post Miami stated that "... no soldier is to go into the water to

\textsuperscript{33}See Chapter I, pages 14-15.

\textsuperscript{34}Quaife, *Fort Wayne in 1790*, p. 327.
swim without liberty from the Commanding Officer." The need to issue such an order is evidence that swimming was apparently popular to the extent that soldiers oftentimes left the post without proper authority in order to engage in aquatic pursuits.

In another garrison order from Post Miami, date not given, concern for the health and recreational welfare of the soldier was evident. The order was in reference to fishing in the hot summer sun, and stated:

> Whereas it is believed that exposure to the hot rays of the sun at the season of the year is injurious to health, and particularly so on the banks of a River so lately overflowed as that which passes this place. Therefore, all persons belonging to this garrison, are strictly forbidden standing to fish on the bank of this River or the pond, except so long only as to examine their rod, bait their hooks and cast in their lines.

Further support for the apparent popularity of fishing among British soldiers, as well as their state of personal health, was expressed by General James Wolfe during his command at Quebec. It seems that Commander Wolfe always provided for the recreation and health of his men by ordering that "each regiment should be supplied with fishing-hooks and lines, and that a certain quantity of ginger should be given to every man daily for the purpose of mixing with their drinking

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35 Griswold, Fort Wayne, Gateway of the West, p. 204; Garrison Orderly Book (MSS Burton Historical Collection of The Detroit Public Library, Detroit). Hereafter this collection is cited as GOB.

36 The reference to River in the garrison order was probably the Maumee River which flowed only a few hundred
From these data collected it is difficult to determine the amount of hunting or shooting in which troops may have engaged. The only reference to shooting was expressed in a letter from Ensign Philip Ostrander to George Hoffman, collector for the government at Michilimackinac. Ensign Ostrander stated that "my only amusement is shooting along the shore and occasionally reading." Because of the frequent shortage of supplies, powder and shot, and a constant threat from hostile Indians, it is possible that shooting for sport was not encouraged.

Although these references to sport type activities are sketchy, they do provide some insight into the sporting habits of British soldiers garrisoned in the Indiana frontier. Based on these data sporting activities appear to have been engaged in individually and concompetitively.

Game Type Diversions

In keeping with the definition of game type activities as it applies to this study, an examination of sources

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38 Griswold, op. cit., p. 258.

indicates that game type diversions popular among British troops in the Indiana country consisted of only low organization games involving chance or fate of which the participant had little or no control.

Although strictly prohibited, gambling at cards was the most commonly referred to game type diversion. However, no reference was found describing a particular kind of card game. The gambling instinct developed strongly among men confined in an isolated military post. As a result, it was not uncommon to find men left penniless, while others are said to have retired from military life with financial independence. Despite rigid orders against the use of playing cards, enforcement was extremely difficult, as even an occasional officer was known to engage in a card game from time to time. Major Henry Hay was one such officer who indulged in cards and drink. However, he was discreet in such activities so as to enjoy his recreation in the company of civilian friends outside the garrison walls. In a journal entry of January 16, 1790, Hay recorded:

Played cards last night at Mr. Dufrenes in Company with all the principal People of the Village, did not come home until this morning about 4 O'clock rather Drunkish.

Enlisted personnel who remained inside the post to play at cards were not so fortunate. Such was the case of

40 Griswold, Fort Wayne, Gateway of the West, p. 256.
41 Quaife, Fort Wayne in 1790, p. 333.
Corporal James W. Frost, who, on May 22, 1797, was found guilty of burning a candle in his room after hours and playing cards. For this violation Frost was reduced to private and received fifteen lashes.42

**Amusement Type Diversions**

Research revealed only dancing as the recreational pastime engaged in by British military personnel which fit the criteria for classification as amusement type diversions designed for this study.43 Although dancing often requires a certain amount of physical prowess and dexterity, each of which is sometimes necessary for sport and game activities, dancing during the British period did not require competitiveness, nor was it dependent upon chance or fate for the outcome.

Only casual references were made to dancing during the British period, and it would appear that the majority of those participants were officers who left their military quarters in the evening to go into the surrounding villages and dance socially with the remaining French and the few American settlers who resided there. A favorite story of Colonel Clark's conquest of Post Vincennes tells how there was a ball being given by the officers of the Post, and that

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42Griswold, *Fort Wayne, Gateway of the West*, p. 260.; GOB.
the gay creoles, both men and women, were surprised at the
dance when Clark and his men looked in on them.

Clark had placed his men on guard, secured the
exits, and was calmly leaning against the doorpost
looking at the dancers. Upon discovery the dancers
rushed toward the door. Clark, standing unmoved and
with unchanging face, grimly bade them continue their
dancing, but to remember that they now danced under
the flag of Virginia and not Great Britain.44

The accuracy of this story is undocumented. But in view of
both the French and British appetite for dancing, the account
could easily bear some truth.

Among documented sources of dancing, Major Hay was appar-
ently one of the more noted participants in dance and social
activities. His journal contains numerous accounts of his
social life among the villagers around Post Miami. One en-
try dated Sunday, January 16, 1790, Major Hay recorded:

I never enjoyed my self at a Dance better than I did
last night. The Gentlemen & Ladies all appeared
dressed in their best bibs & Tuckers, & behaved very
descently not one of the men the least in Liquor, &
which is mostly the case in this place when they col-
lect together - As Mr. Leith never walks a minuet I
opened the Ball with Mr. Adamher - when Mrs. A.
(Adamher) - entered the room I desired the fiddler to
play, God save the King.45

In addition to the fiddle mentioned by Major Hay, the flute
appears to have been an available instrument of entertain-
ment. Major Hay wrote in his journal on January 25, 1790,

44 Julia Henderson Levering, Historic Indiana (New York:

45 Quaife, Fort Wayne in 1790, p. 334.
that he "Danced 'till about ½ past 9 O'clock, then broke up -
took Mrs. Payett home and played her the Cuckold March on the
flute." No record was found describing dancing among en-
listed personnel either within or outside garrison walls.

It is fully realized that these data pertaining to amuse-
ment practices are probably not representative of those of
every officer and enlisted man in the British Army garrisoned
in the Indiana frontier. Such variables as the location of
military posts, the size of the surrounding villages, and
cultural habitants no doubt had a significant bearing on the
type and amount of amusement activity engaged in. The settle-
ment around Post Miami was by far larger than the one at Post
Ouiatanon, and contained diversed cultures of French, Indian,
English, and later even a few Americans. At Post Ouiatanon
the surrounding village was small and predominantly inhab-
ited by Indians, with a trace of French influence. Post
Vincennes was by far the largest settled area, and still pre-
dominantly French. But the British had little interest there.
Despite the sketchiness of description, and the probable in-
fluence of variables, these data do present evidence that
British military personnel did engage in amusement type di-
versions during there occupation of the Indiana country.

Because of its military nature and the comparatively
short period of inhabitance, the British cultural influence

46 Quaife, *Fort Wayne in 1790*, p. 334.
in the territory which became Indiana was perhaps not as significant in relation to prominence as was the cultures of Indian tribes, the French, and the later to be investigated American pioneers. However, their military exploits were significant in shaping the history of Indiana and its future.

Included in their history shaping exploits were leisure and recreational practices which could be classified as sport, games, and amusements. Among the British, such practices did not appear to have been work related, or to have been engaged in as ritualistic practices of religious ceremony. Participation in dance, cards, skating, swimming, and fishing was non-competitive, individualistic, and purely as a means of recreational enjoyment. Playing at cards was perhaps the only activity engaged in for monetary gain. Activities were, for the most part, seasonal in nature, engaged in only when temperatures and climate were suitable. Playing at cards appeared to have been the main exception as evidence indicates they were probably played year round.

Initially, the British did not appear to have shared the friendly, socializing habits of the French. During the early period of their Indiana occupation they practiced strict discipline and remained aloft and superior to the habitants they encountered. In the years of their declining influence however, strict attitudes seemed to have changed. Some available evidence indicates the development of socializing patterns with those cultures immediately around them.
Such socializing patterns appear to have been especially true at Post Miami as an occasional officer would play cards, drink, and dance the night away with French settlers of the surrounding village.

Although data are limited and sketchy, it would appear the British made no attempt to adopt or incorporate French or Indian recreational practices into their own sport, game, and amusement pastimes. The only exception may have occurred during their declining influence when their strict disciplinary attitudes gave way to social interaction with cultures around them.
CHAPTER VI

THE AMERICAN PIONEER CULTURES IN INDIANA

Because of the variety of cultural habits and customs of first generation Americans, and of the few European immigrants who migrated to the Indiana country, it would be extremely difficult to identify and distinguish those practices as representative characteristics of a specific cultural influence, as frequently only one or a few families inhabited scattered settlements throughout the Indiana frontier. However, an investigation of pertinent data revealed that essentially five significant nationalities of culture immigrated westward to the Indiana Territory between the period of British withdrawal to 1820. These nationalities included German, Scotch, Irish, Swiss, and English who came directly from their European homelands, as well as one generation removed Americans from the Atlantic coastal states.

Despite differing ethnic backgrounds, there existed similarities in objectives and purpose for immigrating to the frontier, as well as similarities in the life-style which pioneer life forced them to endure. Therefore, the presentation of data pertaining to economic, family life, governmental policy, religious and educational institutions were generalized as basic characteristics of the Indiana pioneer. Significantly differing cultural characteristics found within
these institutions were identified and presented as indigenous to that respective culture. To further identify immigrants to the western frontier which became Indiana during their beginnings and/or significant influence, the periods were defined as the early period, 1785-1799, with reference to the Indiana country; the Indiana Territory, 1800-1815; and Indiana after statehood, 1816-1820.

Just two score years were to elapse between Indiana's early American settlement and her admission to statehood in 1816.¹ These were restless years filled with Indian wars, a great instability in governing policies, dissension and controversy over land titles, tremendous physical and social hardships, and two major wars with England. The story of these years, the emergence of Indiana as a state, and of her people, was to become a classic narrative of human struggle between a new environment and the cultural practices of a former environment; a struggle which would no doubt be repeated on every successive frontier.

As early as 1748, even while the French and British struggled for control of the Northwest Territory and its fur trade, a few Virginia and Carolina traders pushed into the

¹A certified statement of the census submitted to the Assembly in 1816 showed a population of 63,897 inhabiting thirteen counties in southern Indiana; (Louis B. Ewbank and Dorothy L. Riker, eds., The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1809-1816, Indiana Historical Collections, XX, Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1934, pp. 587-588); (James A. Woodburn, Pioneers and Pathfinders of New France, Indiana Magazine of History, XXXI, Bloomington: Department of History of Indiana University, 1925, pp. 275-299).
Ohio Valley followed by an occasional settler exercising squatters rights. The discovery of the Cumberland Gap in 1750 opened a long awaited route through the Appalachian Mountains enabling an exodus of settlers from the Atlantic coast states to migrate into the Ohio Valley. And, by 1753, the state of Virginia claimed governmental jurisdiction over the land northwest of the Ohio River. Many of the early pioneers crossing the mountains first settled in the present state of Kentucky. It was one of these early settlers, Colonel George Rogers Clark, who would eventually play a significant role in Indiana's history.

Early British inhabitants after 1763 never really threatened Virginia and her territorial claims in the northwest. But in 1777, when England finally decided to take full control and exercise authority of her recently acquired property, Virginia became quite concerned. On December 10, 1777, Colonel Clark returned to Virginia and presented to Governor Patrick Henry his plan for conquering the British

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2Arvil S. Barr, Warrick County Prior to 1818, Indiana Magazine of History, XIV (Bloomington: Department of History of Indiana University, 1918), pp. 309.

3During this early period, Virginia considered the present states of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to be counties of that state, and governed by the laws of Virginia; (J. W. Whickcar, General Charles Scott and His March to Ouiateno, XXI, Indiana Magazine of History, Bloomington: Department of History of Indiana University, 1925, p. 90); (John B. Dillon, A History of Indiana from its Earliest Exploration by Europeans to the Close of the Territorial Government in 1859, Indianapolis: Bingham and Doughty, 1859, pp. 52-53).
military posts in the Northwest Territory. Following some deliberation, Clark was granted permission to carry out his plan with full financial support of the state of Virginia.  

On a whole, Clark achieved moderate success in his total campaign against British posts, taking only Post Kaskaskia and Post Vincennes. His initial plan to march up the Wabash and take the posts at Outatanon, Miami, and Detroit was delayed almost a year by an order from the Virginia government to wait for reinforcements. However, before reinforcements arrived, morale problems developed, many of the men's enlistment had expired, and desertion depleted his already small army. As a result Clark's plan was abandoned.  

Colonel Clark's gallant effort to free the Northwest Territory and the Indian tribes from British control was rewarded by two Piankeshaw chiefs, Tabac and Grand Cornet, who, in July, 1779, granted by deed to Clark a tract of land two and a half leagues square on the right bank opposite the falls on the Ohio River. This area became known as Clark's Grant, which later became one of the primary locations in

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4 Clark was given seven companies of militia and 12,000 pounds by the state of Virginia to defray expenses; (Dillon, A History of Indiana from its Earliest Exploration, pp. 119-120).


Indiana for settlement by American pioneers.\textsuperscript{7}

While Clark fought the British, Indian hostilities continued against Indiana settlers as late as 1813, oftentimes with the aid and approval of the British command in Canada.\textsuperscript{8} But the threat of hostile Indians and the unknown wilderness did not seem to have deterred the advancing pioneers. Once American colonial policy had been outlined in the Ordinances of 1785 and 1787, thousands of settlers continued to pour into the western territory, across the Alleghenies through the Gap, northward through Kentucky, and by water down the Ohio.\textsuperscript{9} Land companies were formed to promote and sell western land for settlement. Travellers and writers wrote pamphlets and articles describing the "climate as luxurious, the soil as inexhaustible, the rainfall as both abundant and well distributed, and the crops as unfailingly bountiful."\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{7}In 1791 Clarksville, on Clark's Grant, along with Vincennes, became townships of Knox County; (\textit{History of Knox and Daviess Counties, Indiana}, Chicago: The Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1886, pp. 148-172).


\textsuperscript{9}As early as 1787 an observer at Pittsburg reported that in six weeks time fifty flatboats loaded with settlers and goods set off for down river settlements. In 1788 some forty-five hundred immigrants were said to have passed Fort Harmar between February and June, bound for Kentucky and parts of Ohio and Indiana. The census conducted in 1790 gave the population north of the Ohio as 4,280; (Frederic Austin Ogg, \textit{The Old Northwest, A Chronicle of the Ohio Valley and Beyond}, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920, pp. 97-98).

\textsuperscript{10}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 97.
Paid agents went among perspective settlers assuring them that a man of push and courage could no where be so prosperous and so happy as in the west. An article in a Providence newspaper gave a vivid picture of the many privations as well as the rewards that came to the settlers who ventured into the western country. The article advised:

Emigrants to avoid the Niagara and Kentucky regions, and to Choose lands that are directly under the control of the Federal government, especially those lands that lie in regions free from Negro slavery. The farmer should take along apple, peach, and garden seeds, a kettle for maple sugar, and a gun with powder and shot for hunting, together with the iron parts of all implements. Settlers must eschew all luxuries, but should take with them the Bible, and those of the same faith should settle together, in order to secure the sooner a minister and a schoolmaster.

The signing of the Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795, was a significant event in the development of the Indiana frontier. Under the provisions of the treaty, the Indian tribes agreed to cease their warring activities against settlers, and the acceptance of boundaries separating Indian land from newly opened land for settlement. But frequently these provisions were not upheld. The frequency of violations were especially evident after Congress declared Indiana


12The Providence Gazette, June 6, 1789.

13The Treaty of Greenville opened up a vast new area in southern and southeastern Indiana to settlement. See map on page 169; (The New American State Papers, 1789-1860, Indian Affairs, Northwest, IV, Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1972, pp. 150-152).
PLATE IV

INDIANA AS IT APPEARED TO THE WHITE MAN IN 1810
WITH LOCATION OF INDIAN LAND CESSIONS
PLATE IV

WITH LOCATION OF INDIAN LAND CESSIONS
a territory on May 7, 1800, as more and more settlers migrated to the newly established territory. From this period, 1800, the increasing influx of settlers resulted in numerous smaller treaties being made for Indian lands between tribes, clans, and even small bands, further complicating boundary claims and causing recurring friction among Indians and whites. In June of 1808, Tecumseh organized a confederacy of broken tribes in an attempt to drive the white settlers from the territory. But the effort was unsuccessful.

Overlooking the few hundred remaining French in and around Vincennes, and a few English traders, the majority of early immigrants to the Indiana country followed the trails blazed by Colonel George Rogers Clark and his men during the American War for Independence. These early pioneers were men of predominantly southern origin, who, with their families, migrated from their homes in Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and the backcountry of the Carolinas. Some later Indiana settlers made their way from the middle state of Pennsylvania.

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14 In 1804 William Henry Harrison, Jonathan Jennings, Lewis Cass, and Benjamin Parke, acting as commissioners for the United States, made several treaties with the Delaware, Potawatomi, and Miami tribes for small tracts of land in southern Indiana; (Vida Newsom, Phases of Southeastern Indiana History, Indiana Magazine of History, XX, Bloomington: Department of History of Indiana University, 1924, p. 39).

15 Brace, Tecumseh’s Confederacy, p. 67.

Primarily, they were of German and Scotch-Irish descent whose first generation customs and habits in colonial America took on varying patterns previously practiced in their European homelands. Whatever their reason for migration; a means of liquidating a heavy mortgage,\textsuperscript{17} the lure of inexpensive lands,\textsuperscript{18} or aspirations for better social and economic conditions,\textsuperscript{19} the movement was almost constant, especially into the Indiana Territory after 1800. Their colonial experiences in the Atlantic colonies, as well as those developed in the backcountry of Kentucky and Tennessee, were modified and newly molded by the demands of the wilderness frontier. By the time these cultures crossed the Appalachians and the Ohio into Indiana, similarities in cultural patterns had emerged which enabled certain generalizations as to character to be made.

Pioneer life has oftentimes been portrayed as essentially harsh, primitive, and sordid, while at the same time being preponderantly delectable, ebullient, and romantic.\textsuperscript{20} No


doubt the true pioneering character of Indiana lies somewhere
between these descriptive paragons. But evidence does exist
to indicate that despite the shared similarities in duties
and responsibilities incurred on the frontier, each new set-
tler brought to Indiana individual cultural characteristics.
Various, these early settlers were characterized as indus-
trious, hard working people, optimistic, sometimes rebellious,
but possessing self-reliance, fortitude, and courageous,
honest purpose. They were individualists, but hospitable
and cooperative, expressing both grave mien and humor, and
never wholly without amusement.21

Among this throng of immigrants who crossed the Ohio
before statehood, there seem to have been essentially three
distinct groups or classes. The first class of early set-
tlers, before 1800, were largely of the "squatter" type, half
hunter and half farmer, who never really made the transition
from the primitive life-style to that of the more settled
agrarian pioneer. They were a wild and abandoned lot, refusing
to obey either British or Virginia governmental author-
ity.22 The second class, who made up the majority of immi-
grants to the Indiana Territory, were upland southern folks

21William Henry Smith, The History of the State of Indiana
from the Earliest Explorations by the French to the Present,
I (Indianapolis: The B. L. Blair Company, 1897), pp. 38, 40;
Gayle Thornbrough and Dorothy L. Riker, eds., Readings in
Indiana History (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau,

22Jack M. Sosin, The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763-1783
of Anglo-Saxon ancestry. They were veterans of the American Revolution, young men seeking their fortune, the backwoodsman, and the anti-slavery zealot from the southern states. But the most significant characteristic of the class was their agrarian life-style which they transplanted in the rich, fertile soil of southern Indiana.

The third group consisted of the oftentimes older, more settled gentry from the Tidewater region who had stayed behind until the new territory was more secure. They were educated men who were or became wealthy and influential, with money enough to start a new life. They were doctors, lawyers, storekeepers and mechanics, many of whom were to become the influential, well-to-do farmers and businessmen of communities, and to develop the fabric of Hoosier society.

From the time the Indiana Territory was formed in 1800, until after 1816 to 1820, the region to the north of treaty ceded boundaries belonged to the Indian tribes, despite continued conflict with American military troops until 1815. After this date the Indians ceased to pose a major obstacle to white settlement. The area around the military post at

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23 Bond, The Civilization of The Old Northwest, p. 18.


25 Treaties ceding Indian lands in Indiana to the United States began with the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, and ended with the ceding of the Big Reserve by the Miami tribe in 1840.
Fort Wayne became home to a few American settlers after Indian hostilities had ceased. But settlements of significant size and importance developed predominantly in the southern and southeastern portion of the new territory.

In the year 1800, Vincennes still remained the settlement of most importance. There were a few smaller settlements scattered about, at Fort Wayne, one where the town of Lawrenceburg stands today, at Armstrong on the Ohio, and Clarksville. But aside from these small villages and farms, there were no other settlements by white cultures with the exception of an occasional adventurer or squatter. The pioneers who inhabited these settlements were predominantly first and second generation Americans of various cultural heritage. However, in addition to the already present French cultures of the early period, data collected indicated that the twenty years after 1800 saw cultures immigrating directly from Germany, Switzerland, and England, each of whom established individual European style communities. The following is a general introduction and description of these ethnic cultures, each of which will be further characterized as pertinent data becomes evident in their various cultural

The "New Purchase" ceded at the Treaty of St. Marys in 1818, was the last acquisition of Indian land in Indiana pertinent to this study. See map on page 176; (Baynard Rush Hall, The New Purchase or, Seven and A Half Years in the Far West, James A. Woodburn, ed., Princeton: University Press, 1916, p. iii-iv); Dillon, A History of Indiana, p. 575.

PLATE V

INDIANA AS IT APPEARED TO THE WHITE MAN IN 1818 WITH LOCATION OF COUNTIES
Although many of the early French had removed westward across the Mississippi, a significant number remained at Vincennes where they continued to influence that settlement's culture to this day. On August 29, 1788, Congress made provisions for confirming land possessions and titles to French inhabitants who had settled there in or before the year 1783, and claimed United States citizenship. By the same resolution an additional tract of four hundred acres was granted to each French family of this description, and an additional one hundred acres if a family member had served in the militia. In 1791, after extensive investigation, about one person in every twenty could produce a complete land title and received the additional land allotment. However, many of the French sold their lands to Americans and continued to live their idle, leisurely existence, tending their small gardens, hunting, and trapping.

Switzerland county lies in the extreme southeastern corner of present day Indiana, with Vevay its principal town and county seat. These identifying names result from its early settlement by Swiss immigrants who were drawn to the

27The French influence remains evident at Vincennes in architectural construction, names of streets and businesses, as well as the physical appearance characteristics of many citizens.

area by rich soils suitable for their vineyards. In the spring of 1802, John James Dufour, a citizen of Vevay, Canton DeVaud, Switzerland, along with his brothers and sisters and their families, settled on Indiana soil ending a six year migration to America which began in March, 1796. On May 1, 1802, Congress passed legislation granting, on a twelve year credit, some 2,500 acres in southeastern Indiana to the Swiss colonists. In addition, 1,200 acres of public lands were purchased as more Swiss immigrants made their way to the settlement named New Switzerland.29

In the fertile valley on the lower Wabash River some sixty miles from its confluence with the Ohio, the settlement of New Harmony became one of the early permanent settlements in the Indiana Territory. New Harmony was an experiment in socialism led by George Rapp, a German immigrant from Württemberg, who came to Indiana by way of Pennsylvania in 1814. Rapp organized the Harmony Society, and with some six hundred families came to America to escape religious persecution. The Rappites, as they were often referred, purchased approximately 30,000 acres of land in what is now Posey county.30 Here the Rappites settled, living an utilitarian


life-style until 1825.\textsuperscript{31}

The English influence in Indiana resulted from a movement developed during the reconstruction period in Europe. England, like so many European nations, was attempting to resume normal economic relations after some sixty years of virtually continuous war. The attempt at economic stabilization resulted in an overwhelming system of taxation on personal property. Such tax burdens, along with religious persecution, forced Britains' of various classes to leave their country in search of both economic freedom and religious sanctification.\textsuperscript{32}

The first native English settlement in Indiana had its beginning in late October, 1817, when Saundor Hornbrook Jr. purchased one and one half sections of fertile land in the southwestern region near present day Evansville.\textsuperscript{33} Hornbrook had come to America with his two sisters from Tavistock,

\textsuperscript{31}On January 2, 1825, Robert Owen, a British industrialist and reformer, purchased the entire New Harmony community lands. Accounts of the price vary from $50,000 to $190,000; (William E. Wilson, Indiana, A History, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966, p. 70).


\textsuperscript{33}The site of this land purchase is described as being located on the east side of the Red Banks Trail about ten miles north of the Ohio River and seventeen miles south of Princeton, Indiana; (Iglehart, The Coming of the English to Indiana, p. 93).
Devonshire, England, to purchase land in southern Illinois on behalf of his father. However, the conditions of the land sale in Illinois did not meet with his terms, and after some investigation he purchased land near Evansville. Hornbrook's parents eventually followed, as did many relatives and friends. By the close of the year, 1819, the settlement contained fifty three families in possession of 12,800 acres, and having capital to the amount of eighty thousand dollars. Such landed wealth was characteristic of all the early habitants who settled this area. In England they had been men of purpose and character, of wealth and education, who, upon settlement in southern Indiana, turned predominantly to the land and an agrarian way of life. However, within their agricultural community they established and maintained the same high British standards in their intellectual, moral, social, and political institutions, bringing an air of refinement to the wilderness frontier.

Although the Society of Friends, more commonly referred to as Quakers, did not immigrate directly to the Indiana Territory from Europe, they did come in large groups, establishing and settling in their own Quaker communities. Therefore, because of their religious unity, and their significant

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numbers which established and settled Quaker communities, it was felt that for the purpose of this study the Society of Friends in Indiana should be identified as a separate cultural influence from other immigrants of the eastern states.

To a large extent the Quaker influence which migrated into the Northwest Territory, and eventually into Indiana, had its beginnings in the southern Atlantic coastal states. After almost seventy years of southern inhabitance, anti-slavery sentiment and external cultural influences created feelings of unrest among Quakers, and by 1799 the first migration of Friends pushed into the Ohio valley. 36

By 1803, North Carolina Friends began making settlements in western Ohio, and by 1807 in the Whitewater valley of eastern and southeastern Indiana. 37 The fertile soil and moderate climate of the Whitewater valley were ideally suited for agriculture, and the region rapidly became a center for Quaker immigration. The Quaker influence was so prominent around present day Richmond that the community became the yearly meeting place of the Western Society of Friends. 38 With Richmond and the Whitewater valley providing a gateway to the Indiana Territory, the Quaker influence continued to spread throughout southeastern and southern Indiana, playing a significant role

in the development of the state.\textsuperscript{39}

Within the time period under investigation, the four aforementioned cultures appear to have been the only exception to the generalization of Indiana pioneer migration mentioned earlier in this chapter. Significant differing cultural practices among the four groups were identified and acknowledged within the following presentation of pioneer cultural institutions.

**Economic and Occupational Practices**

It is doubtful that many of the early settlers recognized or totally understood their personal philosophy which acted as a driving force in their achievement of goals and objectives in the frontier. However, they did recognize manifestations of the driving force, mainly physical labor, and established it as a means of measuring their own as well as their neighbors' worth. The demands of the frontier placed considerable emphasis on the physical prowess of the pioneer, in order to change or adopt former cultural practices, and to better realize original objectives. Fordham, during his travels through Indiana and Illinois, recognized power (physical prowess) as the prominent feature of the earliest settlers.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{39} Such Quaker contributions included the organization of an anti-slavery society in 1838, and their work with the underground railroad; (Peckham, *Indiana: A Bicentennial History*, p. 66).

\textsuperscript{40} Fordham, *Personal Narrative of Travels*, p. 127.
In the earliest years of settlement, pioneers who entered the wilderness that became the Indiana Territory were often forced to return to primitive economic conditions. For the early hunter/settler this meant that primal needs for food, shelter, and clothing took precedence. Toward this end, the settler turned to his cunning skill as a hunter, and physical strength as carpenter and farmer. The ability of such skills determined the degree of his comfort as well as his survival. Pioneer life was an open society to all who had the merit to belong. To those settlers entering Indiana after 1800, merit to belong meant possessing the strength and ability to provide all of their own necessities. Characteristically, upon arrival with only an axe, a few utensils, a gun and a supply of ammunition, the settler cleared his land, erected his home of logs, and prepared the land for seeding. He raised corn, wheat, and garden vegetables, as well as cattle, horses, and occasionally a few hogs and sheep. From these the wife prepared food staples, spun and wove, and made all the clothing for herself and family. That which was not raised could easily be obtained from wild game, nuts, grapes, berries, etc.\(^41\) The settlers were usually young, hard working, and innovative. In addition to constructing the family home, the farmer made his own plow, harness, and other implements, as well as the household furniture.\(^42\)

\(^{41}\) Smith, *The History of the State of Indiana*, pp. 36, 40.

\(^{42}\) Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 319, 341.
In the ethnic settlements economic and occupational life followed similar patterns. In the Swiss settlement of Vevay, each citizen performed an equal share of the labor. The cultivation of vineyards and wine production seems to have been the major form of revenue for Vevay habitants. However, it wasn't until about 1810 that the newly planted vineyards yielded significant quantities of wine.\(^4\)\(^3\) In addition to grapes and wine, the Swiss cultivated Indian corn, potatoes, hemp, flax, wheat, and other agricultural products. At harvest time the wheat straw was saved for the women to make into hats, which were sold to Cincinnati merchants and the boats passing on the Ohio.\(^4\)\(^4\)

At New Harmony each inhabitant possessed a useful skill, and was responsible for using his particular talent for the welfare of the settlement. For example, those skillful in building homes constructed homes for everyone in exchange for other necessities produced by the labors of skillful neighbors. The settlement was completely self-sufficient, with all the basic needs being domestically produced.\(^4\)\(^5\)

Whatever method the settler chose to supply his primal needs, hunting the wild game of the forests, or farming the fertile prairies, it was clear that physical prowess and its

\(^{43}\)Fritsch, German Settlers and German Settlements in Indiana, p. 9.

\(^{44}\)Danglade, Early Days in Switzerland County, pp. 151-152; Fritsch, loc. cit.

\(^{45}\)Fritsch, op. cit., pp. 13-14.
elements of strength and dexterity were essential. With strength and dexterity the settler manipulated the tools of his trade: the plow, the axe, the horse, the gun. With these implements he was able to successfully direct his physical prowess in his struggle to overcome a new environment.

The need for physical prowess among Indiana pioneers continued through the period of study to 1820. However, after 1816 many migrating settlers achieved primal needs through public services. These were the doctors, lawyers, shopkeepers, and millwrights, as well as gentleman farmers. These livelihoods existed among settlers from the eastern colonies, but were especially common among the English immigrants who, although many were farmers, eventually became an integral part of the mercantile and industrial growth in southern Indiana. Thus, as the settlers in Indiana during this period sought to actualize their goals and objectives through their cultural institutions, the individual criteria for assessing individual worth gradually transcended earlier physical prowess. But for many decades, despite one's earlier biological beginnings, "some men were better than others, not by birth or wealth or education, but by qualities

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46 English contributions were especially evident in and around Evansville, where English immigrants of wealth and purpose held political office, and became leaders in building railroads, canals, and telegraph lines throughout southern Indiana; (Iglehart, The Coming of the English to Indiana, p. 97).
of health, strength and agility."  

**Governmental and Political Policy to 1820**

As the Indiana country developed into a territory and eventually a state, the development of sound governmental policies were essential for the welfare of its growing population and the future of the state. As evidenced in previous chapters, governing law and order among Indiana cultures before 1787 had been a mixture of French customs, military law, civil law of the Virginians based upon British antecedents, and the natural laws of the wilderness.  These governing systems had been instituted, compromised, or combined with treaties and agreements in an almost fruitless effort of finding a means whereby cultures of Indians, French, British, and American settlers could live a peaceful coexistence. The results however, were chaotic anarchy. And, at perhaps no other period in Indiana's history did the essential need for physical prowess come into practice, as men frequently took the law into his own hands in an effort to protect that which was his.

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48 On July 13, 1787, Congress passed an ordinance which, together with the land ordinance of 1785, provided for orderly settlement, development, and governing of the region north of the Ohio River; (Gayle Thornbrough and Dorothy L. Riker, eds., *Journals of The General Assembly of Indiana Territory 1805-1815*, Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1950, pp. 4-5).
This is not to suggest that the ordinance of 1787 brought immediate law and order to the Northwest Territory and Indiana, for it did not. But it did establish some objectives for which the residents and immigrants could strive to attain. Under the provisions of the ordinance the residents in the territory were subject to a governor, secretary, and three judges, and would not have a voice in governmental policy until the number of free adult males equalled five thousand. Other provisions included a civil rights guarantee for freedom of religious beliefs and worship, the right to trial by jury, and the encouragement of schools, and a means of education for all.\footnote{Charles Kettleborough, Constitution Making in Indiana. A Source Book of Constitutional Documents with Historical Introduction and Critical Notes, Indiana Historical Collections, I (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1916), pp. 31-32.}

Although each of these provisions provided incentive to settle and develop the territory, early settlers after 1787 remained virtually untouched by the new ordinance. The first seat of government of the Northwest Territory had been established at Marietta in the Ohio Territory, and was considered too distant from the backwoods settlements of the Indiana country. But by 1798, having achieved the necessary five thousand male population, the residents of the Northwest Territory called for their promised representative legislature and a delegate to Congress. But the new governmental representation of Indiana habitants to Congress was short lived,
as in 1800 the Northwest Territory was again divided, resulting in the formation of Indiana Territory and its own capital at Vincennes. However, the designation as a territory and the acquisition of its own seat of government was not as gratifying to the people of Indiana as one might be led to believe. Indiana had now become a first-grade territory with governmental control reverting back into the hands of an appointed governor.\footnote{On May 7, 1800, Congress passed an act creating the Indiana Territory from all the western portion of the Northwest Territory. President John Adams appointed William Henry Harrison as governor; (Thornbrough and Riker, Journals of the General Assembly of Indiana Territory, 1805-1815, pp. 4-5).}

From this new beginning the people of the Indiana Territory were interested in political affairs. As most were of southern origin, they were often Jacksonian Democrats, loud and boastful of political experiences on previous frontiers, and eager to return to southern political practices.\footnote{Logan Esarey, The Pioneer Aristocracy, Indiana Magazine of History, XIII (Bloomington: Department of History of Indiana University, 1917), p. 275.} Having been a territory a mere four years, Governor Harrison called an election in which voters expressed their desire for a semirepresentation form of government. The following year at the First General Assembly of Indiana Territory, July 29 to August 26, 1805, a semirepresentation form of government was passed, and Governor Harrison encouraged members to look forward to and work toward the day when a state government could
be formed.  

In 1805 Michigan Territory was created, and in 1809 Illinois became a separate territory. In that same year, 1809, the Indiana Territory received a new governor, Thomas Posey, and rumors spread that Indiana would soon become the nineteenth state in the Union. But several obstacles, continued Indian conflicts until 1815, the War of 1812, and a much desired repeal of slavery prohibition outlined in the original Northwest Territory Ordinance, had to be overcome before statehood could be attained. The voice for statehood continued loud and strong, and the obstacles were eventually resolved. At the final session of the Territorial Assembly in 1815, the Assembly authorized the formation of a constitution and a plan for a state government, and promised Indiana Territory would be admitted into the Union.  

The following year, 1816, the promise was fulfilled. 

The effects of government in the Indiana Territory seemed to have had little bearing on the lives and customs of the ethnic settlements. Although each cultural group appears to have complied with the adoption of laws and governmental policies, they also retained many of their traditional governing practices. The French at Vincennes continued their leisurely existence, content to allow territorial and state government

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52 Thornbrough and Riker, Journals of the General Assembly of Indiana Territory, 1805-1815, pp. 6-7.

53 Ibid., p. 16.
to take its own direction. The Rappites at New Harmony maintained their socialistic society within the various governmental structures, sharing all things in common. The Quakers were perhaps the most active in territorial and state legislative policy. They were a close-knit group, always in compliance with the laws of the land. But they continuously spoke out against slavery, and directed considerable effort toward legislation toward its abolition.

In the course of less than twenty years the Indiana Territory passed quickly through periods of unrepresentative to semirepresentative forms of government. With the acceptance and recognition of statehood, the people had attained complete self-government and a real voice in state and national policy making. Each of these forms of government which provided direction and advancement, also legislated laws and policies which affected some of the leisure and recreational practices of the Indiana people.

Religious and Educational Practices

The degree to which religious and educational institutions were practiced among the early Indiana settlers is difficult to measure. At the outset of settlement it was evident that these social forms of expression did not necessitate equal time or interest with economic and occupational institutions, the latter being entirely too important for

54 Holliday, An Indiana Village, New Harmony, p. 208.
survival. However, this is not to say that forms of worship and learning did not exist on the frontier due to lack of time or availability of a church or schoolhouse. After all, religious and educational freedoms were two significant factors which led to initial immigration and eventual migration to the Indiana country. Available data indicates that Indiana settlers were for the most part, God fearing people, and that a portion of their lives were devoted to some form of religious and educational guidance. An attempt to measure to what extent each were practiced, and the potential positive or negative relationship each might have had on leisure and recreational pastimes, will be made through the following investigation.

In late eighteenth century America three categories of Protestant religious practices emerged as being relatively sound. Nye characterized them by those people who:

... paid their church dues and went to Sunday services because it was socially profitable and correct to do so... Second, there were... Calvinists who, despite their acceptance of the spirit of Enlightenment, still retained the hard core of seventeenth-century theology, its discipline, its piety, and its authoritarianism. The tradition of the Great Awakening, still strong, created still a third variety - an evangelical, personalized, individualized Protestantism, often rebellious, intense, and emotional.55

The last category of Protestantism frequently became wedded with Calvinistic theology in the backcountry of eastern frontiers, and spread westward with the majority of early

immigrants who settled in southern Indiana.

Unlike their French counterparts, the earliest American settlers in Indiana did not bring their religious leaders with them. At the same time, most new settlements were too small and too poor to build a church or to support a preacher, plus, the laborious demands of the new frontier left limited time for formal religious ceremony. The first religious doctrines to reach the Indiana country were Methodism and Baptism, delivered by circuit riding lay preachers. Often-times these exponents of the gospel possessed little or no theological training, and sought out their congregations in the fields and forests, delivering an emotional sermon from a nearby tree stump. In Vevay, the Swiss settlement, preachers of the Baptist persuasion occasionally crossed the Ohio River from Kentucky to deliver an evangelistic message. When a minister was not available, a prominent member in the community or the head of each household would conduct some form of service. Daniel Dufour, from his arrival in the Vevay colony in 1804 until as late as 1817, read a sermon to the colonists every Sunday.

56 Peter Cartwright established a circuit of Methodist preaching points throughout southwestern Indiana in 1808. Before this date preaching points were usually wherever a preacher happened to be on a given Sunday; (John E. Iglehart, Methodism in Southwestern Indiana: The Life and Times of John Shrader, Indiana Magazine of History, XVII, Bloomington: Department of History of Indiana University, 1921, p. 8-9).

57 Dufour, Early Vevay, p. 36.

Such religious practices appear to have been in vogue among the settlements and backwoods habitants of southern Indiana during the early period. A traveller to the Indiana country described the religious character of backwoods settlers saying:

The Western Americans, and particularly those of the Indiana Territory, are more rough and unpolished in their manners and religion than those of any country I ever travelled in... At about sixty miles from the Ohio, I stopped one night at the house of a man called Byrom. He was of the Methodist doctrine and a very devout man. Before going to bed he invited me to prayers. Accordingly he read a chapter of the Bible, which he commented upon; and then, in Chorus with the whole family, sung a hymn... Indeed, I have several other times observed the same custom in the Western Country.59

Thus, it is evident that despite their rough, unpolished manners, the early settlers in Indiana were not entirely without religion, those choosing to do so finding available time to worship in their own way.

Of all the immigrants entering the Indiana Territory, religious devotion and practices were perhaps most structured among the Quakers. In the early period the leaders of small groups usually provided the religious guidance at weekly services. But the gradual increase in Quaker influence enabled each settlement to eventually construct their own meeting house.60 In addition to regular Sunday services, entire families travelled great distances to gather for several days

60Peckham, Indiana: A Bicentennial History, pp. 39, 80.
at the annual camp meeting. The nature of the camp meeting was to preach the Quaker doctrine of strict, rigid reverence versus spontaneity. But they also served as virtually the Quaker's only means of social and leisure activity.

The religious practices of the Rappites were perhaps equal in structure with the early Quakers. Religious services took place three times every day, with required attendance by each member. During a tour to the New Harmony settlement, Faux observed a Sunday morning service:

At that moment (10:00) the bells began chiming, the people, one and all, from every quarter, hurry into their fine church like frightened doves to their windows; the street leading to the temple seems filled in a minute, and in less than ten minutes, all this large congregation, 1,000 men, women, and children, all who can walk or ride, are in the church, the males entering in at the side, the females at the tower, and separately seated. Then enters the Old High Priest, Mr. Rapp... He does much by signs, and by an impressive manner, stretching out his arm, which, he says, is the arm of God.61

From these descriptive data, it would appear that both the Quakers and Rappites found an abundance of time to devote to religious practices.

The English immigrants to Indiana in 1817 were somewhat removed from the strong puritanical beliefs of their ancestors. But they still believed implicitness in God's divine providence in the affairs of man, and that moral forces ruled the world. Once in Indiana they relied almost entirely upon the travelling preachers, usually a Presbyterian missionary

61 Faux, Memorable Days in America, pp. 249-250.
or Methodist circuit rider. By this late date in Indiana's development the training and orderly presentations of the circuit preachers were much improved, and were no longer subject to the criticism made against the earlier backwoodsmen, where public worship was very often directed and controlled by ignorant and uncouth native ministers.

As the Indiana Territory became more and more populated, each of the aforementioned religious doctrines became more prevalent and more highly organized. As the territory grew and developed, the backwoods methods of religion, as well as other cultural practices, gradually gave way to those more in line with cultural practices in eastern states.

In the early period of the Indiana country, the rate of illiteracy among the settlers was alarming. Schools and formal forms of education were virtually unknown, and it was an exceptional family who possessed more than one member who could read beyond a few well chosen verses from the Bible. However, this is not to say that education did not exist on the frontier, only that it entailed a much broader definition than the traditional three R's.

On the frontier the educational ideas and practices of settlers seem to have taken direction based upon the skills

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62 Iglehart, The Coming of the English to Indiana, p. 98.
63 Ibid., p. 110.
and knowledge relative to survival in a new environment. Among the necessary survival elements, there developed a values hierarchy of things to be learned:

Men must have bread before books. Men must build barns before they establish colleges. Men must learn the language of the rifle, the axe and the plough, before they learn the lessons of Grecian and Roman philosophy and history; and to those pursuits was the early American intellect obliged to devote itself, by a sort of simple and hearty and constant conserecreation.65

Thus, it was in this light that those first settlers to reach the Indiana country were educated. The farms and forests became their classrooms, the adults of the family or settlements their teachers, the efficient use of an axe, rifle, and plow was their curriculum, and the method of instruction was practical experience.

Establishment of the Indiana Territory and the continued influx of previously described second class immigrants, seemingly produced little or no change in frontier hierarchy of values. There did emerge however, in some of the scattered settlements an occasional member of some learned experience who found the time to educate a few local youngsters. However, instruction of this nature was usually limited to reading, with the Bible providing the only textbook. There were, undoubtedly, many early settlers who learned to read by reading the Bible. But despite these early attempts at education,

as a whole, intellectual pursuits were considered unnecessary and oftentimes a detrimental influence on moral beliefs.

They were strong for education, a smattering of the three R's, provided it stopped safely short of "book larnin',' for they had growing suspicion that literary culture and craftiness went hand in hand and would usually be found in company with some more objectionable form of moral obliquity.

However, in addition to physical prowess as a criteria for evaluating a man's education and worth, he was also expected to be able to read his Bible and understand preachers and stump speakers.

Within the small ethnic settlements, the early attitude toward education followed those of most early Indiana settlements. However, in 1812, in the Swiss settlement of Vevay, Lucien Gex opened a school in his home where he taught the French language for some three years. In the fall of 1815, a log school house was completed where a school was maintained by several teachers for a number of years. In 1816, the first private school was opened in which Greek, Latin, and English literature were taught. The school was conducted by Alexander Holton and remained open through 1818. Mr. Holton gave public notice of his school in the following advertisement published in the Vevay newspaper, Indiana Register.

The subscriber has opened a school in the town of Vevay, State of Indiana, which he calculates,

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67 Ibid., p. 283.
68 Dufour, Early Vevay, pp. 11, 34.
personally, to superintend. The branches of literature he will teach, and the terms of tuition per quarter, are as follows, to wit: Reading, $3; Reading and Writing, $3.50; Mathematics, in its various branches, Geography and English Grammar, $4; Greek and Latin Languages, $5. He flatters himself that from the long habit of teaching the above branches of literature, particularly the languages and mathematics, that he shall be enabled to give satisfaction to all persons who shall favor him with their patronage.

In the Quaker settlements, educational development of the mind was considered equally important with the physical development of the body required for work. From the onset of their settlement in the Indiana Territory, the Quakers established schools and a means of formalized education for their youth. Their concern for sound educational practices led them to develop a system of schools which set a standard for the system of public education in Indiana. Like the Quakers, the settlers of New Harmony seemed to have shared concern and appreciation for sound educational practices. Their village school was well conducted by a very respectable tutor who taught a large number of young scholars of differing ages and of both sexes.

Despite their upper third class status, educational opportunity among the English followed a similar pattern of the

69 Indiana Register, November 18, 1817, p. 4, col. 3.
70 Lindley, The Quakers in The Old Northwest, p. 12.
early pioneers. There were among these later immigrants a number of well educated families of men and women who spoke the English language in its purity and preserved the best traditions of the social, intellectual, and moral life of England. However, none of these early immigrants were teachers, and despite their upper class English heritage, their adopted agrarian life-style allowed only limited time for cultivating the minds of their off-springs. Schools were gradually established in and around the English settlements. But the terms were short, usually during winter months, and competent teachers were not readily available among the leaders of the settlements. In some families older children who had received some formal education in England taught the younger members of the family. In the journal accounts of his travels to Indiana and Illinois, William Faux acknowledged the lack of schools in the settlements, "and recommended to the English teachers a good opportunity at a good salary for the time." However, permanent schools and teachers were not established in the English settlements until after 1820.

Despite the influence of learned English immigrants, the private schools of Vevay, and the early Quaker and Rappite influence, intellectual educatio: in Indiana during the early

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72 Iglehart, The Coming of the English to Indiana, p. 154.
73 Ibid., p. 155.
74 Faux, Memorable Days in America, p. 303.
periods was slow to develop. The harsh nature of the frontier presented so great a burden that primal needs took precedence over those for education. And, until such a time that a man's worth could be measured by more than his physical prowess, his educational curriculum would continue to consist of developing only those skills and knowledges necessary to perform his physical responsibilities.

Leisure and Recreational Practices

Based on the previous data presented, one's first impression of pioneer life among American and European immigrants to Indiana is one of continuous labor against an untamed wilderness. Such were the demands of the new environment that, as a whole, there was virtually no time available for formal education, and religious worship had to be fitted into a non flexible routine. These bleak characteristics of pioneer living lead one to query, how could these early settlers find time for leisure and recreational practices, and indeed, did they engage in them?

It would be easy to review legislation of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, passed December 2, 1799, and arrive at a decision that, yes, they probably did. The legislation was designed to prevent:

... Sabbath-breaking, profane swearing, drunkenness, dueling, cock-fighting, running horses on public highways, and gambling at billiards, cards,
However, in an attempt to answer these questions more thoroughly, and to analyze the leisure "phenomenon" of the people in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Indiana, an exhaustive investigation was conducted.

At first glance the definitions which were so applicable to the Indian, French, and British cultures, linking leisure with idleness, time away from work, or something done for its own sake, seem to be inoperable for the American pioneer cultures. Therefore, it was necessary to look at leisure from another perspective.

While it was not the purpose of this study to develop a definition of leisure appropriate to the rigid work habits of the American pioneers, it would seem that perhaps one of the foremost conditions of leisure is the element of time. Although work was no doubt hard and time consuming, according to the simple standard of living of the period, the majority of settlers in the Indiana frontier seem to have experienced and maintained a certain amount of comfort within their lifestyle. The fact that reasonably comfortable living conditions did exist among the early settlers was illustrated in this observation:

They (Indiana pioneers) did not suffer for food, for game of all kinds was abundant, as well as wild grapes, berries, etc. Their wants were few.

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and simple, and those (wants) the toil of their own hands or the chase furnished them.76

Further evidence of available leisure time was found during reduced work periods. From the middle of August to mid October little hard work was done, and again from Christmas until April work was relatively easy. It was not uncommon for a man who weighed 160 pounds in August to weigh as much as 200 pounds in March.77

Generally, frontier life-styles among all the immigrants to Indiana appears to have been similar. The power of organization, leadership and money had its limits as hired labor and the practice of owning slaves was limited in the Indiana Territory.78 Thus, all classes shared equally similar life supporting responsibilities. "There was no snobbery, no fictitious affectation, all were on a work and social equality."79 In this respect, they were dependent upon the conditions of their environment and personal values for dictating their leisure time.


77Smith, The History of the State of Indiana, p. 40.

78Many of the English immigrants who possessed wealth found it extremely difficult to obtain hired labor, and found themselves doing most of their own work; (Iglehart, The Coming of the English to Indiana, p. 110.

Perhaps more obvious evidence of the existence of leisure time among Indiana pioneers, were the numerous accounts of social and recreational activities. However, it is with this evidence that the most significant characteristic previously used to define leisure, time away from work, became somewhat antagonistic. There seemed to be no complete differentiation between the time spent in leisure activity and that spent in work activity, especially among the early settlers. However, during the continued advancement of the pioneer period, there was some evidence of differentiation as previous work activities were engaged in for recreational purposes. Investigation revealed that some of the most commonly engaged in activities were logrolling, cornhusking, chopping bees, hunting and shooting matches, militia training, fishing, horseback riding and horse racing, social gatherings, and politicking. Given a general knowledge of frontier life, it is obvious that each of these recreational activities can be work or leisure related, with little or no clear-cut distinction between them. Thus, it would appear that many of the work activities, either in pure or modified forms, became the leisure activities of the Indiana pioneers.

During the investigation of the work and leisure relationship, two distinct elements emerged. The first element pertained to the number of participants involved, and at what point in time did a work activity become one of recreational leisure. Such a relationship and distinction was especially
true at logrolling events. When a settler undertook to clear a piece of land, he usually felled the trees and burned the brush himself. But once this task had been completed, the neighbors came to help roll the larger logs into piles for burning or for use in building construction. The felling of the trees was obviously a work activity. However, when a large number of neighbors volunteered their assistance, it became a recreational event. The neighbor wives prepared food while the men engaged in sporting competition to determine who could roll the most logs in the shortest span of time.

The seemingly always present characteristic of numbers producing leisure activity from work, and the illustration of logrolling, gave rise to the second differentiating element, the element of competition. Available evidence suggests that, to the people in the Indiana frontier, virtually every work related activity possessed the potential and probably evolved into a competitive event at one time or another. Cornhuskings, chopping bees, hunting and shooting matches, to name a few, frequently took place among large groups and lasted until a winner was named. The confrontation of friends and neighbors, and their eagerness to enjoy themselves at the


81 Ibid.
expense of the most laborious task, is further evidence that environmental conditions, personal values, and the presence of a particular situation, were significant factors in determining the amount of leisure time available to Indiana pioneers. Therefore, in conclusion, the aforementioned data provide significant indication that leisure time and recreational practices did exist among the American and European immigrants of the frontier which became Indiana before 1820.

The fact that occasions for leisure and recreational activity seemed to have been produced by work, was certainly evident among the early settlers to the Indiana country. But this same dependency on work for leisure continued to exist among the majority of pioneer habitants during Indiana's period of development from country, to territory, to state, to 1820. However, during each period of development, travellers and visitors to the frontier often found themselves with considerable leisure moments, either at the end of a days' ride, or in stopping along their route to hunt or fish. The latter was especially true if the night was to be spent in the open forest. But if the traveller was fortunate enough to be near a sizable settlement, there was oftentimes a tavern where he could rest his weary body and partake in a game of cards, or an occasional game of billiards. In the latter period of Indiana's development, the village tavern served as an indispensable social center, not only for the traveller, but for the townspeople, and even an occasional rural farmer.
The tavern was "the theatre, the ballroom, the youth center, the restaurant, the bowling alley, the billiard parlor, the saloon, and the sports arena, all in one." 82

Taverns and their accommodations for leisure time, were especially common at Vincennes, which, for the most part, remained wide open and undisciplined during Indiana's early development period. As late as 1819, Faux, in his journal wrote of Vincennes, saying:

Here is no church, save the Catholic church, the inhabitants being principally French Canadians, and the rest the refuse of the east, whose crimes have driven them hither, or dissipated young men unable to live at home. Hence Sunday is only another day of frolic and amusement, which commences on Saturday evenings. 83

In view of Faux's observation, and the previous data presented on the French culture, there is some evidence that the French philosophy for enjoying life's every moment no doubt influenced some American pioneers. Vincennes' location on the heavily travelled Wabash, obviously made it susceptible to a variety of types of people and their various leisure diversions.

Thus, for some settlers, at least during Indiana's later development to 1820, and predominantly in larger settlements, there appears to have been some leisure time available away from work. Based on these data the premises presented earlier

83 Faux, Memorable Days in America, p. 303.
by Gross and Faust pertaining to leisure and work would seem applicable to some Indiana pioneers. 84 Laborious tasks which became leisure activity were a pleasant means of completing the work, and were beneficial to the social and economic well-being of the entire group involved. However, at the same time, there appears to have been a few pioneers who found sufficient time to pursue activities of their choice. Within each of these means of acquiring leisure enjoyment, there were certain activities which fall into the categories defined for this study as sport, games, and amusements. In the following chapter an attempt will be made to identify and analyze these activities categorically, and to determine their role in the lives of the Indiana pioneers.

84 Gross determined that "if measurable leisure existed in a culture it would be functionally related to the work institutions that benefit the whole culture."; (Edward Gross, "A Functional Approach to Leisure Analysis," Work and Leisure, Edwin O. Smigel, ed., New Haven: College and University Press, 1963, pp. 41, 52); In his study Faust concluded that leisure time was "the time we are free to do what we choose to."; J. W. Faust, "Leisure and Living," Playground, XXIV, September, 1932, p. 323).
CHAPTER VII

SPORT, GAMES, AND AMUSEMENT PRACTICES OF THE AMERICAN PIONEER CULTURES IN INDIANA

The evidence presented in the preceding chapter indicating that occasions for leisure and recreation were produced by work, presents some difficulty in the identification and analysis of the sport, games, and amusements of the Indiana pioneers. Therefore, it was deemed necessary to present in greater detail the seemingly varying similarities of work related leisure practices among pioneer cultures during the entire period under investigation.

Although work/leisure characteristics appear to have been similar, there seems to have been some overlap and/or variations among the early and later settlers. In attempting to clarify overlapping variations it was necessary to keep in mind the definition of sport, games, and amusements devised for this study.¹ Sport, whether for the purpose of work or for sport sake, was actively engaged in, as were game type diversions of both high and low organization characterized by physical skill and/or chance or fate. Those diversions previously categorized as amusements were also commonly practiced among the Indiana pioneers.

¹See Chapter I, pages 14-15.

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During the early period in the Indiana country, the early settlers were frequently dependent upon wild game to supplement farming in production of survival needs. In this respect, work tasks such as hunting, fishing, and wood chopping became sporting activities as men engaged in shooting matches, chopping bees, and leisurely fishing as a means to hone the work skills necessary for their survival. In addition, work activities such as logrolling, cornhusking, and house/barn raisings often became the highlight of these otherwise laborious tasks.

Entering into Indiana's later territorial development and statehood, each of the aforementioned activities continued to be engaged in in a sporting manner as a means of performing work. But during these later periods, as the pioneer became less dependent upon wild game for his table and the neighbors for building his home, many settlers participated in former work related activities almost entirely for sport and recreation. At the same time work sports such as cornhuskings and house/barn raisings were engaged in as work/amusement activities. This is to say that work was engaged in for the purpose of completing a task, with or without sporting competition, followed by socializing, dancing, and feasting.

Due to a lack of descriptive data during the early period, it is difficult to determine a specific date as to when trends in these activities began to change. However,
descriptive evidence was more readily available after about 1808. Two factors present a possible cause for a lack of descriptive data during the early period. First of all, the abundance of hard work necessary for survival not only placed limitations on the time available for leisure, as was previously evidenced, but also limited the types of leisure activities to the more requisite work tasks of hunting, log-rolling, cornhusking, house/barn raising, and wood chopping. The rate of illiteracy presents another possible cause in that time and lack of writing skills prevented many settlers from recording their daily activities. As a result, in this phase of the study it was necessary to rely on descriptive data from the journals and diaries of literate travellers of the period. During the later stages of Indiana's development, more availability of leisure time away from work encouraged greater participation in work/sport type diversions for sport sake. In addition, the decline in the rate illiteracy no doubt aided in the availability of pertinent descriptive data, as people began to keep record accounts of their daily lives. It was from these accounts, along with those descriptions of early travellers, that the following descriptions of sport, games, and amusements of the Indiana pioneers were taken.

**Sport in Work**

In attempting to identify and describe pioneer work sports, it was difficult to determine those most commonly practiced, or those which seemed to have enjoyed the greatest
popularity. Each one was equally important at a given period of time depending on the season or a particular situation. However, for the purpose of this study, and since the majority of settlers who came to Indiana had only the land, it was felt that clearing the land and constructing a home was probably the first priority. This priority constituted the social pleasures of the early pioneers as helpful neighbors assisted in these necessary tasks of frontier life.

The dense, heavy forests of southern Indiana made clearing the land difficult, and perhaps the principal occupation of the early settlers. "He that could clear an acre the quickest, and cut and split the most rails in a day was accounted the most honorable." Such undertakings meant considerable hard work, but nevertheless even this laborious task oftentimes turned into sport and play. There were essentially two methods used for clearing land. The first was called "girdling" and consisted of cutting around the trees with an axe, so as to kill them, and sometime afterwards felling and clearing away the underbrush. This method was more commonly employed by those settlers who had plenty of time before planting and limited neighborly assistance. The second method involved felling the trees, trimming and piling the brush for burning. This method necessitated considerable neighborly assistance and presented the greatest

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opportunity for sport and frolic. On a designated morning, usually in the early spring, friends and neighbors assembled and divided themselves into teams of comparable size and strength. Members of each team were assigned their respective duty; felling the trees, trimming limbs, cutting to proper length, and piling the brush. Upon command the competition began, with each team member assuming his responsibility in sporting fashion until a winning team was determined.

With the trees felled and trimmed, and the logs cut to length, another work/sport diversion presented itself to the Indiana settlers. This work/sport diversion was called log-rolling. And, depending on the immediate need, the objective was to move the pre-cut logs to a desired location for building a home or for piling and burning. Once again the men were divided into teams for competitively rolling the logs to their final destination. Each team chose a captain who would

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3 The clearing of land was frequently done in the early spring as the farmer added more tillable land for that spring's planting. For the farmer who did not plan immediate use of the land for planting, the girdling of trees was a common land clearing practice; (Committee of The History Section of The Indiana State Teacher's Association, comp. and ed., Readings in Indiana History, Bloomington: Published by Indiana University, 1914, p. 173).


5 Due to the abundance of logs produced from clearing the land, larger quantities were probably rolled into piles for burning than for building purposes.
divide the ground containing the logs to be rolled, one taking the choice of men, the other the choice of terrain. The selection of men was often a reflection of a man's standing in the estimation of his fellow man. "The men would stand in a ring fair to be seen, when the captains would proceed to choose, turn about; the first chosen was the most honorable; the last chose, the reverse."^ With selection of teams completed, the competition began, with the group which first disposed of the last log from their section being declared the winner.

In addition to the sporting competition involved in rolling the logs, logrolling events became tests of physical strength once the logs were ready for piling. Individual rivalries occurred among the younger men, and some amazing feats of strength were often performed. A favorite test was to determine which of two men could outlift the other, each lifting at one end of a log with a handspike. One account described this test of strength as follows:

The men were divided into pairs, according to their muscular ability, and each pair provided with a piece of tough wood called a "hand-spike." The two strongest men were selected to "make daylight" - that is, to place their hand-spike under one end of the log and raise it high enough for the others to get their spikes in position. When all was ready they came up together, and woe to the unfortunate individual who allowed his fingers "to take mud" by his inability to lift his share of the load, for the laugh would be on him for balance of the day.

^Young, History of Wayne County, Indiana, p. 39.
unless he could redeem himself by causing his partner "to take mud."?

To win this strength event was no little honor, for the victory would be discussed in other settlements and praises of the heroes sung far and wide.

With sufficient space cleared for a house, and sufficient numbers of logs available for its construction, the next laborious task confronting the settler was raising the house or barn, or other necessary buildings. Here again, what might be called the "pioneer creed" was employed "help me and I will help you" as neighboring settlers came for several miles to assist on "raising day." Evidence to indicate types of sporting competitions were not found for house/barn raisings. However, it would appear that the event was a social as well as industrial undertaking. While the men engaged in raising the building, the women gathered to prepare a huge dinner. Upon completion of the construction, everyone engaged in feasting, dancing and merriment. Based on these limited data, feasting, dancing and merriment, perhaps house/barn raisings would be more appropriately categorized under amusement type diversions. This is an


example of the previously mentioned overlapping similarities in work sport activities and work amusements. However, because these social activities resulted from laborious tasks, it was felt that the physical nature qualified house/barn raisings as work sports.

The rapid growth of Indiana from a country to a territory, and the interest of its habitants in the political and governmental policies were oftentimes reflected in their work sport activities. Logrollings and house/barn raisings were frequented during an election year by candidates and politicians, for here they had an opportunity to present their claims and defend themselves against trivial or unfound charges. But these seekers of opportunity were often required to show their mettle, as rival candidates were sometimes assigned as leaders of opposing sections of competitive work teams. Under these conditions the work proceeded with the highest possible stress. It was often said that an enterprising settler made a practice of deferring his logrollings or building raisings until campaign time, about a month preceding an election, in order to reap the benefit of the labor and enthusiasm of the various candidates. An example of a candidate’s use of work/sport events as a means of meeting

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9 During Indiana's territorial development, some kind of election was held every year; (Frederick Vogel, Amusements and Social Life in Pioneer Times, Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, X, Indianapolis: George S. Cottman, Publisher, 1912, p. 310).
large numbers of voters and demonstrating his worth occurred in the election of 1809. In this year the slavery issue actively entered into Indiana politics for the first time. Young Jonathan Jennings from Clark county became a candidate for Congress on a "No Slavery in Indiana" platform. Jennings proved himself a thorough campaigner, "making speeches while attending logrollings, assisting at house raisings, and making himself known and generally popular on his way to victory in the campaign."\textsuperscript{10}

To the early settler who was dependent upon the wild game of the forests and streams for his survival, hunting and fishing were essential work activities. Although each of these activities evolved into leisure sporting diversions, participation in shooting matches as preparation for hunting was perhaps the sport dearest to the heart of the early pioneer. It was here that he could exhibit to his peers a proficiency in his special skill acquired through years of practice with the long rifle as defender of his home and family, support of his life, and his tried companion in war and peace.\textsuperscript{11}

The most common form of shooting matches among early settlers consisted of alternate shooting at a stationary

\textsuperscript{10}William Henry Smith, The History of the State of Indiana from the Earliest Explorations by the French to the Present, I (Indianapolis: The B. L. Blair Company, 1897), pp. 188-189.

\textsuperscript{11}John C. Dillin, The Kentucky Rifle (York, Pennsylvania: G. Shumway, Publisher, 1975), p. 50.
target, with the marksman placing the most shots in or near the center being declared the winner. The matches usually took place on Saturdays with each marksman preparing his own target from a poplar shingle by blackening a center spot with powder or charcoal. The target was then placed against a tree and each contestant fired three successive shots from a distance of eighty-five to one hundred yards.\(^\text{12}\)

Besides the simple target shooting exhibitions, perhaps the most exciting test of shooting skills occurred when close proximity neighbors gathered to hunt for game. These hunts required mettle and muscle, as the thrill of the chase and personal challenge was sometimes kept up for days, resulting in the taking of large quantities of game.\(^\text{13}\) It was at this moment in time, during the hunts, that work patterns for procuring game for survival became an extension of sport patterns for target shooting. These pattern relationships further indicate that no generalized distinction between work and leisure among the early settlers can be drawn.

The hunting practices were by in large determined by the type and quantity of game available. Fortunately for the hungry pioneer who dwelled in southern Indiana before statehood, the forest and prairies abounded with wild game. Deer, bear, wolves, wild boar, ducks, turkeys, and pigeons were all


While crossing the Wabash from the Illinois country into Indiana Territory, William Faux, an English traveller, observed hunters in canoes shooting wild ducks, commenting:

The wild ducks on the river were very fat and fine, like our tame ones in England. One just shot floated dead to our flat (flatboat).

But of the pursuit of game available to the pioneer hunter, deer hunting was described most frequently. There appear to have been several methods employed in deer hunting, but in the most common method the hunter:

... proceeds to the woods on horseback, in the daytime, selecting carefully certain hours, which are thought to be most favorable. It is said that during the seasons when the pastures are green, this animal rises from his lair, precisely at the rising of the moon, whether in the day or night;... This hour therefore is always kept in view by the hunter, as he rides slowly through the forest, with his rifle on his shoulder, while his keen eye penetrates the surrounding shades. On beholding a deer the hunter slides from his horse, and while the deer is observing the latter, creeps upon him, keeping the largest trees between himself and the object of pursuit, until he gets near enough to fire. An expert woodsman seldom fails to hit his game.

Another popular hunting practice was called "driving," and was practiced in those parts of the country where deer

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were scarce, and among those later settlers who pursued hunting as an amusement. 17

A large party is made up, and the hunters ride forth with their dogs. The hunting ground is selected, and as it is pretty well known what tracks are usually taken by the deer when started, an individual is placed at each of those passes, to intercept the returning animal. The scene of action being thus in some measure, surrounded, small parties advance with the dogs from different directions, and the startled deer in flying most generally pass some of the persons who are concealed, and who fire at them as they pass. 18

The hunting method of "driving" was no doubt related to fox hunting practices of some of the earlier inhabitants of the Atlantic coastal states. However, no reference was found pertaining to a pure form of fox hunting, even among the later English immigrants in Indiana.

Still another favorite method of hunting deer was that of fire-hunting.

The hunter would go along the stream in his canoe, with a pine knot or torch flaming from the bow of the boat; when the deer came down to the water's brink to slake his thirst, the light would "shine his eyes," and, startled, he would stand immovably gazing at it while the rifle of the boatman laid him low. 19

Other popular animals hunted included wolves, raccoons, and squirrels. Black, gray, and prairie wolves were so numerous in the territory, frequently preying on the settler's

17 Hall, Notes on the Western States, p. 114.
18 Ibid., loc. cit.
19 Levering, Historic Indiana, p. 73.
livestock, that on December 24, 1816, the General Assembly enacted legislation creating a five dollar bounty to encourage the killing of this predatory animal. The effectiveness of the law in ridding the area of wolves is unknown. But on December 28, 1818, just two years later, the wolf bounty law was repealed. 20 Raccoon and squirrel were also commonly hunted animals for both sport and for the purpose of preserving the corn harvest. Raccoons were hunted at night and squirrels during the daylight hours. Joseph Hayes, a settler in Dearborn county about 1803, described squirrel hunting methods of the period and the hunting skill of Mahlon Brown.

Our squirrel hunts were organized by choosing two Captains, and equal numbers on each side - and there would be a prize offered to the party that killed the most squirrels - Mr. Mahlon Brown in one squirrel hunt used a cross-bow, with which he killed over 300 squirrel in one day. This was great sport, besides saving the crops from destruction. 21

Regardless of the method of hunting prescribed to, whether for survival or for sport, there is little doubt that manipulation of a horse, paddling a canoe, or aiming and firing a rifle or cross-bow, each required considerable physical strength, agility, and dexterity.

In Indiana, a common practice involving shooting skills related to work and later to leisure, was the "muster" or

20 Laws of The State of Indiana, Passed and Published at the Third Session of The General Assembly, 1818 (Corydon, Indiana: A. & J. Brandon, Printers to The State, 1819), p. 91.

21 Nancy and Joseph Hayes Manuscript Collection (MSS in Indiana Division, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis).
"training days" of the militia. The militia were the only means of law and order and defense during Indiana's early development. Each settlement, county, and later the state, had its own unit which trained regularly. It was the duty of every man to join the militia regiment in his area, and about the first stranger who appeared at a new settler's door was the captain who had come to enroll him in the local unit.22 The militia usually met twice a year, in the spring and fall. The spring meeting was the company muster with forty to one hundred men under the command of a captain. In the fall all the men in the county met as a regiment under an area colonel for further training. At each of these biannual meetings target shooting was practiced as well as military type drill. Each man was expected to be able to fire and reload from horseback as they rode.23 Each captain wanted his company to make a good impression on the regiment colonel, and often trained his command hard. Under the command of a good captain, the men assembled about ten o'clock in the morning and actually trained until noon. They then had two hours for dinner, and resumed training until late afternoon. While the soldiers trained, the older men and the women visited, and occasionally the young people danced.24 As Indiana

23 Ibid.
developed and the threat of Indians was removed from the territory, the need for militia protection became less important, and their meetings gradually took on a flavor of social recreation. By about 1850 there was little interest in the militia at all.\textsuperscript{25}

While it is unlikely that the aforementioned activities include all the work/sport practices of the Indiana pioneer cultures, these data do indicate that a majority of early settlers did have a competitive, sporting nature, and often-times exhibited their sporting prowess at the expense of laborious work tasks.

\textbf{Sport in Recreation}

The continuous influx of settlers into the Indiana Territory helped to influence a gradual, yet continuous up-grading in pioneer cultural institutions, ultimately resulting in the acquisition of statehood. In addition, the result of institutional up-grading gradually influenced many settlers to alter and/or develop new beliefs and cultural values. Such value adaptations and institutional advancements carried over into the leisure and recreational practices of these later settlers, as there seemed to have emerged a gradual increase in available time for leisure. Although work tasks which were once synonymous with sport continued to be the only means of recreation for most later settlers, there

\textsuperscript{25}Thornbrough and Riker, \textit{Readings in Indiana History}, p. 267.
seemed to have emerged a gradual increase in sporting practices for the purpose of recreation outside the work environment. The following phase of this study will attempt to identify those activities which by definition were categorized as sport, and engaged in for sport sake.  

Although later settlers engaged in sporting activity for sport sake, several such recreational diversions maintained a strong relationship with work tasks previously necessary for survival. The most obvious of these work related activities were shooting, hunting, militia, fighting, and fishing, not necessarily in that order. As these activities appear to have been a direct carry-over from work, investigation into sport in leisure will begin with the sporting character of the aforementioned ordering. However, before entering into this investigation, it was necessary to reveal an element which has been associated with cultural sporting practices for centuries - the element of gambling.

While there was no evidence that gambling was a significant part of work/sport activities among the early settlers, it is difficult to determine if a wager might have been made on a favorite logroller, wood chopper, or marksman. However, as settlers began to participate in sport for recreational enjoyment, gambling and prize awards in various forms were oftentimes a significant part of the activity. It

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appears however, that for those settlers who ventured a wager on a sporting event, it was merely an additional means of leisure rather than for economic and occupational gain.

For the majority of later settlers in the Indiana Territory, the rifle was perhaps still the most indispensable weapon. And, while in this later period it was less dependent upon for food, it was still extremely important for protecting crops and livestock, and for defending their homes and families. To be a sure shot was a matter of no little importance, and nothing did more to promote good marksman ship than the shooting match. But as was characteristic among the earlier pioneers, shooting matches continued to serve a larger purpose. The day of a match was a day of recreation and amusement when friends gathered for social intercourse, to spin yarns, crack jokes, and talk of former hunting experiences. Often these matches took on the political flavor of the earlier logrolling events, as candidates made their stump speeches and read their certificates.27

The seasons or the weather did not appear to have been a significant factor in the scheduling of shooting events. If the scheduled day was cold and wintery, several huge fires were built in the shooting area for warming.28 Saturdays


continued to be the favorite day for holding shooting events. However, the once popular shingle targets, although still used for some matches, had given way to live targets of turkey, goose, and squirrel. Frequently, these targets also became the prize of the winner. Occasionally a single person in a settlement or surrounding area would host a shooting match and furnish the live targets. But most often each participant was charged his proportionate share of the value of the target offered, the charge depending, of course, upon the number of participants. This provided a method of covering the cost of the target, as the shooters bought shots until the cost of the live target was paid.  

The price of a chance to shoot varied from ten cents to one dollar. In addition to the prizes of live targets, other rewards included beeves, hogs, venison, and on some occasions a quantity of meals at one's home or the local tavern. Later whiskey became a common prize, oftentimes a half or whole barrel being awarded the shooter with the greatest skill.

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30 The cost of a chance to shoot was usually dependent upon the prize. When a turkey or other fowl were used as the target and the prize, each shooter was assessed a ten to twenty cent fee per shot. If the prize was a beef or venison, the shooter might be charged as much as one dollar for the privilege of taking as many shots as he desired; (Baynard Rush Hall, *The New Purchase or, Seven and A Half Years in the Far West*, James A. Woodburn, ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1916, p. 109).

Two methods of shooting were commonly employed: "off-hand shooting," from a distance of forty yards, and "dead rest," from sixty yards. When live targets were used, the bird's, usually turkeys or geese, feet were tied together and placed behind a green log just large enough for the bird's head to show above.

Two judges took charge, placing the turkeys one at a time back of the log. The shooters took turns, firing one shot apiece until the bunch of ten or twelve was killed. About the time you pulled the trigger, the turkey was likely to move his head and you missed, which brought a laugh from the crowd... When beeves, hogs, or venison were the prize, an intangible, stationary target was employed.

Each shooter made his own target. He burned a clapboard on one side until it was well charred and then cut a big cross in it. The intersection of the lines was the center. Because you couldn't see the cross at a distance, a white paper mark was pinned over the cross, the tack right in the center of the cross. Some papers was round, some square, but the best one was a square piece with a notch cut out like the letter V upside down, the point of the notch comin up to the center tack. This notch helped a lot when you brought the sights of your rifle up into the fork toward the center.

Barking squirrels presented still another method for the marksman to test his shooting skill. However, this form of sport shooting was not employed in large social shooting matches. Such competition involved a handful of shooters

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32 Thornbrough and Riker, Readings in Indiana History, p. 279.

33 Ibid., p. 280.

entering into a nearby woods where there were an abundance of squirrel. As the squirrels were seen playing on the side of a tree, the marksman attempted to shoot as close as possible without actually hitting the squirrel.35

Although the pioneer shooting matches provided a social outlet and an occasional means for obtaining food, it was primarily looked upon as a trial of skill. "Little value was placed on the quarters of beeves or venison won, as compared to the glory of winning."36

In some of the ethnic settlements holiday shootings provided an excellent means of procuring the Christmas and New Year's turkey for the family table. Such shooting matches were popular among the Swiss settlers in Vevay, where:

The owner of the turkeys would give notice to the marksmen who wished to take chances in the shooting match, that on a certain day he would have a lot of turkeys put up to be shot, at twelve and one-half or twenty-five cents a shot. The turkeys would be tied by the legs and set off at a distance of one hundred yards. The hunters would take their turns and the one who could hit the turkey became its owner. In this way the man who raised the turkeys realized quite a good price of them, and the successful marksmen got a comparatively cheap fowl.37

An ancient German custom called a New Year's shooting was practiced among many of the German immigrants settling in southern Indiana. A search of sources revealed a similar shooting practice among the German settlers in the eastern colonies, specifically in North Carolina. Another source attributed its practice in Indiana as originating with the German immigrants from Pennsylvania and the Carolinas. As the custom was practiced in Indiana, a leading citizen of the community, occasionally a preacher, accompanied a crowd of settlers through the settlement. At various intervals a shot was fired into the air. The first person to emerge from his home to inquire was considered to have been shot, and was required to hunt for game and prepare a meal for the sometimes large crowd of neighbors. Although a full description of this shooting event was not found as practiced in Indiana, from the brief data presented, it would appear to have been another form of social interaction practiced among a few Indiana settlers.

During Indiana's later period before statehood, shooting matches became more common, and the rewards more enticing. Although live targets continued to provide rewards,

39 Reviews and Notes, Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, X (Indianapolis: George S. Cottman Publisher, 1914), p. 130.
40 Ibid.
numerous staged matches offered quantities of whiskey and money to the winner. The amount of prize money could not be determined. However, it was probably not a large amount, as no reference was found describing professional marksmen. John Tipton, one of Indiana's leading figures of the period, spent many of his leisure moments engaged in shooting, especially during his military stint with General William Henry Harrison. In his journal, Tipton recorded numerous accounts of his shooting pastime.

Thurs. Sept. 19, 1811: I movd [sic] on early with orders from the Capt. for the Company [sic] to move to Vincennes but the major [sic] would not Consent thereto we did not go this day myself and Others lost money Shooting...

Friday, Sept. 20, 1811: this day Staid [sic] all day in Camp and Cut out a gun and in the Evening went to Shooting and Win Some money.

Wednesday, Sept. 25, 1811: a fine day I I went to to a Shop and Came back and mended gun lock the (n) went to Shooting and win whiskey and (Ms illegible).  

Shooting matches offering quantities of whiskey as prizes often attracted large attendance, as the winner usually shared his reward with other contestants as well as the crowd of onlookers. However, by 1818 the feelings among many conscientious settlers was that such prizes contributed to the decay

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41 Reference to "cut out a gun," refers to the cutting out of lead deposited in the grooves on the inside of a rifle barrel; (John Tipton, The John Tipton Papers, Nellie Armstrong Robertson and Dorothy L. Riker, eds., I, 1809-1827, Indiana Historical Collections, XXIV (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1942, pp. 64-65).
of moral values. This concern occasionally resulted in a marksman entering a shooting contest, in which whiskey was the prize, in the name of temperance. One such temperance marksman, John Glenville, and a friend, made the following speech and proposal to a group of marksmen preparing to shoot for a whiskey prize.

Well, gentlemen, I think I can outshoot any man on the ground, if you will let us come in and any neighbour here will allow me to shoot his gun, in case I can find one to my notion; and here's my fifty cents for the chance. But, gentlemen and fellow citizens, I intend to be right out and out like a backwoodsman; and so you must all know we are cold water men, and don't believe in whiskey; and so, in case we win, the barrel is, you know, ours, and then I shall knock the article in the head. But then we are willing to pay either in money or temperance tracts the amount of treat, every gentleman will get if anybody else wins.42

On this day the match ended in a draw, as both temperance and non temperance shared the prize. A non temperance official of sorts, made the award presentation, stating:

You depended on our honour - and so, says I, if these 'are naburs here aint no objection, let them that want to, first take a suck of stingo (whiskey) for a treat, and then, says I, lets all load up and crack (shoot) away at the cask, and I'll have fust shot.43

The gradual declining need for protection by militia after statehood did not appear to have eliminated the semi-annual meetings. It did however, change training methods and training intensity. In many settlements and counties,

43Ibid., p. 116.
units were no longer concerned with impressing the division colonel. Instead, training days were little more than competitive shooting contests between settlements or counties. On these occasions the top marksman from each settlement or county were selected to compete, and it was not uncommon for his supporters to wager a small side bet on his shooting skill. The militia unit in the Vevay settlement had quite a reputation for its shooting skills, and frequently challenged other units in the area. In a shooting competition between the militia of Vevay and the Cincinnati company, "the two companies tried their skill in rapid firing, and bets of from one hundred to one thousand dollars were freely offered that the Vevay company could fire two to one, none of which bets were taken." 45

Thus, whatever method the shooting match employed, the sport was born of previous frontier experiences necessary for survival. The match itself provided an occasion where men could come together to test their skill. And, although a prize was the principal objective, it was a mere tangible symbol of the winner's superiority. The real prize was winning in front of an arena of critical peers who valued winning as a measure of a man's skill and worth.

44 Benjamin S. Parker, Pioneer Life. Early Manners and Customs, Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, III (Indianapolis: George S. Cottman, Publisher, 1907), p. 2.

45 Perrett Dufour, Early Vevay, Indiana Magazine of History, XX (Bloomington: Department of History of Indiana University, 1924), p. 373.
Fighting, which had long been a means for expressing the physical prowess necessary for taming Indiana's frontier, continued as a combative sport for the frontiersman. Numerous sources lamented the barbaric striking, gouging, kicking, and hair-pulling contests considered to be fair sport, and occasionally an honorable means of settling personal differences.

There appears to have been two types of fighting exhibitions popular among Indiana pioneers. The first exhibition was most often performed by the "bully," an individual whose fighting motive was pure banter, without any quarrel to start a fracas. The "bullies" of the Indiana frontier were essentially a rude, boisterous, drinking, fighting class of people, usually having immigrated from the rougher border element of the southern mountains. Oftentimes a stranger with neat clothing, correct speech, and gentlemanly bearing was sufficient provocation to warrant a scuffle. On other occasions a "bully" might draw a large circle around himself and defy anyone to enter the space, claiming that he could "whup" a whole settlement. The second type was perhaps more sporting in nature, pitting two contestants against each other as a means of settling an argument, or to determine the

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46 Levering, Historic Indiana, p. 183.
47 Ibid.
48 Johnson, A Home in the Woods, p. 211.
best man in the neighborhood. In a confrontation of this nature, the gladiators had at least agreed to the fight, and were not the subject of innocent baiting.

Despite the reasons for engaging in these hostile relations, each combatant recognized an unwritten code of honor which generally governed their battles. It was not an elaborate code like those of the modern prize ring, but well understood and binding in authority to all who engaged in the sport. Generally, the code was understood as follows:

All fights must be "fit fa'rlly," no man to use any kind of weapon nor take "unfa'r holts," and the fight must cease when one of the combatants cried "nuff." After the contest the parties were expected to shake hands, drink together and be friends. The man who disregarded the "nuff" of his beaten foe and sought to inflict further punishment, and he who transgressed the code by using a knife or other weapon was disgraced in the eyes of his fellows. As the "code" permitted striking, gouging, biting, hair-pulling, scratching, kicking and even stomping upon a fallen victim, it allowed sufficient latitude for all reasonable belligerants.49

It was an almost universal custom among the surrounding farmers and traders to come into a nearby settlement every Saturday to trade, hear the latest news, and settle accounts; sometimes with a friendly tussle. Judge Finch of Conners Prairie, presently Connersville, vividly recalled such Saturday confrontations.

No Saturday ever passed, in my recollection, without most of these pursuits being engaged in, fighting being as frequent as either of the others

49Parker, Pioneer Life. Early Manners and Customs, p. 2.
(trading or the news) - sometimes simply to settle who was the best man in the neighborhood. This manner of settling a question seemed equally enjoyed by the actors and spectators. No arrests were ever made for these fights at that day. They were free to all. 50

Judge Finch went on to describe the actions and methods of the combatants, as well as their fighting attire.

I have seen many scared face, and neck, and shoulder, and eye, made by the fist, the teeth and the thumb - nails of combatants in these contests, which men carried for weeks afterwards and no questions asked. "Gouging" consisted in running the thumb into an opponent's eye with all one's force, so that the eye was frequently started from the socket. Usually the combatants stripped naked to the waist, and hence biting was made easy. 51

The lack of laws and authority in many of the rural settlements oftentimes encouraged the pioneer to take the law into his own hands, and to do that which seemed right in his own mind. This attitude however, frequently resulted in numerous differences between neighbors being settled with fisticuffs. An example of such differences might be a disclaimed debt of a large, or frequently a small amount. It was not uncommon to propose that the two men in difference fight it out, "the defeated fighter to lose or pay the money besides standing treat." 52 Frequently such settlements of

50 Reminiscences of Judge Finch, Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, VII (Indianapolis: George S. Cottman, Publisher, 1911), pp. 155-156.
51 Ibid.
52 Standing treat referred to buying drinks, usually whiskey, for all the spectators; (Parker, Pioneer Life. Early Manners and Customs, pp. 2-3.
disagreement would break out into several free-for-all fights, with plenty of bystanders wagering on the outcomes. "The parties after their trials of strength, disfigured countenances, blackened eyes, disheveled hair, and tattered clothes, would return home, if not in better condition, better men."

Throughout the Indiana Territory no settlement was completely free of these Saturday bouts. In the English settlement near Evansville however, perhaps a slightly more civilized approach was taken for the purpose of public safety. If a fight reached the danger point in the matter of public peace or safety, the fighters were arrested. The grand jury frequently indicted one or both parties, who had to plead guilty or stand a jury trial in the circuit court. Despite the concern for public safety and the inconvenience of strict penalties, fighting continued to be a popular sporting pastime among the English in Indiana. Thus, it would appear that upper class English immigrants to Indiana were quick to pick up this mode of physical expression even though it was previously unfamiliar to them. Because of their late arrival in southern Indiana, 1817, previously described fighting skills were probably not as important for protection and survival. Therefore, in view of the fighting exhibitions in

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53 Nancy and Joseph Hayes Manuscript Collection.
the English settlements, these combative skills were probably learned purely as a sporting substitute for boxing which was popular in Britain.55

Perhaps a less barbaric method for settling disputes was wrestling. Although numerous sources made mention of wrestling as a sporting pastime, no description as to technique survived the literature. Occasionally however, the terms fighting and wrestling were used synonymously with the data previously presented describing fighting techniques. Thus, it is difficult to determine if a pure form of wrestling did exist as sport among the Indiana pioneers.

As Indiana developed and became more densely populated, the frontier fighters, "bullies," felt their freedom threatened, and frequently moved westward across the Mississippi. Fighting for sport continued however, perhaps as proof that aggressive qualities were a source of strength and capable citizenship on the Indiana frontier.

Fishing, like hunting and shooting, was a survival skill which remained popular and important, especially to many backwoods inhabitants who continued to depend upon the bounty of watery streams for food. But to those settlers fortunate enough to procure their primal needs by other means, fishing frequently became a leisurely sporting pastime, or engaged in at which time a change in diet was desired.

The streams in the country which became Indiana abound with a variety of fish. Those common names familiar to settlers were suckers, red horse, catfish, bass, perch, salmon, and red eye. Every fishing enthusiast had his own method of taking his catch, ranging from a hook and line, to gigging, to seining. The seining method employed a huge net, and was used to obtain large quantities of fish, usually for winter storage. With this method the social element frequently emerged, as in early winter, several neighboring families would join together and spend the day at a nearby river seining for fish. Their catch was cleaned and salted and packed in barrels, and by days end each family had sufficient fish for winter use.

The use of a hook and line or a gig was perhaps a more sporting method of fishing, and was usually employed when a settler wanted some leisure enjoyment or a few fish for dinner. Gigging was best executed from a canoe when the water was clear, and provided a good test for one's dexterity and agility. Usually one person paddled the canoe while another stood in the bow with a gig. When a fish appeared a capable fisherman speared it with his gig and brought it into the canoe. The hook and line method

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56 Early settlers frequently referred to wall-eyed pike as salmon or Jack salmon; (Warden, A Statistical, Political, and Historical Account of the United States, p. 294).


58 Ibid., p. 164.
afforded the most convenience as this equipment could be carried easily in the pocket and quickly made ready upon encountering a river or stream. John Tipton appears to have been as avid a fisherman as marksman, and recorded in his journal numerous fishing experiences with his companions. The following are two such entries:

Saturday sic June 18, 1812: ... after muster to shoot. Soon returned home then went to fishing in Company with Lt. Littel and Others. Caught Some fish and killed a Squirrel [sic] and Returned home....

Thurs. May 25, 1820: at ½ p 2 Bartholomew Durham & myself went fishing caught plenty of fine large fish returnd [sic] the morning cloudy Som rain.59

Although fishing did not require the physical strength so characteristic of other frontier sporting practices, it did provide an enjoyable, yet challenging experience for those who participated.

To the early pioneers the horse played a valuable role in their everyday life. For most settlers it was truly a beast of burden, pulling their plows, transporting the family, and bringing in the harvest. As has already been mentioned the horse was a valuable aid in hunting, for both survival and sport. But in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Indiana, the horse was also a significant fixture in many of the settler’s sporting pastimes.

The purest form of sport utilizing the horse was the horse race. The horse, being an animal of common interest,

frequently gave rise to the question as to which of two horses could run the fastest. The deliberate breeding of horses on a large scale did not reach Indiana until after 1820. Therefore, it is difficult to determine the kind of horse flesh used. However, evidence indicates there were sufficient horses of various kinds with speed enough to warrant a competitive race. Judge Eggleston, a circuit court judge, was the proud owner of a fine Indiana pony, and an avid racing enthusiast. After bolding a two hour court session at Fort Wayne in the morning, there were no cases on the docket of a criminal nature for the afternoon. So the Judge adjourned court early, and accompanied some friends up the St. Marys River to see an Indian horse race.

Among the early settlers these tests of speed were usually arranged spontaneously, with money, or its equivalent in furs and whiskey, bet on the winner. The race course was a straight away affair, usually a distance of one hundred rods, over narrow, stumpy roads or a partially cleared field. Such conditions presented much more prospect of broken limbs than speed.

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60 Levering, *Historic Indiana*, p. 476.


While a spontaneous challenge continued to be provocation for a race, the sport gradually developed some organization. However, respectability remained something to be desired. Gambling and the outcome of a race often generated hard feelings and verbal quarrels, which were frequently settled according to the backwoods code of fighting.63 The length of the racing season continued into late autumn, and notices of horse racing events frequently appeared in some of the early newspapers of the period. One of the early newspaper notices of racing appeared in the Cincinnati Liberty Hall, November 18, 1806 edition, which announced races at Lawrenceburg, in the Indiana Territory.64 In 1814 at Vincennes, the popularity of horse racing prompted the community to levy a municipal tax of five dollars on each race run in the town.65 About 1820, a circular race course was built at Vincennes, which provided plenty of excitement for the sport minded citizen there.66

While horse racing occupied the leisure moments of the frontiersmen, a few pioneer women did not want for a leisure

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64 Cincinnati Liberty Hall, November 18, 1806, p. 2, col. 4.
association with that animal. No doubt the majority of fron-
tier women fulfilled the stereotype role of doing hard work
and numerous chores. However, according to John Mason Peck,
an early circuit preacher in the Indiana and Illinois Territ-
tories, women did ride horseback, occasionally journeying
some four to eight hundred miles into Kentucky and Tennessee
to visit friends.\(^7\) Aside from this one reference however,
there was little mention of women riding horseback.

Perhaps the rudest of all sporting practices of the
Indiana pioneers, and one which required skill on horseback,
was the game of gander pulling. Some evidence indicates
that this sporting pastime originated with the Dutch, and
gradually spread south and west into Georgia, Kentucky, and
Tennessee by the turn of the nineteenth century.\(^8\) No doubt
its presence in Indiana can be traced to settlers who migrat-
ed from these southern states. The game appears to have
been wide spread over southern Indiana, as numerous sources
describing social life and amusements of the early settlers
rarely failed to include this cruel pastime.\(^9\) It was a

\(^7\) John Mason Peck, *Father Clark, or the Pioneer Preacher*

\(^8\) Jennie Holliman, *American Sports (1785-1835)* (Durham,

\(^9\) Similar names applied to this sport were goose pulling,
pulling the goose or gander, and riding the goose. However,
in the literature pertinent to Indiana, the most consistant
term used was gander pulling; (Esarey, *A History of Indiana*,
p. 431; Parker, *Pioneer Life*, p. 4; William M. Cockrum,
*Pioneer History of Indiana* (Oakland City, Indiana: Press of
Oakland City Journal, 1907), p. 343.)
simple activity requiring usually one gander or goose, a good horse, and a willing contestant, whose objective was to pull off the bird's head and win a small sum of money put up for the occasion.

A gander pulling was also great spectator sport, at least for those with a strong stomach. Such events always attracted an audience from which the judges and umpires were selected to make the awards and to ensure the game was played fairly. Whiskey was frequently present at these events, and with or without a drink or two, many a bystander wagered a bet on the outcome. 70 An octogenarian from Spencer county described the sport of gander pulling as it was played in Indiana as follows:

The gander's neck was stripped of feathers and thoroughly greased. Then the poor bird was tied by his feet to the lower limb of a tree, just high enough to be reached by a man on horseback. The branch to which the bird was hung had to be as long, strong and springy as possible, and every contestant had to ride without a saddle, with his horse at a gallop. Some twenty to thirty feet from the bird, a man was stationed on each side of the track, armed with a long switch, whose business it was to see that no rider should check the speed of his horse as he came near the bird. Imagine the frightened gander swinging wildly, and fanning his wings in mid-air in his efforts to escape, and one can easily see that the rider would have quite as many chances to miss the bird's neck entirely, as to grasp it. Every such failure, of course, provoked the merriment of the bystanders. Sometimes, too, a rider would lose his balance and fall from his horse because he hung to the gander too long,

and thus in addition to some bruises, he lost his place in the game, which was mirth provoking, also to the crowd. Finally some tall fellow with one hand holding to the horse's mane and leaning forward as far as possible, would seize the poor bird's head, giving it a sudden twist would break its neck, and then probably the man who followed would be able to take the bird's head. 71

The monetary prize and the cruel treatment inflicted on the fowl seemed to never be a concern, as later descriptions of the game described the bird being nailed through its webbed feet as a means of securing it for the contest. 72

The greatest concern was that everyone who took part had a rollicking good time.

Another game of skill requiring a strong hand and a cunning eye was throwing the bullet, or long bullets. According to Holliman the game was quite popular among people in the Atlantic states of Maryland and the Carolinas, and probably spread into Indiana Territory with their migration. 73 It is difficult to determine the popularity of long bullets as it was played in Indiana, as only occasional reference was made to the game as a social amusement. The only hard evidence that long bullets was played in Indiana was the legislation passed by the General Assembly in December of 1817, prohibiting the practice. The law read:

Sec. 6: If any person or persons shall play bullets along or across any highway or in any street of any

71 Octogenarian, The Game of Gander Pulling, p. 190.
72 Ibid.
village or town within this state, ... every person or persons so offending, for each and every such offense, shall be fined in any sum not more than three dollars nor less than fifty cents. 74

Based on descriptive evidence of the game played in Maryland and the Carolinas, the passage of a prohibitive law in Indiana can easily be understood for the safety of innocent bystanders. The sport took place on public streets, highways, and other places where people assembled, usually on Saturday afternoons. Holliman described long Bullets as being:

... played with a large iron ball, usually weighing several pounds, slung in a strap or thrown. There were two goals and two sets of players. The work of those near one goal was to prevent the ball rolled in their direction from passing their goal, the winning side being that one which could succeed in rolling the ball with enough force to pass the adversary's line, and scored the greatest distance in doing so. 75

Once again the spirit of gambling was a strong feature of the game, and no doubt added reason for the passage of laws prohibiting its play.

Perhaps the simplest of all leisure sporting practices were swimming and ice skating, for the techniques employed by those early participants required only the seasonal work

74 An Act to Prevent Certain Immoral Practices, chpt., LVII, Laws of the State of Indiana, Passed and Published, at the Second Session of The General Assembly, Held at Corydon, on the first Monday in December, 1817 (Corydon: Printed and Published by A. and J. Brandon, Printers to The State, 1818), pp. 314-315.

and the gifts of nature. The vast waterways and warm summer temperatures provided more than sufficient opportunity for swimming. Swimming was frequently necessary, perhaps in a work related capacity, for fording rivers and settling the land. Among adults it is difficult to assess the popularity of swimming for recreational purposes. The only reference found pertained to a few of Colonel Clark's men who had become unhappy with strenuous training demands placed on them while at the falls of the Ohio River. To discourage desertion, Clark encamped his men on a small island in the middle of the falls. One day while swimming, several of the men discovered a shallow channel. During the night these men made their escape by swimming to the Kentucky side of the river. 76 This evidence provides some indication that perhaps the discovery of the shallow channel was made during recreational swimming.

Among youngsters, swimming was almost a daily occurrence during the summer months, especially for those fortunate enough to live near a stream or river. Recreational swimming was not a coeducational experience, as swimming was usually enjoyed in the nude. Perhaps it was for this reason that young women were not encouraged to swim. "The sight of

a woman swimming would have caused a panic in any neighborhood and mobilized every deacon in the township." 77

A few women did however, appear to have learned to swim, and some quite well. One of these female natators was Betsey Bennett, who, along with Nancy Hayes and some other women and children, were on an outing when they heard gun fire. Thinking they might be in danger from Indians, they hurried to cross a nearby river (probably the Miami). At the river's edge, they found it too deep to wade, and no craft to ferry them across. Nancy Hayes described their dilemma.

Here was Betsey Bennett, a stout, strong and expert swimmer, stripped off and plunged into the turbulent stream and carried over one at a time until she carried all the young one's over - then was about to carry their mothers over when the alarm was explained and found to be false. 78

From an institutional perspective, swimming was probably engaged in by adults only when necessary. But among young boys, and a few girls, leisure swimming was a large part of each summer's day. There was no evidence found to indicate any competitive form of swimming. However, based on the apparent competitive spirit among the pioneer cultures, it would be of no surprise if an occasional race or related activity did not occur from time to time.

The waterways which provided recreation during the summer months maintained their recreational potential during

77Esarey, The Indiana Home, p. 70.
78Nancy and Joseph Hayes Manuscript Collection.
the winter. At present day Lafayette, the frozen surfaces of nearby streams provided hours of skating pleasure. However, some evidence would indicate a lack of skates, they were probably shipped in, or insufficient funds to purchase them. For it was a common winter sight to see "the boys and girls skating on ice, some with shoes, some barefooted."79

During the course of research, numerous references were found to other pioneer sporting practices. These practices included such activities as foot races, pitching quoits, and bar jumping, along with tug-of-war, and crack-the-whip.80 However, few references were found describing these activities in detail. Brief descriptions which did survive the literature however, indicate that frequently such diversions were engaged in by youngsters and adults during social gatherings, logrollings, and shooting matches.

The sporting practice of bar jumping was probably an outgrowth of logrolling and land clearing events. Most young men were said to have been able to leap a pile of logs, or a fence eight rails in height with relative ease. The sport consisted simply of jumping over a bar held by two men at varying heights. No description was found as to the method of jumping employed, but at gatherings "it was not extraordinary to find a half dozen men each of whom could jump

79 Caruso, The Great Lakes Frontier, p. 335.
80 Parker, Pioneer Life, p. 5; Esarey, A History of Indiana, pp. 430-431; Nancy and Joseph Hayes Manuscript Collection; Others.
a bar held level with the top of his head."81

Pitching quoits, as it was engaged in by Indiana settlers, appears to have shared only the name with the game as it was played in the Atlantic coast colonies. The Indiana game usually consisted of the thrower toeing a mark, and throwing from the shoulder, a boulder or flat stone weighing from twenty to sixty pounds. The contestant throwing the stone the greatest distance was declared the winner.82 Detailed descriptions of tug-of-war and crack-the-whip games were not found.

Of those sporting practices engaged in by the Indiana pioneers, whether work related or for pure sport, the one distinct element of physical strength was always present. This characteristic served as a measure of a man's worth in the eyes of his peers, and was considered perhaps the most important part of a pioneer's educational experience. Physical strength through work and sport was the accepted method to express and establish one's self in a vast, new, untamed environment.


82 Parker, Pioneer Life, p. 5; Nancy and Joseph Hayes Manuscript Collection; For a detailed description of the game of quoits as it was played in the Atlantic coast colonies, see; Holliman, American Sports (1785-1835).
Game Type Diversions

Among the leisure practices of the Indiana pioneers in which the spirit of gambling was evident, game type diversions were the most prominent. Throughout Indiana's early settlement, development, and statehood, there were always a few settlers who found sufficient time away from their work to engage in some spirited game or activity of chance. It was not uncommon to find men engaged in cards, dice, billiards, a game of moccasin, or betting on a cockfight at a village or roadside tavern. Although cockfighting does not contain elements of game type diversions, the outcome was usually dependent upon chance or fate. Therefore, because chance or fate were significant elements of pioneer game type diversions, cockfighting was included in this category.

The legislation passed in 1799 prohibiting Sabbath breaking and the practice of game type diversions was extremely difficult to enforce over such a vast territory. As a result, game type diversions continued their popularity. At Vincennes, two former fur traders, Frederick and Christian Graeter, opened "The Sign of The Ferry Boat" tavern which became a well known house of entertainment. The tavern contained two billiard tables, and the charge for playing was 8 1/3 cents per game. Despite the charge for their use, the

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tables were always in great demand. The tables at Greater's tavern catered to a variety of clientele. In the spring of 1809 Governor Harrison was charged for twenty-five games, and young Jonathan Jennings for sixty games. Elihu Stout, the newspaper editor, was charged for over three hundred games.

In 1811 legislation was passed requiring registration and annual taxation of all billiard tables in the territory. The new legislation provided:

That all and every person or persons in this territory who shall erect or keep a billiard table within the same, shall annually on the first day of March or within one week after erected such billiard table, enter the same with the sheriff or the respective and proper county, and it shall be the duty of such sheriff at the same time and in the same manner as is pointed out by law for the collection of the county revenue to receive and collect from each and every person having entered such billiard table, the annual sum of thirty dollars...

In addition to the territorial tax on billiard tables, the community of Vincennes levied and collected an additional municipal tax of fifteen dollars on each billiard table in the town. It is difficult to determine if these stiff taxation laws were designed to discourage the playing of billiards, or to realize considerable profit for the territory

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85Ibid.
87Ibid., p. 82.
or a community. Perhaps the purpose shared equal merit as billiard play continued to be a popular pastime, especially within larger communities.

Accounts of playing at cards and dice were limited to passing references as amusement activities, and later, through the passage of laws prohibiting such practices. Many hostelries were noted for their prodigality of plain food and good cheer which were available to patrons. Such accommodations included "card playing and toddy in an upper room, if the landlord was not a temperance man." At the Graeter tavern, card playing was frequently engaged in, with the proprietors occasionally loaning money to those players whose luck eluded them.

At Vincennes a municipal tax of "one dollar was levied on each deck of "Sporting Cards";...," and in 1817, State legislation was passed penalizing persons winning money at cards or dice by illegal methods. The law read in part:

... every person so winning by such ill practices, and being thereof convicted upon indictment shall be fined not less than five dollars, nor more than one hundred dollars, and shall moreover be bound to his good behaviour in an such sum, and with such security as the court may approve, for the term of

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88 Levering, Historic Indiana, p. 85.
89 Burns, "Life in Old Vincennes," p. 455.
90 Ewbank and Riker, Laws of Indiana Territory, 1809-1816, p. 85.
Data pertaining to the popular kinds of card and dice games played were not found. However, some evidence to indicate the continued popularity of the French game of faro was found, when, in 1817, legislation was passed prohibiting keepers of faro tables from making a profit from their use by customers. Poque (poker), a card game of French origin, was brought to New Orleans during Indiana's territorial period, and probably spread to the territory up the Mississippi, Ohio, and Wabash Rivers.

Although cockfighting did not employ human physical prowess, perhaps to many a spectator it symbolized the strength, courage, and vigor so characteristic of Indiana settlers. From its arrival in the Indiana country, cockfighting continued to be a diversion held in discrete secrecy. As early as 1799, legislation was passed prohibiting cockfighting in the territory northwest of the river Ohio. But this sporting practice continued to flourish.

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92 Ibid.


As it was practiced among Indiana settlers, cockfighting usually took place on Saturday, or an occasional Sunday afternoon, outside a tavern or village store where people were known to congregate.

Settlers would gather with their favorite birds. A ring was cleared, and the owners of two cocks, matched evenly for fighting weight, would bind steel spurs or gaffs upon each bird's leg over its natural spurs. The cocks would then be held close and allowed to pick at each other. Then they were taken to opposite sides of the ring and released. They would meet at the center of the ring in a whirring kaleidoscope of brilliant feathers and flashing steel. Peinting, leaping, slashing, they fought until one was dead or ran away - which seldom happened.95

Oftentimes the birds were of blooded stock, whose ancestors had been brought from England or Ireland, and purity of strain was jealously guarded.96 Gambling was always the principal sideline of any cockfighting contest, as spectators frequently wagered on the outcome.

Despite early territorial law prohibiting its practice, cockfighting enjoyed continued popularity. In 1817, as further effort to discourage its practice, the Indiana General Assembly passed its own legislation forbidding wagering of any kind on cockfighting.97

95 Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Indiana, Indiana: A Guide to the Hoosier State (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 120.

96 Ibid.

The Indian game of moccasin was perhaps the only recreational activity adopted by the white settlers who migrated to Indiana. It is difficult to determine however, due to the game's popularity among numerous tribes, if settlers in Indiana acquired the game from local tribal cultures or from those tribes previously encountered in the eastern states.

The white man did change the components of the game however, oftentimes using private rooms and cloth covered tables of local taverns in place of grass plats and buckskin. The moccasins were sometimes replaced with caps, and the pea or seeds with a "bullet." With these changes the game acquired the name "bullet." John Tipton, during a trip to visit the governor, recalled seeing the game played.

... found the gov'r well after Dinner we went to the Indian huts found the men playing favourite [sic] game which the (y) call mockuson [sic] which is played with a Bullit and 4 mockusons [sic] we watchd [sic] a while then playd [sic].

The game of bullets appears to have enjoyed some popularity among Indiana settlers. Once again gambling was a major inducement for the game's practice. But in 1817, legislation was passed prohibiting its playing.

These data presented do not indicate a lack of dedication to religious practices, or moral values, or that every

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98 Duncan, Old Settlers, p. 18.
99 Tipton, The John Tipton Papers, p. 204.
settler who settled Indiana engaged in game type diversions. However, these recreational pursuits were widespread during Indiana's development to the extent that legislation was passed to discourage and/or prevent their practice.

Amusement Type Diversions

Activities classified by distinct characteristics as amusement type diversions for this study, were actively engaged in by pioneer cultures during Indiana's development from 1785 to 1820. Upon further investigation, it was found that some amusements required certain amounts of physical prowess and dexterity necessary for sport and game type diversions. However, none were found to have been of a competitive nature beyond lower organizational games.101

The pioneer cultures made the most of all socially related occasions as a means for amusement. For those spectators who did not participate in sporting practices, observation or wagering on the outcome provided amusement and pleasure. In this light leisure sporting practices as well as game type diversions could also be categorized as amusements. However, the focus on pioneer amusements were delimited to social gatherings, dancing, sleighing, and activities stemming from these amusements.

Before entering into the discussion on pioneer amusement type diversions, it was deemed necessary to elaborate

further on the previously mentioned work relationship with some amusements. The differentiation between work sports and work amusements resulted because, although a work task was being performed, the recreational activity associated with the work did not require the physical strength, dexterity, and agility necessary for work sports. On other occasions, the work task was performed and the recreational activity engaged in only after the work was completed. On such occasions the recreational activity usually consisted of feasting and dancing, each of which were categorized as amusement. The most frequently mentioned work/amusement activity was cornhusking.

Cornhusking events appealed to all, young and old, male and female. For out of this work related activity came several amusement diversions of which all could enjoy. During corn gathering season, there was a neighborhood cornhusking almost every night until each neighbor's corn crop was harvested. No evidence was found to indicate forms of gambling during these gatherings, but the vice of whiskey often flowed freely. On the day or evening appointed, the neighbors assembled in a barn or out-of-doors, depending on the weather, to tend to the task of freeing the yellow kernels from their shucks. Everyone present got involved

in some manner.

The corn after being pulled from the stock & hauled is thrown into a pile about six feet high and about 200 feet in length. The owner provides himself with 2 or 3 gallons of whisky [sic] in a stone jug, kills a pig or 2 sheep, some dozen chickens or more - the wife with the assistance of three or four of the neighboring women prepares the supper, which consists of a pot pie made in a big kettle, roast pig, roast turkeys & other meats, potatoes, cabbage, Jonny Cake, and corn poan - ...

While the women prepared the meal, the men prepared to begin the work at hand.

After the men had gathered & the jugg handed to each one as he came (,) choice would be made for two Captains, the captains then chosen would throw up for choice of men, this was done by one of them throwing a stick two or three feet long to the other, he catching it near the middle, then by placing their hands alternately one above the other, the one that reached the end of the stick had choice, or sometimes it was done by taking a chip and spitting upon one side then throwing it up with a twirl, calling to (the) other, wet or dry, if he guessed the side that was uppermost he had the choice. 104

After the captains and team members were selected:

... the corn pile was steped off to find the middle, where two rails would be placed in the form of an X, beside these rails the captains would take their positions - the others would line the corn pile from end to end on one side throwing the husked corn to the other side at a short distance from the corn pile. The jugg of whisky [sic] would be placed at one end of the pile. About every 15 minutes some one, more dry than the rest, would call out for the jugg, the one at the end where it was would take a dran (k) and hand it to the next & so on until it would reach the other end of the corn pile, where it would be set away in the husks until called for again, then it would pass from one to the other

103 Nancy and Joseph Hayes Manuscript Collection.
104 Ibid.
until it reached [sic] the place it started from. Thus alternately from end to end this jugg would pass every 15 or 20 minutes until the corn pile would be husked out, not often before midnight -

This is not to say that every cornhusking event took place in this manner, for there were other amusements practiced during this event. A common diversion with men and boys at cornhuskings was to play "brogue it about." This involved setting close together in a circle on the ground or floor, with the knees drawn up so as to form a space or continuous tunnel beneath the participants.

A small roll of some kind was then started and passed invisibly from hand to hand through the space beneath the knees, this performance being accompanied with the cry of "Brogue it about! Brogue it about!" and other confusing noises and talk. One person within the circle sought to locate and capture the flying roll in the hands of some one who should exchange places with him. It was a lively game, full of fun and go, and often when the confused and eager man in the ring pounced upon some one, thinking he had the roll, another from the rear would deal him a sounding blow with it, then sent it "brogueing" on.

Another diversion of cornhuskings provided amusement for both males and females. Before the husking began each gentleman selected a young lady for a partner. As the husking proceeded, any lady finding a red ear of corn was entitled to a kiss from every gentleman present. When a gentleman found a red ear, he was permitted to kiss every lady present. Under

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105 Nancy and Joseph Hayes Manuscript Collection.
106 Parker, Pioneer Life, p. 5.
such zest and frolic the work progressed with surprising rapidity. After all the corn was husked, a good supper was served, and the remainder of the evening spent in dancing and games.  

Cornhuskings and their related amusement continued to be a popular harvest pastime. As late as 1817, in the English settlement near Evansville, cornhuskings provided a general good time with feasting, dancing, and drinking.  

Based on previous data presented, it would appear that virtually every coming together of a few neighbors resulted in a social affair of some type. At such gatherings amusements took many forms ranging from mere conversation and feasting, to rollicking dancing and fun. In Switzerland county, the Swiss citizens of Vevay engaged in a Mardi Gras' type celebration on New Year's eve through New Year's day. "The citizens, predominantly the younger and livelier, masked and dressed in all sorts of grotesque costumes, call from house to house."  

Among the Quaker settlements in Indiana, recreation and amusement type diversions practiced in neighboring settlements were forbidden. Their attitude toward amusement was expressed in their religious doctrine which stated:

107 Committee of The History Section of The Indiana State Teacher's Association, Readings in Indiana History, p. 263.  
108 Iglehart, The Coming of the English to Indiana, p. 150.  
109 Knox, Vevay and Switzerland County, Indiana, p. 224.
To the gay and the idle, the useful occupations of life are insipid and irksome, while for want of some employment to engage their attention, time passes heavily away. To say the least of this practice, even when pursued only for pleasure, and in private parties, it is a childish and irrational employment, which occasions a prodigal waste of time.  

Such sermons oftentimes admonished with a fiery force against card playing, gambling for money, drunkenness, and dancing in public. In a sense the Quakers took their leisure from listening to such sermons, as socializing at religious camp meetings was virtually their only form of recreation. But for the most part the Quakers felt that "time is short and precious; we have no leisure for these vain amusements; and indeed we need them not."

However, by about 1815, Quakers, and other devout religious denominations opposing dance and amusement as wicked sport, engaged in weekly social gatherings called play-party. The early forms of the play-party began at sundown as people would come for miles to a designated home. Usually the young people dominated these gatherings. But

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there were always enough men to discuss the prospective crops, the coming election, the slavery question, and predestination, and plenty of women to pop the corn, crack walnuts, and cut the cakes. Upon arrival, although there was no dancing or instrumental accompaniment, the players engaged in simple games and rhythmic songs, lasting several hours. Although these song and game type activities were not considered dancing, they often exhibited dance characteristics as partners touched, skipped, jumped, and swung each other about.  

During the later years of the play-party in Indiana, the social activities gradually evolved into dancing accompanied with instrumental music.

But the majority of settlers in southern Indiana, although conscientious in their religious faith, did not look upon dance as a wicked sporting pastime. Dancing was a major part of almost every social gathering, including many work sporting type events. Dancing at gatherings began early, and depending upon the season, continued virtually uninterrupted, oftentimes until the following morning. 

\[114\] For a complete history of the Play-Party in southern Indiana, including detailed instructions of games and songs, see; (Wolford, The Play-Party in Indiana).

\[115\] Dances that lasted until the following morning probably only occurred during the winter months, or during periods when there was less work to be done; (John C. Leffel, History of Posey County, Indiana, Chicago: Standard Publishing Company, 1913, p. 60).
Dancing usually began with a:

... square-four, which was followed by a jig, that is two of the four would single out for a jig and were followed by the remaining couples. When anyone of the jigging party became tired the place was supplied on intimation of the one wishing to retire by someone present without interrupting the dance. In this way the jig continued until the musician was exhausted.116

Dancing activities were equally popular among the ethnic immigrants in Indiana. In Vevay, the Swiss were fond of music and dancing, and engaged in it often.117 In the social-istic society of New Harmony, the Rappites constructed special halls for dancing and music. One night each week was devoted to dancing, another to music, and everyone was expected to participate.118 At Vincennes, perhaps a more cultural approach to dancing and leisure was made available to the habitants of the frontier. In the fall of 1814, a group of young men in the Vincennes community organized a theatrical society,119 and at about the same time Peter Jones and Richard Coleman opened dancing schools, each providing instruction in the latest dance steps. Advertisement for

116 Leffel, History of Posey County, Indiana, p. 60.


118 Timothy Flint, A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States, or the Mississippi Valley, II (Cincinnati: William M. Farnsworth, Printer, 1828), pp. 155-156.

119 The Western Sun [Vincennes], September 3, 1814, p. 3, col. 1-2.
each school appeared in the Vincennes newspaper, *Western Sun*, and read as follows:

A dancing school will be opened at the house of mr. Peter Jones in Vincennes. The terms of tuition are Five Dollars per quarter, allowing eighteen days to the quarter, two day in each (each) weeks. The subscriber will be thankful to all those who may favor him with their patronage - his terms are low, and he is determined nothing shall be wanting on his part to give general satisfaction, and is in hopes he will meet with that encouragement which he has heretofore done in Kentucky and Virginia. Should any wish to subscribe, subscription paper is left in the hands of mr. Benj J. Harrison, and another in the hands of mr. George R. C. Sullivan, who will give general satisfaction to any enquiries concerning my reputation or ability.

Richard Coleman has opened a school at Jones' Inn two days each week for six weeks. School will also be taught at night for those who (Ladies and Gentleman) (are) unable to attend during the day. Also private lessons available. 120

Despite these later attempts to educate Indiana's pioneer cultures to the latest methods of dance, the square dance, jig, and other folk type dances continued to be the vogue for the majority of settlers.

Sleighbing provided an occasional means of leisure amusement during the winter months. However, due to the moderate climate in the southern region along the Ohio River, snow accumulations in some years were often too small for sleighing activity. 121 The winter of 1816 however, provided a

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120 *The Western Sun [Vincennes]*, October 15, 1814, p. 3, col. 4.

121 Nathan Hoskins, Jr., *Notes Upon the Western Country, Contained within the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and*
heavy sleet at Vincennes for the first time in some years, and excellent conditions for sleighing.

... the depth of the snows for the last ten years, has not exceeded six inches. Eight inches has been the deepest which has fallen in many years. Last winter there was little; but we had sleet, which made good sleighing for four or five days.\footnote{122}

Further north in the Whitewater valley, snow was more plentiful during the winter season. Many settlers, including the Quakers, used the sleigh for their transportation, and an occasional sleigh ride. Almost every man and boy knew how to construct a sled or sliding vehicle of some kind. The most primitive kind was the hickory jumper. The jumper was a mere skeleton constructed from long hickory poles notched at the proper places to form the curved runners, and tied to the horse's collar. It was the roughest form of sledding vehicles, but the sport of riding one was heightened by its crudeness.\footnote{123}

Those activities defined and classified as amusement type diversions composed the single form of recreational activity in which all pioneer cultures in the southern regions of Indiana participated. Like those sporting activities which lightened work tasks and provided recreation,

\footnote{122}{David Thomas, \textit{Travels Through the Western Country in the Summer of 1816} (Darien, Conn.: Hafner Publishing Co., 1970), p. 63.}

\footnote{123}{Parker, \textit{Pioneer Life}, p. 54.}
some amusement activities served a similar purpose, especially among those inhabitants who did not engage in sport or game type diversions. It was through amusement type activities that all pioneers could come together and enjoy some form of recreation without jeopardizing their moral and/or religious values.

To summarize, the period identified as the American pioneer period, 1785 to 1820, was perhaps the most important era in Indiana's early history. In the short span of thirty-five years, this western frontier evolved from a vast wilderness into a state, and a land of opportunity for thousands of settlers seeking a new beginning. Predominantly these pioneer settlers were of southern origin, of German and Scotch-Irish descent, whose earlier colonial experiences were modified and remolded by the environmental demands of the new frontier. During the same period, ethnic cultures from Germany, Switzerland, and England made significant settlements within Indiana's boundaries.

But regardless of their backgrounds, each of these pioneer cultures were characterized by early authors as industrious, hard-working people eager to develop and display a national character through their cultural institutions of economics, government, education, religion, and leisure pastimes. Their industrious hard work was further characterized by elements of strength and power, each of which were significant motivational factors in the over all development
and expression of their cultural institutions.

Despite the hardships and laborious work tasks which characterized pioneer life, evidence showed an availability of time for leisure for those who chose to participate. Available leisure moments were fulfilled with activities categorized as sport, games, and amusements. An analysis of these leisure practices showed that for the majority of pioneers during Indiana's development, recreational activity within the category of sport was divided into two divisions: work sport, and pure sport engaged in for sport sake.

Work sport activities were related to and usually dependent upon work tasks consisting of or related to hunting, fishing, shooting matches, logrolling, land clearing, house/barn raising, horseback riding, militia training, social gathering of neighbors for both work and sport. The element of competition added a sporting spirit to work tasks, and promoted their rapid completion.

For the majority of settlers work sports continued to provide the major form of recreation during Indiana's territorial development. However, a gradual increase in available leisure time brought about by "settlement," led to the practice of sport activities for the purpose of pleasure. Oftentimes the village or crossroad tavern became the arena for such events as gander pulling, long bullets, a shooting match, or a "friendly" fight. Whiskey flowed freely at these events, and gambling frequently became an added form
of leisure. The winning contestant in these events usually received a small monetary reward as recognition for his efforts. However, such rewards were of little significance compared to the recognition received for winning. Victory, whether in a shooting match or a bloody scuffle with a neighboring foe, was a means by which the pioneer could express his physical prowess necessary for survival in the frontier.

Under the category of game type diversions, the pioneers found several to enjoy. Billiards, cards, dice, and other forms of gambling were popular tavern pastimes. Cockfighting added another sporting dimension of which chance or fate declared the winner. Amusement type diversions provided some form of leisure for every pioneer culture. Dancing was the most commonly engaged in activity. But social gatherings, cornhuskings, and the play-party provided a variety of amusement activity ranging from mere conversation, to camp meetings, to feasting and rollicking good fun.

The role of cultural institutions affected pioneer sport, games, and amusements in several ways. Physical prowess which was a primary requisite for early economic survival, continued to be a significant and oftentimes potent element in pioneer leisure and recreational pastimes. The increase in leisure time and recreational practices resulted in governmental imposed regulations on various leisure pastimes and equipment. It was difficult however, to determine the role religious and educational institutions played.
Although the majority of settlers seemed to be God fearing people, Sabbath breaking was frequently an offense during the pioneer period to 1820. Government legislation was passed in 1799 and again in 1817 prohibiting cockfighting, horse racing, gambling at billiards and cards, etc., on Sundays. The warrant of such legislative action indicates that a substantial number of settlers violated their religious values. The educational curriculum for developing survival skills through strength, dexterity, and agility were carried over into leisure and recreational pastimes. Book learning was considered fine if time permitted. But for the majority of pioneers a formal education was of little value. The Quakers and the Rappites appear to have been the only cultural groups to pursue strict religious and educational practices. However, although they did not appear to be guilty of Sabbath breaking, they too found time for some form of leisure.

Based on presented data, the majority of pioneer leisure practices appear to have migrated with those colonial settlers and European immigrants who came to Indiana. There was available evidence however, to indicate a few possible exceptions. These exceptions included card games, billiards, the game of moccasin, and fighting. Although descriptive data pertinent to the type of card and billiard games played

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were not found, it is possible that the French culture may have had some influence on pioneer playing habits of these pastimes. Evidence indicates that settlers to Indiana adopted for play the Indian game of moccasin, and renamed it "bullet." However, it was difficult to determine if the game was adopted from local tribes. The English immigrants appear to have adopted the backwoods form of fighting as part of their recreational practices in Indiana.

Pioneer leisure and recreational practices were seasonal in nature, usually engaged in during peak work periods, depending on the activity, or between harvests and during winter months. Indiana's geographic location, climate, and topography had a significant affect on pioneer leisure pastimes. The dense forests provided an abundance of wild game for hunting, as well as work sport activities through logrolling and house/barn raising. The numerous waterways and moderate climate provided for swimming and fishing in summer, and seasonal changes allowed for ice skating and occasional sleighing in winter.

An analysis of available data shows that the aforementioned activities composed the leisure and recreational practices of the Indiana pioneers. As the country developed into a state, the expression of leisure pastimes through categories of sport, games, and amusements became a significant part of Hoosier cultural development.
CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary and Findings

The purpose of this study was to investigate, determine, and examine recreational pastimes as to kinds and types of sport, game, and amusement activities, indigenous to three classifications of cultural influences in the present state of Indiana during its early exploration and settlement from 1670 to 1820. The three cultures under examination included the Algonquian Indian tribes, the French, and English speaking peoples. The influences of the latter cultural groups were divided and examined as British and American pioneers.

As an aid in the analysis of these cultures, six sub-problem areas were investigated: 1) The effects and influences of geographic, topographic, and climatic environment. 2) The effects and influences of Indian and white culture's recreational pastimes might have had on each other. 3) The effects and influences cultural occupations might have had on recreational pastimes. 4) Religious practices and their effects and influences on recreational pastimes. 5) Determine if recreational practices migrated with the various cultures or if they were developed as new activities as a result of a new environment. 6) Compare recreational activities of
earlier settlements in northern, eastern, and southern colonies of North America with those in Indiana during the period under investigation.

**Methodology**

An extensive literature review revealed no complete source(s) relating to or depicting the early history of sport, games, and amusements in the territory northwest of the river Ohio which became Indiana. Therefore, an extensive investigation was conducted of manuscripts, diaries, journals, histories, personal papers, newspapers, etc., with the assistance of various archives and libraries within and outside the state.

All collected data was subjected to both external and internal criticism to insure authenticity and accuracy respectively. In an attempt to provide answers to the previously postulated questions, specifically, the effects and influences of cultural occupations and religion on recreational practices, review and evaluation of data revealed a much broader interrelationship of recreational practices with cultural institutions. Therefore, to insure a thorough investigation of sport, game, and amusement practices among cultures in Indiana, it was necessary to examine the cultural institutions of economics, government, and education.

For the purpose of this study, definitions were developed for sport, games, and amusements in order to better classify each of these recreational pastimes. The following
definitions were developed and applied throughout the study.

1) Sport: any vigorous activity requiring skill and/or physical prowess, and often of a competitive nature. 2) Games: any activity engaged in for the purpose of diversion, pleasure, and amusement. 3) Amusement: any activity or event engaged in or observed to entertain or occupy in a light, playful, or pleasant manner. In accordance with these definitions, a description of data were presented chronologically according to each dominant cultural influence during the period of study.

Summary of Cultural Data

The Colonial Heritage of
The Indiana Cultures

The discovery of the North American continent by Columbus in 1492 created a keen interest in a vast wilderness of untouched wealth. Nearly two hundred years after its discovery, the continent became the theater for those Europeans seeking escape from political, economic, educational, and religious strife. With the exception of early Spanish exploration, the French were the first cultural group to tap North America's wealth, exploring the lakes and rivers, and promoting the fur trade in Canada, Louisiana, and the Northwest Territory. English immigration soon followed, but these cultures were content with colonization, settling in the Atlantic coastal region from Massachusetts to South Carolina.
In their cultural institutions, they shared virtually nothing. The French were explorers, trappers, and traders in fur, while the English were predominantly farmers, content to work the land. In government and law and order, the French had virtually no standard form, while the English quickly established laws to govern their way of life. The French in the interior were predominantly uneducated. But the English colonists gradually established educational systems. Perhaps religious values provided a guiding force for both cultures. The French were devout Catholics, while the English were divided among various off-shoots of Protestantism.

With the exception of those settlers in the New England colonies who practiced strict puritanical beliefs, the majority of French and English inhabitants in North America engaged in some form of leisure activity. Such activity took a variety of forms. The French developed a reputation for dancing, billiards, and music, along with shooting and hunting, and gambling at cards. In the Mid-Atlantic colonies, English, Dutch, and German immigrants engaged in bowls, nine pins, quoits, dancing, cricket, fives, horse racing, and cock-fighting to name a few. In the southern colonies of Virginia and the Carolinas, a moderate climate, slavery, and a leisurely life-style, provided greater amounts of leisure time. Many English, German, and Scotch Irish immigrants spent these leisure moments engaged in such recreational diversions as cockfighting, horse racing, quoits, long bullets, hunting,
and fighting. In the back country, men engaged in work type
sports such as hunting, wrestling, felling trees, logrolling,
cornhusking, shooting matches, and house/barn raising.

Each of the aforementioned institutions and social prac-
tices were to form a composite of cultural patterns which
eventually found their way westward to Indiana. The eastern
colonies would serve as a reference point from which to draw
social and cultural practices as England and other European
countries had served for the early colonists. Due to the
diverse life-style from which early cultures came to Indiana,
and oftentimes as a result of the diversity they encountered
there, they brought with them only those cultural practices
which were of necessity and that could easily be adopted to
their new environment. This study was an attempt to tell
the story of these practices, and in particular the sports,
games, and amusements popular on the Indiana frontier.

The Indian Cultures
in Indiana

Evaluation of data indicated that sport, games, and
amusements played a significant role in the cultural patterns
of the Indiana Algonquians, as each were interrelated with
their economic, educational, political, and religious insti-
tutions. Even before significant contact with white cultures,
play type activities were employed for the purpose of skill
development necessary for economic survival. In addition,
skills developed to insure survival were related to criteria,
hunting achievements and heroism in battle, necessary for leadership of family and clan. Further relationship of play type activities were evident in religious practices as a vehicle for worshipping their God, as well as the educational and growth development of youth. The success and preservation for each of these institutions was dependent upon each member of the tribe, and the welfare and survival of the tribe were dependent upon each institution.

In addition to play patterns for institutional needs, all of the Indiana tribes engaged in a variety of play activities, ranging from complex games to storytelling, for the purpose of mere pleasure. There were recreational activities for all tribe members. However, sport and game activities appear to have been dominated by male participation. Contact with the white man did not appear to have influenced the types of play activities in which they engaged. Any changes in game rules and the introduction of new game type activities were more evident from other tribes which migrated into the Indiana country, or as a result of geographic and climatic conditions which necessitated different materials and constructional methods of implements and facilities, and seasonal participation.

The white influence did, however, up-grade their living standards and increased the amount of time available for leisure. The only directly related influence of white cultures was on the game of quoits and cards. However,
sufficient data was unavailable to determine if quoits and card games were brought directly to the Indiana tribes by white cultures, or by migrating tribes with previous white contact. With these two possible exceptions, the sport, games, and amusements of the Indiana Algonquians during the period defined in this study appear to have been the direct and natural outgrowth of aboriginal institutions indigenous to the native tribes and those which migrated to the Indiana country.

Based on available sources to date, and in accordance with the definitions developed for this study, the following sport, games, and amusement activities were found to have been engaged in by the Indiana Algonquians.

Sport among the Indiana Algonquian tribes was divided into two categories: work sport and sport for sports sake. Sport activities engaged in for sport sake were described as sport in games. Work sport consisted of activities involving running, jumping, shooting of the bow and arrow, and hunting, and were all activities engaged in as preparation for survival. Sport in games consisted of ball type games including football, crosse (lacrosse), a type of field hockey and volleyball. Other sports were foot racing, wrestling, and hoop rolling. Game type diversions were divided into games of low and high organization. Low organization games were lifting stones, hopping, quoits, and manundis. Among children, running, jumping, swimming, spinning tops, and
target games were found to have been popular. Game type
diversions of high organization consisted of straws, dice
games, moccasin, and later, after white cultural influence,
card games. Amusement type diversions included a variety of
dance, music, and storytelling.

The French Culture in
Indiana

During the long period the French held control of the
territory that became Indiana, there was little or no attempt
to develop and colonize the land. Their business was hunting,
trapping and trading in furs, and to clear the land, build
roads, or to make permanent improvements would only injure
the natural environment so important to their occupation.
Thus, they lived in harmony with the Indian tribes they en-
countered, and built only a few block house posts and a few
crude buildings to serve as stations of trade at strategic
points along Indiana's watery highways. The European demand
for furs and the enticing lure of the wilderness frontier
brought an influx of French cultures which eventually led to
permanent settlement and an agrarian way of life. However,
unlike the French settlements along the upper and lower
Mississippi, with the exception of a few habitants around
Vincennes, the French cultures in the Indiana country were
less refined in their cultural habits.

Despite the somewhat crude, less refined existence of
the Indiana French, they shared equally the vivacious love
for the social life and leisure activity with their northern and southern neighbors. To insure sufficient socializing contact, they lived a communal existence in small, quaint villages usually surrounding a military outpost. They looked to the commandant and village priest for government and religious leadership, and spent much of their waking moments in idleness and leisure activity. Although research revealed only casual references to leisure and recreational pastimes, sufficient data was available to classify these activities into sport, games, and amusements.

The abundance of wild game and the variety of natural food products produced in the fertile soils and moderate climate, especially in the Wabash valley, provided easy access to basic economic needs, and enhanced the availability of time for leisure pursuits. The nature of their economic institutions, trade, and the central locations along major water routes did not however, appear to have precipitated an influx or an acceptance of new sport, game, and amusement activities from other cultures. Further investigation did not indicate that the Indiana French adopted or participated in Indian recreational activities. However, among those early trappers and traders who lived with the Indians as one of them, it is conceivable that they shared in the Indian's recreational pursuits.

New sport, game, and amusement practices did not appear to have developed among the Indiana French based on living
conditions presented in a new environment. The descriptive data available pertaining to leisure activities indicates they exhibited similar recreational patterns as those of early French habitants of Canada and New Orleans. An abundance of conclusive data in this area is lacking at this time. Perhaps this is due to the inhabitant's illiteracy, or perhaps they were too busy amusing themselves to record such events.

Religion appears to have played a significant role in their leisure life-style. Sunday mass was almost always followed with social events in which the congregation engaged in feasting, games, and dancing. Whole villages observed holy days with festive celebrations. However, dancing during holy day's celebrations did not appear to have been a mode to worship their God.

For the French habitants of the Indiana country, their religious philosophy of self enjoyment, their deeply religious ties with Catholicism, the tranquil setting and generous bounty of the Wabash valley, and their seemingly carefree, easy-going approach to living, appear to have been significant factors which precipitated their participation in social leisure and sport, game, and amusement activities.

Based on available sources to date, sport type activities among the French were not divided into work sports and sports for pleasure. To the French in Indiana, sporting pastimes consisted of canoe racing, limited hunting and
fishing, wrestling, and foot races among children. Game type diversions included billiards and playing at cards. Amusement type diversions consisted of dancing, social gatherings, singing, and storytelling.

The British Influence in Indiana

Because of its military nature and the comparatively short period of habitation, the British cultural influence in the territory which became Indiana was perhaps not as significant in relation to prominence as was the cultures of Indian tribes, the French, and the American pioneers. However, their military exploits were significant in shaping the history of Indiana and its future.

Included in their history shaping exploits were leisure and recreational practices which could be classified as sport, games, and amusements. Among the British, such practices did not appear to have been work related, or to have been engaged in as ritualistic practices of religious ceremony. Participation in dance, cards, skating, swimming, and fishing was noncompetitive, individualistic, and purely as a means of recreational enjoyment. Playing at cards was perhaps the only activity engaged in for monetary gain. Activities were, for the most part, seasonal in nature, engaged in only when temperatures and climate were suitable. Playing at cards appeared to have been the main exception as evidence indicates they were probably played year round.
Initially, the British did not appear to have shared the friendly, socializing habits of the French. During the early period of their Indiana occupation they practiced strict discipline and remained aloof and superior to the habitants they encountered. In the years of their declining influence however, strict attitudes seemed to have changed. Some available evidence indicates the development of socializing patterns with those cultures immediately around them. Such socializing patterns appear to have been especially true at Post Miami as an occasional officer would play cards, drink, and dance the night away with French settlers of the surrounding village.

Although data are limited and sketchy, it would appear the British made no attempt to adopt or incorporate French or Indian recreational practices into their own sport, game, and amusement pastimes. The only exception may have occurred during their declining influence when their strict disciplinary attitudes gave way to social interaction with cultures around them.

Based on available sources to date, sporting practices among British military personnel included ice skating, swimming, fishing, and occasional shooting. Game type diversions consisted of playing at cards. Their amusement type diversions were dancing and social gatherings.
The American Pioneer Cultures in Indiana

The period identified as the pioneer period, 1785 to 1820, was perhaps the most important era in Indiana's early history. In the short span of thirty-five years, this frontier evolved from a vast wilderness into a state, and a land of opportunity for thousands of settlers seeking a new beginning. Predominantly these pioneer settlers were of southern origin, of German and Scotch-Irish descent, whose earlier colonial experiences were modified and remolded by the environmental demands of the new frontier. During the same period, ethnic cultures from Germany, Switzerland, and England made significant settlements within Indiana's boundaries.

Despite their varied backgrounds, each of these pioneer cultures were characterized as industrious, hard working people eager to develop and display a national character through their cultural institutions of economics, government, education, religion, and leisure pastimes. Their industrious hard work was further characterized by elements of strength and power, each of which were significant motivational factors in the overall development and expression of their cultural institutions.

Evidence showed that despite hardships and laborious work tasks, many pioneers found available time for leisure and recreation pursuits. Available leisure moments were fulfilled with activities categorized as sport, games, and
amusements. An analysis of these leisure practices showed that for the majority of pioneers during Indiana's development, recreational activity within the category of sport was divided into two divisions: work sport and pure sport engaged in for sport sake.

Work sport activities were related to and usually dependent upon work tasks consisting of or related to hunting, fishing, logrolling, land clearing, house/barn raising, militia training, social gatherings, etc. Performance of work tasks were dependent upon large numbers, which precipitated a social gathering of neighbors for both work and sport. The element of competition added a sporting spirit to work tasks, and promoted their rapid completion.

For the majority of settlers, work sports continued to provide the major form of recreation during Indiana's territorial development. However, a gradual increase in available leisure time brought about by "settlement," led to the practice of sport activities for the purpose of pleasure. Oftentimes the village or crossroad tavern became the arena for such events as gander pulling, long bullets, shooting matches, or an occasional "friendly" fight. Whiskey flowed freely at these events, and gambling frequently became an added form of leisure. The winning contestant in these events usually received a small monetary reward as recognition for his efforts. However, such rewards were of little significance compared to the recognition received for
winning. Victory in these activities was a means by which the pioneer could express his physical prowess necessary for survival in the frontier.

Under the category of game type diversions, the pioneers found several to enjoy. Billiards, cards, dice, and other forms of gambling were popular tavern pastimes. Cockfighting added another sporting dimension of which chance or fate declared the winner. Amusement type diversions provided some form of leisure for every pioneer culture. But social gatherings, cornhuskings, and the play-party provided a variety of amusement activity ranging from mere conversation, to camp meetings, to feasting and rollicking good fun.

The role of cultural institutions affected pioneer sport, games, and amusements in several ways. Physical prowess which was a primary requisite for early economic survival, continued to be a significant and oftentimes potent element in pioneer leisure and recreational pastimes. The increase in leisure time and recreational practices resulted in governmental imposed regulations on various leisure pastimes and equipment. It was difficult however, to determine the role religious and educational institutions played. Although the majority of settlers seemed to be God fearing people, Sabbath breaking was frequently an offense during the pioneer period to 1820. Government legislation was passed prohibiting several leisure activities on Sundays. Such legislation indicates that a substantial number of settlers violated
their religious values. The educational curriculum for developing survival skills through strength, dexterity, and agility were carried over into leisure and recreational pastimes. Book learning was considered fine if time permitted. But for the majority of pioneers a formal education was of little value. The Quakers and Rappites appear to have been the only cultural groups to pursue strict religious and educational practices. However, although they did not appear to be guilty of Sabbath breaking, they too found time for some form of leisure.

Based on presented data, the majority of pioneer leisure practices appear to have migrated with those colonial settlers and European immigrants who came to Indiana. There was available evidence, however, to indicate a few possible exceptions. These exceptions included card games, billiards, the game of moccasin, and fighting. Although descriptive data pertinent to the type of card and billiard games played were not found, it is possible that the French culture may have had some influence on pioneer playing habits of these pastimes. Evidence indicates that settlers to Indiana adopted for play the Indian game of moccasin, and renamed it "bullet." However, it was difficult to determine if the game was adopted from local tribes. The English immigrants appear to have adopted the backwoods form of fighting as part of their recreational practices in Indiana.
Pioneer leisure and recreational practices were seasonal in nature, usually engaged in during peak work periods, or between harvests and during winter months. Indiana's geographic location, climate, and topography had a significant affect on pioneer leisure pastimes. The dense forests provided an abundance of wild game for hunting, as well as work sport activities through logrolling and house/barn raising. The numerous waterways and moderate climate provided for swimming and fishing in summer, and seasonal changes allowed for ice skating and an occasional sleigh ride in winter.

As the Indiana country developed into a state, the pioneer expression of leisure and recreational pastimes identified as sport, games, and amusements, became a significant part of Hoosier cultural development.

Based on available sources to date, sport activities were divided into two categories: work sport and sport for sport sake. Sport activities engaged in for pleasure were presented as sport in recreation. Work sports consisted of land clearing, logrolling, house/barn raising, hunting and fishing, shooting matches, and militia training. Sports in recreation included shooting matches, hunting, and fishing, fighting, militia training, gander pulling, long bullets, horse racing, swimming, quoits, bar jumping, tug-of-war, and crack-the-whip. Game type diversions engaged in were billiards, playing at cards, and cockfighting. Amusement type diversions were social gatherings, cornhusking, dancing,
sleighing, and play-party activities.

Conclusions

Based on the findings from this study, sufficient data support the six postulated questions presented for examination in this thesis.

1. In the territory northwest of the river Ohio, leisure and recreational pastimes defined and categorized as sport, games, and amusements were engaged in by three influential cultures during the period 1670 to 1820. However, the kinds and types of sport, games, and amusements investigated and determined are based on available data to date, and do not claim conclusively to be all of, or the only recreational pastimes available to, or practiced by, Indiana cultures. Of the sport, game, and amusement pastimes determined, examination revealed significant cause and affect relationships on each culture and their cultural institutions as follows.

2. The geographic, topographic, and climatic environment were significant factors affecting and influencing each culture's sport, game, and amusement activities. The forests, rivers and streams, and seasonal temperatures provided for sport through work tasks as well as those engaged in for sport sake. Many of the work sport and "sport" sport events provided opportunity for games and amusements.

3. The kinds and types of sports, games, and amusements tended to have been exclusive within each culture, as only
limited effects and influences on recreational practices between white and Indian cultures were evident. Although many of the early French lived among the Indian tribes, and were in part responsible for up-grading their living standards, they did not appear to have participated in Indian recreational pastimes. The British exhibited no affects and influences, and the pioneers adopted only the Indian game of moc-casin. Sources indicated that both Indian and white cultures were familiar with, and engaged in varied forms of the game of quoits. But introduction to the game appeared to have come before their inhabitance of Indiana. In the later periods during the study, the Indian cultures adopted card games and metal to construct recreational equipment, more notably steel rings for their game of quoits.

4. Investigation and analysis of cultural occupations and religious practices revealed a significant relationship with recreational pastimes. However, this same investigation revealed that cultural institutions of economic, government, and education also played significant roles. Among the Indian and pioneer cultures, many of the recreational pastimes were engaged in as preparation for, or as part of occupational and economic survival. Among the French and British cultures, however, recreational practices were separate from economic occupations. The cultural institution of religion played a significant role among each culture's recreational practices, with the possible exception of the British. Evidence
pertinent to British religious practices in Indiana were limited and sketchy, thus, making it difficult to draw an accurate conclusion. For the Indian and early pioneer cultures, sports, games, and amusements frequently provided a means for education. The French and British, however, put these recreational pastimes to no apparent use aside from pleasure and enjoyment. Among the pioneer cultures, government legislation placed some restrictions on recreational activities. But their affects appear to have been minimal.

5. Each culture appeared to have brought with them their sport, game, and amusement pastimes. No new recreational activities were found to have been developed specifically due to Indiana's environment, but recreational activities related to survival may have been engaged in for the first time by a few cultural members as the result of experiencing a new way of life.

6. A review of sport, game, and amusement practices in Canada, the eastern colonies, and southern states during the period under investigation, revealed numerous similarities. Similarities were especially true in the southern colonies and states from which the majority of pioneers migrated to southern Indiana. New trends in eastern recreation and leisure practices gradually worked their way westward to Indiana. An example was the development of theater groups and dancing schools at Vincennes during the closing period of this study. Curiously, however, evidence was not found revealing pure
English recreational pastimes among the English colonists in Indiana.

With the exception of the British influence, and the canoeing practices of the early French culture, the "theme" of sport, game, and amusement practices in Indiana was physical prowess. The requisites of strength, dexterity, and agility necessary for survival in the wilderness, carried over into competitive recreational pastimes. This is not to say the French and British cultures did not possess the physical prowess necessary for survival. But great amounts of physical prowess were not evident in their sports, games, and amusements. With the exception of the Quakers and Rappites, the element of gambling was present in recreational pastimes of all the cultures studied.
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