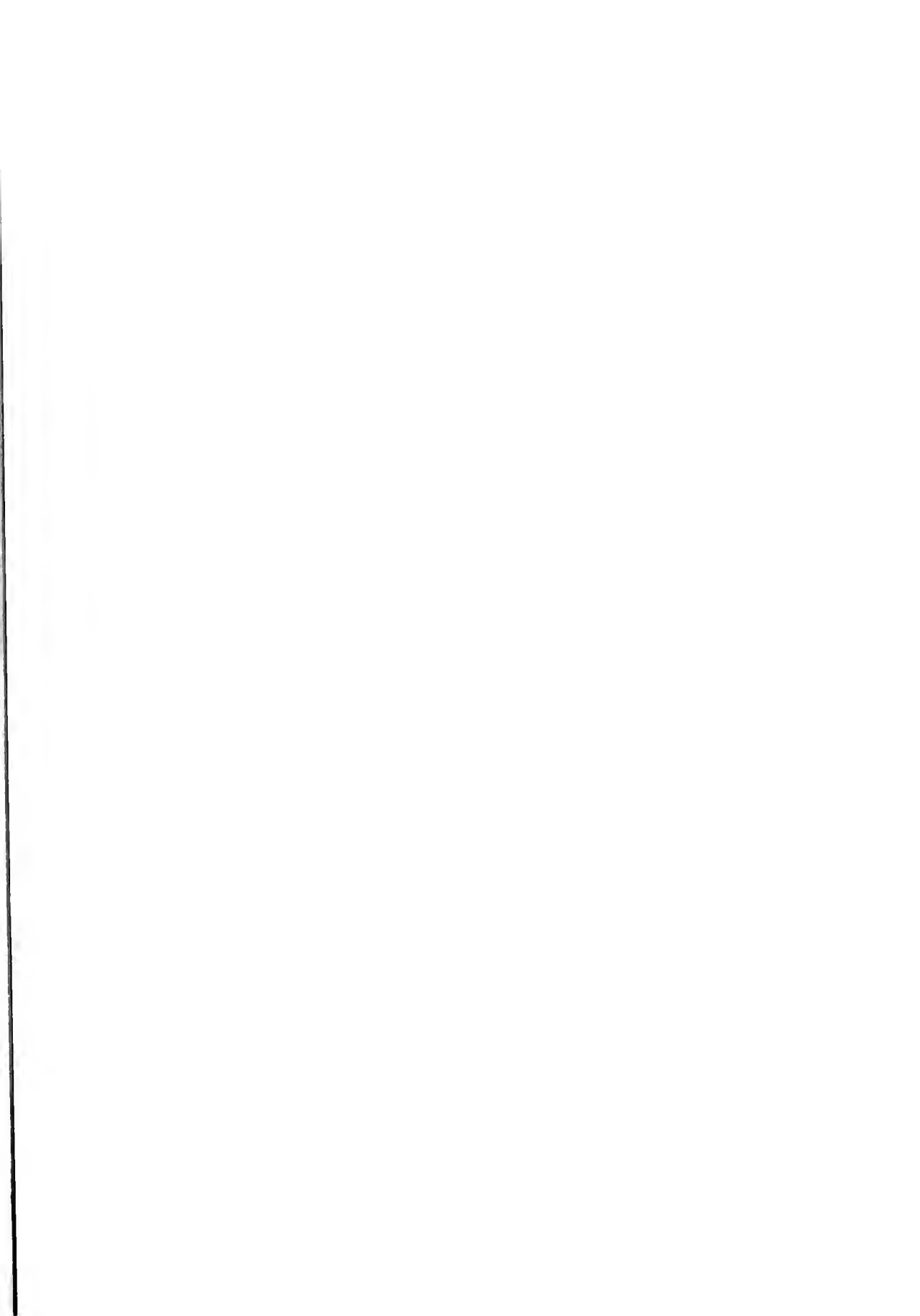
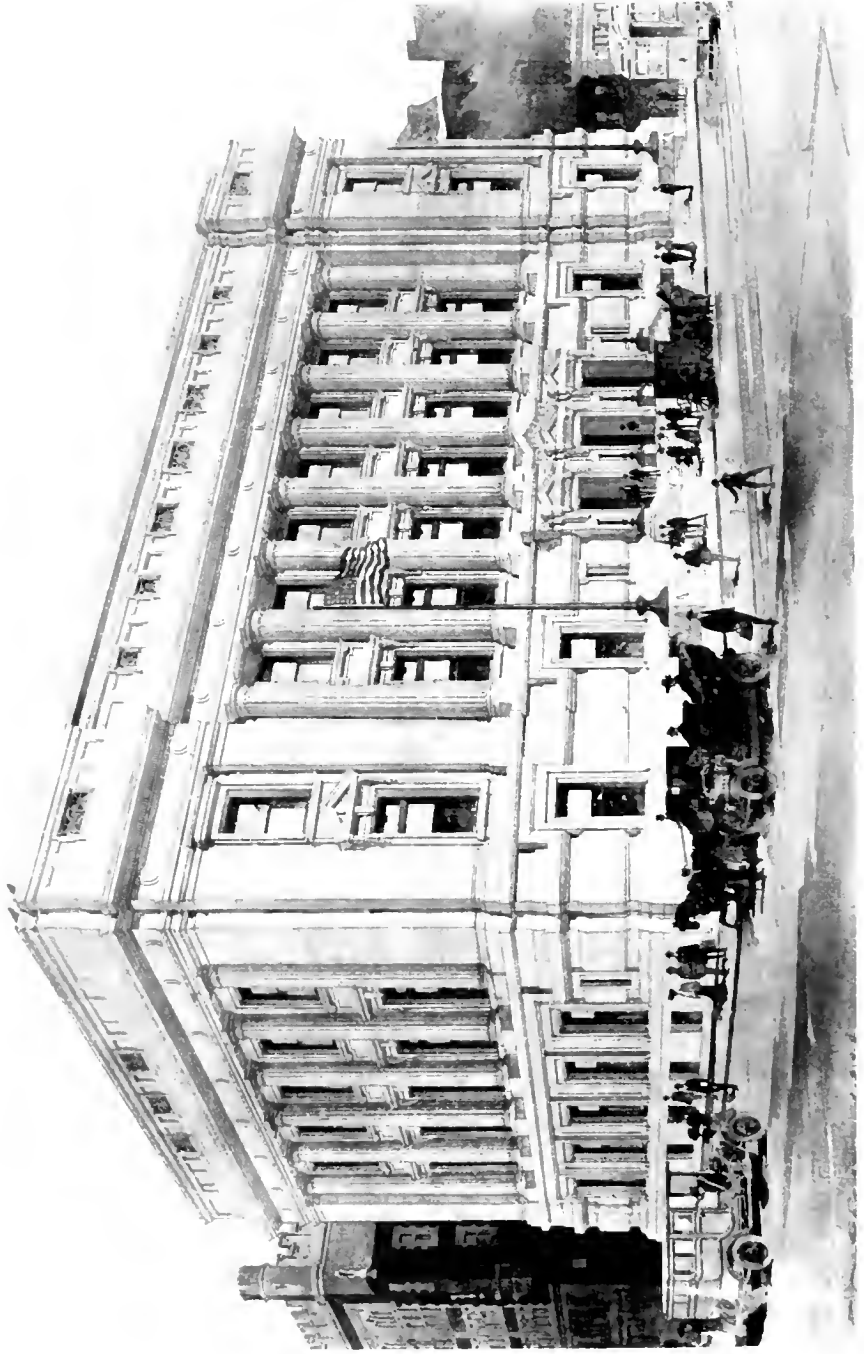




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CITY HALL

GREATER INDIANAPOLIS

The History, the Industries, the Institutions, and
the People of a City of Homes

BY

JACOB PIATT DUNN

Secretary of the Indiana Historical Society

VOLUME I

ILLUSTRATED

THE LEWIS PUBLISHING COMPANY
CHICAGO

1910

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PREFACE

If any apology were needed for the appearance of a history of Indianapolis at this time, a sufficient one would be found in the fact that no such history has been published for more than a quarter of a century; and in that period Indianapolis has developed from an overgrown town to one of the leading cities of the country, the material growth being accompanied by a development in government and institutions that is perhaps the most interesting feature of the history of the city as it now is. But there are other considerations that made a new history desirable. The first history of Indianapolis was prepared by Ignatius Brown, and published as part of the city directory of 1857. Mr. Brown was a patient delver in historical material, and in the course of the next decade he found so many errors in his first publication, and acquired so much additional information, that he revised and enlarged his work and republished it in the city directory of 1868. This second publication was more than four times as large as the first, and has been the basis of all the history that has since been published, being closely followed by others, errors and all, with the exception of J. H. B. Nowland, whose two books, *Early Reminiscences* (1870), and *Sketches of Prominent Citizens* (1876), were on a wholly independent basis.

Mr. Brown's history was more properly a chronology, the events being grouped by years. In 1870 Mr. Wm. R. Holloway published his *Historical and Statistical Sketch*, made an effort at topical treatment, but was still largely chronological, and therefore disconnected. In 1881, Berry R. Sulgrove, who wrote a large part of the Holloway publication, issued his *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*. This made a still further effort at topical treatment, but it was also biographical, and the biographies are so mixed with the historical text that it is difficult to get trace of any special subject. In both of these Mr. Brown's work is closely followed.

In the present history, the method followed is strictly topical, the chapters being arranged as nearly in chronological order as was practicable. The entire ground has been gone over from the beginning, with consultation of original authorities, a number of which were not in reach of previous writers. Especially full treatment has been given to disputed questions; and free citation of authorities has been made to facilitate research by those who may care to investigate any question more fully. Effort has been made to secure not only full illustration, but illustration of a historical character. The biographical matter, while essential to the history, has been placed in a separate volume where it will not obstruct the general reader. It would be extraordinary if some errors had not crept into a work of this size; but the publishers and the author feel that they are offering the public a history that is accurate, "accessible", and comprehensive.

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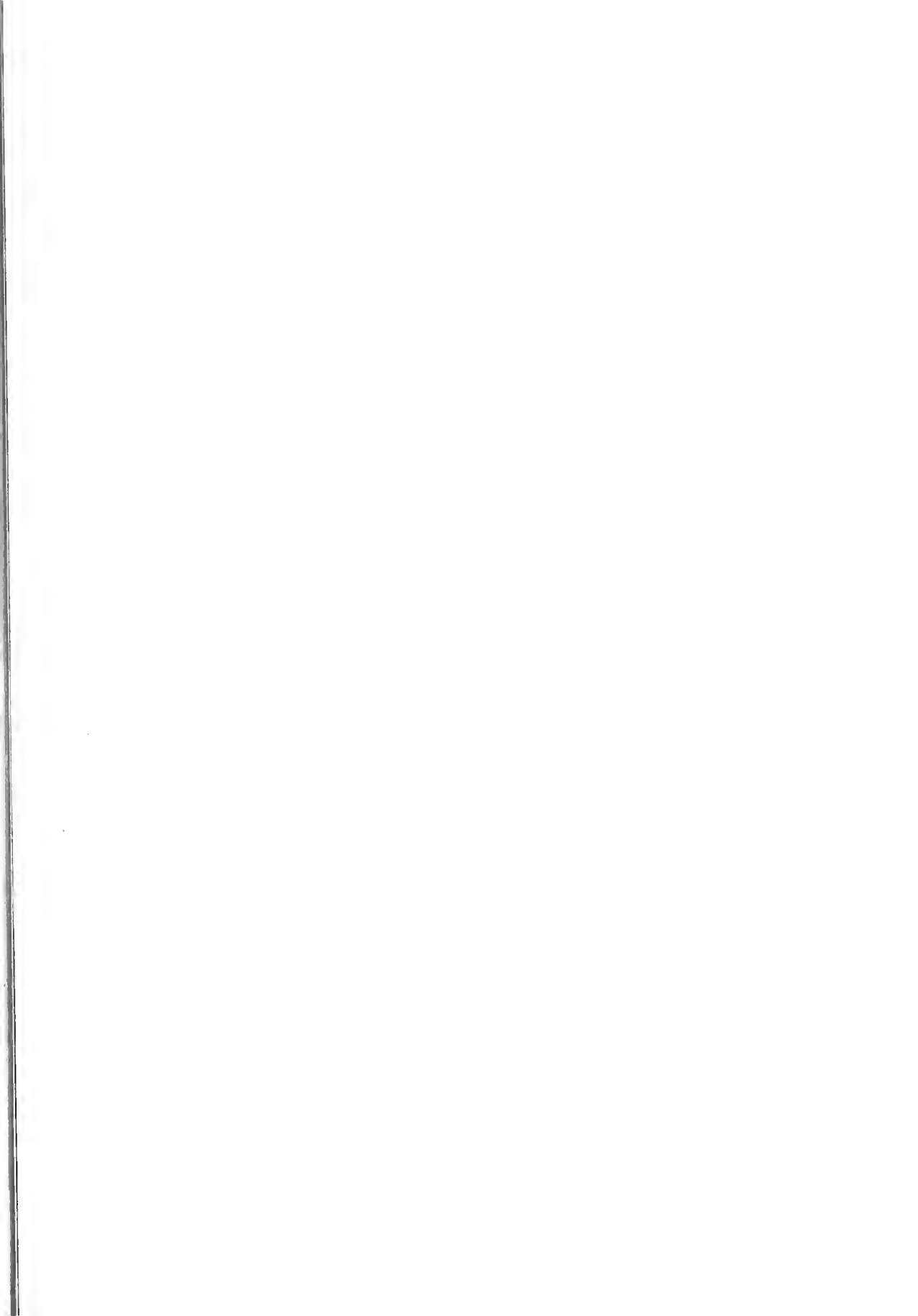
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History of Greater Indianapolis.

CHAPTER I.

IN THE BEGINNING.

The time had come when Indiana had need of a new capital—not, indeed, that there had been any lack of capitals, for they had been numerous and varied. The first seat of government was Paris, France,—shifting to Versailles—with the provincial capital for the northern part of the state at Quebec, and intermediate authority at Detroit; while the southern end of the state had its provincial capital at New Orleans, with intermediate authority at Fort Chartres, in Illinois. This continued until the close of the Seven Years War, when, by the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, the capital became London, and the provincial government was centered at Quebec, with intermediate authority at Detroit. This, in turn, continued until Gen. George Rogers Clark took forcible possession of the region for Virginia, in 1778, and the capital came over to Richmond.

Virginia acted promptly, and, in October, 1778, established the County of Illinois, including all of her territory "west of the Ohio river." On December 12, Col. John Todd was appointed County Lieutenant, with power to appoint subordinate officials, except that, by the law, "all the civil officers to which the said inhabitants have been accustomed, necessary for the preservation of peace and the administration of justice, shall be chosen by a majority of the citizens of their respective districts."¹ Todd came West in 1779, and called an

election for the "general court" of Vincennes, which was the first election ever held in Indiana. The persons then elected were commissioned by Todd, excepting one known as Cardinal, who "refused to serve." It is not recorded whether this unique action was due to modesty, or to fear of being led into temptation in an American office. The Virginia rule continued until the organization of the Northwest Territory, when the capital was transferred to Marietta, Ohio. It tarried there until 1800, when, on the organization of Indiana Territory, it came to Vincennes. Here it remained until 1813, when it was removed to Corydon.

But now Indiana had left the territorial status, and had been admitted as a sovereign state of the Union in 1816. It was putting away the things of childhood. It must have a permanent capital, and not merely one suited to the temporary convenience of the existing population. This involved its location near the center of the state, for no principle was more firmly fixed in the minds of the early settlers than that "equality is equity," so far as distance from the seat of government is concerned. Travel, at that time, was tedious and difficult, and from the time the Americans began settling in the Northwest there had been complaint on this subject. And Congress had recognized the justice of the complaint. In the report of 1800, on the division of Northwest Territory, the House Committee said: "The actual distance of traveling from the

¹*Hening's Stats. at Large*, Vol. 9, p. 552, Vol. I—1

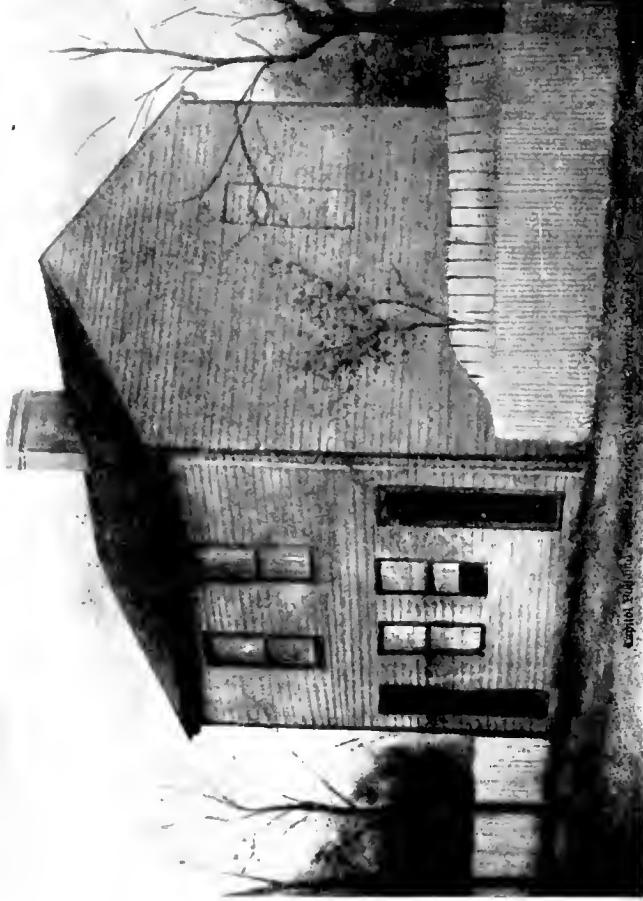
places of holding courts the most remote from each other is thirteen hundred miles, and in a country so sparsely settled, and so little reclaimed from its native wildness, this distance alone seems to present barriers almost insuperable against the exercise of the functions of government." In the debate of 1801, on the separation of Michigan, it was urged that "it was unjust to deprive the citizens of Detroit of the benefits resulting from the administration of justice;" and that Michilimackinac, "exporting annually produce of the value of \$200,000, from which the United States had a revenue of \$17,000, was more than 800 miles from the present seat of government." Michigan had the best ground for complaint, and was separated in 1805, but other sections were also clamorous. In 1805 the people of Dearborn County—then all of Indiana east of the Greenville Treaty Line—petitioned for reunion to Ohio, on the ground that they were "at a Distance of Nearly Two Hundred Miles from the Seat of Government; that the Intermediate Space is a Wilderness occupy'd only by Indians, and likely for many years to Remain Unoccupied by any Other persons." In the same year, the people of the Illinois settlements asked for separation on the ground that they were separated from Vincennes by "about one hundred and eighty miles, through a dreary and inhospitable wilderness, uninhabited, and which, during one part of the year, can scarcely afford water to sustain nature, and that of the most indifferent quality, besides presenting other hardships equally severe, while in another it is in part under water, and in places to the extent of some miles, by which the road is rendered almost impassable." Congress refused these petitions, but after others to the same effect in 1806 and 1807, provided for the separation of Illinois in 1809; one of the chief reasons given being that, "The great difficulty of traveling through an extensive and loathsome wilderness, the want of food and other necessary accommodations of the road, often presents an unsurmountable barrier to the attendance of witnesses;" and that when witnesses did attend, the expense was "a cause of much embarrassment to a due and impartial distribution of justice."²

These considerations were uppermost in the

minds of everybody in connection with the establishment of the permanent capital, and it was a matter of common consent that the capital must be in the central part of the state, which was then an unsettled wilderness, held by the Indians. It was equally understood that it should be located on the West Fork of White River—properly the main stream—which was the only stream in the central part of the state that was considered navigable. After the admission of the state, Congress, by resolution of December 11, 1816, made a donation of four sections of land for a capital, to be selected by the state legislature from "such lands as may hereafter be acquired by the United States, from the Indian tribes within the said territory;" and all of these lands lay to the north of the existing settlements.

The original title to this region was in the Miamis, with a special claim in the Piankeshaw tribe of that nation; but about 1750 the Piankeshaws had sold the right of occupancy, if not their full title, to the Delawares, who then formed their settlements on White River. The controversies that arose over the title, between the Miamis and the Delawares, were so threatening that Governor Harrison secured an agreement in the treaty of Ft. Wayne, in 1809, that the Miamis "explicitly acknowledge the equal right of the Delawares with themselves to the country watered by White River," and that "neither party shall have the right of disposing of the same without the consent of the other." Accordingly, at the opening of October, 1818, both tribes were assembled at St. Marys, Ohio, where Jonathan Jennings, Lewis Cass, and Benjamin Parke, for the United States, made treaties with them. On October 3, the Delawares relinquished "all their claim to land in the State of Indiana." On October 6, the Miamis ceded all their lands in Indiana lying between the Wabash and the lands already acquired by the whites in the southern part of the state, except a few small reservations, together with a smaller section that they still held in northwestern Ohio. The lands so acquired were popularly known as "The New Purchase," and by that name have passed down in history. They covered about one-third of the state—the central third, as distinguished from the north and south ends. The government surveys of them were begun in 1819, and continued for several years after.

²*Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. 2, No. 12.



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

CAPITOL BUILDING, INDIANA TERRITORY, VINCENNES; ERECTED ABOUT 1806.

All the preliminaries being now arranged, the legislature, which represented the southern end of the state, and which was in no hurry for the actual removal of the capital, passed an act on January 11, 1820, appointing ten commissioners to locate the capital. The men named by the law were George Hunt, of Wayne County; John Conner, of Fayette; Stephen Ludlow, of Dearborn; John Gilliland, of Switzerland; Joseph Bartholomew, of Clark; John Tipton, of Harrison; Jesse B. Durham, of Jackson; Frederick Rapp, of Posey; William Prince, of Gibson; and Thomas Emmerson, of Knox. They were all men of prominence in their several communities; and all except William Prince accepted the appointment and served. By the law they were required to meet "at the house of William Conner, on the West Fork of White River, on a day to be named in the proclamation" (it was May 22), and proceed to select "a site which, in their opinion, shall be most eligible and advantageous for the permanent seat of government of Indiana." The house of William Conner was at what was known as Conner's Station, or Conner's Prairie, some four miles below Noblesville. Conner and his brother John, who founded Connersville, had been captured by the Indians when children, and had been brought up by them. William Conner had served as an interpreter and as Indian agent for a number of years, and had established his trading station at this point in 1802.³ The law required the commissioners to employ a clerk, who was to make a record of their proceedings, and submit it to the next legislature. This report was prepared, signed by the nine members who served, and submitted, but it is merely a summary statement of the final action of the commission.⁴ But General Tipton kept a journal of his trip which is comparatively full. The original is now in the possession of John H. Holliday of Indianapolis, and it has been printed twice.⁵

Tipton started from Corydon on May 17, in company with Governor Jennings, who was with

the party during the trip. They took with them a negro boy named Bill. On the next day they reached Colonel Durham's, at Valonia, where Durham and General Bartholomew were awaiting them, and they were also joined here by Gen. John Carr, and Captain Dueson, of Charlestown, who were going up to look at the country. The party traveled north in quite a direct line, passing about a mile east of Irvington, directly through Castleton, striking and crossing White River at the Hamilton County line, and reaching Conner's at 1 o'clock on the 22nd. Here they found Hunt, Conner, Ludlow, Gilliland, and Emmerson; and that evening they met and were sworn in. Rapp arrived on the following day, and the commission organized by electing Hunt chairman and Benj. I. Blythe clerk. They then adjourned to meet on the 24th at "the mouth of Fall Creek." The next three days were spent in exploration, the commissioners going down the river as far as the Bluffs. On the 27th the commissioners met at the mouth of Fall Creek and definitely "agreed to select and locate the site Township 15 north of R. 3 E., which township was not divided into sections." But the surveyors were working on it; and, in reply to a note of inquiry, Judge Wm. B. Loughlin of Brookville, who was in charge of the surveying party, informed the commissioners on the morning of the 28th that the work would be sufficiently advanced in ten days to allow the location by sections. The main point—the location at the mouth of Fall Creek—being now disposed of, two of the commissioners, John Conner and George Hunt, returned home and the other seven, with Governor Jennings, went up to Conner's Station. The time was passed in various ways until June 5, Tipton, Bartholomew and Durham examining the lands as far down the river as Spencer. They reconvened on June 5, and the section lines having been run, passed the 6th "in reading and walking around the lines of the sections that we intend to locate." On June 7, Tipton says: "We met at McCormick's, and on my motion the commissioners came to a resolution to select and locate sections numbered 1 and 12, and east and west fractional sections numbered 2, and east fractional section 11, and so much off the east side of west fractional section number 3, to be divided by a north and south line running parallel to the west bound-

³Obituary sketch in *Indianapolis Journal*, August 22, 1855.

⁴*House Journal*, 1821, p. 25.

⁵*News*, April 17, 1879; *Indiana Quarterly Mag. of Hist.*, Vol. 1, pp. 9-15; 71-79.

ary of said section, as will equal in amount 4 entire sections in tp. 15 N. of R. 3 E. We left our clerk making out his minutes and our report, and went to camp to dine. Returned after dinner. Our paper (not) being ready B. (arholomew), D. (urham) and myself returned to camp at 4. They went to sleep and me to writing. At 5 we decamped and went over to McCormick's. Our clerk having his writing ready the commissioners met and signed their report, and certified the service of the clerk. At 6:15 the first boat landed that was ever seen at the seat of government. It was a small ferry flat with a canoe tied alongside, both loaded with the household goods of two families moving to the mouth of Fall Creek. They came up in a keel boat as far as they could get it up the river, then re-loaded the boat and brought up their goods in the flat and canoe. I paid for some corn and w(hiskey) 62^{1/2}."

The clerk of the commission, Benjamin I. Blythe, was a Pennsylvanian of Scotch descent, who afterwards located at Indianapolis. He was also clerk of the surveyors who laid off the city, and for a time the state agent for the sale of lots. He was captain of the first artillery company, which welcomed the steamer "Robert Hanna" with a national salute when she arrived here April 11, 1831. Later he was well-known and successful in the business of the city, especially as a dealer in hides and leather, and as one of the pioneer pork-packers. McCormick's, where the commissioners held their meetings and took their meals, was an ordinary double log cabin that stood on the triangle now made by Washington street, National avenue, and the river. It fronted the river. Most of the time the commissioners camped on the west side of the river just above the mouth of Fall Creek, which was then about 200 yards north of the National Road bridge. They named the bank where they camped "Bartholomew's Bluff," but the name did not last. The lands they selected, and which were duly confirmed by the legislature, are bounded, east of the river, on the north by Tenth street; on the east by Shelby street extended north to the L. E. & W. tracks above Massachusetts avenue; on the south by Morris street; and on the west by the river below Washington street, and by Hiawatha street above Washington street. West of the

river they are bounded on the north by Vermont street; on the east by the river; on the south by Maryland street; and on the west by Lynn street. Outside of these lines the lands were sold by the United States to individuals, and those that have since been added to the city were laid out as "additions" by individuals.

On June 8th, Tipton records that he started home "in company with Ludlow, Gilliland, Blythe, Bartholomew, Durham, Governor Jennings and two Virginians." Who the Virginians were is not mentioned, but probably they were Matthias R. Nowland and Andrew Byrne, brothers-in-law from Kentucky, who had been looking at lands in Illinois, and who had come up from Vincennes with a part of the commissioners. There were several others attracted to this point at the time, among them John and Absalom Dollarhide, who come up with a part of the commissioners from their farms near the southern line of Marion County. John H. B. Nowland, son of Matthias R., says that their party came up White River from Vincennes, past the Bluffs, where they found "about a half-dozen families settled, including that of Jacob Whetzel." At the mouth of Fall Creek they stopped for a day, and "most of them were favorably impressed." Nowland told the commissioners that if they located here he would move out in the fall, and try to induce other Kentuckians to join him. This mention of the favorable impression is of interest in connection with a venerable tradition of a strong conflict of opinion among the commissioners as to the location, which is stated by Brown as follows: "They met as directed at Conner's, where, after very serious disputes between them as to sites at the Bluffs, at the mouth of Fall Creek, and at Conner's, the present location was chosen by three votes against two for the Bluffs." This has commonly been followed by other writers, but it is manifestly incorrect, for Tipton explicitly states that the choice was made at McCormick's, on May 27, and there were then nine commissioners present. It is incredible that four of them did not vote, and there is no contemporary mention of material disagreement in Tipton's journal or elsewhere. The *Indiana Sentinel*, published at Vincennes, said on June 3: "We understand from a gentleman who has been some time in company with

the commissioners, that it is most probable the permanent Seat of Government of Indiana will be fixed immediately below the mouth of Fall Creek, that empties into the West Fork of White River, on the east side." On June 17, the same paper announced the location by sections, and added: "It is just below the mouth of Fall Creek, which is in full view from the town site. Fall Creek is a beautiful stream, at this season forty yards wide at its mouth, with a rapid current and deep water. We are happy, also, to say that the business of the commissioners proceeded with perfect concert and harmony, and that they suffered no interest but the public's to guide them in the selection."

The presence of Governor Jennings with the commissioners, who were not only his ap-

pointees but also his personal and political friends, would naturally tend towards unanimity of sentiment, and there was no show of questioning the location afterwards. In fact the press of the state treated the action of the commissioners as settling the location, and the legislature adopted their decision without any recorded question or debate.

When the exact surveys were made, it was found that section 1 contained 658.2 acres; section 2, 611.53 acres; section 12, 640 acres; and east fractional section 11, 448.2 acres; leaving 202.07 acres to be taken from section 3, west of the river, to make the full donation of four sections, or 2,560 acres. The lands were so platted, falling between now existing streets as mentioned above.

CHAPTER II.

THE LAY OF THE LAND.

The report of the commissioners to the legislature makes no statement of their reasons for the location chosen beyond the following: "The undersigned have endeavored to connect with an eligible site the advantages of a navigable stream and fertility of soil, while they have not been unmindful of the geographical situation of the various portions of the state: to its political center as it regards both the present and future population, as well as the present and future interest of the citizens."¹

Among the features that went to make up the "eligible site," tradition records the consideration that the banks of the river at this point afforded a good boat landing, and that Fall Creek and Eagle Creek were good mill streams.²

But there were other considerations that no doubt had weight. At this time the U. S. Commissioners to locate the National Road had finished their work in central Indiana, and had located the road about fifteen miles south of Indianapolis. This was brought to the attention of the legislature at this same session, and on January 8, 1821, it adopted a memorial to Congress asking for a change in the line of the road, so that it would come to the new capital. In this memorial the legislature urged that the site of the capital was not only nearer the center of the state, but that it had "many other advantages," among which was the fact that at this point there were "elevated banks on both sides of the west branch of White River;" and that this condition insured "in time of high water a certain

passage, and that a similar advantage is not to be found on the said river at less than thirty miles south of the location aforesaid."³ This was also true of the river for some ten miles above—to the head of the backwater above Broad Ripple—there being bottom-land on one side or the other when not on both. Of course in those days a heavy fill was a much more serious undertaking than at present, and there was no point near here that afforded as great natural advantages for a crossing as the present Washington street crossing of the river. Indeed, it is almost certain that the commissioners gave weight to this consideration, for they located on both sides of the river and the only place where the lands selected come to the river on both sides is from a block below Washington street to about the same distance above. Congress, however, did not change the location of the road until 1825, when Jonathan Jennings secured an amendment, bringing the line to Indianapolis.⁴

But there was another reason for the selection. Tipton says: "The bank of the river on which McCormick lives is from 25 to 30 feet above the water at this time—the country back is high, dry and good soil;" which demonstrates that 1820 was not a wet year. But at another place he speaks of the site as being "level and rich;" and his objection to the Bluffs is recorded in these words: "Back of the bluff runs a beautiful creek; they front on the river near 1 mile—if they were level on top it would be the most beautiful site for a town that I have ever seen." It is certain that the other commissioners also gave weight

¹*House Journal*, 1821, p. 25; *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. 1, p. 153.

²*Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. 2, p. 380; Vol. 4, p. 317.

³*Acts of 1821*, p. 143.

⁴*Stats. at Large*, Vol. 4, pp. 128, 351; *Cong. Debates*, Jan. 17 and 18, 1825, pp. 240, 245.

to the fact that at this point there was an abundance of level ground for a town. When Stephen Ludlow, the Dearborn county commissioner, returned to Lawrenceburg, he was met by William Tate, a young mechanic from Boston, who inquired how they had succeeded. "Oh, splendidly," was the reply. "I tell you, Billy, we have got the finest piece of land you ever saw. It's as level as a barn floor."

"Oh pshaw!" said Tate, "what did you do that for?"

"And why not?"

"Why, what will they ever do for drainage?"

Stephen scratched his head for a moment, and then responded, "Well, I'll be d——d, Nobody but a Yankee would ever have thought of that."

It was natural enough that the commissioners should be attracted by this feature of the site, for they were all from the south end of the state where the alternation of knobs and channels of streams makes it difficult to place more than two houses on a common level, but its effects on the future city were somewhat serious, and they are not yet wholly overcome. The plain on which the city stands has an average elevation of about 120 feet above sea level, and is quite flat, with somewhat higher ground on all sides. It has been conjectured by geologists that it was in some past age the bed of a lake. Across it runs the valley of Pogue's Run, which has lost much of its original breadth by filling, and which was formerly rather swampy in character.

Northeast of the city—north of the Atlas Works—was an extensive swamp, later known as Fletcher's Swamp, which in wet seasons discharged its overflow through the site of the city in what were called "the ravines;" and in time of floods Fall Creek also discharged much of its surplus water through this swamp and the same channels. From the swamp the water ran south past the Atlas Works, then westerly, crossing the E. E. & W. tracks in the low ground still seen about Fifteenth street. Below there it divided, one ravine going a little west of southerly, and crossing New Jersey street at Walnut; from there it ran southerly between Alabama and New Jersey streets, crossing Washington street at New Jersey, where there was a culvert for it in National Road days, and emptying into Pogue's Run. The other ran a little south of westerly,

crossing Pennsylvania street at the big elm, which still stands in front of No. 1215, and which is sometimes called "the McCulloch elm," on account of Rev. Oscar McCulloch's devotion to it. From there it veered to the south, crossing Meridian street at Eleventh and Illinois at St. Clair; then between Illinois and Capital avenue across Vermont; then southwesterly past the corner of the State Capitol grounds to the old canal bed on Missouri street, and down it, and across, emptying into the river just above Kingan's packing-house through what was called "the big ravine," or sometimes "the River Styx," and which, when subsequently dammed up, became the lower basin of the canal.

In these ravines there were a number of deep places where the water stood most of the year; and outside of them, scattered through the dense forest, were many low places where the water stood for weeks, especially in wet seasons. Southwest of Greenlawn Cemetery was a body of stagnant water known as "Graveyard Pond," of which was said: "In the summer it is covered with a green, filthy scum, and is the habitation of various kinds of reptiles and bull-frogs. At the lower part of this pond is a bridge, supposed to have been built by Governor Scott's army, to get to the ford of the river, about the year 1790."⁵ These conditions made a natural field for malarial diseases, whatever the direct cause of those diseases. The favorite theory, until quite recently, was that they were the product of miasma⁶ and there was certainly ample cause for miasma in the damp soil and the decaying vegetation. But some, especially in later years, held to the theory that malarial diseases were caused by alternations of heat and cold. Dr. Thos. B. Harvey, one of the best physicians Indianapolis, or any other city, ever had, was a warm champion of this theory, and there was ample basis for it here. More recently the mosquito theory has been gener-

⁵*Nowland's Reminiscences*, p. 46.

⁶*Locomotive*, May 27, 1848.

⁷*Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. 2, p. 100; *Chamberlain's Gazetteer*, p. 41; *Reports State Health Comm.*, 1880, p. 339.

ally accepted, though there are a few old doctors who scoff at it, and declare that they have known people to be "almost eaten up by mos-

mosquitos" without having malarial diseases. Possibly further scientific investigation may demonstrate that, on the germ theory, the germs may be introduced into the blood otherwise than through mosquitos, and that there is a possibility of acclimation or inoculation, by which the individual may develop an anti-toxin that makes him to some extent immune. But doctors disagree as to everything, except perhaps the number of bones in the human body, and the writer has no desire for a medical controversy.

Suffice it to say that, whatever the causes of malarial diseases, they were here in abundance and so were the diseases, especially in wet years. Old settlers maintained that it rained much more in the earlier years of the settlement of Indianapolis than later, and this is probable enough because the conditions were peculiarly favorable to local evaporation and reprecipitation. Brown says: "The summer of 1821 was distinguished by the general sickness resulting, it was thought, from the heavy fall of rain. It is said that storms occurred every day in June, July and August. Clouds would suddenly gather and send a deluge of water, then as quickly break away, while the sun's rays fairly scorched the drenched herbage, generating miasmatic vapors with no wind to carry them off. Sickness began in July, but did not become general till after the 10th of August, on which day Matthias Nowland had a raising, all the men in the settlement assisting. Remittent and intermittent fevers, of a peculiar type, then began, and in three weeks the community was prostrated. Thomas Chinn, Enoch Banks and Nancy Hendricks were the only persons who escaped. Though so general, the disease was not deadly, about twenty-five cases only, mostly children who had been too much exposed, dying out of several hundred cases. The few who could go about devoted their time to the sick, and many instances of generous, devoted friendship occurred. Their mutual suffering at this time bound the early settlers together in after life, and none recur to this period without emotion. New comers were disheartened at the prospect, and some left the country, circulating extravagant reports about the

⁹*Brown's Indianapolis*, p. 5; *Journal*, June 7, 1855.

health of the town, greatly retarding its subsequent growth."⁹ In fact the conditions here were not much worse than at many other places in the state, and the year was noted for the prevalent sickness.¹⁰

The doctors fared no better than the rest of the community. Dr. Mitchell and all of his family were prostrated with ague, as was Dr. Livingston Dunlap, who was then living with them. These two physicians were not only unable to minister to others, but were in so helpless a state that Matthias Nowland took Dunlap on his back and carried him to his cabin to care for him.¹¹ Nowland and his family were soon in as bad a plight. His son vividly portrays their situation by recording that one day "my father was suffering for water, and no one able to draw a bucket. He crept to the door of the cabin and saw a man passing. He beckoned to him and requested him to draw a bucket of water. 'Where is your friend Blake?' the man inquired. 'He, too, was taken sick this morning,' was the answer. 'What on earth are the people to do now?' said the man; 'God had spared him to take care of the people; they would now suffer as they never had before.'"¹² Indeed "Uncle Jimmy" Blake was a guardian angel. He was then a bachelor, and though he was having chills every other day the malady was not bad enough to disable him, and Nowland says: "He would employ the well days in gathering the new corn and grating it on a horse-radish grater into meal to make mush for the convalescent. Indeed our family, as well as the others, would have suffered for food had it not been for his kind offices in this way, not only because the mush made from the new corn was more palatable, but the old could not be got, as there were no mills nearer than Good Lander's, on the Whitewater River."¹³ Dr. Coe was the only physician able to attend to patients, and he was kept going night and day, combating the disease single-handed until Dr. Jonathan Cool arrived in the fall.

In fact the ague was so prominent a feature of early Indianapolis, that it calls for special

⁹*Hist. of Indianapolis*, p. 5.

¹⁰*Chamberlain's Gazetteer*, p. 119.

¹¹*Nowland's Reminiscences*, p. 15.

¹²*Nowland's Reminiscences*, p. 61.

¹³*Early Reminiscences*, p. 61.

notice as one of the institutions of the place; not that it was worse than elsewhere, but the natural conditions were favorable to it, and though it became less common as the land was cleared, it continued to some extent for many years, especially in wet seasons. The writer passed the summer of 1870 with it, having six recurrent attacks after the disease was supposed to be "broken" in each case. Most of the early settlers could say as Demas McFarland did, that he "served a regular apprenticeship at the ague, and worked at journey work at the chills and fever, and thought he had graduated."¹⁴ Usually the disease was not fatal, unless complicated with something else, although Mrs. Beecher portrays it as very dangerous in her "From Dawn to Daylight," but it was decidedly annoying. The popular view of it was never better expressed than in the following dialect poem by Dr. H. W. Taylor, which appeared in *The Current*, in 1885:

THE AIGGER.

Em folks at thess moved thru the East
 Haint gut the least
 Idee of Aigger, thess a-tall!
 Haint no Aigger hee-yr ess Fall,
 Haint seed Aigger anywhawr
 Thess sence the War.

Now-days, feller gits the chills-
 Thess well quit payun boardun bills,
 Yusen to be, ef Aigger tuck
 Holds on a feller, it thess ud what
 His ap-tite up—harder he shuck
 The more he et.

A feller ats ben
 Round hee-yr when
 Terry Hut wair thess in the bresh,
 Hez seed the right Aigger, thess plum fresh,
 Apt to feel thess ornery mean
 Time the pawnds uz turruun green.

Thess along when Dawg-days come
 Ef a feller swum
 Thess on the Wabash,
 Git kivvered uth at-air yeller scum,
 Un et thess, thess, a mess a trash,
 He gut ut, shore!
 Cawn-trairyest Aigger to kee-yore.

Thess git out un set en the sun
 Lack a torkle on eend of a log,
 Caillestest theng yevver done!
 Feel too ornery fur a dog!
 Thurreckly the theng has taken its track
 Streekun un streakun up yer back
 Zef a slice
 Thess plum ice
 Thess a-meltun long the sken
 Un freezun en!

Draw a feller ento a knot!
 Atter a spell, he gits so hot,
 Rasslun roum un makin a furs,
 Tho-un the kivvers evvurwhurs!
 Feller'd thenk
 He's thess a fish, to see him drenk;
 Long's nyver kin hold the cup—
 Un en turn roum un tho ut up!

Thess when the theng hez gut you het
 Thess hot enough to thess about bile,
 Hit starts a dad-burned ornery sweat,
 Smells zef yous bout to spile
 Worse un a key-yarn!
 Smells fur's thru thess hee-yr to the barn!
 That air sweat that usen to pour
 Clur throo un throo ar feather-bed
 Thess onto the floor!
 Run en a stream plum outen the door!
 At is, a-peernitly hit did,
 Ez the feller said,

Third-day Aigger, sometimes, brung
 Enfurmentation en striffen of the lung,
 Take the feller's maidjur thess long down
 Ez you brung the doctor up thru town,
 Curn-jestuff chills uz thess the same;
 Airry a defferunce, thess en the name,
 I hed the second un, wunst cumun on,
 Third un, a feller az good az gone,

Shake? thess dad-burn my hide
 Ef I haint thess tried un tried
 Shake the clabboards offen the ruff!
 Thess ast Smiry-muss of she haint hilt
 Me thru shakun offen the bed
 By settin on the end of the quilt,
 Shuck the teeth right outen my head,
 Leave it to pap,
 Woosh I may drap
 Right en my tracks
 Ef them haint facks.

¹⁴*Locomotive*, June 13, 1859.

This dialect was broader than was often heard in Indiana, but it might be heard in some regions where the population was Southern in origin, for most of the so-called "Hoosier dialect" came to us from the South, and especially from the mountain districts.¹⁵ A few explanations may aid the uninitiated, "Thess" is just; "Thrum" is from; "Key-yarn" is carrion, and in words like this, "Hee-yur," "Kee-yore," etc., the first syllable is very short—in fact would be better represented by the initial consonant alone. "Curn-jestuff" is congestive; "Eufurmentation" is inflammation; and "Striffen" is a detached membrane, especially the diaphragm. Hon. John R. Wilson used to tell of a woe-begone Virginia neighbor who complained of his health, and, when asked what was the trouble, replied: "Oh! my striffen hez rotted out, and my lungs hev dropped down into my stummik."

This description of the symptoms and the course of the malady is excellent, but neither the afflicted nor their doctors had any idea of what caused it, according to the present accepted mosquito theory, which has been developed almost wholly since 1898; and a statement of it, in plain language, is apropos here, even at the risk of incurring medical criticism. Malaria is a germ disease of the mosquito, which does not appear to bother the mosquito, but one stage of the life-cycle of the parasite is passed in the blood of man, and possibly some other animals. There are three common genera of mosquitos, *culex*, *stegomyia*, and *anopheles*. The first and second are not germ-carriers, and are easily distinguished in the larva state by the fact that their "wiggletails" appear "with flowing mane and tail erect"—or, in other words, rest with their tails at the top of the water and their heads and whiskers below. But a "wiggletail" that lies flat at the surface of the water belongs to the *anopheles*, and these are the ones that make the trouble. Various species of *anopheles* carry different germs, which cause respectively three types of malarial disease. The first two are known as tertian and quartan, according to the period of reproduction of the germs, every other day or every third day, and the attendant convulsion. When two or more alternating shifts of germs are working on the victim

he will have a chill every day. Those of the third type are the aestivo-autumnal fevers which are commonly known as bilious remittent and typho-malarial. These are the dangerous ones. A patient may get over them without treatment, but he is much more apt to die if not intelligently treated. How the experience of Indianapolis hinges with the recent theory, developed since we exterminated yellow-fever in Cuba, that malaria is a cause of physical and mental deterioration, and was responsible for the decadence of Greece and Rome, I leave to the mosquito experts and historians of those countries.

In addition to the sickness which was an indirect result of the topography, there was considerable annoyance from floods. When the swamp northeast of the city overflowed, and Fall Creek overflowed through it, the "ravines" became raging torrents. They did little damage in the early years, because the cabins were out of their reach, but they obstructed travel. Where the east ravine crossed Washington street there was quite a broad valley, reaching from New Jersey street well over towards Alabama, and so deep that after Washington street was graded for the National Road the property owners there did not have to dig cellars, but had to fill their lots. Before that time old settlers say that in flood time the water at this point "would swim a horse." With this ravine and Pogue's Run on the east and south, and Fall Creek on the north and west, with the river occupying the same valley or bottom as the creek, the city was in flood time almost on an island; and when the streams were all flooded at once, as often happened, the place was almost isolated, for there were no bridges for several years. In April and May, 1821, the publication of the *Gazette* was suspended for a month, because the editors had gone out of town and could not get back through the floods. On May 10, 1821, the *Western Censor* apologized for its limited amount of outside news for the reason that the mail carriers had been unable to get out of or into the town. In March and April, 1826, the mails were stopped for some days. The worst of these early floods were in 1821 and 1828, and of these the latter did the greater damage, because farmers had begun to cultivate the bottom-lands, and fences were

¹⁵*Ibid.*, *Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. 1, No. 2.



(From a painting by Jacob Cox.)

SITE OF UNION RAILWAY STATION, MERIDIAN STREET AND POGUE'S RUN, 1838.

washed away, and fertile fields were covered with sand and gravel.

The "ravines" also made some trouble by the seepage of water, which made it difficult to get dry cellars along their lines. When David V. Culley, Register of the Land Office, moved his family here in 1838, they lived for a time in a house on the point between Indiana avenue and Tennessee street (now Capitol avenue) just above New York street. The west ravine crossed Tennessee street back of his house, and was furnished with a foot-bridge for the accommodation of pedestrians. One day, in a wet season, his daughter (Mrs. Hannah Mansur) went down cellar for some peaches and while there the cellar wall caved in, burying her to the neck. When her mother came in response to her calls for help, she cried: "Send some one to dig me out. I've saved the peaches." Possibly there is a connection between this and the fact that Mr. Culley later made the first stone-walled cellar in the city.¹⁶

Altogether the "ravines" became such nuisances that the legislature, by act of February 1, 1837, appointed Calvin Fletcher and Thomas Johnson "commissioners to superintend the drainage of the swamps and lowlands immediately northeast of Indianapolis, the outlet of which overflows the grounds west, northeast and north of the State House square." The state engineer was directed to make the necessary surveys, and the commissioners to take subscriptions for the work, and prosecute it "as they may deem most expedient," reporting their proceedings to the county commissioners. They duly proceeded to cut "the state ditch" from near the present crossing of Twentieth street and the L. E. & W. tracks, in a direction slightly south of west, to Nineteenth and Central avenue; thence west along the south line of Morton place to Delaware street; thence north to the Fall Creek bottom; thence westerly, along the south line of the bottom-land to Fall Creek at Twenty-second street.

For some ten years this disposed of trouble with the "ravines," but in December, 1846, there were heavy rains on a hard frozen surface, and on January 1, 1847, all the streams were running over. The bank of the ditch gave way, and the water came down its old channels

in volume that startled those who had invaded them. For example, Israel Jennings, who had been living peacefully at the northwest corner of Walnut and New Jersey streets, was awakened by a noise in the night, and on rising from his high-post bed to investigate went into water almost to his waist. He managed to get ashore with his family; and in the morning rescued his belongings by aid of a wagon and team. The flood of 1847 was quite general throughout the state, and did so much damage that the legislature provided for the reappraisal of real property that had been injured, and for change of the tax duplicates to the extent of the injury.¹⁷ The state ditch was repaired, and no further trouble was experienced until the people had almost forgotten the "ravines," when in June, 1858, the bank of the state ditch either broke, or was cut by mischief-makers, near Central avenue, at a time of very high water in the creek and river; and the water sought its ancient channels, making its way as far down the west ravine as Illinois and St. Clair streets, where it was stopped by the street fills.¹⁸ Fortunately the break was discovered and stopped before any great damage was done.

Again the ditch was repaired, and a long period of immunity followed in which there grew up a generation that knew not the "ravines," except as the youth of their neighborhoods utilized the remains of their old channels for coasting and skating places. But on June 1, 1875, the city was visited by a severe electric and wind storm, followed by a deluge of rain. After nightfall on June 2, the bank of the state ditch broke again, and the waters surged down through what was then becoming the fashionable residence district of the city. The merchant police displayed their utility by waking the residents and warning them of danger, and hundreds of people turned out to see the unusual sight, and prepare for any emergency. The water played havoc with the new block pavement on Delaware street—the first laid in the city—and covered several other streets for some blocks. The Kaufman and Caylor residences (then 618 and 620 N. Penn. street—now about 1210) were flooded on the first floors, and so were several others northeast

¹⁶*Locomotive*, May 12, 1849.

¹⁷*Acts 1847*, p. 56.

¹⁸*Journal*, June 11, 1858.

of that point.¹⁹ At this time three young men, George Curry, Charles Culley, and Louis Newburger, rowed in a boat from near Eleventh street, on Pennsylvania, to beyond Eighteenth and Alabama.

This was the last time the state ditch broke its bounds, and the old "ravines" have been so completely filled that there is little trace of their course now except in the slope of some street grades and lots towards their old locations. After they were filled there was quite a prevalent impression that there were "typhoid belts" along their old channels and tributary swales. The medical profession did not seem to attach much importance to this, but very generally held that they affected the wells, which were then commonly sunk only to the first level. Dr. Samuel E. Earp, the first city sanitarian, expressed his opinion that "the dug-well supply of a greater portion of this city is none too good, because it is drawn from a swampy source, which formerly extended from above the Atlas Works to somewhere near the State buildings."²⁰

Until the coming of the first railroad, in 1847, the region south of Pogue's Run was "country," and its flood conditions were of little importance. The city made its first rapid growth in that direction between 1850 and 1870, and it was then that the topography of that section first demanded serious attention. There were two natural features that made trouble, "Lake McCarty" and "Virginia River." Lake McCarty was a pond in the low ground in the vicinity of the J. M. & I. tracks, between Ray and Morris streets. It was partly natural and partly due to the excavations and fills for the road. In 1866 the City Council ordered Nicholas McCarty to cut a ditch through his land to White River and drain the pond. He complied, but notified the council that this was for temporary accommodation only, and that a different arrangement would have to be made. In 1868, the city fathers having become convinced that underground sewers would have to be adopted, a special sewer tax of 15 cents on \$100 was levied, which produced about \$30,000; and one of the first appropriations from this was for a sewer through Ray street to the river,

draining Lake McCarty. It is still in use. When it was finished Mr. McCarty was given leave to fill the pond.²¹

The decision for sewers was hastened by the performances of "Virginia River," which was described by the Committee on Sewers, in a report to the council in 1869, as follows: "The so-called Virginia River rises in a wet tract southeast of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, and after a winding course of about two miles, through Fletcher's pasture and Fletcher and Stevens' addition, passing down East street and Virginia avenue to Pogue's Run. In former days when entirely unobstructed, it was, after heavy rains, a swiftly flowing stream, from 15 to 100 feet wide, and deep enough in places to swim a horse. It drains a territory half as large as the city plat, and now, when obstructed by street grades and culverts, forms many deep ponds along its course; but its channel is deep and rapid, carrying a formidable body of water after long-continued heavy rains. It has already cost the city many thousands of dollars in culverts and embankments and there have also been large sums claimed as damages from its overflow." The committee urged that these evils would increase with future street improvements, and recommended a sewer through Virginia avenue from the corner of Pine and Elm streets to Pogue's Run.²² Instead of this the "river" was lodged in the South street and Kentucky avenue sewer.

The chief source of the trouble, and the immediate cause of final action was the culvert under Virginia avenue, for the other culverts did their work fairly well. When Virginia avenue was a country road there was at this point a wooden culvert or bridge 10 feet wide with a waterway of 4 feet under it. But when it was improved as a street in 1859, there was substituted for this a culvert of masonry ²¹/₂ feet wide and 3 feet high. This worked very well in dry weather, but in floods the water could not get out fast enough, and backed up like a reservoir. By the statements of several witnesses, Herman Hulfer, whose property was a short distance above it, "had to swim out" repeatedly, and after the heavy flood of 1866 he sued the city for his accumulated immer-

¹⁹City papers, June 3 and 4, 1875.

²⁰*News*, January 25, 1887.

²¹*Council Proc.*, 1866-7, p. 683; 1867-8, p. 160.

²²*Council Proc.*, 1869-70, pp. 157-8.

sions. He recovered damages, and the city appealed to the Supreme Court, which affirmed the city's liability for the insufficient culvert. Further consideration of the drainage will be found in a later chapter on the city government under the new charter.

There was another natural feature of the site that may be mentioned here. When the pioneer settler located in the forest lands of the New Purchase, he prepared for his first year's crop by making a "deadening." In other words he killed the larger trees by girdling them with an ax, and, having cleared out the underbrush, planted his crop between the deadened trees. Fortunately for the first settlers at Indianapolis, nature had done this work for them, for there was in the northwestern part of the city an irregular strip of land, variously estimated at from 100 to 200 acres, on which the large timber was dead. Tipton passed through it twice, coming from and going to Conner's Station, and describes it thus: "The most of the timber for some distance from the river having been sugar tree has been killed abt 2 years since by the worms, and is now thickly set with prickly ash—near

the creek the timber is better."²³ This tract began a short distance north of Military Park, and extended irregularly northeast towards Fall Creek in the vicinity of Senate avenue. It was sometimes called "the Caterpillar Deadening," and is said to have been the work of "locusts or caterpillars," but locusts and caterpillars do not kill sugar trees, and it was no doubt caused by maple-borers.²⁴ The first settlers united in making a common field of the southern end of this, by clearing out the underbrush, which was used for a fence to keep out their cattle. Their crops were in and well started before the sickness of 1821 became prevalent, and this fact saved them from the danger of starvation. This tract was cultivated by the settlers for several years, while the clearing of other land was in progress, and was notable for the fine vegetables it produced.²⁵

²³*Ibid.*, *Man. of Hist.*, Vol. 1, pp. 12, 15.

²⁴*Fifth Rept. of U. S. Entomological Com.*, pp. 374-90.

²⁵*News*, March 29, 1879.

CHAPTER III.

THE NAVIGABLE STREAM.

I doubt that any other watercourse ever had White River's experience of being a navigable stream for nearly a century, and then losing its character. This was due to a manifest change in the legal meaning given to the word "navigable," and is an illustration of "judge-made law" that may possibly result in somewhat serious consequences in connection with future movements to improve the river. The ordinance of 1787 provided: "The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other states that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor." It is beyond question that "navigable" in this provision means navigable by canoes and bateaux, for no other craft were used on these streams at the time, nor could any other be used in approaching "the carrying places between the same." The United States courts have always recognized this provision of the Ordinance as continuing in force, and, in one of the cases, as to the Wabash at Terre Haute.¹ By the act of Congress of 1796, for the survey and sale of the public lands, it was expressly declared that "all navigable streams within the territory to be disposed of by virtue of this act shall be deemed to be and remain public highways." As such their beds were always excluded from the lands surveyed and sold. The United States surveyors were governed by these provisions in Marion County, and did not include the bed of White River in the surveys, but "meandered" the stream, and the land was sold only to the meander lines. Never-

theless, when the question of the navigability of White River came before the Indiana Supreme Court in 1876, the court, by Judge Perkins, said: "The court knows judicially, as a matter of fact, that White River, in Marion County, Indiana, is neither a navigated nor a navigable stream;" and as to the bed not being surveyed and sold, he said: "The idea that the power was given to a surveyor or his deputy, upon casual observation, to determine the question of the navigability of rivers, and thereby conclude vast public and private rights, is an absurdity."² Hence he held that there were no "vast public rights," and the whole stream belonged to the owners of the banks.

The reasoning of this case, at least, was abandoned by the same court in 1878, when it held that the Wabash in Warren county was "a navigable stream, the bed of which has neither been surveyed nor sold."³ This put the court in line with the legislature which had always recognized the action of the United States in its surveys and sales as conclusive. Thus the act of January 23, 1829, "relative to navigable streams declared highways by the ordinance of Congress of 1787," prohibits any obstruction to "any stream or river which is navigable, and the bed or channel of which has not been surveyed and sold as land by the United States." And so the law of 1852 provides a penalty for obstructing "any navigable stream, the bed or channel whereof may not have been surveyed and sold as land by the United States."⁴ The survey and sale were not mere acts of a surveyor or his deputy. Their work was ratified and confirmed by their superiors, and was as much the action

¹54 Ind., 471.

²61 Ind., p. 162.

³*Rev. Stats.*, 1852, Vol. 2, p. 132.

⁴6 *McLean*, p. 237.

of the United States, being in pursuance of a direct requirement of law, as any official action could be. Most of the states have been more fortunate than Indiana in the attitude taken as to public rights in such streams, and the general rule is that any stream that will carry commerce, even by floating logs, is a navigable stream.⁵

The decision in the Marion County case was quite unnecessary. The question in the case was the right of a riparian owner to gravel in the bed of the stream; and while the decisions are conflicting there are a number that sustain that right without regard to the navigability of the stream, subject, of course, to the easement for navigation.⁶ But the most important point in the question of navigability was not raised in the Marion County case, and was not considered by the court at all. It is the well established law in this country that a state has plenary power over navigable streams completely within its borders, at least until Congress acts.⁷ This power is to be exercised by the legislature and the legislature of Indiana had acted repeatedly and consistently as to the navigability of White River. The act of January 17, 1820, declared "White River from its mouth to the main forks; the west fork from thence to the Delaware towns," and certain other streams, to be "public highways" and made it a penal offense to obstruct "any stream declared navigable by this act," the only exception being the erection of dams under certain conditions, by any person who has "purchased from the United States the bed of any stream by this act declared navigable." This law has never been repealed, but was slightly modified by the act of February 10, 1831, which declared the West Fork of White River navigable as high as Yorktown, in Delaware County. This law was notable for recognizing that a navigable stream need not be navigable at all seasons, for it prohibited any obstruction that would "injure or impede the navigation of any stream, reserved by the ordinance of Congress of 1787 as a public highway, at a stage of water when it would otherwise be navigable."

If this law was not repealed by the Supreme Court, it is still in effect.

As has been noted the seat of government was located at this point on the understanding that the river here was navigable. On account of the poor roads, the people here, and indeed throughout the state, gave much more thought to navigable streams then than they did later on. A public meeting held at Crumbaugh's Tavern on September 26, 1822, petitioned the legislature for the improvement of White River, but the legislature was then using its available means for the improvement of the Wabash, and nothing was done at the time. But on February 12, 1825, the legislature made Alexander Balston a commissioner to survey White River and report the probable expense of keeping it clear from obstructions. He made the survey that summer, and reported the distance from Sample's Mills, in Randolph County, to this point, 130 miles; from here to the forks, 285 miles; from there to the Wabash, 40 miles; and that for this distance of 155 miles the stream could be made navigable for three months in the year by an expenditure of \$1,500. He found two falls, or rapids, one of 18 inches, eight miles above Martinsville, and one of 9 feet in 100 yards about 10 miles above the forks. There was also a great drift at the line between Daviess and Greene counties. On this report, the legislature, on January 21, 1826, passed a law "to improve the navigation of the East and West Forks of White River," as high up as Sample's Mills in Randolph County. It directed the county boards of the counties on these streams to appoint supervisors for them, as for highways, and to call out all persons liable for road work within two miles of the streams, and improve the streams as highways. It seems rather startling to contemplate navigating White River 130 miles above Indianapolis, but it was actually done in the spring, and a number of loaded flatboats, usually about forty feet in length, came down the river from Randolph County in an early day.⁸ This law was made general by the act of May 31, 1852, which empowered all county boards to declare streams navigable, and to work them as highways.⁹

The act of January 28, 1828, appropriated

⁵2 Mich., 219; 19 Oregon, 375; 33 W. Virginia, 13; 29 *Barbour*, N. W., 9; 11 Kentucky Law, 521; 87 Wisconsin, 131.

⁶51 Ill., 266; 42 Wis., 203.

⁷125 U. S., 1; 118 U. S., 329.

⁸*Hist. Randolph County*, p. 35.

⁹*Rep. Stats.*, 1852, Vol. 1, p. 373.

81,000 for "the purpose of improving the navigation of the West Fork of White River, from Andersonstown in the county of Madison to the junction of the same with the East Fork of said river." These appropriations, like those for state roads, were made from "the three per cent. fund," which was derived from the sale of public lands. When Congress provided for their sale it reserved five per cent of the net proceeds for roads and canals, and provided that three-fifths of this should be expended under direction of the legislatures of the states in which the lands were located. This was "the three per cent. fund;" and in 1828 it began to be used for canals, the first appropriation for that purpose being then made to the Wabash and Miami—later the Wabash and Erie—canal. In a few years the entire energies of the people were turned in that line, under the delusion that they could make new watercourses better than they could improve natural ones. But they did not wholly forget the streams, for when the general law was adopted in 1843 putting the authorization of mill-dams in the courts, it required the court to inquire whether by the proposed dam "ordinary navigation will be obstructed."¹⁰ While the legislature retained this power, it looked after navigation. Thus the act of June 13, 1826, granting John W. Cox power to construct a dam across White River, in Morgan County, required him to put "a good and sufficient lock or slope in said dam at least sixty feet wide and thirty-six feet long, so as in no wise to obstruct the passage of water-craft, either in ascending or descending the said stream."

Moreover, White River was not only officially recognized as a navigable stream but also was actually navigated by boats of considerable size. Hundreds of flatboats went out over it, loaded with the produce of the country and several came up the river in the early times when there were no roads, or only very bad ones. In the spring of 1821, Matthias R. Nowland and Elisha Herndon loaded a keel boat at Frankfort, Kentucky, with flour, bacon, whiskey and other necessaries of life and brought it up to this point. It was on this boat that A. W. Russell came to Indianapolis, and on it the picnic party went to Anderson's

spring on the Fourth of July, 1821.¹¹ In May, 1822, the keel-boat, "Eagle" of fifteen tons burthen, arrived here from Kanawha, loaded with salt and whiskey; and the same month the keel-boat "Boxer," of thirty-three tons, arrived here from Zanesville, loaded with merchandise. The same year Luke Walpole came up the river with two large keel-boats bringing his family, household goods, and a large stock of assorted merchandise. In May, 1824, the "Dandy", of twenty-eight tons, came up with a load of salt and whiskey, and Mr. Brown says that "many other boats arrived from the lower river, and departed loaded with produce."¹² The flat-boat commerce down the river increased in importance as agriculture developed, and continued until the first railroad furnished a more expeditious exit.

But Governor Noble was convinced that the river was capable of still more extensive navigation, and in 1828-9 he offered a reward of \$200 to the first captain who would bring a steamboat up to this point, and also to sell his cargo free of charge. This induced two attempts in April, 1830. Captain Saunders came up to Spencer with the "Traveller," and the steamer "Victory" came within fifty-five miles of this point, but the river began to fall rapidly and both sought safety down the river. But this did not discourage Indianapolis. Gen. Robert Hanna and several others, who had taken contracts on the National Road, determined to bring up a boat to haul stone and timbers for bridges. They invested in a medium-sized boat, and after some difficulty she arrived here on April 11, 1831, loaded and towing a loaded barge. This event was hailed with joy by the whole population. A public meeting was called, and Isaac Blackford, James Morrison, James P. Drake, Alfred Harrison, Samuel Henderson, John H. Sanders, Samuel G. Mitchell, A. W. Russell, Nicholas McCarty, Morris Morris, Homer Johnson, John Milroy, Daniel Yandes and Livingston Dunlap, were appointed a committee "to make arrangements to demonstrate, in some appropriate manner, the high gratification which is and should be felt by all who feel interested in our commercial and agricultural prosperity." The committee met and adopted resolutions, the chief one being that,

¹⁰*Rev. Stats.*, p. 915.

¹¹*Nowland's Reminiscences*, p. 27.

¹²*History Indianapolis*, p. 20.

"The arrival of the steamboat "Gen. Hanna," from Cincinnati, at this place, should be viewed by the citizens of the White River country, and of our state at large, as a proud triumph, and as a fair and unanswerable demonstration of the fact that our beautiful river is susceptible of safe navigation for steam vessels of a much larger class than was anticipated by the most sanguine." The committee also resolved "that Captain Blythe's company of artillery be invited to parade on this day at 2 o'clock near the boat to fire a salute in honor of the occasion," which was duly done. It also extended an invitation to the proprietors and officers of the boat to a public dinner, but this was declined by General Hanna, because "our arrangements make it necessary that she should leave this place for the Bluffs early tomorrow morning." However, the boat made two excursions up the river on the 12th with large loads of passengers. In one of these she ran into an overhanging tree, knocking down her pilot-house and chimneys, greatly frightening the passengers, a number of whom took to the water. The boat started down the river on the 13th but grounded on a bar at Hog Island, and did not get off for six weeks; and went out of the river in the fall.

This ended steamboat navigation in this part of White River until 1865, when the Indianapolis and White River Steamboat Company built and launched the "Governor Morton". She was a side-wheeler, 100 feet long, 21 feet beam, and 2 feet 4 inches deep. Her registered capacity was 150.87 tons, and the inspector permitted her to carry 200 passengers, but she carried more if more desired to ride. She was launched on July 1, and made her trial trip on August 25, 1865, running up the river past the mouth of Fall Creek, as far as Crowder's ford, successfully going over all ripples, though with some bumping. She was licensed at the port of Cincinnati, on October 11, "to carry on the coasting trade" between Indianapolis and points unnamed. The highest point up the river she ever made was Cold Spring, on April 29, 1866. In an effort to repeat this achievement in the latter part of July she grounded, and was badly strained in getting off. On August 6, 1866, she sank at her moorings below the National bridge, with no one aboard but the watchman, and he asleep. It was believed that she was scuttled, which

would not have been difficult, as she was built of soft pine. She was raised and dismantled, the hull being sold for \$1,200 to Levi Comegys, who used it for some time to haul bowlders for paving purposes. The "Governor Morton" was a source of much joy to the people of Indianapolis, both those who cared for boat riding, and those who constructed jests on navigation. Henry M. Soewell was captain. He came here from Vevay in 1859, and had accumulated much steamboat experience on the Ohio and Mississippi before coming. He was dubbed "Vice Admiral," and other sea-faring terms were introduced into the Indianapolis vocabulary. Michael R. Scudder and Hiram Minick acted as pilots. As a financial venture the boat was a failure. It was alleged that her most profitable trip was one when she stuck on a sandbar for several hours, and the bar took in \$168 for drinks, at 25 cents per quench. It was expected that governmental aid would be obtained for the removal of obstructions from the river, and memorials were made for that purpose, but nothing came of them. It was really surprising that the boat went as far as she did, with the accumulated drifts and bars of forty years to contend against.

Unquestionably White River is not so easily navigable now as it was ninety years ago, though probably as much water passes out through its channel in the course of a year as there did then. The flow is not so steady because the clearing of the land and improved drainage make the surface water pass off more rapidly. And this has increased the obstructions in the streams, for the soil, sand and gravel wash much more easily from cleared land. Moreover, in the natural state, most of the timber that got into the river came from the undermining of banks on which it stood, and this usually did not float away but hung by the roots where it fell. But after the axmen got to work, every freshet brought down logs and rails which formed drifts at some places. Some logs stranded as the water went down, decayed, became water-logged, and made bases for sand and gravel bars. The wash of the sand and gravel is the worst source of obstruction to navigation, for the timber can be easily removed—much of it could be burned at low water in a dry season. The early work done on the bars was wasted, for it usually

consisted of cutting channels through them, and the channels would fill in the course of a year or two. Thus the act of January 31, 1821, for the improvement of the Wabash, called for cutting, "at the ripples and rapids channels at least two and one-half feet deep from the surface of the obstruction, and thirty feet wide."

The first cause of the neglect of navigation of our streams was the internal improvement system, which was largely one of canals. Nobody seemed to realize the practical impossibility of high-line canals with retaining walls of loose earth, and the number built and abandoned is astounding. In 1880 the total of abandoned canals in the United States was 1953 miles, which cost \$11,913,166, and of this Indiana had 153 miles that cost \$1,725,262. The Whitewater Valley canal, the first completed in the state, washed out twice before it was finished, and the damage was estimated at \$170,000. The small amount constructed at and near Indianapolis—about seven miles of the Central canal—was little used for commerce, but is still in use for water-power. It has been put out of commission repeatedly by breaks at the points where it was built up instead of dug out. An energetic muskrat would dig a hole through the bank, and, unless the opening was very quickly discovered, that was an end of the canal for weeks.¹⁴ The company paid a bounty on muskrat scalps for years, on this account, and it never made a more profitable investment. But with all this experience it is doubtful if the American people have yet learned that if you want to make a permanent waterway you must dig it out and not build it up—indeed we have already started on a repetition of the same old absurdity with the Panama Canal.

In fact White River does not present a difficult problem in practical commercial navigation. The elevation above sea level of the tracks at the Union Depot in Indianapolis is 707 feet, which is about 33 feet above low water level in White River at this point. The relative level of the river below here will not vary materially from the relative level of railroad tracks at towns on its bank, which are as follows: Brooklyn, 658 feet, Martinsville, 599, Gasport, 596, Spencer, 558, Bloomfield,

529, Worthington, 525, Sandy Hook, Rogers and Blackburn (stations nearest the forks on both sides), each 448 feet. The railroad at Blackburn is 13 feet above low-water level. In other words the total fall in the 285 miles from here to the forks, where the river is now navigated, is 260 feet, or an average of less than one foot to the mile. The low-water flow at this point was estimated at 840 cubic feet per second by Rudolph Hering, when he reported on a sewer system for Indianapolis;¹⁴ but Prof. Sackett, of Purdue, in 1905, reported the average flow at Indianapolis 103,000,000 feet in 24 hours, or 1,200 cubic feet per second; and the Indianapolis Water Works report for 1906, which is based on weir measurement, makes it 117,000,000 feet in 24 hours, or 1,350 cubic feet per second. This last is the most reliable, and is for the low-water flow at a point above the mouth of Fall Creek and the discharge of the canal.¹⁵ There is a rock outcrop at Martinsville, and several below Spencer, but none that would present a serious obstacle to improvement. Indeed, they would afford advantageous sites for dams, of which several would be needed, as they would furnish solid bottoms and solid abutting sides. The lower one-third of the channel between here and the forks is outside of the "Drift" area, and contains practically no gravel, though there are a number of sand-bars. The solution of the problem is the construction of a few dams and locks, and the deepening of the channel at points by the removal of sand and gravel.

It is a singular fact that more real progress towards making the river practically navigable has been made in the last ten years than ever before, and without any intention of it. For years people have been taking sand and gravel from the bars for various uses, but in 1897 was begun the business of pumping them from the bottom of the stream, where they could not be reached by the old process of shovel and wagon. This business has developed until now there are six steam pumps working on the river at Indianapolis, and several at other points. These pumps are set on scow boats, averaging from 50 to 65 feet in

¹⁴*City Repts., Board of Works, 1892.*

¹⁵*Proceedings first Convention Indiana Branch of Rivers and Harbors Congress, p. 104.*

¹⁴*Locomotive, September 30, 1848.*



W. H. Bay Photo Company.
PACKET GOVERNOR MORTON AND OLD NATIONAL BRIDGE.

length and 20 to 25 in width, and by centrifugal suction power draw up a mixture of water, sand and gravel through 8-inch pipes. The pipe entrance is protected from the admission of stones over four or five inches in diameter, to avoid clogging. The stream passes out over screens that separate the material into two grades of sand and two of gravel. The product is used for plastering, locomotive sand, concrete work, asphalt mixture, roofing and street improvement. Formerly Lake Michigan sand used to be shipped here in considerable amount, but now its place is filled by this product. The capacity of a pump is about 150 cubic yards a day, and the actual product about 30,000 yards in a working year. In other words these six pumps now at Indianapolis are taking about 180,000 cubic yards of obstruction out of the river annually, and making money at it. They are shipping by rail over 30,000 cubic yards to the suburbs and to outside points, and the balance of their product is used in the city. They take out the material to an average depth of fifteen feet, and in the eleven years that this work has been in progress over three miles of Indianapolis river front has been made actually navigable for any kind of river craft. In addition to these pumps there have been two steam dredges working at Indianapolis on Fall Creek. They operate from the shore, and have taken out large quantities of gravel.

Either system is easily applicable at almost any point on the river, and of course it would be needed only at intervals for improving navigation for there are now long stretches of deep water, and there are few localities on the river where sand and gravel are not in demand for highway and other purposes. In fact thousands of dollars have been paid to riparian owners for gravel from the river bed for public uses, when the river bed should justly belong to the state. The American people have shown a fearful lack of foresight in the exhaustion of the natural resources of the country. They have seemed to exert themselves to put mineral lands and forest lands into private hands. They have taxed themselves to encourage the exhaustion of our forests and coal mines by tariff laws, when they could have got timber and coal from abroad cheaper than they could be produced at home. But of all stupid aberrations of public policy,

none ever was more absurd than this abandonment of public right by a hasty and ill-considered Supreme Court decision. We have now reached the point where the "good roads" movement—and it is a very important movement to Indiana—is handicapped by this donation to private parties of the best road material found in many localities, and which can be taken from the river by the pumping process at a cost of 20 to 25 cents a cubic yard. And by taking it out the work would be promoted of making practical highways of streams that would be of immense commercial value to the state. It is practically certain that the "Lakes to Gulf Canal" movement is going to result in a vast improvement of the Mississippi and its tributaries, and Indiana approaches participation in that result with an impediment to reaping its benefits that should never have been created.

Can it be removed? That is a question for the courts. They can reverse the decision if they wish, and there is ample authority for the position that the beds of streams not sold by the government belong to the state. It is not easy to conceive where any court obtained the power to annul the declared policy of the United States and the expressed legislative will of the State of Indiana, as was done in this case. Can the Supreme Court repeal a law that is consistent with the Constitution, applying to a matter over which the legislature has unquestionable power, merely because the judges differ from the legislators in opinion? That is not commonly understood to be a prerogative of the courts. It may be urged that the decision has become "a rule of property," but this is hardly tenable in fact. Discreet conveyors of property bordering on White River in Marion County do not warrant title to the center of the stream, but only to the meander line, and quit-claim from there to the center. It may be thought by some that this property right would be of little value to the state, but a moment's reflection on the amount of gravel taken out now should dispel this delusion. In fact the state found it worth while to maintain an agent for years to sell gravel from the frontage of the old ferry site on the west side of the river (Outlot 1), and old residents remember when "Bill Aleck" Morrison used to superintend the taking of gravel from the bar there prior to the sale of

the property in 1889, under authority of the act of March 9, of that year.

The United States authorities have always treated the river as navigable. In fact, in 1899, when a controversy arose over the dam at Riverside Park, Capt. Geo. A. Zinn of the Engineers Corps, informed the Park Superintendent that they could pay no attention to state decisions, so long as U. S. laws and decisions made a stream navigable, as they did White River.¹⁶ In connection with this controversy the *News* sent an "expedition" down the river, consisting of F. D. Norviel and two other men, on a house-boat 22 feet by 8. It went to the forks of the river, and Norviel reported that the river was navigable for that distance, which he estimated at 218 miles, and ought to be improved.¹⁷ This expedition was made in a very dry season when the river was "abnormally low." In 1895 the engineering corps of the War Department made a survey of lower White River, and reported that the navigation could be improved to the forks, and 14 miles up the West Fork without dams and locks, but that these would be needed on the West Fork above that point for "slack water navigation." This is based on an estimate of a flow of only 350 cubic feet per second near the mouth of the West Fork, which is not reconcilable with the estimates at this point. Inasmuch as the commerce on the lower river could not become important until the Wabash was improved, the engineers recommended that work on White River be deferred until then.¹⁸

In this connection may be mentioned the canal, which was made for navigation, and which originally had a flow of about 200 cubic feet per second—it now does well when it has half that amount. The Central Canal was one branch of the "internal improvement system" of 1836. It was to start at a convenient point on the Wabash & Erie Canal, thence south to Muncie, thence down the valley of the West Fork of White River to the forks, and thence by the most practicable route to Evansville. Considerable excavation was done at various points, but the only part ever put in operation was some seven miles, from Broad

Ripple to Indianapolis. The line of the canal in Indianapolis was as at present, except that there was a stone lock at the bend above Market street, and the canal continued on a lower level from there down the line of Missouri street to the edge of the river bottom near Kansas street, where there were two wooden locks, and thence across the bottom. This lower part was abandoned in 1870, and a sewer laid in the channel from Market to Kentucky avenue, where it connects with the main sewer; and the whole channel has since been filled and restored to its original street use. At the west end of the arm that runs south of Military Park there were two basins, one extending north and one south, on the line of Bright street. At the north end of the north basin was a grist mill which operated by an overshot wheel, the waste water from which ran north to about New York street, past the old Burton cooper shop, then west to Geisendorf street, then south to the lower level of the canal. The "tumbles" were as at present, and the lower level. At the corner of Market and the south basin was the Caledonia paper mill, and at the lower end of the basin, half-way to Washington street, were the Gibson mill on the east side and the Carlisle mill on the west, both fronting on Washington street. Just west of the Carlisle mill was the Chandler & Taylor plant which also used water power. At the lock at Missouri street were the Sheets paper mill on the west, now occupied by Balke & Kraus as a store room, and a flour mill on the east, now covered by the store room of the Deere agricultural implement company. These were all the mills on the upper level, or "hydraulic." On the lower level there was Merritt's woolen mill at the corner of Washington street, and the Water Works Pumping Station and the paper mill south of it as at present. The Merritt mill is now occupied by the Sandstrom Short-Turn Buggy Co.; the Gibson mill is replaced by the Acme Milling Co.; the Caledonia Paper Mill by the Johnson-Smith Excelsior factory, and the site of Carlisle's mill is covered by an extension of the Chandler & Taylor plant. The basins or arms of the "hydraulic" were filled up years ago, and the whole of the water power is concentrated at the old or lower pumping station, where there are four turbines, but sometimes not water enough to run one. The lack of water is due

¹⁶*News*, November 7, 1899.

¹⁷*News*, December 25, 1899.

¹⁸*House Document No. 47*, Vol. 29, 2nd Session 54th Congress.

to the smaller low-water flow above Broad Ripple, where the level now is often below the top of the dam, but forty years ago the company commonly used "splash-boards" on top of the dam in low-water, and had at least a foot more of water in the canal than at present.

It was naturally expected that there would be considerable traffic on the canal, especially as everybody expected it to be soon opened to Noblesville on the north and Martinsville on the south, and considerable preparation was made for it. As soon as it was opened to Broad Ripple an effort was made to utilize it on an outing basis, and the following advertisement appeared in the local papers in July, 1839:

THE CANAL BOAT.

"Now running on the canal between Indianapolis and the Broad Ripple will ply daily. The boat leaves Indianapolis at ten o'clock in the morning, and returns at six o'clock in the evening. Good order will at all times be maintained on the boat, and every attention paid to render those comfortable who may take passage. Fare 81. Persons visiting the Broad Ripple are assured that good entertainment will be found by those desiring eatables, etc.

"Robert Earl."

Alluring as the trip might seem, there were few persons in Indianapolis at that time, when 50 cents was the legal allowance for a day's work on the roads, that could indulge in such luxuries very often, and as there was very slight occasion for travel over this line on business the canal boat was soon found an unprofitable venture, and was dropped altogether. At a later day the company used boats with scythes attached to the stern to cut the moss and grass, which almost stopped the flow of water at times, but in the early period they got rid of it by shutting off the water and raking it out. So for twenty-five years there was no navigation except a limited and intermittent use of skiffs.

Practically all of the "commerce" that occurred on the canal was the work of Aldrich & Gay. Frank Aldrich, and his father-in-law, Alfred Gay, came here in 1858, and started a saw-mill with George D. Stevens under the firm name of Gay & Stevens. It was

located on the Madison tracks one square south of the old Madison depot on South street, and used the first circular saw operated in Indianapolis. Mr. Aldrich was with the Army of the Tennessee during the war, and after it he and Mr. Gay started a wood yard, first at the corner of Michigan street and the canal, but later moving north of North street, where the yards of the Western Construction Co. now are. They bought the timber on a lot of land above Broad Ripple, and established a camp of refugee negroes to cut it. It was brought down the canal in two scow boats, 85 feet long, 25 feet wide, and 3 feet deep, each of which carried about 25 cords of wood. They also brought down considerable quantities of corn, bowlders for street paving, and flour from the mill at Broad Ripple. There were formerly locks at Broad Ripple through which boats could be taken into the river, and a fair tow-path up the south side as far as "the big slough," opposite what is now known as "the rip-rap." These boats were also quite popular for Sunday school and other picnic parties, which were towed up to Golden Hill (D. M. Parry's grounds) or the site of Fairview Park.

The canal was a great disappointment to the people of Indianapolis, who had been warm supporters of the internal improvement system. When the bill passed the senate, on January 16, 1836, there was a general illumination of the town, and in the summer of 1839, when the canal was opened from here to Broad Ripple, there was an excursion by boats to that place. But the crash of that year put an end to the work that had cost so much. There had been \$1,600,000 expended on the Central Canal, and comparatively little more would have put it in operation from Noblesville to Martinsville. The state operated what there was of it until 1850, but not very satisfactorily. The channel was much impeded by moss, and the old plan was to turn off the water to clean it out, which naturally caused complaint from the lessees of water-power. The flood of 1847 washed out the banks and the aqueduct over Fall Creek, and the canal was dry for months. Lessees refused to pay rent and suits were brought. By the acts of January 19 and 21, 1850, the governor was authorized to compromise the suits and sell the whole property to the highest bidder. He reported to the next session that he

had sold all of the canal north of Morgan County to George G. Shoup, James Rariden and John S. Newman, for \$2,245, and that in Morgan County, which was simply land with partial excavation, to Aaron Alldredge, for \$600.¹⁹ These purchasers assigned to the Central Canal Manufacturing, Hydraulic and Water Works Company, under which name were incorporated Francis Conwell, Henry Von Bergess, Wm. Burnett, Luther G. Bingham, and David E. Worcester, on February 13, 1854. They did not find it profitable, and the title became somewhat involved by sheriffs' sales, but in 1859 it was transferred to the Indiana Central Canal Company, which cleared up the title, and rented water power for some years, finally transferring the property to the Indianapolis Water Works Company, the present owners.

¹⁹*House Journal*, 1850-1, p. 38.

Since the Water Works Company has owned the canal it has broken several times at built-up points, especially at the aqueduct over Fall Creek, and near Fairview Park. One of the most disastrous breaks was during the flood of 1904, when the creek was already high, the added flood carrying it over the levee at "Cerealine town" and causing large damage there. A number of the breaks have been due to the burrowing of muskrats, and the canal patrol—the company has for years had the bank patrolled daily by two men—is specially charged with the duty of watching for and killing these animals. It has also paid a bounty of five cents for tail tips, and distributed traps free of charge to farmers along the line. One would naturally expect fur-bearing animals to be almost extinct in this vicinity, but for the past five years there have been over one hundred muskrats killed annually in this little stretch of canal.

CHAPTER IV.

PLANNING THE CITY.

By the act of January 6, 1821, by which the legislature ratified the selection of the site for the capital that had been made by the commissioners, it was also provided that the house and senate should elect by joint ballot three commissioners to lay out a town on the site, and an agent for the sale of lots. These commissioners, "or a majority of them", were directed to meet on the site on the first Monday in April, 1821, and "proceed to lay out a town on such part of the land selected and hereby established as the seat of government as they may deem most proper, and on such plan as they may conceive will be advantageous to the state and to the prosperity of said town, having specially in view the health, utility and beauty of the place." They were authorized to employ a surveyor and such assistants as were needed; and after the survey was completed were to advertise the sale of lots, and sell as many as they deemed expedient, "reserving unsold every second odd number commencing at number one." Purchasers of lots were to pay one-fifth down, and the balance in four annual installments, with forfeiture if payment were not completed "within three months after the last installment becomes due." At any time prior to advertisement and sale on forfeiture, the purchaser could redeem by paying arrearages and costs. The agent was to keep his office at the town, and within nine months of the passage of the act to fix his permanent residence there. The money received from the sale of lots was to be kept as a separate fund by the State Treasurer, and to be used for "erecting the necessary public buildings of the state." No sale of lots was to carry any right of ferryage to the purchaser, but this right was permanently vested in the city.

By the same law the new capital was named

Indianapolis, after a prolonged discussion by the House, in Committee of the Whole. The circumstances of the naming were stated by Judge Jeremiah Sullivan, of the Supreme Court, who was a member of the legislature at the time, as follows: "The bill (if I remember aright) was reported by Judge Polk, and was in the main very acceptable. A blank of course, was left for the name of the town that was to become the seat of government, and during the two or three days we spent in endeavoring to fill the blank there was in the debate some sharpness and much amusement. General Marston G. Clark, of Washington County, proposed Tecumseh as the name, and very earnestly insisted upon its adoption. When it failed he suggested other Indian names, which I have forgotten. They all were rejected. A member proposed 'Suwarrow,' which met with no favor. Other names were proposed, discussed, laughed at, and voted down, and the house without coming to any agreement adjourned until the next day. There were many amusing things said, but my remembrance of them is not sufficiently distinct to state them with accuracy.

"I had gone to Corydon with the intention of proposing Indianapolis as the name of the town, and on the evening of the adjournment above mentioned, or the next morning, I suggested to Mr. Samuel Merrill, the representative from Switzerland County, the name I proposed. He at once adopted it and said he would support it. We, together, called on Governor Jennings, who had been a witness of the amusing proceedings of the day previous, and told him what conclusion we had come to, and asked him what he thought of the name. He gave us to understand that he favored it, and that he would not hesitate to so express himself.

When the House met and went into convention on the bill, I moved to fill the blank with Indianapolis. The name created quite a laugh. Mr. Merrill, however, seconded the motion. We discussed the matter fully; gave our reasons in support of the proposition; the members conversed with each other informally in regard to it, and the name gradually commended itself to the committee, and was accepted. The principal reason given in favor of adopting the name proposed, to wit: that the Greek termination would indicate to all the world the locality of the town, was, I am sure, the reason that overcame the opposition to the name. The town was finally named Indianapolis, with but little, if any, opposition."¹

The tradition in the Merrill family is that the name was originally suggested by Mr. Merrill himself, but he never cared to insist on his claim. Indeed there was no great inducement to do so, for the name was not received with universal applause. The *Indiana Centinel*, published at Vincennes, which had favored the name "Pecunseh," announced the new name on January 15, 1821, in the following passage: "One of the most ludicrous acts, however, of the sojourners at Corydon, was their naming the new seat of state government. Such a name, kind readers, you would never find by searching from Dan to Beersheba; nor in all the libraries, museums, and patent offices in the world. It is like nothing in heaven, nor on earth, nor in the waters under the earth. It is not a name for man, woman, or child; for empire, city, mountain or morass; for bird, beast, fish nor creeping thing; and nothing mortal or immortal could have thought of it, except the wise men of the East who were congregated at Corydon. It is composed of the following letters:

"I-N-D-I-A-N-A-P-O-L-I-S.

"Pronounce it as you please, gentle readers—you can do it as you wish—there is no danger of violating any system or rule, either in accent, cadence or emphasis—suit your own convenience and be thankful you are enabled to do it, by this rare effect of the scholastic genius of the age. For this title your future capital will be greatly indebted, either to some learned *Hebraist*, some venerable *Grecian*, some

sage and sentimental *Brahmin*, or some profound and academic *Pantlowlattomic*."

A week later the *Centinel* gave the name an editorial broadside in similar vein, and also published a communication which closed with these words: "Or should you require the *etymology* of the word itself, I beg leave to refer you to the P A T A P H R E A Z E L Y (a *new* work and very *rare*) under the head "S I L." (This *work* serves as a *Lexicon* to the ancient *Hindoo* language!) and reversing the letters you have S I L O P A N A I D N I which signifies "A HEAD WITHOUT BRAINS."²

There has been more or less facetiousness evoked by the name ever since, but really, when one becomes accustomed to it, it is no more stilted than "Philadelphia." Its inventors had precedents not only in ancient names, but also in "Annapolis" and "Gallipolis" in this country; and they have had successors in "Cassopolis," "Minneapolis," "Hiopolis," "Tentopolis," "Lithopolis" and "Kanopolis." Moreover "Indianapolis" itself, has four times been appropriated, once by Texas; once by Colorado; once by Iowa, and once by Oklahoma, without the slightest regard to its meaning—City of Indiana—but solely for its melody and dignity; and in consequence our postoffice authorities were subjected to much annoyance by the miscarriage of mails and finally succeeded in having all but the Oklahoma town abolished. And, really, why is not the Greek ending just as rational as the German "burg," or the French "ville," or the Anglo-Saxon "wick," or any of the common Indian endings that signify "town" or "place"? "Indianapolis" may not be so suggestive as the old Miami name of "Chanktunoongi," or "Makes-a-Noise-Place", but it at least serves to command attention, even if some occasional, sensitive barbarian may—

"Shriek

To arms! they come! the Greek, the Greek."

But, to resume the story; on January 6, 1821, the same day that the law was approved, the House and Senate met in joint session and elected Gen. John Carr agent for the sale of lots, and James W. Jones, Samuel P. Booker and Christopher Harrison, commissioners to

¹Holloway's *Indianapolis*, p. 10.

²*Indiana Centinel*, January 22, 1821.

lay out the town. Of these Harrison alone appeared at the site at the time fixed, but he was not a man to be disturbed by a little thing like that. Judge Harrison, as he was called, was one of the most interesting characters that ever reached Indiana. He was not of the Harrisons of Virginia, but a Marylander, of some wealth, fine education, and a taste for art. Disappointed in love, it is said with Elizabeth Patterson who married Jerome Bonaparte, afterwards King of Westphalia, Harrison came to Indiana and for seven years lived a hermit near Hanover, on a bluff overlooking the Ohio River. In 1815 he decided that he had served full time for his Rachel, and went to Salem and, opened a store. In 1816 he was put on the ticket with Jonathan Jennings, and elected lieutenant governor of the new state. He followed the uneventful life appertaining to this office until 1818, when Governor Jennings was appointed a commissioner to make treaties with various Indian tribes, and accepted the appointment. Inasmuch as the constitution of the state provided that "no person holding any office under the United States shall exercise the office of governor or lieutenant governor," Harrison declared that Jennings had vacated his office, and thereupon proceeded to act as governor. But Jennings dissented; and, when he had finished the treaties, resumed governing, and the legislature recognized him. Then Harrison resigned, and the legislature adopted a resolution that his conduct had been "both dignified and correct during the late investigation of the differences existing in the executive department." In 1819 he ran for governor against Jennings, and was badly beaten, but that did not interfere with the public appreciation of his talents; and so he was chosen commissioner by a legislature that would not have done anything displeasing to Jennings.

When he found that the other members of the commission were not coming he decided himself "a majority thereof," organized himself, and proceeded to business. His management of the survey and sale of lots was legalized by act of November 28, 1821. He employed Alexander Ralston and Elias P. Fordham as surveyors, and Benjamin E. Blythe, who

had been clerk to the site commissioners, as clerk. Ralston was a Scotelman, of good ability, who as a young man had been intrusted with important engineering work on the estate of Lord Roslin. After coming to this country he assisted Major L'Enfant in the survey of Washington City until that eccentric genius got angry and resigned, and for some time afterwards was employed by the government. Later he removed to Louisville, and after some years' residence there, to Salem, Indiana. In 1822 he removed to Indianapolis, and there built a quaint little brick house on the north side of Maryland street, west of Capitol avenue—a square story-and-a-half in the center, with a one-story ell on each side, well supplied with doors and windows—where he lived with his colored housekeeper, "Aunt Chaney" Lively, until his death on January 5, 1827. While here he served as county surveyor. Ralston was thought by some to have been implicated in Aaron Burr's conspiracy, but so was everybody that was known to speak to Burr; and it is not probable that Ralston's conspiracy extended beyond surveying some property on the Washita River, in Arkansas, known as "the Bastrop lands," which Burr had purchased. He was held in high esteem here—he fed the birds in severe winters, and all the children loved him—what higher certificate of character could one have?⁴

Fordham dropped so completely out of local record and tradition that Sulgrove says of him: "Of Mr. Fordham little appears to have been known at the time, and nothing can be learned now."⁵ He deserved better. Elias Pym Fordham was a young man from one of the oldest families of the east of England, who came to this country in 1817 with Morris Birkbeck and his family, and went to the celebrated Illinois colony, where he located land on "English Prairie." He was well educated, and of keen intellect, as appears from his writings. He was considered an excellent engineer, having been a pupil of George Stephenson, the inventor of the locomotive steam engine. He traveled in southern Indiana in 1818, and at other times—in fact Birkbeck's colony was in pretty close touch with southern Indiana—and quite

⁴ Woollen's *Sketches*, p. 160; Thompson's *Stories of Indiana*, p. 128.

⁵ *Journal*, January 9, 1827; *News*, March 22, 1819.

⁶ *Hist. Indianapolis*, p. 25.

probably formed the acquaintance of Ralston and Harrison before coming here.⁶

The plan for the city which was adopted was largely influenced by the plan of the city of Washington, which Ralston had assisted in surveying, and which had numerous admirers throughout the country. It had been taken as a basis for the rebuilding of Detroit, after the great fire of 1805, by Chief Justice Augustus B. Woodward, who was practical dictator there at the time.⁷ "The Federal City" was modeled on Versailles, either at the suggestion of President Washington, or with his approval, and so the plan of the final capital of Indiana was based in part on the capital built in France for the first ruler of Indiana. But it was not wholly so. When the plan of "The Federal City" was under consideration, Thomas Jefferson favored a city of regular squares made by streets intersecting at right angles, but L'Enfant preferred the "spider-web" idea of Versailles, with its principal avenues centering at the royal palaces, and Washington agreed with him. The plan adopted for Indianapolis was a rational combination of the two. The original plat, now commonly known as "the mile square", between North, South, East and West streets, was divided primarily by nine north and south streets, and nine east and west streets into 100 squares, with certain modifications—but the streets do not run direct to the points of the compass, as commonly supposed; they bear about two and one-half degrees east of north, and south of east, owing to variation in the magnetic needle. Most of the streets in the additions, outside of "the donation", follow the section lines, which were run on the basis of the true meridian, and are therefore more nearly with the points of the compass. The four central squares or blocks of the city, taken together, were called "the Governor's Square", and at their center was placed a circle, nearly four acres in extent, surrounded by a street 80 feet wide, which was designed for the governor's residence, but is now Monument Place. From the four corners of the Governor's Square there were four diagonal streets, now called avenues, running to the four corners of the plat, each of which cut four of the primary squares into

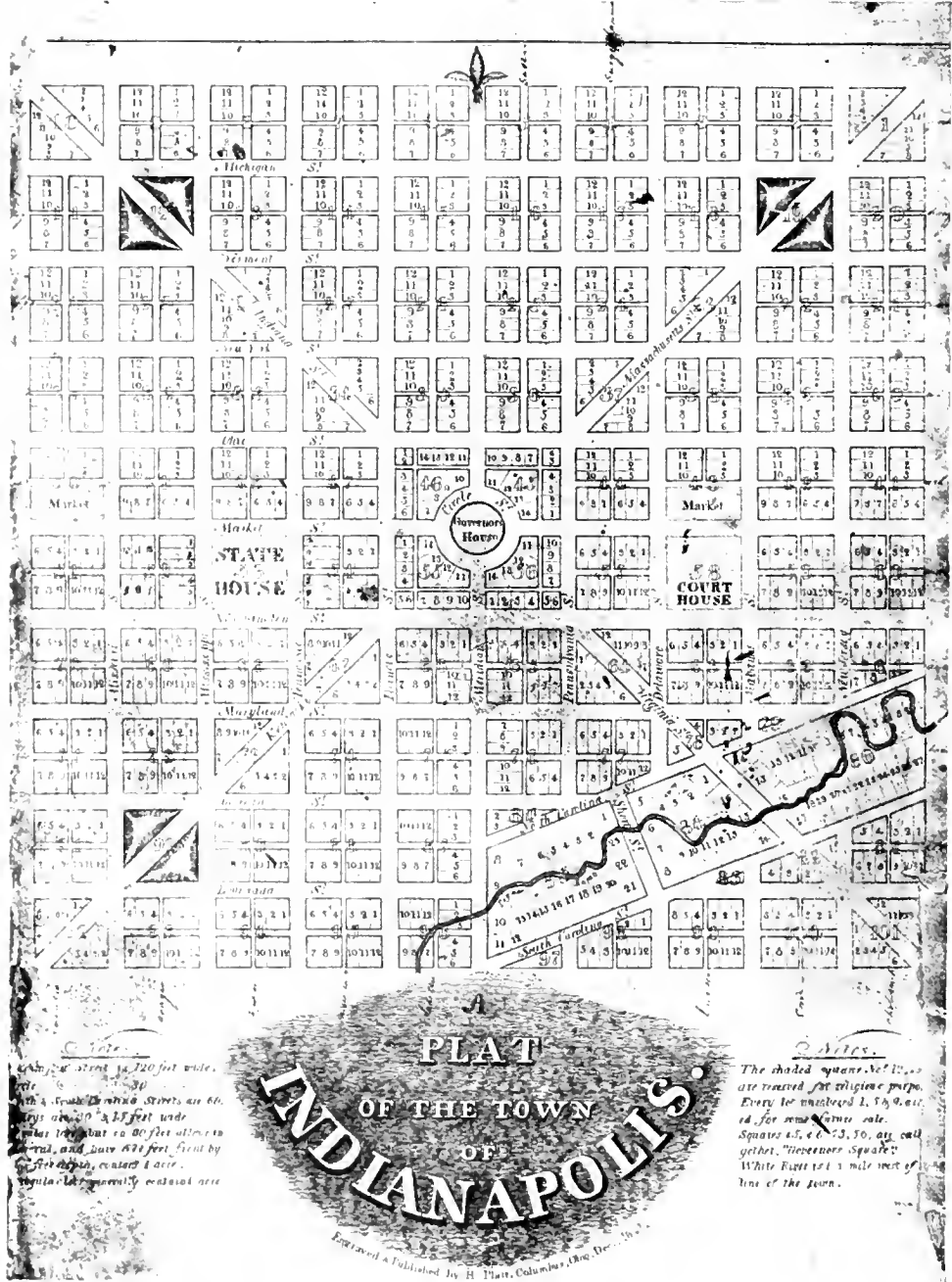
two triangles. Each diagonal street afforded a "short cut" to the center of the city, and on this account these have all become popular thoroughfares and business streets; they have been adopted for street-car lines, and are real conveniences to the public. All of these streets were 90 feet wide except Washington street, which was 120 feet. The boundary streets, North, South, East and West, were not included in the original plat, but were added afterwards by Harrison, at the suggestion of James Blake, who urged that "fifty years later they would make a fine four-mile drive around the city". In fact no one then contemplated the city's growth beyond "the mile square." No subdivision of the donation lands outside the plat was made at the time, and Ralston, gazing proudly on the map, declared that "it would make a beautiful city, if it were ever built".

The only departure from the regularity of the plan was in the southeastern part of the city, and was caused by Pogue's Run. South of it, a street called South Carolina street was run from the corner of Meridian and South streets diagonally to the corner of Georgia and East streets. A block and a half north of this—north of Pogue's Run—North Carolina street was run, parallel to South Carolina street, from Meridian street, at the alley between Georgia and Louisiana streets, to East street, at the alley between Washington and Maryland streets. North Carolina and South Carolina streets were each 60 feet wide. The tract between them was divided into three large irregular blocks, which were given square numbers 80, 84 and 85. Of the principal city streets, Virginia street (now Virginia avenue) alone crossed this tract but there was a small street across it from the corner of Delaware and South Carolina streets, at right angles with the latter, which was named Short street. The accompanying cut of the plat is from the copy used as an original in the office of the auditor of state, worn with age, and bearing the inscription: "State of Indiana. I, John Carr, Agent for the town of Indianapolis, do hereby certify that the above is a true plat of the Town of Indianapolis. JOHN CARR, July 9, 1822."

This arrangement continued until 1831, when part of the donation lands having been subdivided into "outlots" in pursuance of acts of the legislature in 1824 and 1825, a com-

⁶See Fordham's *Personal Narrative*; Cleveland, 1906.

⁷*Landmarks of Detroit*, p. 273.



(W. H. Bass, Photo. Company)

THE RALSTON PLAT OF 1821.

plete survey of the donation was ordered, with two maps, which were to be filed as "official records". This survey and these maps were made by Bethuel F. Morris, and in them North Carolina, South Carolina and Short streets were dropped; the north and south streets—Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey and Alabama—were extended across Pogue's Run; and blocks 80, 84 and 85, thus cut up, were added to former fractional squares. In the original plat this Pogue's Run tract had made a break in the square numbers, which began with No. 1, in the northeast corner of the plat and numbered to the left to 19; then dropped a tier and numbered back to the right to 29, and so on, until North Carolina street was struck; and there the fractional and irregular squares introduced an extra square number, so that the southeastern square of the plat was numbered 101 instead of 100, and still retains that number. But, in the readjustment of 1831, square numbers 83 and 85 were dropped, so that now there are only 99 squares, or square numbers, in the original plat, or "mile square".

After 1831 no changes were made in the original street names until 1894-5, when the City Council changed the name of Mississippi street to Senate avenue, and Tennessee street to Capitol avenue.⁵

The former was due to the efforts of John Puryear, a well-known and enterprising colored man, who represented the Fourth Ward in the Council for six years. The reason he gave for it was that he "hated the name of Mississippi". Various roads which originally came to the mile square have taken street names within the extended city limits. The Bluff Road is Meridian street. The Madison Road is Madison avenue. The Brookville Road is Brookville avenue. The Michigan Road is Southeastern avenue below the old city line, while at the north it is called West street as far as Sixteenth, and beyond that Northwestern avenue. The Lafayette Road is Indiana avenue. Under an act of 1827, the alleys in squares numbered 1 to 20, and 78 to 101 were vacated,

and those squares were sold as "outlots". Hence no alleys appear in them in the map of 1831, but in it the principal alleys remaining were named. The names of the North and South alleys, or streets as they are now commonly called, beginning in the west tier of squares and proceeding east, were Columbia, Osage, Huron, Muskingum, Severn, Scioto, Susquehanna, Hudson, Erie and Choptank. The east and west alleys, between Vermont and Georgia streets, were Tippecanoe, Miami, Wabash, Potomac, Cumberland and Chesapeake. Most of these names are still retained, but there have been the following changes:

Columbia is now Toledo.

Huron is now Roanoke.

Severn is now Bird.

Erie is now Ogden.

Choptank is now Adelaide.

Potomac is now Court.

Cumberland is now Pearl.

In the original plat there were no alleys in the squares that were intersected by diagonal streets, and the alleys now existing in these, and also in the squares where the alleys were vacated in 1827, were usually made by the voluntary donation of the owners. In each of the full, regular squares there were two alleys, one fifteen feet wide, and one thirty feet wide, intersecting each other at right angles, and dividing the square into four equal parts. As each square contained 1.05 acres, inclusive of alleys, there was nearly an acre in each quarter thus made, and each quarter was divided into three equal lots. The lots fronted in various directions, according to the supposed importance of streets. Those abutting on the large alleys were 67 feet 6 inches wide and 195 feet deep. Those abutting on the smaller alleys were 65 feet front, and 202 feet 6 inches deep.

The center of the original plat is about 200 yards northeast of the center of the donation, and was selected because the circle was a natural knoll, covered with fine sugar trees, and because of the relative position of Washington street. There is no question that Washington street was expected to be the principal street, on account of its extra width and the fact that the Governor's Square, the Court House Square, and the State House Square all fronted on it. The obvious reason for its preëminence was the natural crossing place where it struck the river, which was certain to make it the

⁵The Capitol avenue ordinance was introduced by Wm. H. Cooper, and passed May 21, 1894. The Senate avenue ordinance was introduced by Henry Magel, and passed September 23, 1895.

main thoroughfare of the new town. In fact, it was for years more commonly known as "Main street" than as Washington street. The general understanding of this is very evident from the prices paid at the sale of lots, which began on October 8, 1821. The survey had been completed some time before, notwithstanding that the surveyors had been much impeded by the bayous, which the wet season had kept flooded. It has been said that the sale was delayed on account of the prevalent sickness, and that Harrison left the place for some time on account of the sickness, but, whether this was true or not, the time fixed for the sale was fortunate. October brought clear weather, and a general improvement of health. Many persons came to attend the sale; business became brisk; and everything took on a hopeful and cheerful air.

By this time there were three "taverns" at Indianapolis, besides McCormick's. Matthias R. Nowland had opened one in his cabin "on the west bank of the ravine" (i. e., Missouri street), between Washington and Maryland streets. Judge Harrison had made this his headquarters during the survey, and Nowland had built an addition to the cabin for an office. It was here that the sale was held. Maj. Thos. Carter had built a log tavern north of Washington street and east of Illinois—just west of the present *News* office. John Hawkins had opened "The Eagle Tavern" in a double log house north of Washington street, between Meridian and Pennsylvania streets, about where the Lombard Building now stands. The attendance at the sales was so large that all these were crowded, and many found lodging in private houses or camped out. Nowland says: "This sale continued one week, during which time there was not the least disturbance of any kind. Although the woods were filled with moneyed people, there was no robbery or attempt at the same, nor was there the least apprehension or fear. There were no confidence men to pray upon the credulity of the people; although strangers, they looked upon each other as their neighbor and friend. Their money was almost entirely gold and silver, and was left in their leather bags where best they could procure a shelter, and was considered as safe as if now would be in the vaults of our banks".

Curiously enough, all of our local histor-

ians but Sulgrove say the sale began on October 10, and he says it was October 9. In reality, it began on October 8—"The second Monday in October", as advertised, but for some reason only one lot was sold on that day. Brown says: "The first day was cold and raw with a high wind, and a man at the sale came near being killed by a falling limb." Possibly that may have been the cause of it, but at any rate the sale was adjourned to the next day after the selling of lot 3 in square 70, just back of Nowland's house, where the sale was held. It went to Jesse McKay for \$152.75, but he did not seem to appreciate his bargain, for he assigned his certificate, which finally came to Nicholas McCarty, who forfeited the lot and applied the money already paid to payment on other lots. After this one transaction the sale was adjourned to the following morning when it was resumed in earnest, with Maj. Thos. Carter as auctioneer, and James M. Ray as clerk. The bulk of the selling was from the 9th to the 12th, and there were fourteen sales on Saturday, the 13th, when the sale closed.

The highest price received was for lot 12 in square 57—the northwest corner of Delaware and Washington streets—which brought \$560. The next highest was lot 6 in square 52—the northwest corner of Senate and Washington, which brought \$500. The third was the northeast corner of Capitol avenue and Washington, which brought \$450. These high prices were due both to the location and the lay of the lots. The last two fronted the State House Square, and had each a half-square depth on Washington street, which would naturally be expected to become the actual frontage, as it since has. The one to the west was considered the more valuable because the most of the settlement was at that time west of Senate avenue. The first fronted Washington street, but had its depth facing the Court House Square, which was the common business center in county seats; and it was purchased by General Carr, the state agent, who promptly started business in that direction by establishing his office on the north end of the lot.

The estimates of comparative value were rational enough at the time, but they have been upset in the development of the city. General Carr's high-priced lot now has an assessed ground tax value of \$128,830, but lot 7 in the

same block, the northeast corner of Pennsylvania and Washington is now taxed for \$330,000 on the land, and it brought only \$300 at the sale. All the lots fronting on Washington street between the State House and Court House Squares sold at from \$200 to \$300. Lot 6 in square 66, the southeast corner of Illinois and Washington, brought \$325, while the one diagonally opposite, where the Claypool Hotel stands, sold for \$243.75. The latter is now assessed for taxation at more than ten times that amount per front foot for land value. The second highest in the sale—lot 6 in square 52—is now assessed on the land for only \$61,630.

In all, 314 lots were sold, at a total price of \$35,596.25, of which \$7,119.25 was paid in cash. But of the total, 161 lots were afterwards forfeited, or relinquished under the relief act of January 20, 1826, which permitted this, with the application of the payments already made on other lots, provided that these lots to which such payments were applied should then at once be paid for in full. As speculative investments for immediate returns the Indianapolis lots were not successes. The town grew slowly for several years, business was comparatively small in extent, and sickness was prevalent long enough to give the place a bad name; besides all which the actual transfer of the capital did not take place until 1825. Consequently few lots advanced in value, and many declined. The total cash receipts from sales up to 1831 were less than \$35,000. In 1831 an effort was made to close out all of the donation lands, the sale of outlots being authorized at a minimum price of \$10 per acre, and the receipts for the next five years aggregated nearly \$40,000. The total receipts, up to and including 1844, when the agency business was wound up and turned over to the auditor of state, were less than \$100,000. There were a number of transactions after that date, mostly with forfeitures and delinquencies, the last recorded receipts being in 1871. The entire receipts for the donation lands were less than \$125,000. But the money that was received came opportunely, and served to construct the court house, the "executive mansion" in the Governor's Circle, the clerk's office, which stood on the west side of the Court House Square, and the house and office of the treasurer of state, which were opposite the State House Square on

Washington street, and finally the first state house. Part of it was also applied to the construction of the state prison at Jeffersonville. General Carr had been appointed at a salary of \$600, but it was reduced the next year to \$300, and in September, 1822, he resigned. He was followed in the office successively by James Milroy, Bethuel F. Morris (December 24, 1822), Benjamin I. Blythe (February 1, 1825), Ebenezer Sharpe (April 8, 1828), John G. Brown (September, 1833), Thomas H. Sharpe (January, 1835), and John Cook (1843).

There is a difference in the two plats of 1821 and 1831 in the "public squares" designated. On the former three full squares are set apart for "religious purposes." They are the ones adjoining, diagonally, the corner squares at the northeast, northwest and southwest corners of the plat, i. e., square 12, bounded by Senate avenue, Missouri, Michigan and Vermont streets; square 19, bounded by Alabama, New Jersey, Michigan and Vermont streets; and square 90, bounded by Senate avenue, Missouri, Georgia and Louisiana streets. Exactly what was contemplated in this reservation is not known. Possibly it was meant for a compliance with the indefinite provision of the law directing the survey which requires the commissioners to designate on the plat each square intended "as public ground, and for what intended, whether for civil or religious purposes." Whatever the original purpose, they were dropped in 1831, and no peculiarly religious character has attached to them since then.

Their disappearance was doubtless accelerated by a petition from the Baptists of Indianapolis for a donation of part of one of them, commenting on the church record of which, Sulgrove says: "The church petitioned the legislature in November, 1824, for a lot to build a house of worship upon, but failed. The order says: On motion, agreed that the church petition the present General Assembly for a site to build a meeting-house upon, and that the southeast half of the shaded block 90 be selected, and that Brothers J. Holart, H. Bradley and the clerk (J. W. Reding), be appointed a committee to bear the petition Saturday in February. What is meant by a 'shaded block' can only be conjectured, but it probably referred to a grove that made a pleasant shel-

ter." The real reference is to the fact that the "religious purpose" blocks were shaded on Ralston's plat, and they were at the time commonly called "the shaded blocks." The petition was presented by Senator Milton Stapp, on January 11, 1825, and a bill granting the petition passed the Senate, with the amendment: "Provided that the ground donated under this act shall never be converted to any other use or purpose than that of erecting buildings for religious worship and education; nor shall any portion of it be used or appropriated for a burying ground under and pretext whatever."¹⁰ The house committee to which it was referred reported it with "sundry amendments," not set out, and on January 31, the following amendment was offered, and defeated: "Provided, nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent any regular preacher of the gospel, in good standing in his own society, from preaching in such houses, when the society to which they belong are not using them for that purpose."¹¹ The legislators now began to realize that they were confronting a large problem, and on the next day the bill was indefinitely postponed. Thus ended the nearest approach to a connection of church and state ever known in Indiana.

On the plat of 1831 there were two public squares that did not appear on the plat of 1821, and which were reserved by the act of January 26, 1827. These were the University Square, No. 25—now commonly known as University Park—and Hospital Square, No. 22, bounded by Alabama, New Jersey, Vermont and New York streets. The latter was set apart for a state hospital and insane asylum, and a row of log cabins located there was used for that purpose until the building of the central part of the present Insane Hospital in 1846-7. After the removal of the insane the cabins were rented for a few months to some German families, and on July 12, 1849, the whole property was sold in lots by the state.¹² On both the plats of 1821 and 1831 are two half-squares reserved for markets, one at the present market site, and one on the north side of Market street, between Missouri and West streets—the south

half of Square 50. This was held by the city until the era of internal improvement arrived, when the state wanted it for "water-power" in connection with the canal, and proposed by act of February, 1837, to exchange for it the north half of Square 48, i. e., the north quarter of the present state capitol grounds. To this the city assented and made a deed for the land on January 24, 1838.¹³ The new site was used for a market until 1872, commonly known as "the West Market", when the ground was wanted for the new capitol, and on November 25, 1872, the City Council adopted a resolution relinquishing all claim to Square 48 to the state, and consenting to the vacation of Market and Wabash streets, between Tennessee and Mississippi streets.¹⁴ After extended consideration the attorney-general decided that this was not a sufficient transfer, and on August 6, 1877, the state house commissioners asked the city government for deeds to the property, which request was promptly complied with.¹⁵

It is the uniform tradition, with all known facts tending to support it, that Indianapolis owes its distinctive plan, its radiating avenues and broad streets, to Alexander Ralston, and there has always been a sentiment that he should be publicly commemorated. In 1827, shortly after his death Samuel Merrill called attention to the fact that Ralston had advocated the early establishment of a city park, and urged the citizens to follow his advice. There was no general interest taken in this at the time, but in 1879, Rev. J. C. Fletcher recalled the fact and proposed that University Square be called Ralston Park,¹⁶ but no action was taken. In 1890 a movement was started for a subscription fund for a monument to Ralston, and \$325 was collected, which was deposited in Fletcher's bank, and still remains there in trust. In 1907, E. B. Martindale and E. F. Claypool, two of the contributors and representing all, offered to turn this over to the Park Board if the city would add \$675 to it and erect a statue. They had a model for a statue prepared by Rudolph Schwartz, who agreed to execute the work for \$1,000. The model met general criticism on account of the

¹⁰*Hist. Indianapolis*, p. 390.

¹¹*Senate Journal*, p. 73.

¹²*House Journal*, p. 146.

¹³*News*, July 25, 1908.

¹⁴See *Record Board of Int. Imps.*, pp. 65, 95.

¹⁵*Council Proceedings*, p. 746.

¹⁶*Council Proceedings*, pp. 341, 554.

¹⁷*News*, August 2, 1879.

dress, and the Park Board declined to accept on the ground that the face did not purport to be a likeness of Ralston, but suggested future action in the line of a memorial fountain, with a tablet of bronze acknowledging Ralston's service.¹⁷ Ralston's remains were buried in

Greenlawn Cemetery, and rested there for nearly half a century. On September 21, 1874, Calvin Darnell made a motion in the City Council for a committee to remove the remains of Alexander Ralston to Crown Hill. It carried, and Messrs. Darnell, Gimber and Ballman were named as the committee. On September 30, the remains were escorted to Crown Hill by half a dozen old citizens, and buried in the "Teacher's Lot" by the side of John B. Dillon.

¹⁷*News*, June 14, 1907; *Star*, November 22, 23, 24, 1907; *News*, November 22, 26, 30, December 13, 1907.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST SETTLERS.

Although Tipton mentions no settler near the mouth of Fall Creek, when the commissioners came to make the location, except John McCormick, there were some fifteen families here, including those of James McCormick (John's brother); George Pogue; John Maxwell and John Cowan, who came early in March, 1820, and located near the present city hospital; Isaac Wilson who came on April 6 and located on what is now the State House Square, building the first house on the town plat; Henry and Samuel Davis, chair-makers, who located in the Fall Creek bottom near where Walnut street crosses; the widow Harding and her married son, Robert Harding, both of whom located near John McCormick's; Robert Barnhill and his son-in-law, Jeremiah Corbaley, who came on March 6, and located on Fall Creek, above Indiana avenue; and probably two or three others whose names are not preserved. Richard Corbaley, born August 7, 1820, was the first white child born in the county; and Mordecai Harding, second son of Robert, was the first child born on the donation. James Morrow, son of Samuel Morrow, was the first child born on the original town site.¹

For many years there has been a controversy as to whether the first of these settlers was John McCormick or George Pogue—or rather a difference of opinion, for, curiously enough, it never took the form of a direct controversy, as such things usually do. The most notable champion of Pogue was Ignatius Brown, while McCormick's most stalwart defender was John H. B. Nowland, and these two were the most careful of the early historians, though both trusted too much to unverified tradition. Mr. Brown declared Pogue's priority in his origi-

nal history of the city, published in the city directory of 1857, and reiterated it in his revised history, published in the city directory of 1868. On February 25, 1870, in the *Sentinel*, Mr. Nowland proposed a celebration of the semi-centennial of the coming of John McCormick, whom he asserted to be the first settler. In his "Early Reminiscences," published in the same year, he renews his statement that John McCormick was the first settler. In his "*Prominent Citizens*," published in 1884, he refers to his statement of 1870, and says: "This fact had been patent up to that time, and had never been denied, but I was surprised that some person had informed one of the city editors that I was in error, and that George Pogue was the first settler, and had come here in March, 1819."²

On August 17, 1898, after it had been proposed to demolish the old National Road bridge, a sort of old settlers' indignation meeting was held on the bridge, and here, for the first time, the McCormicks got their story before the public in such a way that its essential features went into print. On September 9, 1899, Mr. Brown printed in the *News* a review of the whole matter, in which he said that for "more than fifty years" after Pogue's arrival "the tradition in his favor was universal and unquestioned, not only by those who had come here shortly after him, but all their descendants; and all the later comers had heard and believed the story." To this he made but one exception, which he had himself discovered, that in 1822, Dr. S. G. Mitchell, the first physician at Indianapolis, had published an article in the *Gazette*—the one Indianapolis paper at that time—in which he denied the Pogue story,

¹*News*, March 22, 1879.

²p. 11.

and stated that John McCormick was the first settler. He found the copy of this number of the *Gazette* in the possession of Calvin Fletcher, but it has now disappeared. Mr. Fletcher's bound files of newspapers were presented to the City Library, but the *Gazette* goes back only to June 1, 1824, though an earlier volume of this paper was evidently in existence.³ However, Mr. Brown's statement as to this, or any other matter of fact in his knowledge, is entirely reliable.

In the light of all the evidence, the statements of both Nowland and Brown are too sweeping, and the case is one of the co-existence of two conflicting traditions, the holders of which for many years either ignored, or were not aware of, the opposing claims. And after these claims were made public none of the historians recorded a simple statement of the story of either the Pogue family or the McCormick family, as they are preserved today; nor have I found any newspaper record of their full stories. The Pogue story is that George Pogue and his family, excepting his three older children, started from Connersville in February, 1819, and arrived here on March 2. The party consisted of Pogue and his wife;⁴ Joseph—an adult son; John—then aged 17; Bennett—aged 15; and two younger children, James and Stiney. They came in wagons, and cut their own road through the woods, following the general line of the Brookville road. Pogue had intended going farther, but found White River too high to cross, and turned back and located on the high ground east of Pogue's Run, near where Michigan street crosses it. The exact location was on the premises now known as 420 Highland avenue, and there was a fine spring some three rods west of the cabin, which long since disappeared. The McCormicks did not come till February, 1820, and stopped at the Pogue cabin while building their own. The year after the Pogues came, two of the boys went back to Connersville and helped move out Hains Tyner, one of the old residents of Warren Township. The clearest living witness to

this story is Miss Nancy Pogue, daughter of Bennett Pogue, now 65 years of age, who lives with her brother, James Pogue, northeast of Brightwood. She says that her grandmother lived until she was sixteen years of age; that she was with her much of the time; and that she has often heard her tell the story as above. The same tradition is given by Thomas Pogue, of Sullivan County, and other members of the Pogue family.⁵

The McCormick story is that John McCormick started from Connersville for the mouth of Fall Creek, with his family, in February, 1820. He was accompanied by his family, his two brothers—James and Samuel—and nine employes who served as teamsters and axmen. They followed Whetzell's trace to a point near Rushville, and cut their own road from that point. When they reached Buck Creek, some twelve miles east of White River, they were delayed for several days by a heavy snow. They started on again on the morning of February 25, and arrived at White River on the 26th at 10 o'clock in the morning. The twelve men at once set to work on a cabin, and had it up and covered by night, so that John McCormick's family occupied it. Pogue and his family arrived in March, and did not build a cabin, but moved into one that had been built and abandoned in 1819 by Ete Perkins, of Rush County, on Pogue's Run, which was known as Perkin's Creek until the time of Pogue's disappearance in 1821, when it began to be called Pogue's Run. The oldest living witness to this is Amos McCormick, a son of Samuel, who was brought here a baby, one year old, in the fall of 1820. He lived at Indianapolis until he was sixteen years old and now lives on his farm near Cartersburg. The accompanying cut shows him seated at the table at which the commissioners ate, when they were selecting the site for the capital in 1820. It is a solid cherry table, and originally had balls at the ends of the legs; but it has been slid over rough floors until these are all worn away except a small disc on one leg. The same story is told by descendants of all three of the McCormick brothers. They have been holding annual family reunions since 1901, on August 23, which is the birthday of

³*Journal*, June 7, 1855.

⁴Her name is given Cassa Ann in the land records and the census returns of 1830. Miss Nancy Pogue says that her maiden name was Payne.

⁵See also *News*, January 27 and August 18, 1906; *Star*, September 15, 1907.

Amos McCormick, and these have been duly noticed in the city papers.*

After getting John McCormick settled James and Samuel returned to Connersville. James came back with his family on March 7, and Samuel with his family on October 4. They located northwest of Military Park. Samuel's cabin standing about where the Maus brewery is located. In 1823 they moved farther north. John built a sawmill on the east side of White River at the upper end of Riverside Park, opposite "Sycamore Island", where the remains of the dam are to be seen at low water to this day. Samuel located just below Emmerichsville, on what was later known as the Garner farm, and in 1827 erected the brick house which still stands just west of the Riverside dam. The brick for it were made on the place, and it is now the oldest brick building standing in Indianapolis. At this point he operated a ferry for a number of years, and his account book, in which he entered the names of all who crossed and the toll paid, is still preserved by his grandson, Louis McCormick, of Cartersburg.

In this peculiar conflict of the two families for precedence there have been occasional charges of misrepresentation and bad faith, but none of the members of either family that I have met have shown any inclination to misrepresent the facts as they understand them, and all declare that the statements above given are as told to them by their parents and grandparents. Of necessity one of the traditions has become distorted—possibly both to some extent—and as a preliminary to their consideration it will be well to take a glance at the condition of the region at the time. It was well known to the Indians, and fairly well known to the whites. Conner had been at his trading-post since 1802, and a number of white men had passed through the region at intervals. Tipton and Bartholomew identified several places where they had stopped on an expedition against the Indians in 1813. Among other white visitors are recorded Dr. Douglass, who came up the river as far as the Bluffs in the fall of 1818; Isaac McCoy, the missionary, who went up the river and visited Chief Anderson

in 1818, and again in 1819; and James Paxton, who came down the river from the head-waters in the winter of 1819-20. To the whites the place was known as "the mouth of Fall Creek", which was virtually the Indian name, for they designated it simply by the name of the creek. Chamberlain gives the Delaware name of the creek as "Soo-sooc-pa-hal-loc", and says it means "Spilt Water." This is fanciful. "Sook-pe-hel-luk", or "Sokpehellak" is the Delaware word for a waterfall, and the name refers to the falls at Pendleton. The Miami name is Chank-tun-oon-gi, or "Makes a Noise Place", which also refers to the falls; but they also applied this name to the site of Indianapolis, and to the town itself in its earlier years.

There was no Indian village at this point. The nearest one, some twelve miles north, was what Tipton calls "the Lower Delaware Town", but it was not much of a town. On the east side of the river, a Delaware known as "The Owl" had a clearing of about 17 acres, which he cultivated in a way, and he also raised some pigs and chickens. On the west side was a French half-breed doctor, named Brouett (?Brouillette)—often called Pruitt—who had a white wife that had been captured and brought up by the Indians.⁷ He practiced medicine after the Indian fashion, and had considerable patronage. Both of these were just north of the Hamilton County line, and they constituted the "town". Just south of the line, on an elevation on the east side, were traces of Indian occupancy, and the old settlers called that point "the old Indian town". The place was commonly called "Brouettstown", and was somewhat noted for the wild plum thicket there.⁸ The Delawares had a sugar camp within the present confines of the city where they commonly made sugar in the spring, and sometimes camped when hunting. It was not far from the end of Virginia avenue, on what was known as the Sander's place, later the Birkenmayer place, and still later the Weghorst place.⁹

The whole county at that time was covered with a dense forest, with more or less undergrowth, and the few open spaces were still more

⁷*Brown's Hist.*, p. 1.

⁸*Nowland's Early Reminiscences*, p. 157.

⁹The northeast quarter of section 13; i. e., east of East street and south of Morris street. See *Nowland's Reminiscences*, pp. 52, 404, 405.

*See also *Star*, August 26, 1902 and December 31, 1905; *Sun*, May 14, 1906; *News*, January 27, 1906, August 18, 1906, August 19, 1899.

densely covered with undergrowth. It was impossible to take a wagon anywhere without cutting a road, but there were several Indian trails that could be followed on horseback. The principal trail from Conner's to the Bluffs crossed to the east side of the river at Brouettstown, and from Indianapolis down the river followed quite closely the line of the Bluff road.

In the summer of 1818 Jacob Whetzell visited Chief Anderson, and obtained permission to cut a road from Connersville to the Bluffs on White River. He was the celebrated Indian fighter—brother of Lewis Whetzell, the still more celebrated Indian fighter. Their father, John Whetzell, a "Pennsylvania Dutchman", settled near Wheeling, West Virginia, in 1769, and in 1777 his house was attacked by Indians. John Whetzell was killed, and his two sons, Lewis, aged 13, and Jacob, aged 11, were taken captive. Young as they were, the boys made their escape on the first night out, evaded pursuit, and returned to the settlements, where they vowed eternal vengeance against the red man; and most fearfully they kept their vow. But the Delawares had long been friendly, and Whetzell who had been living on the White-water since 1811, desired to push farther into the wilds—in fact it is said that he urged the commissioners to locate the capital at the mouth of Fall Creek, rather than at the Bluffs, as he did not desire to be crowded by a town. Having obtained Chief Anderson's consent, he began cutting his trace in July, 1818, aided by his son Cyrus and four men. Its general course was slightly south of west, passing about six miles south of Rushville, and about four miles north of Shelbyville. In March, 1819, the Whetzells moved to the Bluffs over this trail, and located about a quarter of a mile below Waverly, arriving there on March 19. This trace was much used by early immigrants.¹⁰ At practically the same time the first wagon road was opened to the Delaware towns. It ran west of north from Connersville to Bucktown, a few miles above Anderson, where it crossed the river and went down it to Anderson, Strawtown and Conner's. A number of settlers went in over that road in March and April, 1819, including George Shirts, Charles

Lacey, George Bush, Solomon Finch (uncle of Judge Fabius M. Finch) and Israel Finch.¹¹ These located northeast of Conner's Prairie, and the settlers there raised an abundant corn crop in 1820, which was a godsend to the people at Indianapolis and the scattered settlers elsewhere. In fact, Conner's Prairie was a granary for the whole region for several years. In 1822 Benjamin Thornburgh of Morgan County, bought a boat load of corn there and floated it down White River to a point near Mooresville.¹² In 1824 and 1825 corn was brought from Conner's to Johnson County when squirrels and raccoons had destroyed the crops there.¹³

If Pogue came to Indianapolis on March 2, 1819, he started from Connersville only a few days before the Whetzells started to the Bluffs, and the other families to Conner's Prairie, from the same point; and in that case they would certainly have known of it. But the Finches and their associates claimed to be the first families that located in the New Purchase except the Whetzells,¹⁴ and it seems improbable that they would have gone by their circuitous route, which took them two weeks, if Pogue had opened an almost direct road to the mouth of Fall Creek. The Whetzells were in equal ignorance, for on March 10, 1870, Cyrus Whetzell wrote to Nowland: "The subject to which you call my attention I thought was settled many years since, i. e., that John McCormick built the first house in Indianapolis in February, 1820, and that George Pogue settled on the bank of the creek that takes its name from him the following March. I am confident that there was not a white man living in Marion County in 1819. My father and self settled where I now live in the spring of 1819, when I was in my nineteenth year, and at an age calculated to retain any impression made on my mind."¹⁵

At first blush this would seem to bear as strongly against the Perkins story as against the Pogue story, but it does not. A solitary man might have come into this region, and have

¹⁰*Shirts' Hist. of Hamilton Co.*, p. 9.

¹¹*Hist. Morgan Co.*, pp. 101-2.

¹²*Johnson Co.*, pp. 331-2, 341.

¹³*Sulgrave's Indianapolis* pp. 21, 214 D; Indianapolis papers, March 12, 1900—death of Judge Finch.

¹⁴*Nowland's Prominent Citizens*, p. 14.

¹⁵Judge D. D. Banta, in *Hist. Johnson Co.*, pp. 293-6.

built a cabin in the dense forest, more than a mile from any known trail, without even the Indians knowing it. But it is not possible that the Pogues could have cut a wagon road branching off from Whetzell's trace, without the knowledge of the Whetzells, when they moved in over the trace two weeks later. The Ute Perkins story has very strong confirmation outside of the McCormick family. His granddaughter, Mrs. Laura Newman, and his great-grandson, Mr. Orville Bartlett, both of Rushville, inform me that it has always been the Perkins family tradition that Ute Perkins came to the site of Indianapolis in 1819 and built a cabin, but became dissatisfied and returned to Rushville. Ellsbury Perkins, a well-known old-time printer of Indianapolis, and a grand-nephew of Ute Perkins, says he has always heard the story in the several branches of the Perkins family. Hon. John F. Moses, the historian of Rush County, furnishes me the following statement from Jefferson Carr, 75 years of age, a native of Rushville, and a son of one of the first settlers there: "He knew the Ute Perkins in question well, is familiar with the tradition of his having built a cabin on the site of Indianapolis, and says that in early days it was a matter of common report locally, and generally accepted as true. After quitting his cabin, Ute Perkins came back here and spent the remainder of his life in this neighborhood. His home was a cabin on the Brookville road, about one mile southeast of Rushville. He supported himself and family by making hickory baskets. He was a large man, five feet ten inches or more in height, and quite corpulent. He had keen, black eyes and even when well advanced in years his jet black hair was almost unmixed with gray. He possessed peculiarities which made him a well-known character in his lifetime." Perkins was a native of North Carolina. His descendants do not know why he was called "Ute", but say that was his proper name. He died at Rushville in March, 1858, aged 75 years.

Of equal, if not higher rank as evidence than these traditions is the recorded statement of Dr. S. G. Mitchell, which is presented by Brown as follows: "Pogue's claim as the first settler has been contested, and in a published article by Dr. S. G. Mitchell, in the *Indianapolis Gazette*, in the summer of 1822, it is stated that the McCormicks were the first emi-

grants in February, 1820, and that Pogue arrived with others in March, 1820, a month later. It is singular that this statement, if ill founded, should not have been contradicted publicly in the paper at the time, but the weight of tradition is against it and concurs in fixing Pogue's arrival in 1819." This is all that is now known concerning Dr. Mitchell's article, for the paper containing it has disappeared, but so far as it goes Mr. Brown's statement may be accepted without question. It is much to be regretted that the article itself is not preserved, for it would probably give some clue as to why it was published. And why *was* it published? If the Pogue tradition were correct it is not only singular that this article was not denied, but it is at least equally singular that it should be published at all. Dr. Mitchell had no conceivable personal interest in the matter, and was an intelligent and reliable man. He got his information on the subject from others. The Pogues, McCormicks and others familiar with the facts were here at the time. No possible explanation can be given for such a publication if it were not true.

But, on the other hand, if the McCormick story be true the cause of the publication is quite obvious. Pogue had disappeared in the spring of 1821. The little stream, formerly known as Perkins Creek, was beginning to be known as Pogue's Run. It would be natural for newcomers to inquire the reason of the name, and for the information to be given that it was named for the first settler on that stream. Likewise, if a newcomer should inquire whose was the first cabin built here, the answer would be "Pogue's"; because both traditions agree on that point. From these conditions the impression would naturally develop among the later arrivals that Pogue was the first settler and Dr. Mitchell, meeting this growing error in his professional rounds, was moved to correct it, in the village newspaper, and settle it permanently. It is hardly possible that such a publication would be made at that early day unless there was some difference of opinion to call for it. After it had been made, those who had taken up the Pogue theory, and might be disposed to question the article, found on investigation no basis for questioning it among the then living witnesses. On this basis the incident is natural enough, but on the theory that the Pogue

tradition is correct it is wholly incomprehensible from beginning to end.

One other item that might be classed as primary evidence is Mr. Brown's quotation of Gen. John Coburn as saying that "his father-in-law, Judge Charles H. Test, was a chairman in the surveying party under Judge Laughlin; that the party camped for a long time in 1819 on the river bank where Kingan's packing-house now stands"; and that Judge Test spoke frequently of repeated visits to Pogue's cabin while there. This is clearly erroneous, for Laughlin did not do any surveying here in 1819. The township lines were run in 1819, those for Township 15 being completed on August 10, but that would not have called for any lengthy stay, and, as shown by the field notes on file in the office of the Auditor of State, that work was done by John McDonald. The subdivisions, or section lines, were run by Judge Wm. B. Laughlin's party in the summer of 1820, as shown by Tipton's Journal and by the field notes. This Coburn statement, which Mr. Brown treats as conclusive, is simply an error of one year.

Passing to what may be called secondary evidence, Mr. Brown states that, when he was preparing his original publication of 1857, he found so much of conflict in the statements of old-timers on various points that he called a meeting of a number of old settlers at his office, and those who attended were "Sidney D. Maxwell (son of John), James Vanblaricum, Andrew Wilson, Calvin Fletcher, James M. Ray, George Norwood, James Blake, Douglas Maguire, and Daniel Yandes." As Mr. Brown justly observes, "their united testimony would settle questions of property or life in any court in the country", and yet he furnishes conclusive evidence of their united fallibility in traditional matters by the statement that when he mentioned Dr. Mitchell's article to them, they unanimously denied that any such publication had ever been made. On being convinced that it had been, they explained the fact that it had never been denied on the inferential basis that "it was so generally known to be untrue that no one thought it necessary to deny it". But they all agreed that the common tradition was that Pogue was the first settler. Maxwell, who was the first to come of those present, having arrived with his father early in March, 1820, said that "he personally knew Mitchell's

story to be false, for Pogue's cabin had evidently been built for a considerable time, probably a year, while the McCormick cabins were not then completed."¹⁶ Vanblaricum and Wilson confirmed this; and, according to Mr. Brown, they came "about two months after the McCormicks", which is probably correct, although Nowland places both of them in 1821.¹⁷

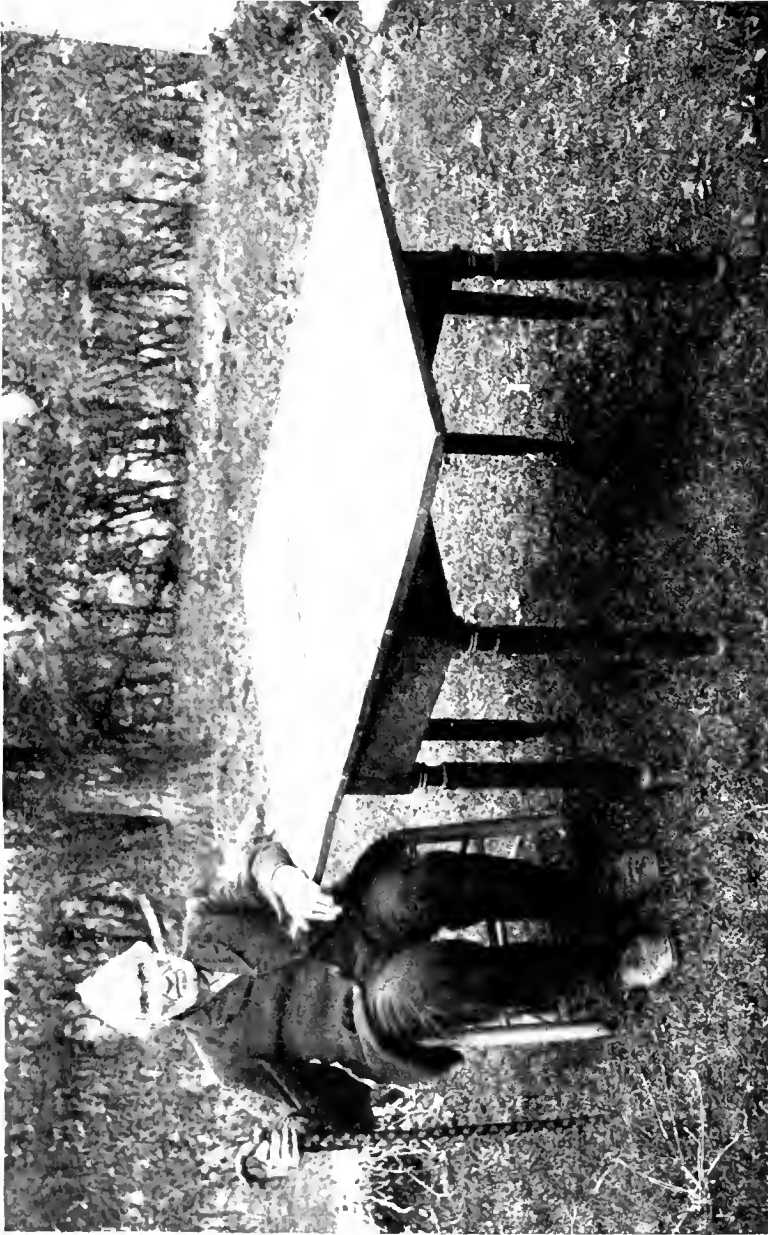
This argumentative conclusion, however, is not well founded, for the facts would apply quite as well to a cabin built by Ute Perkins as to one built by George Pogue. But evidently none of those present had heard of Ute Perkins; and, indeed, it is singular how little had been heard of him generally. It is certain that Mr. Brown never heard the Perkins story until the old bridge meeting in 1898, and Mr. Nowland's daughter, who did all of his writing in his later years, informs me that her father had never heard it until then. Nevertheless this idea that a cabin was built here in 1819, and temporarily abandoned, crops out repeatedly in the confused traditions of the early settlers. At the semi-centennial celebration which was held at "the Crown Hill picnic ground" on June 7, 1870, this story was told, but the builder was said to be "Samuel Harding, of Connersville," and some denied this story and ascribed priority to the McCormicks.¹⁸ On May 16, 1870, Mrs. Beriah King, widow of John McCormick, was reported by the *Journal* as saying in an interview that Pogue, the McCormicks, and others, twelve in all, came here in 1819 and built a cabin into which her husband with herself and family moved in the following spring. In this interview, Mrs. King, who was then seventy-five years of age, was either woefully confused or sadly misrepresented by the reporter; and the latter is not improbable, for he calls her "Mrs. Bethiar King", and avers that she said she was "the first person that ever wore a bonnet in this neck of woods".

While Mr. Brown's assembly of old settlers agreed in the tradition that Pogue was the first comer, there were others who did not. The Nowland family held to the McCormick tradition, and Matthias R. Nowland and his brother-in-law, Andrew Byrne, were here with

¹⁶ See also same statement in obituary sketch of Samuel D. Maxwell, *News*, July 5, 1873.

¹⁷ *Early Reminiscences*, pp. 80, 111.

¹⁸ *Journal*, June 8, 1870.



(W. H. Biss Photo Company.)

AMOS MCCORMICK; OLDEST LIVING SETTLER AND THE PIONEER TABLE.

the commissioners in 1820. Nowland returned with his family on November 4, 1820, and Byrne in March, 1821. Isaac Wilson arrived on April 6, 1820, and Mrs. Frank Riley, who is a granddaughter, both of Isaac Wilson and of Robert Patterson, who came in 1821, informs me that her family always put the McCormicks first, and that her mother, Mrs. Patsy Patterson, and her aunt, Mrs. Betsy Harris, both daughters of Isaac Wilson would wax indignant if anyone claimed that the Pognes were the first settlers. It must be borne in mind, however, that tradition is an uncertain guide—more uncertain than is commonly realized. To illustrate, Sarah T. Bolton would naturally be supposed to be informed on this subject, as her husband's family were among the earliest settlers, and she had lived here from the year 1831; and yet in her poem "The Last Adventure and Death of George Pogue," written for the meeting of the Pioneer Association, on October 2, 1878, she says:

"It chanced one year in autumn, that a hardy pioneer,

From his home in old Kentucky, came and made his camp fire here;

With his wealth on two stout horses, he had threaded the pathless woods,

One bearing his wife and children, the other his household goods.

* * *

While the wild birds sang above him, and the free waves sang below,

He built the first log cabin six and fifty years ago,

It was built of buckeye saplings, with mortar and chunks between,

But it led the van of our city, the beautiful Railroad Queen".

It is unquestionable that Pogue came in March, instead of autumn; and that he came from Rushville, and not from Kentucky. It is equally certain that his wife and children were not on one horse, for there were five of the children, and two of them were grown boys. "Six and fifty years ago" would make 1822, and no one questions that Pogue came at least two years earlier than that. No pioneer ever built a cabin of "saplings"; and it is not probable that there was ever a cabin built of "buckeye" logs in Indiana, although it has been the

literary fashion to say so ever since John Finley introduced it in "The Hoosier's Nest". Buckeyes were not so plentiful as that, and there was an abundance of better timber.

In all this traditional conflict, the real question is whether the Pognes came in 1819 or in 1820; for all agree that they came in the month of March, and all agree that the McCormicks came in February, 1820. Aside from the relative question of priority there is considerable direct evidence that the Pognes came in 1820, and it includes nearly everything in the nature of documentary evidence. The original Presbyterian church records put the first settlement in 1820, the historical entry, made by Dr. Isaac Coe, in 1823, mentioning the sale of lots in 1821, and adding, "a few families, however, settled in and around the town the year previous". In 1846, Rev. J. C. Fletcher wrote a series of articles for the *Journal* on "Indianapolis a Quarter of a Century Ago", in which he made this statement: "As early as February, 1820, Samuel and James McCormick erected a cabin near the spot now occupied by the steam mill. Soon other cabins crowded the banks of White River near the place where now stands Scudder and Hannaman's Carding Machine. In March, Messrs. Harding, Wilson, Maxwell, Cowen and Pogue made improvements near the town."¹⁹ These articles, as Mr. Fletcher stated, were based on the diaries of his father and mother, reinforced by inquiries of them, and of other old settlers. The earliest historical publication in book form relating to this region, that mentions the subject is *Chamberlain's Gazetteer*²⁰ and it states that Pogue came in 1820. This statement is entitled to weight, because while the book was published over Chamberlain's name,²¹ most of the historical matter was prepared by Samuel Merrill, who came here in 1821, as Treasurer of State. He was a very careful and methodical man, much interested in historical matters; and by his labors contributed materially to the preservation of the early history of the state. It may be taken as assured that his statement was made on testimony that was at least satisfying to him.

¹⁹*Journal*, November 20, 1846.

²⁰ 1819-50, p. 255.

²¹ Chamberlain was a bookseller, who had a little store at what was then 26 East Washington street—now in the neighborhood of No. 52.

Sulgrove quotes Robert Duncan as stating that he heard George Pogue's widow say at an old settlers' meeting, in 1854 he thought, that they came on March 2, 1820.²² As to this Miss Nancy Pogue says that her grandmother was here in 1854, but that if she ever attended an old settlers' meeting she never heard of it; and she feels certain that she never said they came in 1820, because she heard her say repeatedly that they came in 1819. Nevertheless, Mr. Duncan was a very accurate man, and there was an old settlers' meeting here on June 6, 1854, at the house of Morris Morris, where an association was formed, limited to those who were here prior to 1826, which was to meet annually on the first Tuesday in June. This was a very early meeting of the kind, and the *Journal*, some months later, said that if the idea of such meetings did not originate here, this meeting at least "gave an impulse to the formation of such companies." Meetings were held thereafter, at Calvin Fletcher's in 1855; at James Blake's, in 1856; and at the Fair Grounds in 1857 and 1858. In 1859 the meeting was postponed to September,²³ but was not held. There is no mention of Mrs. Pogue in the reports of the meeting of 1854, nor indeed of others, though there were more than fifty present who came before 1826. Neither were there lists of those in attendance at any of the meetings published in any of the newspaper reports. And in none of the reports of any of the meetings is there any reference to the Pogue-McCormick question, except, constructively, in the fact that in 1856 Mrs. King (widow of John McCormick) claimed and received a bouquet as "the first lady settler."²⁴

But Mrs. Pogue was at the meeting of 1855, for Calvin Fletcher kept a diary, which is still preserved, and in his record of this meeting, at his house, he speaks of the presence of "Old Mrs. Pogue, one of the first settlers, whose husband was killed by the Indians in 1820 or 1821. He went to an Indian camp for his horses but never returned. She is now about 90 years of

age. Mr. Hiser²⁵ and wife brought her in". And again he mentions, "Old Father Matthews, 84, and Mrs. Pogue, 90, the oldest present." In his account of the meeting of 1854, Mr. Fletcher says: "The 55 present registered their names and the time of arrival in Indianapolis from its settlement in 1820 till 1825". This registration was continued at the later meetings, and in 1855 Mr. Fletcher again speaks of "the first settlement in 1820". But on this day Mrs. Pogue was his guest, and attracting his especial notice, and if she had registered as coming in 1819 he would hardly have made this error. Further, in the *Journal's* account of the meeting of 1856, at James Blake's, Berry Sulgrove, the editor, says: "Before the meeting was called to order, we spent some time in looking over the register of names, which contains the date of arrival of each Old Settler and his place of birth. The earliest arrival that we noticed, was that of Fabius M. Finch, who came (to Conner's Station) in September, 1819".²⁶ Mr. Fletcher includes this in his diary, and it is very conclusive proof that Mrs. Pogue did not register as of March 2, 1819, at the meeting of 1855. Probably 1855 is the meeting to which Mr. Duncan referred, for Mr. Fletcher would have been apt to mention Mrs. Pogue if she had been at the meeting of 1854, and he did not. Considering Mrs. Pogue's advanced age, a divergence of one year in her story of this and later years would not be at all surprising. H

In 1884 Elijah Hackleman published a series of "Reminiscences" in the *Rushville Republican*, in one of which was the following sketch of George Pogue, apparently obtained chiefly from his oldest son, William Pogue:²⁷ "George Pogue emigrated from South Carolina in the year 1811, and settled at the 'Block-house' at William Wilson's, on the west fork of Whitewater, six miles above the town of Brookville, Franklin County. At that time it was necessary for all immigrants to settle near some military post, for protection against Indian invasions. In the spring of 1816 he

²²*Hist. of Indianapolis*, p. 22.

²³*Locomotive*, June 18, 1859.

²⁴The best reports are *Journal*, June 12, 1854; June 7, 1855; June 10, 1857; *Locomotive*, June 11, 1856; June 13, 1857; June 26, 1858.

²⁵Samuel Heizer, a neighbor and friend of Mrs. Pogue.

²⁶*Journal*, June 11, 1856.

²⁷Republished in *Hist. Fayette County*, pp. 191-5.

moved to Fayette County, about five miles southwest of Connersville, and in 1818 he moved to the town of Connersville, remaining there until 1820, when he fitted up a team, and with two or three of his sons started to locate a home on White River. Mr. Pogue was accompanied by John McCormack and family (a wife and two children) who had resided for many years in the vicinity of Connersville. Mr. McCormack went out with the double purpose, first of boarding Mr. Pogue's hands while engaged in building a cabin and clearing a few acres of ground; and secondly of locating a home for himself. * * * (His (Pogue's) family, after the cabin was built, immediately moved from Connersville to their new home. The next year (1821) Mr. Pogue's neighbors were John Willson, Thomas Chinn and Harris Tyner. * * * The land on which the cabin stood was bought by Governor Noble, and the only time I ever visited the site was on the occasion when the Great Commoner from Kentucky, Henry Clay, made his first and only visit to the capital of our state, in October, 1842, and made his celebrated speech to 30,000 persons assembled in the beautiful grove near the residence of Governor Noble. * * * After the speech, William Pogue invited me to take a walk with him, a few rods north from the speaker's stand, and visit the site where he, twenty-two years before, had helped his father erect the first cabin in all that country, on the banks of a beautiful little creek that still bears the name of Pogue's Run. * * * After the erection of Pogue's cabin, Mr. McCormack located and built up a home somewhere in the vicinity, probably on what was afterwards the 'Donation', but of the exact site neither history nor tradition affords any satisfactory information at this late day. Mr. McCormack died a little over fifty years ago, and part of his large family found homes in Rush County. * * * Mrs. McCormack always claimed to be the first white woman that lived within the limits of Indianapolis, and her claim was probably correct. She died about the year 1878, having lived a number of years with a second husband, a Mr. King, near the Bluffs of White River." 28

It will be noted that this version of the Pogue story varies in several respects from that given by the Pogue's of Marion County, as is very

commonly the case with family traditions when the branches of the family are separated. But they agree in several respects, and one noteworthy point of agreement is that Harris Tyner came "the next year" after the Pogues. This was impressed on the Marion County branch of the family because two of the boys went back to move him out, and because he was here when Pogue disappeared, in the spring of 1821. They preserve a story of Mrs. Pogue going to Tyner's house for aid and counsel after Pogue's dog came back alone. But Hackleman states that Tyner came in 1821, and this is confirmed by Tyner himself, for he went on record to that effect at the old settlers' meeting in 1857." 29

On the whole evidence, the conclusion seems irresistible that Ute Perkins came here in 1819, and built the first cabin; that John McCormick was the first permanent settler; and that George Pogue came on March 2, 1820, and occupied the Perkins cabin. The McCormick and Perkins traditions, with their confirmatory evidence, cannot be explained away on any rational basis. The Pogue tradition is readily explained as an error of one year in date which probably developed after the tradition had been started by the facts that Pogue was the first settler on Pogue's Run, and that his cabin was the first one built at Indianapolis. Dozens of erroneous traditions have grown up on slighter foundation. Its persistence is largely due to Pogue's Run which has been a permanent and obtrusive memorial to Pogue, while Perkins and McCormick have had no monuments to keep their memories alive. Moreover Pogue was a center of romantic interest, for he was the one man in all the settlement that was killed, or supposed to be killed by the Indians. In the spring of 1821 he missed his horses. One story is that he was told by a straggling Indian, known as "Wvandotte John", that he had seen horses "with iron hoofs" at the camp of a party of Delawares on Buck Creek, and went there alone in search of them. 30 Another is that he went to Connersville in his search, and on his return stopped at the house of his relative Richard Tyner, on Blue River, near Morristown. Here he heard of some horses at an Indian town on Sugar Creek, and went after them. All the

²⁸*Locomotive*, June 13, 1857. See also Sulgrove, p. 611.

²⁹*Nowland's Early Reminiscences*, p. 20.

²⁸*Hist. Fayette Co.*, pp. 194-5.

stories agree that he never returned, and the mystery of his fate was naturally a common topic in early times, giving rise to several somewhat conflicting stories.³¹ Of his children, Joseph died here in 1855, John in 1858, and Bennett in 1852. The younger children, John and Stacey, died earlier, the latter soon after her marriage to James Sailors. Pogue had three older children who never lived here, according to Miss Nancy Pogue. Of these, Thomas died at Cumberland, William at Rushville, and Anna (Mrs. Fuller) at Crawfordsville. In addition to Miss Nancy Pogue and her brother Joseph there are two grandchildren now living at Indianapolis—Mrs. A. L. Marshall, of 1517 Yandes street, and A. W. Pogue, of 15 N. Tacoma avenue.

In addition to the very early settlers of Indianapolis that have been named, the following may be mentioned among the arrivals in 1820 and 1821: 1820: Samuel Morrow, William Townsend (miller), Thomas Anderson (wagon-maker), Conrad Brassell (baker), Henry Bradley, James B. Hall (carpenter), Milo R. Davis (plasterer), Robert Wilmot (merchant), Thomas Johnson (farmer), Jacob R. Crumbaugh (justice of the peace), Michael Ingalls (team-

ster). 1821: Daniel Shaffer (January—merchant), Daniel Yandes (January—tanner), Dr. S. G. Mitchell (April), Dr. Isaac Coe (May), Alexander Russell (May—merchant), Caleb Scudder (cabinet maker), Jos. C. Reed (first teacher), David Mallory (barber), John G. Osborn, Maj. Thos. Carter (tavern keeper), Dr. Livingston Dunlap (July), James Blake (July 25), Dr. K. A. Scudder, Rice B. Lawrence (teacher), Daniel Larkins (grocer), Lis-mund Basye (justice of the peace), James Kittelman (shoemaker), Wilkes Reagan (butcher), Obed Foote (lawyer), Amos Hanway (cooper), James M. Ray (first county clerk), Samuel Rooker (painter), James Linton (millwright), John Wilkins (tanner), Enoch Banks, Demas L. McFarland (farmer), Calvin Fletcher (lawyer), George Smith (printer), James Scott (Methodist preacher), James Paxton (October 9), George Myers (potter), Nathaniel C. Bolton (editor), John Shunk (hatter), Isaac Lyneh (shoemaker), Robert Patterson (farmer), Samuel Henderson (first postmaster), Harvey Gregg (lawyer), Nathaniel Cox (carpenter), Morris Morris (October), Dr. Jonathan Cool, Hugh O'Neal (lawyer), James and John Givan (merchants), John Wyant, Samuel McGeorge, John Hawkins, David Wood, Nicholas McCarty, Aaron Drake, John McClung (Campbellite preacher) James Loucks (carpenter).

³¹*Nowland's Reminiscences*, pp. 20-22; Hol-loway, p. 9; Brown, p. 2; Sulgrove, p. 23.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BEGINNINGS OF GOVERNMENT.

After the acquisition of The New Purchase, the legislature added small tracts of it to the counties of Fayette, Jackson and Wayne. By the act of January 20, 1820, it also added small tracts to the counties of Franklin, Randolph and Jennings, and divided all the remainder into Wabash and Delaware counties. A map of the state published in *Cary and Lea's American Atlas* in 1822 purports to show these new counties, and it was reproduced in the *State Legislative Manual for 1903*,¹ but the boundaries shown are wholly erroneous. In reality the two counties were divided by the Second Principal Meridian, all the region east of it being Delaware County, and all west Wabash County. To insure immediate government, the circuit courts of all the counties bordering on The New Purchase were given concurrent jurisdiction in it in civil cases; that is to say, the courts of Vigo, Owen and Monroe were given concurrent jurisdiction in Wabash County, and those of Jackson, Jennings, Ripley, Franklin, Fayette, Wayne and Randolph were given concurrent jurisdiction in Delaware County.

But these counties of Wabash and Delaware were never organized, and by the next session of the legislature it was felt necessary to make some provision for government at Indianapolis. Accordingly, by act of January 9, 1821, the Governor was authorized "to appoint and commission two or more persons to act as justices of the peace, at Indianapolis, who shall continue in office until the county of Delaware is organized, and justices of the peace shall be elected and qualified." Provision was made for appeal from their decisions to the circuit court of Bartholomew County, which was created at the

same session, and added to the second judicial circuit. Under this law, Governor Jennings on January 9 commissioned John Maxwell, and on February 3, Jacob R. Crumbaugh, as justices of the peace for Indianapolis. Maxwell resigned in June, and his place was vacant for some time. On September 24 William Vandegriff was commissioned; but this was "recalled", and on October 2, a commission was issued to James Melvain, who served until justices were elected for Marion County. Melvain seems to have had most of the business, and Brown says of him: "His twelve-foot cabin stood on the north-west corner of Pennsylvania and Michigan streets," where he held court, pipe in mouth, in his cabin door, the jury ranged in front on a fallen tree, and the first constable, Corbaley, standing guard over the culprits, who nevertheless often escaped through the woods". But escapes were not mourned. There was no jail here, and none nearer than Connersville. At that time the criminal jurisdiction of a justice extended only to the imposition of a fine not exceeding \$3 for petty offenses. For anything more serious all he could do was to bind the prisoner over to the circuit court. For this reason criminal business was largely disposed of on a basis of "bluff". Brown records a characteristic instance. Early on Christmas morning, 1821, four tough Kentucky boatmen, who had strayed to the Bluffs, and had come up from there for a Christmas spree, undertook to break into the grocery of Daniel Larkins, where there was a barrel of

² His grandson, S. H. Melvain, informs me that it was at the southwest corner of Ohio and Meridian, where the City Library stands; and this is confirmed by Rev. A. C. Fletcher, *News*, May 31, 1879.

¹p. 410.

whisky. The alarm was spread, and citizens gathered at the scene. When asked to desist the Kentuckians showed fight. But Indianapolis did not lack nerve. A consultation was held, and James Blake offered to grapple the leader if the rest of the citizens would take the other three, and this program was speedily executed. The prisoners were taken before McHvain who bound them over to the Fayette circuit court, and, in default of bail committed them to jail at Connersville. But getting the prisoners to Connersville would have been a greater hardship on the community than the punishment would have been to the prisoners, so while ostentatious preparations were made by a posse for the journey on the following day, the guard was cautioned not to be too watchful that night, and under cover of darkness the broilers softly and silently vanished away, to the great relief of the settlement.

But the situation involved more serious considerations than mere inconvenience. The legal power of a justice was to bind an offender over to the circuit court of his county, but there was no county in fact and no court. The courts of the bordering counties had been given concurrent jurisdiction in civil cases, but the law said nothing about criminal cases, and in general a criminal case had to be heard in the county where the offense was committed. Moreover the constitution provided that "justices shall be elected in each township in the several counties", and said nothing about their appointment, even where there were townships for them to serve in. In the fall of 1821 a meeting was held at Hawkins' Tavern to consider the situation, and it was decided to ask the legislature for the organization of a new county. James Blake and Dr. S. G. Mitchell were selected to go to Corydon to secure the passage of the law.

They were successful in their mission, and on December 31, 1821, the law creating Marion County was approved. The county was unique in two respects. It was surrounded entirely by unorganized territory—not touching any other organized county, although cut out of what had been set off as Delaware County; but it was touched at the southwest by Morgan County, and at the southeast by Shelby County, both of which were created at the same session. It was made twenty miles square, with its present boundaries, but for the time being there was

added to it, for governmental purposes, a tract of land larger than itself lying to the northeast. This tract began at the first section corner east of White River on the north line of the county, the boundary running thence north 20 miles to the present north line of Hamilton County; thence east 24 miles to a point two miles west of the present east boundary of Madison County; thence south 18 miles to the present south line of Madison County; thence west 21 miles; thence south 2 miles; thence west 3 miles to the place of beginning. The object of this addition was to provide government for the settlements forming at Anderson, Pendleton, Strawtown, and near Noblesville and Conner's Station; and the law provided that "the inhabitants of the said district of country shall be entitled to all the privileges of citizens of said county of Marion, and shall be subject to the same taxation and other regulations and restrictions". The "privileges" were construed to include office-holding, and one of the first county commissioners of Marion County was Wm. McCartney, who lived at Pendleton.

For judicial purposes the new county was added to the Fifth Judicial Circuit, including also the counties of Lawrence, Monroe, Morgan, Green, Owen, Henry, Rush, Decatur, Bartholomew, Shelby and Jennings. The court was to sit "in the county of Morgan on the fourth Mondays in March and September, and shall sit three days if the business require it; in the county of Marion on the Thursdays succeeding the rising of the courts in Morgan, and shall sit three days if the business require it". At that time the circuit court consisted of a "president judge" who was appointed by the Governor for the whole circuit, and two "associate judges" who were elected by the people in each county. On January 2, Governor Jennings appointed William Watson Wick president judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit. He was a young Pennsylvanian who had settled at Connersville in 1819, and had for some time served as a clerk in the State Senate. He was afterwards prominent at Indianapolis, and in the state.

The act creating the county established square 58 as "the seat of justice", and provided that the courts should be held at the house of John Carr "until a court house or other house more suitable can be had". It gave to the new county \$8,000 from the proceeds of the sale of

lots to build a court house, which was to be "in size at least fifty feet square, to be built of brick of the best quality and two stories high, to be completed in a workmanlike manner, which shall be commenced within one year from the taking effect of this act, and be completed within three years thereafter, and when the said court house shall be completed it shall be for the use of the General Assembly, the Supreme and federal court, until a state house shall be completed at the seat of Government". The act further reserved 2 per cent of the receipts from the sale of lots for a county library; and provided that "the said new county of Marion shall from and after the first day of April next, enjoy all the rights, privileges and jurisdictions which to separate counties do, or may properly appertain and belong".

The manner in which a new county should organize was prescribed by the general law of January 2, 1818, which directed the Governor to issue a writ of election to some resident of the county whom he should appoint as sheriff, until a sheriff should be elected at the next general election. This appointed sheriff was to call a special election, on the day set in the writ, at such places as he might designate, for choosing two associate circuit judges, a clerk of the circuit court, a recorder, and three county commissioners. The election was by ballot, and was managed wholly by the sheriff, who gave 10 days notice by posting three notices in each election district or precinct. He appointed the election officers, administered the necessary oaths, received the returns, canvassed the vote, issued certificates to the successful candidates, and sent copies to the Secretary of State, who issued their commissions.

On January 1, 1822, Harvey Bates was commissioned sheriff—an excellent man for the place, though not a resident of the county at the time. He was born in 1795 at Fort Washington (later Cincinnati), his father being a master of transportation during the Indian wars that ended in that year. He had a fair English education, and, on attaining manhood, moved to Brookville, Indiana, where he married Miss Sidney Sedwick, a cousin of Senator James Noble. Soon afterward he moved to Connersville, where he lived until after his appointment, and then came to Indianapolis, arriving here on February 22. On the same day he issued his proclamation for the election to be

held on April 1, fixing the voting places at General John Carr's house in Indianapolis, at John Finch's above Conner's Station, John Paige's at Strawtown, John Berry's at Anderson, and Wm. McCartney's at Pendleton.

The campaign had begun in fact before the law for the creation of the county was passed; and Calvin Fletcher notes in his diary that on Christmas, 1821, he found the candidates assembled at McGeorge's store, treating promiscuously. McGeorge had the only barrel of cider in town, and it had frozen on top; so a hole was bored through the ice with a red hot poker and the concentrated fluid was dealt out to the crowd, after which, says Mr. Fletcher, "they took brandy, which soon produced intoxication". At least it did with some, for Mr. Fletcher thought it best to guide one of his overloaded friends home, leaving the crowd, as to which he adds: "The candidates led the concourse from one place to another until sundown".² He also mentions a part of the candidates, as follows: "For associate judges James McIlvain and Mr. Patterson; county clerk James M. Ray, Morris Morris, Milo R. Davis, J. Hawkins, et al.; for county commissioners Messrs. Hogden, Osborn and Morrow". But, as the campaign warmed up, more candidates came out, there being a total of 33 announced in the *Gazette*, and Mr. Fletcher mentions several others, making in all near 40.

Theoretically there were no parties, no conventions, no caucuses, but the election was a free fight for all comers. Yet Rev. J. C. Fletcher writes: "Although caucuses were not known in the first political canvass in Indianapolis, yet there was a great deal of free independent campaigning and there were cliques and inner circles. The divisions were not according to the political parties of the day. They were local, or rather geographical divisions. My father informed me that the combatants were ranged under the titles of 'Whitewater' and 'Kentucky'. The emigration from these two sections was simultaneous. The people from Whitewater were as clamish as those from Kentucky. Each wished to have the distribution of the public loaves and fishes. The Whitewater party had some advantages over Kentucky in that it had received some accessions from people from Ohio and Pennsylvania,

²*News*, April 17, 1879.

who had resided long enough in the eastern part of the state to qualify them as voters. Here the Kentuckians were at a disadvantage for many of them had not resided a year in the state. The Whitewater people were consummate politicians; they had been led and disciplined by such men as Governor Jennings, the two Nobles, and Jesse B. Thomas, previous to their arrival in the 'New Purchase'. My father informed me that they were men of talent, and that greater adepts at political warfare never lived".⁴

But in reality this contest was one of the state political organizations. Whitewater was not merely clannish from local prejudice. It had been molded in the old Territorial struggle over the slavery question into a very compact mass. In the race of Jennings with Randolph for Congress, in 1807, the upper Whitewater district had given Jennings every vote but one, and as politics developed that solidarity had been nourished and preserved. The organization became as compact as any political organization of today, and any one who doubts it may profitably read Oliver H. Smith's account of the manner in which Senator Noble, Governor Jennings, and William Hendricks controlled legislation, and divided patronage.⁵

The contest centered principally on the office of clerk, which was considered the most important county office at the time. Whitewater put forward James M. Ray, an excellent young man from New Jersey, who had studied at Columbia College and had had practical experience as a deputy clerk at Lawrenceburgh and Comersville. Kentucky's candidate was Morris Morris, a strong and able man, who fired the first gun by issuing a campaign pamphlet on January 30,—the first literary product of the city outside of the newspaper. Calvin Fletcher had affiliated with Whitewater, and was evidently put in charge of the literary bureau, for on January 30 Mrs. Fletcher entered in her diary: "Mr. Morris has written a pamphlet and had it put in print. Mr. Fletcher has just left me to write an answer to it, and I am all alone this evening". On February 2, she noted that Mr. Osborn, Whitewater candidate for county commissioner, "came and staid all night"; and on Sunday, February 3: "The handbills came

out in opposition to what Mr. Morris wrote". On February 15, Morris came back with another handbill and that next night Mrs. Fletcher wrote: "I went to bed early, but Mr. F. was writing an answer to the handbill and did not go to bed that night. Sunday, Mr. F. went to bed early in the afternoon and slept until after 8 p. m. when I awakened him, and we both went to the printing office and stayed until two o'clock in the morning". And so the war progressed. Mrs. Fletcher mentions numerous long consultations, and threats of libel suits; and probably grew weary of the whole business, for on May 31, the day before the election, she wrote: "I spent the day very unsatisfactorily, for there were so many candidates coming in that I could neither read nor write, nor do anything else".

The election was a landslide for Whitewater. Bars were not closed on election days then, and any man who went thirsty neglected the privileges of a freeman. Mr. Fletcher says that "Whitewater and whisky carried the day against Kentucky and whisky", and it is probable that whisky did not much affect the result, for both sides supplied it in almost unlimited quantity. James M. Ray received the highest vote—217 out of 336 votes cast in the county. There were 224 votes cast in Indianapolis. James McIlvain and Eliakim Harding were elected associate judges; Joseph C. Reed recorder, and John McCormick, John T. Osborn and Wm. McCartney County commissioners. Among those who went down in defeat was Alexander Ralston, who had been a candidate for recorder.

The newly elected commissioners met on April 15, but McCormick not being present they adjourned to the next day, at John Carr's house, where their first business was the appointment of Daniel Yandes as county treasurer and the approval of his bond. He was a Pennsylvanian who had served in the war of 1812, attaining the rank of major at the age of 21. He came to Indiana in 1818 and located near Comersville till the spring of 1821, when he came to Indianapolis, and built him a log cabin at the northeast corner of Washington and Illinois streets. He brought with him about \$1,000, which made him the ranking capitalist of the place for some years. His service as Treasurer was so satisfactory that he was reappointed every year until 1829, when he withdrew to give his attention to his personal

⁴*News*, April 26, 1819.

⁵*Early Indiana Trials*, p. 84.

affairs. The next business of the commissioners was dividing the county proper into nine townships, practically as they still exist—Pike, Washington and Lawrence at the north; Wayne, Centre and Warren across the center of the county; and Decatur, Perry and Franklin at the south. The principal change since made in them is in the line between Decatur and Perry, which was originally an extension of the west line of Center township, but later was made White River—the part of Decatur east of the river being added to Perry. On March 3, 1828, three sections of Pike township—3, 9 and 16—were added to Washington. Otherwise the townships stand as originally made. But as the population did not justify the immediate establishment of nine separate township governments, they were consolidated for the time being into four, known as "Washington-Lawrence", "Centre-Warren", "Decatur-Perry-Franklin", and "Pike-Wayne". These combinations were continued only until population and public convenience called for separation. Decatur first was made a separate township on August 12, 1823. Pike and Wayne were separated on May 10, 1824; Centre and Warren on May 1, 1826; Washington and Lawrence on October 6, 1826; and Franklin and Perry on September 3, 1827.

The tract to the north, which was added for temporary governmental purposes, was divided as nearly as possible into four equal parts. The northeastern quarter was made Anderson Township, and included the settlement at Anderson. The southeastern was named Fall Creek Township, and included the settlement at Pendleton. The southwestern was named Delaware Township, and included the settlements at Conner's Station and near Noblesville. The northwestern was named White River Township, and included the settlement at Strawtown. This connection of this territory lasted only about a year, as both Hamilton and Madison counties were established by the legislature in January, 1823, and were organized a few months later. A similar addition to the county was made by the act of February 12, 1825, of a tract of territory eight miles wide and twelve miles broad (east and west) in the southeast corner of Boone County. It was added to Pike Township by the county commissioners⁶ and so remained

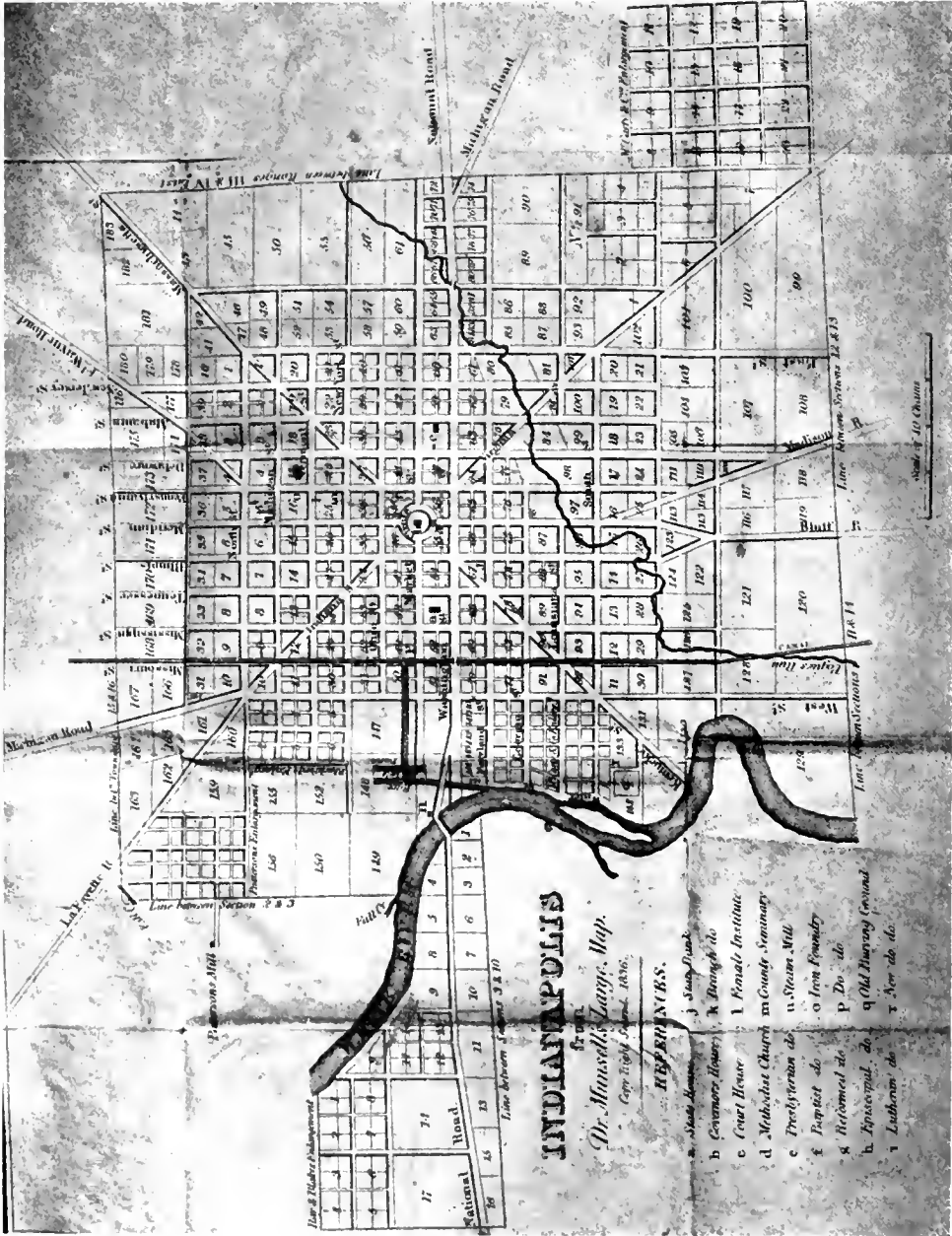
till the creation of Boone County by the act of January 29, 1830.

Next came provision for the election of justices of the peace for the townships, of which two were assigned to each of the combination townships except Centre-Warren, which was to have three. For the outside district one justice was assigned to each township. The election was set for May 11, and the voting-places and the election inspectors were specified as follows: Washington-Lawrence, house of Elijah Fox, with Joel Wright as inspector; Centre-Warren, house of John Carr, with Thomas Carter as inspector; Decatur-Perry-Franklin, house of Peter Harmonson, with Peter Harmonson as inspector; Pike-Wayne, house of Mrs. Barnhill, with Jeremiah J. Corbaley as inspector; Fall Creek, house of Wm. McCartney, with Adam Winsell (Winchell) as inspector; Anderson, house of John Berry, with John Berry as inspector; White River, house of John Paige, with John Paige as inspector; and Delaware, house of John Finch, with Solomon Finch as inspector.

On April 17, the commissioners adopted a county seal, described as follows: "A star in the centre, with the letters 'M. C. C.' around the same, with inverted carved stripes tending to the centre of the star and 'Marion County Seal' written thereon". This seal did not come into actual use, for on May 14 the commissioners adopted another described thus: "The words 'Marion County Seal, Indiana' around the outside, with a pair of scales in the centre emblematical of justice, under which is a plough and sheaf of wheat in representation of agriculture". This seal was continued in use until Dec. 8, 1811, when the commissioners adopted the one now in use, described as follows: "On the margin of the circle the words 'Commissioners Seal of Marion County' and inside of this marginal engraving the engraving of a Basket of fruit and likewise the representation of a Berkshire pig".⁷ Tradition ascribes this change to the influence of John W. Hamilton, who was then county auditor. It doubtless represented an advancing sentiment in farming, for Henry Ward Beecher and his allies were just then preaching fruit culture and the improvement in stock in Indianapolis, and the "Berkshire pig" delineated,

⁶*Record*, p. 197.

⁷*Record*, p. 101.



MUNSELL'S MAP OF INDIANAPOLIS, 1836.

U. S. Geol. Surv. Photo. Comptrol.

was a manifest improvement on the "razor-back", which had held exclusive possession in this region, both in quality and in disposition. On September 27, 1822, the Circuit Court adopted the same seal as the commissioners—the scales, sheaf and plough—but at a later date the sheaf and plough were dropped, and the seal now appears with the scales only. When the court adopted the seal it also entered an order to "ratify, confirm and approve all legal uses of the same by the Clerk since the organization of this county of Marion, as the seal of this court". Inasmuch as the clerk originally procured the seal for the commissioners, under their direction to get a differing one, it is obvious that the responsibility for the first seal devolves on James M. Ray.

Following the adoption of the seal came two regulations of rates that seem odd now, but which were reasonable enough then; when many persons were forced to travel, and when ferries and taverns along the roads were in the nature of monopolies. Many things were left to local control then that are not now, and often the powers of control in one county differed from those in others, for it was an era of special legislation—the special laws of a legislature being usually more voluminous than the general laws. The first of these regulations was of the rates of ferrriage over White River at Washington street, which were fixed as follows: For each wagon and four horses or oxen, \$.62½; For each wagon and two horses or oxen, .37½; For each wagon (small) and one horse

| | | |
|---|-------|--------|
| or ox | ..... | .31¼ |
| For each extra horse or ox | ..... | .12½ |
| For each man or woman and horse | ..... | .12½ |
| For each head of neat cattle | ..... | .03 |
| For each head of swine | ..... | .02 |
| For each head of sheep | ..... | .02 |
| For each footman | ..... | .06¼ |
| The "tavern rates" were fixed as follows: | | |
| Each half-pint of whiskey | ..... | \$.12½ |
| Each half-pint of imported rum, brandy | ..... | .25 |
| gin, or wine | ..... | .25 |
| Each quart of cider or beer | ..... | .12½ |
| Each quart of porter, cider wine or cider | ..... | .25 |
| oil | ..... | .25 |
| Each half-pint of peach brandy, cordial, | ..... | .18¾ |
| country gin, or apple brandy | ..... | .25 |
| Each meal | ..... | .12½ |
| Each night's lodging | ..... | .12½ |

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|------|
| Each gallon of corn or oats | ..... | .12½ |
| Each horse to hay per night | ..... | .25 |

These tavern rates were revised on February 11, 1823, but the only change made was to increase the price of a half-pint of imported goods from 25 to 50 cents. Possibly this may have been because somebody had actually made an importation, or was thinking of it. Having now disposed of the most pressing affairs of government, the commissioners adjourned for that session.

The people now proceeded to the election of justices of the peace, which resulted in the selection of Wm. D. Rooker and Joel Wright for Washington-Lawrence; Abraham Hendricks and Isaac Stephens for Pike-Wayne; Peter Harmonson for Decatur-Perry-Franklin—there was no other chosen then, or, at least, none commissioned; and Wilkes Reagan, Lismund Basye and Obed Foote for Centre-Warren. For the district outside the county proper, Wm. C. Blackmore and Wm. Bush were chosen for White River and Delaware townships; and Judah Leaming and Abel Ginney for Anderson and Fall Creek. This election was not so exciting as the former, but the result in Centre-Warren was contested by Moses Cox. His objections are not set out specifically in the record, but the decision of the commissioners is to the effect that votes had been received that were "evidently and constitutionally illegal, although received unintentionally", and therefore they held the election "null and void", and ordered another on May 25. At this election the same justices were again chosen, and on June 6 and 7 all of the justices elected were commissioned by the Governor.

Aside from the county officials, the justices were the only local officials for the next ten years, and therefore filled important places in the community. Reagan was the village butcher with a shop at the northwest corner of Delaware and Washington streets, and a little slaughter-house on Pogue's Run, between New Jersey and East streets. His supplies of justice and meat were both very satisfactory. Basye was a Swede, who was not very learned in the law, but is credited with having usually decided for the plaintiff, which secured him business, and was quite as apt to be right as

Record, pp. 30-32.

wrong, if not more so; for, as one of the old-time justices argued: "It stands to reason that a man would not bring a lawsuit against another unless there was some cause for it." Nowland says that Nathaniel Cox, who was the recognized village joker, approached Basye during the campaign and asked: "Should you be elected, Mr. Basye, and a person was brought before you charged with burglary, and proved guilty beyond the shadow of a doubt, what would you do with him?" Basye studied the case for a moment, raised his spectacles, looked wise, and replied, "I would fine him one hundred dollars, and compel him to marry the woman". Possibly this was an early effort at fiction, but it is recorded that Squire Basye was at one time going to send a man to the penitentiary, who had been brought before him on a charge of larceny, and Prosecuting Attorney Fletcher had some difficulty in convincing him that his power extended only to binding him over to the Circuit Court.

The justice who had most of the business, and far outranked the others, was Obed Foote. He was a native of Delaware, a man of natural ability and well-informed, but quite erratic. He had read law and practiced some. He was at the time of his election a bachelor, and had acquired some characteristic bachelor habits while keeping "bachelor's hall" with his brother. He made a fad of French, and read a chapter in his French bible every day to keep in practice. He affected a brusqueness in speech, but in reality was a very kindly man, and a friend of the children. But he had no tolerance for either ignorance or conceit, and was very outspoken in his views; so much so that he incurred the displeasure of Basye's friends by his criticisms of his colleague. All of his peculiarities cropped out in his administration of justice. He was fond of roasting potatoes in the ashes of the open fireplace in his office, and when he settled down for a hearing he would cock his feet on the table, extract a potato from the ashes, and observe: "Now, Messieurs Pettifoggers, you can proceed with your arguments while I eat my potatoes."¹⁰ But his decisions were pretty sound, and he was re-elected to the office up to the time of his death in May, 1833. He was indicted for malfeasance in office in 1823, but was tri-

umphantly acquitted, and the Court ordered the indictment erased from the record.¹¹ Basye also sued him for slander, but after some legal fencing it was dismissed, on a written agreement, entered of record, as follows: "This cause is to be dismissed at defendant's cost, and indemnifying plaintiff against his attorney's fees, and defendant states and acknowledges that whatever he stated against plaintiff in the premises he stated in a passion and in heat of blood, and that the foundation of the charge he is now convinced originated in a mistake of himself or plaintiff on a law question."¹¹ In all his advertisements, and both lawyers and doctors advertised then, Foote announced that he would "attend to any business in his profession, not coming under the denomination of pettifogging".

On May 13, 1822, the county commissioners met again in regular session, and, the tax lists having finished their work, the first action was the approval of their reports. This was the necessary legal preliminary to establishing the tax-rate, which was fixed on the next day as follows:

| | |
|---|---------|
| For every horse, mare, gelding, mule or ass, over three years old..... | \$.37½ |
| For stallions (once their rate for the season) | |
| For taverns, each..... | 10.00 |
| For every ferry..... | 6.00 |
| For every \$100 of appraised valuation of town lots | .50 |
| For each and every pleasure carriage of two wheels | 1.00 |
| For each pleasure carriage of four wheels | 1.25 |
| For every silver watch..... | .25 |
| For every gold watch..... | .50 |
| For every head of work-oxen over three years old, and upwards, per head | .25 |
| On each male person over the age of twenty-one years..... | .50 |

Provided that persons over the age of fifty years and not free holders, and such as are not able from bodily disability to follow any useful occupation, and all idiots and paupers shall be exempt from said last named tax.

¹⁰*Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol 1.

¹⁰*Order Book*, May 9, 1823.

¹¹*Order Book* 1, p. 126.

These taxes were for county purposes only, and in reality were nearly all fixed by law, the discretionary powers of the commissioners extending only to ferries, which were "not less than five nor more than twenty-five dollars", and taverns, which were "not less than ten nor more than fifty dollars", as the commissioners might determine. There was no such thing as a general property tax in Indiana, until established by the act of February 7, 1835, but the property subject to taxation, and the rates, were specified by the legislature. At this time the state was experimenting with the principle of the separation of the sources of state and municipal revenue, a principle that might be adopted now with manifest advantages. By the acts of January 21, 1820,¹² and January 8, 1821,¹³ the state tax was levied exclusively on lands, not including town lots, at rates from \$1 to \$1.50 per 100 acres, according to quality fixed in three grades, together with 25 cents on each \$100 of bank stock, and these were not taxable for county purposes; while the objects above named as taxed for county purposes were not taxable for state purposes.

The "tavern license" was practically a retail liquor license, for at that time, in order to get a retailer's license, it was necessary to give bond "to keep constantly on hand the bedding and stabling, with the other accommodations necessary for the comfort and convenience of travellers", and also to produce a certificate of "twelve respectable householders that such person is of good moral character, and that it would be of benefit and convenience to travellers for such person to be licensed". The applicant had also to give bond to prevent gambling and disorder, and not to sell on Sundays "except to travellers".¹⁴ This continued until the act of January 21, 1828 authorized dropping the "bedding and stabling" qualification where the licensee was not a tavern-keeper, and authorized such licenses to sell "foreign and domestic groceries." For some years afterward the two forms of retail license were known as "tavern license" and "grocery license". In 1831 it was provided that

incorporated towns might impose a license tax, equal to and in addition to the county tax, on "what is commonly called a tippling house".¹⁵ Under all these laws the retailer was required to keep the legal rates posted, and could not sell to children, apprentices or servants without the consent of the parent or master, nor to anyone "in a state of intoxication". There was an interval, from the act of January, 1821 to the act of January, 1824, when the licenses were granted by the Circuit Court instead of the commissioners, but the commissioners fixed the rate during that period.

After the approval of the reports of the tax lists the sheriff was directed to let the "clearing" of the court house yard to the lowest bidder, and in due time the contract was let to Earl Pearce and Samuel Hyde, who on August 14, were awarded \$59 for their services. At the suggestion of James Blake, two hundred sugar trees were reserved for a grove, but when the surrounding forest was gone these were so readily damaged by wind that within a few years they were all cut down and removed. On April 12, 1838, the county commissioners turned the square over to the common council of Indianapolis "for ornamentation", authorizing it to set out "a proper number of shade trees with necessary shrubbery"¹⁶ and a number of young trees were planted, but in January, 1843, Henry Ward Beecher wrote that they were promptly destroyed by the jailor's cow, which was pastured on the square; and "a gentleman not without a taste for horticulture, from day to day, saw, from his office door, this destruction, as he informed me with great *naïveté*, as though it were a sin to interfere and save the trees".¹⁷ But this is not so shocking when it is remembered that the planting occurred while the horrible delusion of planting evergreens and black locusts prevailed in the west, and Mr. Beecher says these court house trees were chiefly locusts. Since then there have been no shade trees on the square, but some young ones are now planted, and may eventually produce shade if some change of official policy does not call for their removal.

The board next took up petitions for opening

¹²*Acts* p. 150.

¹³*Acts*, pp. 8, 9.

¹⁴*Act of January 28, 1818; Rev. Stats., 1824*, p. 107.

¹⁵*Rev. Stats.*, p. 527.

¹⁶*Rec.* 3, p. 265.

¹⁷*Ind. Mag. of Hist.*, Vol. 3, p. 192.

new roads. Wm. Townsend, the first Quaker in the settlement wanted two—one to "the Mills at the Falls of Fall Creek", and the other from the north end of Pennsylvania street to Strawtown. Viewers were appointed for both. The first, as established was the continuation of Massachusetts avenue beyond East street, and the old Pendleton road. The second has now become Ft. Wayne avenue, Central avenue, Sutherland avenue in part—the old Noblesville road. Eliakim Harding asked for a road west of the river, on the future line of the National road. John McCormick wanted a road from the end of Indiana avenue to his mill on White River—about the line of the old Lafayette road. Demas McFarland wanted a road to the southwest—the line of the old Mooresville road. All of these were ordered "viewed", and in due time "cut out", so that in dry weather a driver had no difficulty in getting through, if he could steer around stumps.

On the 14th the commissioners divided the county into road districts and appointed road supervisors. The "donation" was made a separate district, with John Vanblaricum as supervisor. The board then appointed constables as follows: in the outlying districts—for Fall Creek Township, Isaac Jones; for Anderson, Allen Makepeace; for White River, Levi Dickson; for Delaware, Chapel W. Brown and Edward M. Dryer; in the county proper—for Washington-Lawrence, Wm. Cris and John Small; for Pike-Wayne, Joel A. Crane and Charles Eckard; for Centre-Warren, Israel Harding, Joseph Duval, Francis Davis, George Harlan, Wm. Phillips, Caleb Reynolds, Daniel Lakin, Lewis Ogle, Samuel Roberts, Joseph Catterlin, Henry Cline, Joshua Glover and Patrick Kerr. Later in the day Elias Stalleop was appointed for Decatur-Perry-Franklin. The large number appointed for Centre-Warren may have been in view of probable calls on them for police duty in the town. The preponderating element in the settlement was determined to preserve order, and indictments for "assault and battery" and "affray" were quite common in the early days.

On May 15 the commissioners made up their lists of petit and grand jurors—72 of the former and 51 of the latter—from which the sheriff was to take his venires. As the treasurer, Daniel Yandes, declined to take charge of the tax duplicate, Harris Tyner was appointed

collector of taxes, as provided by law. At that time there was no treasurer's office, and the collector usually gave public notice "to all who have any taxes to pay" to call on the collector at some specified place and pay. And this they were in no greater hurry to do in those days than at present, as appears from the first annual report of the treasurer, which was made on November 13, 1822, as follows:

| DANIEL YANDES, COUNTY TREASURER. DR. | |
|---|------------------------|
| To amount of receipts up to this date, for store licenses, tavern licenses, and taxes on certificates and sales and writs | \$169.93 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| To certified amount of county revenue assessed for 1822..... | 726.79 |
| To the balance in your favor on settlement this day | 79.11 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| | \$975.84 |
| TREASURER CR. | |
| By payment to grand jurors to this date | 2.25 |
| By payment to county commissioners | 36.00 |
| By payment to listing, appraisers, etc. | 70.50 |
| By payment to prosecuting attorney | 15.25 |
| By payment to expenses of the courts and juries | 40.50 |
| By payment to returning judges of elections | 9.50 |
| By payment to building county jail account | 140.50 |
| By payment to work on court house square | 59.00 |
| By payment to viewers and surveyors of roads | 8.12 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| By payment on poor account..... | 5.00 |
| By payment on school section account | 1.50 |
| By payment for printing..... | 32.87 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| | \$421.00 |
| To treasurers per cent. on \$421.00 at 5 per cent | 21.00 |
| By amount of county revenue yet due from Harris Tyner, collector, for the year 1822 | 490.84 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| By amount deducted from revenue by delinquents | 42.87 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| | \$975.84 |

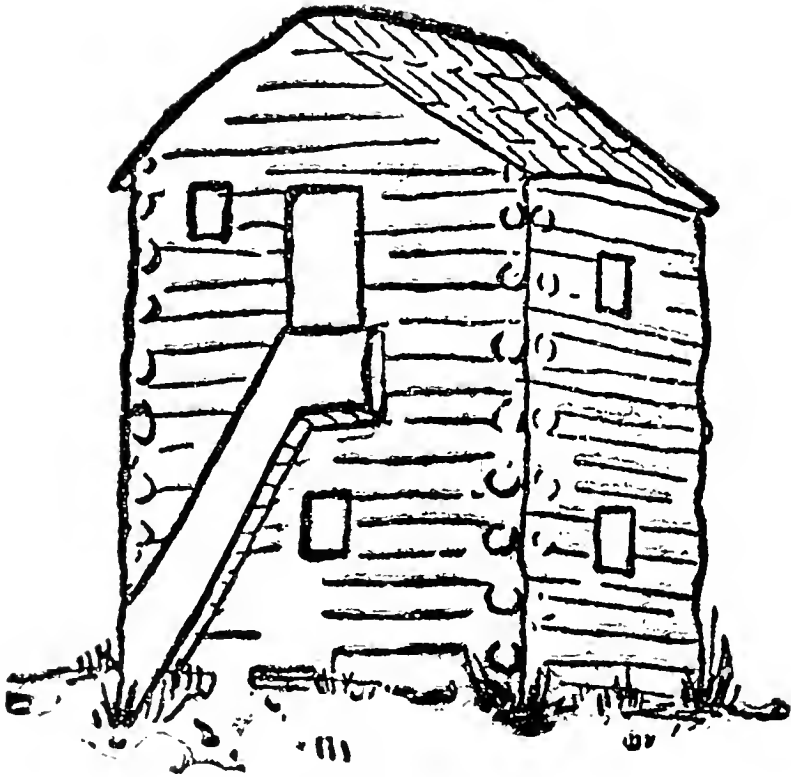
The "county jail" mentioned in this statement was ordered on May 15, 1822, when Harvey Bates, sheriff was directed to take bids for a log structure, fourteen feet square inside, and two stories high. The lower story, or dungeon, was to be of hewed logs at least 12 inches square, with two rounds of oak or walnut logs underground. The sides and second floor were of logs of the same size, "of walnut, oak, ash, beech or sugar tree". The third floor, or more properly the ceiling of the second story, was of logs six inches thick and at least one foot wide. Above this was a roof covered with jointed shingles. There was no door in the lower story, and but one window, which was one foot square and furnished with grate bars of iron $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick, let 3 inches into the logs. There was a similar window, two feet by six inches in the second story, and also a door four feet by two, by which the jail was entered. This door was reached by "a carpenter's ladder" on the outside, and the prisoners were put into the dungeon over another ladder from a trap two feet square in the center of the second floor. Both doors were of double thickness of two-inch oak plank and furnished with heavy strap hinges and locks. The contract was awarded to Noah Leverton, on a bid of \$312, and the jail was built on the northwest corner of the Court House Square, and accepted by the commissioners on August 12.

But the grand jury was more critical than the commissioners, and six weeks later, on September 28, it reported that it found "the lower room in the jail of said county insufficient to hold criminals for want of sealing the inside and boxing the corners", and further "the said lower room in said jail at this time needs cleansing"; from which it would appear that Jeremiah Johnson, the first jailor, set the pace for his successors in office, for there have been few jail examinations since that time that did not result in some criticism. The Grand Jury was quite right as to the insecurity of the jail, for though such a structure might seem impregnable to the uninitiated it was far from secure to people who were accustomed to prying up a log in a cabin wall and throwing out the cross-log under it for an entrance when they did not want to take time to cut a door. And experience convinced the commissioners of this, for in July, 1825, they ordered the jail rebuilt, or rather reinforced by building a second log struc-

ture around it, leaving nine inches between the two all around, which space was filled by logs set on end. This looked safe, but they had overlooked the top, and the prisoners did not. On January 19, 1831, the aroused commissioners ordered the sheriff "to have a new log put in the upper loft of the jail, and have the said loft of logs closely spiked over with two-inch plank, and all other necessary repairs requisite to make the jail secure for prisoners, as well debtors as criminals"; also to "have chains and bars to secure any prisoner safely in the criminal room, so as to render confinement entirely secure therein, and also to employ a sufficient guard", if deemed necessary.

This brought peace to the commissioners for a few months, but on September 24, 1831, the *Journal* contained this discouraging item: "The fall term of the Marion Circuit Court commences on Monday next. Those persons who were confined in jail on suspicion of criminal offences have made their escape." After mature deliberation, on November 9, 1831, the commissioners ordered "the upper log to be spiked up, and the jail made as secure as it was before the late General Jail Delivery". These precautions sufficed for a time, presumably because the county had a less ingenious class of prisoners, but in the summer of 1833 a new nightmare arose before the commissioners. The original "Buffalo Bill" came to town—a strolling negro, wearing a black cap with a red leather band, and leading or riding at pleasure a buffalo, from the exhibition of which he eked out a precarious existence. For offense against the peace and dignity of the state he was locked up in the dungeon, and, whether inspired by the spirit of the youth "who fired the Ephesian dome", or that of Samson in the temple of the Philistines, he set fire to the building. He did it so effectually that he narrowly escaped death, and left nothing of the jail but the holes where the underground logs had lain, which remained many years to mark the spot.

The commissioners took some time to devise a system of imprisonment that would imprison, and on January 6, 1831, ordered a new jail "built of brick principally", that was at least ingenious. It was 16x20 feet and two-stories high, with a hall 6 feet wide across the middle, making two rooms 20 feet square on each side, on both floors. One side was occupied by the jailor, and on the other the upstairs room was



THE FIRST JAIL.

(From a sketch by James B. Dunlap.)

for debtors and that downstairs for criminals. The walls of the criminal room rested on a brick foundation 32 inches thick, and were made with 9 inches of brick outside, then 10 inches of log, and inside 13 inches of brick. Between each two layers of logs there were three courses of brick the width of the wall. On the inside, at intervals of 3 feet, were scantling, "ironed into the timber between the two walls", and over these a sheath of two-inch oak plank, fastened with 6-inch spikes. The floor was on a base of 8-inch timbers laid close together, above which were two courses of brick laid in mortar; then scantling 16 inches apart and "levelled up between with bricks and mortar", to which was spiked the floor proper of 2-inch oak plank. The ceiling was of brick, set on edge and arched, with a spring of 18 inches. And finally, the walls and floors were covered with "thick sheet iron", nailed on with 8-penny nails which were not more than 4 inches apart in any direction. The contract for this jail was let to Jacob Turner, for \$2,500, and it served to hold the prisoners thereafter. The only reinforcement it received was a cover of weather-boarding which was put on in 1849.¹⁸ Sulgrove states that "a hewed-log addition" was made on the north side of the jail in 1845 "for the confinement of the worst prisoners", but there is no mention of this in the commissioners' records. A singular fatality occurred in this jail on August 3, 1853, George Lingenfelter was arrested and confined in the upper room for intoxication. He fell through the hatchway to the lower room, and as he fell caught the open trap door with his hand, pulling it to on his head. It was of heavy oak, eased with iron, and crushed his skull, killing him instantly.

By 1853 this jail had become antiquated. It was too small, and there was no provision for separation of prisoners. It was decided to build an up-to-date jail, and on February 12 of that year a new jail was ordered, with walls of cut stone, 18 inches thick. It was 24 feet high, including 2 feet of hard limestone underground, and the floors were of flagstones 3 inches thick, laid on 2 feet of concrete. Within were two rows of cut-stone cells, set back to back, 16 in all, separated by walls of cast or boiler iron. For the building of this jail \$10,000 of county

bonds were issued, and a special tax of 15 cents on each \$100 of property, and 25 cents poll, was levied to meet the bonds and pay interest. Included with the jail was a jailor's house of brick, 15x20 and two stories high. There were rooms in this that were used by some jailors for the confinement of favored prisoners, who were willing to pay for separation from the common run. These buildings stood at the northeast corner of the square, and were fairly serviceable, though there were occasional escapes, one party resorting to the ungentlemanly mode of pulling up a flagstone in the floor and crawling out through the sewer. The city outgrew the jail and the additions that were made to it, and when the Board of State Charities was organized in 1889, the jail fell under its condemnation. It had been overcrowded for several years, and the ventilation and sewerage were wholly inadequate. There was no sufficient provision for cleanliness of either the prisoners or their clothing. In 1891 a new jail was decided on, and \$150,000 of bonds were issued for its construction. Over considerable protest it was located half-a-square south of the Court House Square, and, on its completion the old jail was removed and the Court House alone left on the square.

In taking leave of the old jail it is worthy of note that it was the scene of the only judicial executions that ever occurred in Marion County. Marion County had been singularly free from cold-blooded homicide, until, on September 13, 1868, the community was startled and shocked by "the Cold Spring murder", the most celebrated in its annals. The dead bodies of Jacob Young and his wife were found in a clump of willows on a gravel-bar, now in Riverside Park, just above "the Cold Spring", which is at the west end of the foot bridge over White River just at the north of Emmerich's Grove. The case was puzzling at first, but investigation soon wove a web of circumstantial evidence about Nancy E. Clem, her brother Silas W. Hartman, and Wm. J. Abrams, who was proved to have bought the gun found on the ground. They were indicted on October 20, and on the election of the defense to try Mrs. Clem first she was brought to trial on December 21. Gen. Benj. Harrison, Wm. P. Fishback and John T. Dye were employed to assist in the prosecution of the case. The prosecutor, John S. Duncan, was the youngest that ever held the office—

¹⁸Rec. 5, pp. 61, 105.

not yet 22—but he won his spurs in the trial. The defense was conducted by John Hanna, Gen. Fred Knefler, and W. W. Leathers—Jonathan W. Gordon was added at the second trial. The evidence was wholly circumstantial. On the night that the State finished its case the defense held a consultation and Leathers, who was perhaps the best criminal lawyer at the bar, desired to go to the jury on the State's case, as the defense had nothing to offer but a weak alibi; but he was overruled. The jury disagreed, eleven for acquittal and one for conviction, and that one, Anton Wiese, stood on the ground that if Mrs. Clem was not at the scene of the murder she could prove where she was, and she had tried it and failed.

A second trial soon followed, and in it the State had some additional evidence in the statements of two witnesses who had seen Mrs. Clem and Hartman driving in a buggy from the direction of the tragedy on the afternoon when it occurred. On March 2, the jury returned a verdict of murder in the second degree—probably a compromise verdict. A few days later Hartman made a confession, which nobody believed, intended to exculpate his sister, but merely establishing his own guilt. It was published with critical comment on March 10, and that night Hartman committed suicide by cutting his throat, or, as some believed, was killed by Abrams, who was his cell-mate. Mrs. Clem's case went to the Supreme Court and was reversed.¹⁹ It then went to Boone County on change of venue, and the trial resulted in another conviction of murder in the second degree; but it was likewise reversed by the Supreme Court.²⁰ Following this the case was dismissed by Prosecutor Wall, of Boone County. There was much public dissatisfaction at the result, and some urging of a new indictment, but some important witnesses had left the state, and it was thought impossible to make a case. On March 18, 1874, the Board of County Commissioners recorded a declaration that they "would incur no further expense in the prosecution of Nancy E. Clem."²¹ Meanwhile Abrams was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment, but he was pardoned by Governor Williams, on July 3, 1878. There was evidence

adduced in the cases tending to show that Mrs. Clem was operating a system of interchangeable loans, like the more recent Cassie Chadwick system, and at a certain point frightening her duped creditors into silence by threats of exposure of participation in the profits of counterfeiting, or some other illegal business. It was commonly believed that the Youngs were involved with her in the business, and that they were killed to get possession of a large sum of money that was in their possession. The theory of the character of the business was strengthened a few years later by the disclosures in a case where Mrs. Clem was convicted of perjury, for which she served a term of four years in the Women's Prison.

The next shocking crime after the Cold Spring murder was Wm. Cluck's murder of his wife, on April 23, 1872. He was a natural brute, made unnatural by liquor, in which he indulged freely. He habitually mistreated his wife, and one day, after snapping a gun at her, informed her that he would pour coal oil on her and her child while they slept, and burn them up. The terrified woman left him at the first opportunity and took refuge with a friendly family. On the day mentioned, Cluck came there and undertook to drag her to his house. She broke away from him and he shot her—shot her a second and a third time as she was on her knees begging for life. He was convicted and sentenced to be hanged on December 20, 1872. His case was taken to the Supreme Court and affirmed.²² Some well-meaning people became active in his behalf, probably influenced most by the idea that an execution would be a disgrace to the county. Governor Baker declined to commute the sentence, but gave the man a respite to January 3, to make preparation for death. He prepared by issuing a letter in which he denounced his lawyers, the press, and the public in general,²³ and securing a sufficient amount of morphine which he took on the night of December 31, he ended his existence.

On December 24, 1877, William Greenley, a negro, killed Ida Kersey, a married woman with whom he was maintaining illicit relations. He was indicted at the January term, 1878, convicted and sentenced to death. The case was

¹⁹33 Ind., 418.

²⁰42 Ind., 420.

²¹*Record* 42, p. 655.

²²40 Ind., 263.

²³*Journal*, December 30, 1872.

appealed to the Supreme Court and affirmed,²⁴ but Governor Williams commuted the sentence to imprisonment for life on May 15, 1878. On July 3, came the pardon of Abrams, and following it came a carnival of blood. On July 16, John Achey, a gambler, killed George Leggett, a supposed partner whom he charged with robbing him, and who probably did. On September 16, Wm. Merriek, a livery-stable keeper, killed his wife under peculiarly atrocious circumstances—a woman whom he had seduced, robbed, and married to secure the dismissal of bastardy proceedings; and who sued for divorce before her child was born on account of bad treatment. On September 19, Louis Guetig killed Mary McGlew, a waitress at his uncle's hotel, who had declined to accept his attentions. Achey might have escaped the death penalty but for the state of public mind caused by the combination. He was convicted on November 7 and sentenced to death. Guetig was convicted on November 28 and sentenced to death. Merriek was convicted on December 13 and sentenced to death, the jury being out only eleven minutes. They were all sentenced to be hanged on January 29, 1879, but Guetig's case was appealed to the Supreme Court which reversed it on a small technicality in an instruction. Achey and Merriek were hanged at the same time, on one scaffold, in the jail yard, on January 29. Guetig was tried again, convicted, and sentenced to death. The Supreme Court affirmed this decision²⁵ and he was hanged on September 29, 1879, at the same place.

After these executions there was a lull in capital offenses until 1885. On June 21 of that year Robert Phillips, a negro, killed his wife, in a fit of insane jealousy, and cut his own throat. The doctors patched him up sufficiently to allow of his conviction on December 14, and his execution on April 8, 1886. These four cases were the only executions that ever occurred within the county limits, and as on March 6, 1889, an act was passed requiring all future executions to be made at the state prisons,²⁶ it is probable that they will be the last. But the death penalty has been pronounced several times. On August 21, 1889, Edward Az-

man murdered Bertha Elf and then cut his own throat. He was rescued by the surgeon, convicted, and sentenced to death; but the Supreme Court reversed the case²⁷ and on change of venue to Johnson County he was allowed to plead guilty to murder in the second degree and take a life sentence. On April 14, 1893, Parker and McAfee, two young negro toughs, murdered Chas. Eyster, a druggist on North Senate avenue. They were convicted and sentenced to death, but the Supreme Court reversed the decision²⁸ and on change of venue to Johnson County they received life sentences. On September 9, 1902, Orie Coppenhaver murdered his wife, and his sentence to death was affirmed by the Supreme Court²⁹ and he was hanged at Michigan City. On May 12, 1903, Edward Hoover murdered his father-in-law, Frank Sutton. Hoover's wife had left him, and he sent word to her father to come and get her things or he would sell them; when he came Hoover shot him. The Supreme Court affirmed the death sentence³⁰ and he was hanged at Michigan City. On January 26, 1905, Berkely Smith was convicted and sentenced to death for murdering his wife; and he was executed at Michigan City on June 30. On September 30, 1906, Patrolman Chas. J. Russell and Edward J. Petticoard were killed by Jesse Coe and George Williams, two negro desperadoes, while resisting arrest. Williams was captured, convicted and sentenced to death on October 12, and hanged at Michigan City. Coe escaped, and baffled pursuit for nearly two years, but was betrayed by a cousin, lured into a trap and killed by officers on August 25, 1908, in Kentucky.

The act of December 31, 1821, establishing the county as mentioned, had donated \$8,000 for a court house, suitable for use as a state house until a state house should be built, which was to be commenced within one year after the taking effect of the act, and to be completed within three years thereafter. This matter was given prompt attention, and by August 15, 1822, satisfactory plans had been prepared by John E. Baker and James Paxton, which were adopted by the commissioners, and on that

²⁷ 123 Ind., 347.

²⁸ 136 Ind., 284.

²⁹ 160 Ind., 540.

³⁰ 161 Ind., 348.

²⁴ 60 Ind., 411.

²⁵ 66 Ind., 91.

²⁶ *Acts 1889*, p. 192.

date the clerk was instructed to advertise for bids for the erection of the building. It was to be forty-five feet front, facing Washington street, by sixty feet deep, and "ninety-four feet high", but of this last dimension forty-nine feet six inches was cupola, dome, belfry, spire and vane. The building was two stories high, the first story "16 feet between joists" and the second 15. It stood on a foundation 3 feet thick and 5 feet high, of which 18 inches was under ground. The walls were of brick, 27 inches thick in the lower story, and 22 inches in the second. The specifications called for a roof of poplar shingles, five inches to the weather, and "a Doric cornice gutter on the roof, and four tin conductors with capitals". The entrance from the front was into a hall 131 $\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide running across the building, east and west, except that a room 131 $\frac{1}{4}$ feet square was cut off the west end. Back of these was the main court room, or house of representatives, which was 401 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet square. From the hall a stairway led to the second story, to a similar hall with a similar room cut off the west end. Back of these, on each side, was a room 16 feet square, and between them a hall led to the second court room, or senate chamber, which was 411 $\frac{1}{4}$ feet by 25. At a special meeting on September 3, the commissioners awarded the contract to the architects John E. Baker and James Paxton, for \$13,996. This was a stiff advance on the legislative appropriation of \$8,000, but by act of January 2, 1824, the legislature appropriated the additional \$5,996. This was with a proviso that the commissioners should provide a gallery across the south end of the representative hall, "sufficient and suitable for the accommodation of spectators and others, with at least two rows of seats therein"; and should furnish the two legislative chambers with "good, suitable, sufficient and complete seats, with good, substantial, sufficient and complete tables in front of the same, for the accommodation of one hundred persons; and the said tables shall have in them one hundred drawers, of a large and convenient size, with good locks and keys thereto for the use of senators and representatives, and the said seats and tables shall be made substantial, firm, sufficient and suitable and be finished in good and complete, plain, workmanlike manner", otherwise the agent of state should "pay over none of the appropriation." The conditions were

promptly accepted; in fact the commissioners went beyond them, and on February 11, 1824, called for a contract to furnish "eighty windsor chairs of a plain, substantial kind, to be suitably painted and finished."³¹

But, to return to 1822, the commissioners proceeded on their march of improvement of the Court House Square by providing, on November 13, for a public well, "to be dug so deep that there will be at least three feet of water therein", to be curbed with a good, strong and sufficient frame, as customary, with fit boards", and also with "a strong and suitable sweep". On February 11, 1823, they provided further for a pound, at the northeast corner of the square, to be made 50 feet square and securely fenced—the posts to be made of walnut and the rails of oak—and with a strong gate, fastened by a heavy lock. These were the only additional structures on the square for some years. The court house was completed and accepted on January 7, 1825, by the commissioners, although they were not then in office for other purposes. By the act of January 31, 1824, boards of county commissioners were discontinued in Indiana, and the county business was transacted by boards composed of the justices of the peace of the county. Part of the counties were put back under the old system by special acts—Marion County by act of January 19, 1831—and the commissioner system was restored. By special act of February 7, 1835, Marion County again went back to the Board of Justices. This act was repealed on February 7, 1837, and the Commissioners were permanently restored.

The court house was the only public building in Indianapolis for some years, and the only one suitable for public meetings. In addition to its use as a state house and a court house for federal, supreme and local courts, the Board of Justices on March 7, 1825, provided that "the Representative Hall shall be appropriated for religious worship on particular occasions", and put the building in charge of the sheriff with an evident understanding that others might use it, for they "provided, that each society or other person using any of the rooms shall leave such room in as clean and good order as the same may be in when re-

³¹*Record*, p. 121.

ceived by them".³² The public, however, did not exercise as great care of the building as was anticipated, for on September 4, 1832, as the clerk had offered to provide rooms for his and the recorders' offices "in a good brick building, in a public part of Indianapolis, at his own expense, it is ordered that the said court house be kept closed by the sheriff of the county except at courts or sessions of the Board or Legislature, after the clerk's office is removed".³³ The commissioners paid \$3,001.44 for repairs to the building on April 22, 1840, and there is no record of the building being opened to the public till September 8, 1842, when it was ordered that it might be used by "any Religious society, or any Horticultural or Agricultural society, or the Washington or other temperance society", the occupants to be responsible for any damages and to pay the sheriff for extra work occasioned. From that time on it was the chief assembling place for all sorts of meetings and entertainments until private halls were built.

On January 26, 1827, the legislature appropriated \$500 to build an office for the clerk of the Supreme Court, on the Court House Square. This was a one-story brick building, 36x18, and stood next to Delaware street, opposite Court street. It stood until 1855, when it was torn down, and the office moved to the state house. On June 7, 1844, the commissioners ordered a building for the county officers, which was built on the west side of the square, east of the little office of the clerk of the Supreme Court. It was a one-story brick 61½x31, divided into three offices, each of which had a fire-proof vault. A second story was added to it in 1865, and it was used until the pres-

ent court house was completed. In preparation for the building of the present court house, a temporary court house was constructed in 1868 north of the county offices. It was at first intended to rent quarters for the courts, but the lawyers were of opinion that the courts were legally bound to sit on the Court House Square, and so it was built there. It was a two-story brick. The contract was let to Miller & Schaaf on May 5, for \$6,570, and it was completed and accepted on September 7. When the Superior Court was created in 1874, more room was needed, and an addition 14x50 was built on the west side, reaching to Delaware street. The contract for this was let to George Parker for \$3,100. These were the only official buildings erected on the Court House Square. In 1864 the republicans put up a rough frame structure, 140x70 on the south side of the square, for political meetings. It was "dedicated" September 24 by Senator Henry S. Lane, and the *Journal* tried to christen it "the Union Tabernacle", but everybody called it "The Wigwam". It stood for a year or so and was used for other meetings after the campaign. In 1867 a temporary building was put up in the southeast corner of the square for the saengerfest. This closed on September 6, and the Y. M. C. A., with commendable enterprise secured the building for "big meetings" on September 7 and 8; after which it was also used for a short time for other meetings. In 1872 another "Wigwam" was built by the republicans on the northwest corner of the square. It was here that Henry Wilson, candidate for Vice President, spoke on August 5, but that is not so well remembered as the speech by Ben Butler at the same place, in which, incensed by some suggestion of "spoons" in the *Sentinel*, he paid his respects to J. J. Bingham and also to Thos. A. Hendricks in his most caustic style.

³²*Record*, p. 182.

³³*Record*, p. 219.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PRIMORDIAL LIFE.

On December 1, 1823, Calvin Fletcher wrote: "Seven Indians in with venison and bear's meat. Venison hams are 12½ cents a piece, Captain John, a Wyandotte chief, is among the number." This serves to introduce three notable classes of denizens of this region when the settlement began, the Indians, the deer, and the bears. Although one occasionally finds a statement from some old settler that "the Indians were very bad" in the early times, it is unquestionable that they were not. The Delawares, under their treaty of 1818, were allowed to occupy their lands for three years, and after their removal the Indians of the northern part of the state occupied part of their villages, and hunted throughout the region for several years. As a rule they were very well behaved, but they were fond of the white man's firewater, and occasionally made some small disturbance under its influence. The Wyandotte John mentioned above was considered a dangerous man because he had left his tribe on account of some offense; but no charges of any kind are recorded against him, although he lived about the settlement for some time, occupying a hollow sycamore log on the east bank of the river, just above Washington street. It was quite commonly believed that George Pogue was killed by Indians, but there were many who did not believe it. The only real Indian tragedy anywhere near Indianapolis was the brutal murder by white men of an inoffensive party of Indians, east of Pendleton in 1824. This caused some alarm lest the Indians should retaliate, but they were entirely satisfied by the prompt execution of the chief offenders, Hudson, Bridges and Sawyer.¹

¹*Smith's Indiana Trials*, pp. 51-4; *Dunn's True Indian Stories*, p. 197.

But there were many people who were afraid of Indians, and sensible people took some precautions to prevent pilfering by them. Consequently an occasional Indian, with an aboriginal development of the bump of humor, would undertake to scare somebody. Nowland records a case of a drunken Delaware, called Big Bottle, who started to chop down John McCormick's door, in 1824, because Mrs. McCormick had refused to ferry him over the river; but he promptly desisted when her cries brought several white men to the scene, and explained that he merely wished to "scare white squaw". He was put across the river with the admonition that any further jesting would probably result in his being shot by her husband. Complaint was also made to Chief Anderson who took measures to prevent any similar annoyance thereafter. In 1822, a small party of Indians passing Samuel McCormick's house, about where the Maus brewery stands, picked up Amos McCormick, aged three years, and started off with him. His mother's cries brought some men who were working in "the deadening", and the Indians dropped him when they saw that the joke was getting serious. Some white men were similarly facetious. Nat Cox had an Indian costume, and it was a favorite diversion of his to dress in it, and sit scowling on a log, to see people shy away from him. These were as near Indian hostilities as ever occurred at this point. Berry Sulgrove relates an incident of his grandfather being alarmed by an Indian following him in the woods where West Indianapolis is. He was on a horse, with a child before him, and whipped up to avoid his pursuer, but the Indian increased his speed also. Seeing that he would be overtaken, Mr. Sulgrove stopped, and when the Indian came up he held out a shoe which

the child had lost and which he desired to return.²

So far as the abundance of game was concerned, this might be called a hunter's paradise. There were plenty of bears and wolves, and an occasional panther, or catamount as they were commonly called, but the chief trouble the settlers had with them was in protecting their stock from them. Probably Elisha Reddick, the first settler in Lawrence Township, had the most varied experience in this line. He was the first settler there, and brought in with him twenty-five hogs and a dozen sheep. Soon after his arrival he had a lively fight with a predacious panther that weighed about a hundred pounds, and finally succeeded in killing it with an ax. He also killed three bears and fifty wild cats before he got peaceably settled.³ The venerable Dr. Wm. H. Wishard had an unpleasant experience with wolves, in 1826, when a boy of twelve. His parents lived at the edge of Morgan County and he had come up to get some meal ground at the old bayou mill. It was nearly dark when he got started home, and in the darkness of night, in the dense forest, he found his path obstructed by a pack of wolves that had pulled down a deer on the trail. But he was "nervy", and with considerable effort he succeeded in making his way around them, through the thick underbrush, and got safely home. Amos Hanway and Cloudsberry Jones (older brother of Wm. Jones, of Coburn & Jones) when boys, saw a black bear on Governor's Island, which was opposite Greenlawn Cemetery before the river shifted its channel; and some years later a large bear was chased out of the corn fields near North street. Nowland mentions a bear being killed near where Morton place now is, about 1846.⁴

Deer were very abundant, and not very shy. Robert Duncan said he had killed many of them, but never shot at one running, because powder and lead were expensive and he could get all he wanted standing. Owing to the dense underbrush, the larger part of the deer-hunting was done on the river. Says Mr. Duncan: "As an evidence of the great abundance of wild game in this section of the country at that early day, and the easy manner of

capturing the same, it is only necessary for me to state that Robert Harding, one of the very early settlers named in my former sketch, during the summer of the year 1820, on one occasion pushed his canoe containing his hunting material from the mouth of Fall Creek (near which he was living) up the river to a point about the fourth of a mile below where the bridge across White River on the Michigan road is situated, being about five miles north of Fall Creek, from which point he started homeward about 10 o'clock p. m., and on his way home killed nine deer, all bucks, having determined that night to kill nothing but bucks. On another occasion, during the fall of the same year, he and his brother Eliakim, who had by this time joined him, at a point near where the pork-houses of Kingan and Ferguson now stand, killed thirty-seven turkeys out of one flock, Robert killing twenty-five and Eliakim twelve. This kind of slaughter was not frequent but the killing of three or four deer, a half dozen to a dozen turkeys, and fifteen or twenty pheasants by a single person in a single day or night hunt (deer being mostly killed in the night time) was not unfrequent."⁵

Rev. J. C. Fletcher bears testimony to the abundance of game at a later date. He says that one day, in 1834, when walking with his father, he saw a flock of turkeys light in a tree in what is now Military Park. Soon Mr. Pulliam, partner of Samuel Henderson in the tavern, and Jacob Cox, the early artist, who were pursuing them, came up, and Pulliam killed nine and Cox three out of the flock. Mr. Fletcher also makes the following statement: "In the first week of January, 1831, I was with my uncles James and John Hill, who were on their way to the farm of the former (which was very near where Brightwood is now) and I saw a large herd of deer bound across the road into the woods not far from the present locality of Fletcher & Thomas's brick yard. Wild turkeys in 1821 were 12½ cents apiece, but if several were bought there was a large discount. In the spring of 1822, wild pigeons were sold at 25 cents by the bushel. In marked contrast to this were the prices of all manufactured or imported articles. There were two stores, if such little two-penny shops could be dignified by that name.

²*Hist. Indianapolis*, p. 69.

³*Sulgrove Hist.*, p. 537.

⁴*Reminiscences*, p. 42.

⁵*Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. 2, p. 387.

These were kept by J. & J. Givan and by J. T. Osborne. The latter afterwards went to New Orleans. The roads from this place to the Ohio were almost impassable, and most of the importation came from the Whitewater country. Poor coffee was 50 cents per pound, tea \$1.50 ditto, while coarse, thin, shabby muslin for shirting was from 43³/₄ to 15 cents per yard. I do not find the price of flour in my mother's journal in 1821, but I learn that, in 1822, good flour, brought from 'Goodlander's mill, in yonder on Whitewater' was from \$7 to \$8 per barrel; a coarser flour brought \$3 per hundred pounds. Corn meal was 75 cents per bushel and corn was 50 cents per bushel; pork was from \$2 to \$2.50 per hundred, and beef was from \$2.50 to \$3 per hundred".⁶

Turkeys often came into the town. Nowland mentions one being killed at the corner of Washington and Missouri streets on December 24, 1820, that weighed twenty-three pounds, and was so fat that it burst open when it fell from the tree; also one being shot from the top of Hawkins' tavern in 1825, during the session of the legislature; and adds that "it was no uncommon thing, about the years 1846-7 for turkeys to be killed on the northern part of the Donation".⁷ Aaron D. Ohr caught one in the Governor's Circle in 1841. It had been frightened by hunters from the woods about the present Blind Asylum and on being pursued took refuge in the basement of the old mansion house. Waterfowl of all kinds were abundant, especially ducks and geese, in the fall and spring. Swans were rare. Amos Hanway saw flocks on the river at three times, but the only one killed, of which there is any record, was bagged by George Smith, the pioneer publisher, in the spring of 1822. The smaller fur-bearing animals were very numerous, especially raccoons and squirrels, which occasionally did very serious damage to the crops. At the same time many a settler was enabled to hold out while he cleared his farm, and got a start by the sale of 'coon skins, which always had a cash value. In fact this advantage of the abundance of game ranks next in importance to its increase of the supply of food, and that was almost vital to some. Robert Brown who lived for eight years on

the site of the Blind Asylum, would kill enough game to last his family for a week or two, and then go out and work on his farm, south of Irvington, until he got it cleared, and a house built.

The last Indianapolis man who made any business of hunting was George W. Pitts, who said of his experience: "I commenced trapping about this town with my father in 1838, as a boy only fourteen years old, and made a business until 1849 of hunting and trapping. I used to take my traps and float down White River, staying out until the stream froze up. I knew all the hollow sycamores along the river, and many a night have I slept in them with a big fire blazing out in front. I trapped muskrat, mink, 'coon, otter and fox. 'Coon skins paid the best. I gave a cow and a calf to old Josh Hinesly for a 'coon dog. He was a good 'un. Many a time in one night I got enough 'coons with him to pay for that cow and calf. * * * I always went alone * * * and made my living trapping. When I was going to school to the old Marion County seminary I kept up my trapping on Fall Creek and the river as far as McCarty's farm. I made enough money outside of school hours to pay for my schooling and something over. During the winter, while going to school, I caught one night in Pogue's Run, near its mouth, three otters at one slide, and one about where the Belt crosses the run. Along in '45 I cleared as high as \$60 a week, trapping between this town and Waverly. * * * I think I caught the last otter ever trapped in Marion County. That was in 1849, upon Fall Creek a mile north of the Fair Grounds. (i. e., Morton Place.) I got twelve dollars for the skin. * * * In those days wild turkeys were plenty all round town, especially north of town in the Fall Creek bottoms. I have shot gobblers weighing twenty-two pounds when cleaned. I used turkey for bait for 'coon and mink; parsnip is best for muskrat. In 1847 I killed a deer, a big buck, on the river, twelve miles below town. Around Crown Hill used to be, along about '40, a splendid place for turkeys and squirrels; some deer there too. Any man who could shoot at all could calculate on getting fifteen or twenty squirrels in an hour or so in the afternoon. I used them to bait with. They were a great pest to the farmers. In '44 or '45 they came travelling through here

⁶*News*, March 29, 1819.

⁷*Reminiscences*, pp. 16, 12.

from the north; scores and scores of thousands of them. I have seen them swimming the river in great droves, and stood on the bank with a club and killed them. They were very lean and seemed to have been starved out. They were the old fashioned gray squirrel. Fox squirrels were rarely seen then, but about '45 they began to appear, and soon drove the gray squirrels out. * * * There was no end of fish in the streams in those days. I went up to McCormick's dam (just above the Country Club) four miles above town on the river one day and sat down at a chute that had broken out and where the fish were running through. * * * There were wagon loads of fish, and I threw out with my hands eighty-seven bass, ranging in size from one pound up to five. * * * The boys used to shoot fish Indian fashion with bow and arrow, the arrow being secured with a string so that it would not be lost."⁸

There was no difficulty about catching fish in the early times. Nowland says that his father introduced hook and line fishing here in June, 1820, and that, after finishing his day's work, he would often "catch enough to supply our family for several days."⁹ But there were others, for on May 25, 1820, Tipton records: "Bartholomew, Durham and myself went fishing—caught plenty of fine, large fish."¹⁰ Amos Hanway's favorite mode of fishing was with a gig, at night, before he took to seining, but Nowland says: "He was equally successful with hook and line, and his favorite bait was a worm which he called helgramite, which he procured under old logs."¹¹ This demonstrates that there was good foundation for his reputation for knowledge of fish and their ways, but there was little need of skill or cunning in the early days. The fish were numerous, hungry, and not shy. Almost any bait was good for a bite, and a bite was usually good for a fish, for minnows were not used, and there was no "letting a bass run".

Hook and line was too slow a process for most people, and the popular methods were the spear or gig when the river was open and clear, and stunning them by striking the ice above them

with a club or ax when it was frozen. John McCormick was very skillful with a gig, and used not only to supply his tavern table with choice fish, but occasionally to take a canoe-load of gars and other worthless varieties to feed his hogs. Perhaps the most notable of the early fishermen was the Rev. Amos Hanway, before he became a fisher of men. He was a son of Amos Hanway, the cooper, who came here in 1821, and enjoyed the distinction of living in the first shingled house—the shingles split out and shaved by himself. Young Amos preferred fishing to coopering, and probably did better at it, for he says: "for years I supplied the family with coffee, sugar and tea, to say nothing of many other things, by fishing". The varieties of fish taken, he says, were "bass, salmon, red horse, ordinary suckers, quillbacks, or as they were sometimes called spearbacks, perch, pike, catfish, etc. * * * The biggest salmon I ever caught weighed sixteen pounds. I once caught a pike that measured four feet and two inches; at another time a gar-fish that measured over three feet, and a blue catfish that weighed sixteen and a quarter pounds. The finest rock bass I ever took was one which weighed eight and a quarter pounds, and that was near Waverly; while the biggest river bass I ever lifted from the water weighed six and one-fourth pounds."¹²

By "rock bass" he means the big-mouthed, black bass; by "river bass" the little-mouthed, black bass; by "perch" the rock bass or redeye; by "salmon" the wall-eyed pike or pike-perch. The "quillback" is the carp-sucker. As the market for fish developed, young Hanway procured a good-sized seine, with which he used to take fish by wholesale. He says that once in Morgan County, above the Cox dam, when the fish were running, he and his brother Sam "at one haul seined twelve barrels of fish, and there were thirty fish that averaged, undressed, ten pounds each. They were mostly bass and salmon, but there were also large redhorse, white perch, quillbacks and ordinary suckers". Robert Duncan tells of seeing a haul with a seine at "Conner's Hole", near Conner's Station at which a large wagon-load of fish was taken, and the fishermen threw away a pile of gars as large as a haycock.¹³ It is a pity that the

⁸*Journal*, October 17, 1886.

⁹*Reminiscences*, pp. 10, 11.

¹⁰*Ind. Mag. of Hist.*, Vol. 1, p. 12.

¹¹*Reminiscences*, p. 97.

¹²*Views*, August 9, 1879.

¹³*Journal*, September 25, 1877.



INDIANAPOLIS IN 1820.

(From an ideal painting by Alois E. Sinks.)

gars were not exterminated, but there are still a few in the river. On a bright day they may often be seen in Riverside Park, basking at the top of the water below the bluff at Emmerich's grove. Some of the other varieties that were common in the river then are seldom taken at Indianapolis or higher up the river now, and have not been for thirty years or more, probably on account of the pollution of the river by sewage at this point. One of these is the white perch—commonly known as the sheepshead or fresh-water drum on the great lakes, and as the croaker, or crocus in northern Indiana—but it is still common below Waverly. Another is the pike-perch, or wall-eyed pike, which is found in the river below, and in the Wabash and its other tributaries. In 1904, there were 900,000 of the fry of this fish placed in the river at Riverside Park, in the hope that this would permanently stock the stream, at least from that point up.

The expense of manufactured goods had a marked effect on the clothing of the early settlers. In summer, home-made tow-linen was widely worn, and in winter, home-made linsey-woolsey by the women and jeans by the older and more sedentary men. But, says Mr. Duncan, "The outer apparel of the male population, particularly the younger and more active, soon became buckskin. This material was frequently procured already tanned by purchase from the Indians, but more frequently by the party killing the deer, dressing and tanning the skin himself, and thus making it ready for the tailor. Usually the only articles of clothing made of this material were pantaloons and coats, called in these times 'hunting-shirts', being much in the shape and style, barring the neat fit, of the sack coat so much in use among the gentlemen of the present time". The owner was usually his own tailor, "the thread used in the manufacture being the sinews taken from the legs of the deer, or a thread called 'whang', prepared by cutting a long strip, as small as possible so as not to make it too weak for the purpose intended; a large needle and a shoemaker's awl being used in the sewing process. * * * It was soon found that this buckskin apparel was the very best that could have been devised for the country and times. It resisted the sting of the nettles, the scratch of the briars, the bite of the rattlesnake, and the penetration of the cold, bleak winds of

winter, and at that time was cheap and within reach of all. * * * Indian-made moc-casins, which were abundant and cheap, were much worn by both sexes (particularly the younger and more active classes) in dry weather both winter and summer, being very comfortable and pleasant to the feet, and presenting a rather neat appearance. For wet weather strong, well made leather shoes were used. Bare feet were quite as seldom seen then as now. The head dress for the male population for winter use consisted mostly of a strong, well made wool hat with a low, broad brim something in the style of the hat in use by the elder of the Quakers at this time. A rather unsightly but very warm kind of fur cap was used by some, made out of a well-preserved 'coon skin. For summer wear, a rather rough home made straw hat was made out of the straw of rye, which was considerably grown for that purpose—the hat being very much in appearance and style of similar hats now in use. The female head-dress consisted in part of a straw bonnet made of the same kind of straw, and in part of a sunbonnet generally made out of some kind of fancy colored calico worked over a stiff pasteboard; both straw and sunbonnets being of a style then in use, and of such shape and construction as to protect both the face and neck from the hot rays of the summer sun and the cold blasts of the winter winds".¹⁴

The mention by Mr. Duncan of "the bite of the rattlesnake", is a reminder of this the one venomous reptile found in this region. It was not uncommon in the very early days, one species in stony places, and another in swampy or prairie lands. The most notable "den" of them was discovered in the winter of 1825-6 on the farm of Isaac Hawkins, about half a mile east of Valley Mills Station, and in the spring a number of the neighbors assembled and dug them out. There were 120 snakes of various kinds, over 100 of them rattlesnakes, that were coiled up together in a ball, and all were killed. Dennis McFarland gave a veracious account of this to the *Gazette*, but Mr. Bolton improved the story by making it "150 snakes from 10 to 3 feet long", and in reply to McFarland's protest blandly desired to know

¹⁴*Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol 2, pp. 330-333.

what was the difference in a snake story.¹⁵ The story is authentic, however,¹⁶ and rattlesnakes were at least common enough to call for the following advertisement in July and August, 1827:

"RATTLE SNAKE OIL."

"The subscriber is authorized to purchase a quantity of pure RATTLE SNAKE OIL at his store in Indianapolis. The mode of saving it is, after taking off the pieces of fat, put them into a glass, pewter or tin vessel, and expose it to the heat of the sun one day, then pour it into a glass bottle and cork it tight—if any pieces of the fat are not melted squeeze them through a rag.

☞ If the snake bites itself the oil must not be saved.

John Givan".

But rattlesnakes, and all other kinds of snakes, disappeared very rapidly as hogs, tame and wild, multiplied in the woods. They were fond of snakes, and an old-fashioned razor-back could and would kill any snake, and eat it. Many years have passed since a rattlesnake was heard of in Marion County.

Buckskin continued to be more or less worn for a number of years, and in evidence of its recognized cheapness and durability may be noted the fact that on June 8, 1843, the County Commissioners allowed Hervey Hindman "\$2, for making buckskin pants for paupers".¹⁷ Of course the clothing here described means that of the masses. There was always a class that used manufactured textile fabrics, as is evident from the advertisements of such goods. Givan and Osborne did not hold the monopoly of "stores" very long. Luke Walpole arrived in the summer of 1822, coming up the river in a keel boat, in which, in addition to his family of thirteen and a colored servant girl, with their baggage and household furniture, he brought a general stock of goods, a large part of which he sold at auction in the fall of 1823. In March, 1823, Robert Siddill advertised "a neat assortment of dry-goods, queensware, hardware and groceries, consisting of calicoes, plaids,

Irish linen, steam loom and power shirtings, flag handkerchiefs, etc., knives, spoons, butts, hinges, screws, nails, etc., tea, coffee, loaf sugar, tobacco, segars, pepper, allspice, nutmegs, etc.", at his store on Washington street. In June John Hawkins advertised "an assortment of dry goods, groceries and medicines"; and on July 2, Conner, Tyner & Co. announce the opening of their store with a detailed list of dry goods, hardware, queensware, groceries, tinware, etc., too lengthy for reproduction. Indianapolis had a hatter from 1821, when John Shunk, the pioneer in that line, came and established himself in a cabin near Kingan's pork-house, where he manufactured old-fashioned beaver, or "plug" hats, as well as other kinds, until he roasted to death, in a drunken stupor, at his own fireside. And he soon had rivals and successors. Nor was the town without a tailor after Andrew Byrne returned in March, 1821, following his visit with the commissioner in 1820.

In fact the arts and crafts were creditably represented in Indianapolis at a very early date. On February 25, 1822, the *Gazette* said: "The improvement of this town since the sale of lots in October last, has surpassed the expectations of those who entertained the greatest hopes of its future prosperity. There have been erected 40 dwelling houses and several workshops since that period, and many other buildings are now in contemplation. One grist and (one) saw mill are now in operation within one mile of the centre of the town, and several others are nearly ready to be put into operation equally as near. Business is comparatively lively at this time. We have already mechanics and professional men of the following description and number, to wit: thirteen carpenters and joiners, four cabinet makers, eight blacksmiths, four boot and shoe makers, two tailors, one hatter, two tanners, one saddler, one cooper, four bricklayers, two merchants, seven houses of entertainment, three groceries, one school master, four physicians, one minister of the gospel, and three counselors at law".¹⁸ This, it will be noted, modestly overlooks the press, which was early on hand. George Smith, a Pennsylvania printer, married the widow Nancy Bolton, who had one son, Nathaniel, born July 25, 1803. She was

¹⁵*Gazette*, April 4, 1826; *Journal*, June 7, 1855.

¹⁶Sulgrove, *Hist.*, p. 507.

¹⁷*Comes. Rec.*, 1, p. 132.

¹⁸Quoted in *Vincennes Sun*, March 9, 1822.

a sister of Nathaniel Cox, better known as "Uncle Nat. Cox", a pioneer carpenter, hunter, and all-round mechanical genius of Indianapolis. In 1820 they were all seized with the fever of emigration, and floated down the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers to Jeffersonville on a timberboat. Here they opened a printing office with a Mr. Brandon, while awaiting the sale of lots at Indianapolis, to which Mr. Smith went on foot. He bought two lots, on one of which was a cabin built by a Kentucky squatter who had become homesick and deserted it. It was at the corner of Maryland and Missouri streets. Smith trudged back to Jeffersonville and packed back with his belongings and family, except Bolton who remained temporarily for some state printing work, arriving at Indianapolis about the middle of December. The cabin was quickly fitted up for a joint residence and printing office, Uncle Nat Cox and a journeyman printer who had been hired for a time, being lodged in the neighboring cabin of Dr. Kenneth A. Scudder.

On January 28, the first number of the *Gazette* appeared. It was printed on an old-fashioned, two-pull, Ramage hand press. The forms were inked by hand with buckskin balls stuffed with wool, which were kept soft when not in use by being greased with coon oil. The two outside pages were usually printed early in the week, and the two inside on Friday, the paper being circulated on Saturday. Mr. Smith became one of the associate judges of the circuit court on August 8, 1825, and retired from active management, leaving Nathaniel Bolton in exclusive charge. The *Gazette* was the only paper until March 7, 1823, when the first number of the *Western Censor and Emigrants' Guide* appeared. It was published by Harvey Gregg and Douglass Maguire. Mr. Gregg was the chief editor until October 29, when he retired and was succeeded by John Douglass, Mr. Maguire taking on the editorial work. On January 11, 1825, the paper was enlarged and the name changed to *The Indiana Journal*. Later on the *Democrat*, and still later the *Scimitar*, were successors to the *Gazette*. The original office of the *Censor* was on Washington street, opposite the New York store. Both papers were fairly regular in their issues after getting well started, though there was an occasional failure of an issue on account

of inability to get paper, or a suspension of the mails.

The relation of the newspapers and the mails was close and important. There had been no post-office at the place, and no regular mail up to the start of the *Gazette*, but a newspaper could not be published without "dispatches", especially at a time when local news was "all over town" by the time it got to the editor. So Mr. Smith got busy with an agitation for mail reform. On January 30 a citizens' meeting was held at Hawkins' tavern to make arrangements for a "private mail", which was not uncommon at the time, i. e., to have all the mail for this point gathered at one post-office, and brought here by a private carrier. The meeting selected Aaron Drake as carrier and postmaster, and made an agreement with him to bring the mail from Connersville once a month. Drake at once issued a circular to the postmasters, whom Indianapolis mail was likely to reach, asking them to forward it to Connersville. Says Brown: "He returned from his first trip after nightfall, his horn sounding far through the woods, arousing the people who turned out in the bright moonlight to greet him and learn the news". By means of this enterprise, the message of President Monroe, delivered December 3, 1821, came to hand in February, 1822, and began to appear in our home paper—it took two or three issues to print a message, though Monroe's messages were mere epigrams as compared with those of recent years. Meanwhile the congressional delegation was laboring in Washington, and in February Indianapolis was made a postoffice, and Samuel Henderson was appointed postmaster. He began business on March 7, and showed his diligence by publishing a list of five letters "not called for", on April 3. At first all the mail came from Connersville, but on October 5, 1822, Return Jonathan Meigs, jr., Postmaster General, advertised in the *Vincennes Sun* for proposals for carrying the mails to Indianapolis from two other points.

"From Washington, by Burlington, Spencer in Owen County, and Martinsville in Morgan to Indianapolis, once in two weeks, 125 miles. Leave Washington every other Tuesday at 6 a. m. and arrive at Indianapolis on Friday by 10 a. m. Leave Indianapolis every other Friday at 2 p. m. and arrive at Washington on Monday by 6 p. m."

"From Lawrenceburgh by Napoleon to Indianapolis, once in two weeks, 89 miles. Leave Lawrenceburgh every other Friday at 6 a. m. and arrive at Indianapolis on Sunday by 10 a. m. Leave Indianapolis on Sunday at 2 p. m. and arrive at Lawrenceburgh on Tuesday by 6 p. m."

From this time on there was a constant improvement in the mail service, but the *Censor* evidently started in "agin the government" for it promptly registered a complaint on June 11, 1823. It admitted: "We believe there is no town in the state, of the same age and population, which is better supplied with mails than Indianapolis. We have regular weekly mails from Madison and Brookville, and semi-weekly (it means fortnightly) mails from Centreville, Lawrenceburgh and Washington". But the system was bad. Most of the eastern mail was sent "by the Lawrenceburgh mail, which arrives here but once in two weeks", while it might just as well come by Brookville or Madison, and thus the public was deprived of the latest news. The public was not apparently much disturbed, for correspondence at the time was rather expensive, and the charges were based on distance as well as matter. A letter from New England cost 31½ cents postage; one from New York 25 cents; and one from Ohio 12½ cents. It was perhaps not wholly due to oversight that within a year the regular advertised list of unclaimed letters at the Indianapolis postoffice often numbered one hundred or more. But even at the high rates of postage the Indianapolis office was decidedly a luxury to the national government. The total postage receipts here for the year ending March 31, 1827, were only \$372.36; for 1828, \$319.23; and for 1830, \$559.12. And yet the statement of the Postmaster General on January 11, 1825, showed the character and cost of the service to this point as follows:

| Route— | Time | Miles | Pieces carried | Cost. |
|------------------------------------|-------------|-------|----------------|-------|
| Davton, O., to Indianapolis..... | weekly | 70 | 13,832 | 8 560 |
| Corydon to Indianapolis..... | weekly | 106 | 11,024 | 1,042 |
| Indianapolis to Washington..... | fortnightly | 103 | 5,356 | 260 |
| Indianapolis to Lawrenceburgh..... | fortnightly | 90 | 4,680 | 204 |
| Indianapolis to Terre Haute..... | fortnightly | 91 | 4,732 | 500 |
| Indianapolis to Brookville..... | weekly | 66 | 6,864 | 300 |

One of the worst drawbacks to Indianapolis life in 1821 was the lack of mills. Man may not live by bread alone, but he seldom enjoys himself without it, no matter how plentiful fish, game and vegetables may be; and grating

corn on a piece of tin with holes punched in it is monotonous, to say the least. But this evil was soon to disappear. In the summer of 1821 came James Linton, millwright; and by November he had completed the first grist mill for Isaac Wilson on Fall Creek, where Walnut street crosses the old bed of the stream, and also a saw mill for himself on Fall Creek just above Indiana avenue. These are the mills referred to by the *Gazette* on February 25, 1822, as quoted above. They were quickly followed by the saw mill of Daniel Yandes and Andrew Wilson on the bayou west of the river, and in the summer by the saw mills of William Foster and John McCormick on the river. Linton also added a grist mill to his establishment on Fall Creek. On March 7, 1823, its first issue, the *Censor* said: "The town now contains about ninety families, among which are mechanics of almost every description, and men of all professions. * * * There are at this time four saw mills in operation in the county, three of which are within less than a mile and a half of the town. There are also two grist mills within the same distance, and several more grist and saw mills are now building, together with carding machines, etc." In fact the town was sufficiently advanced in civilization to admit of the formation of a trades union, for, on April 23, the *Censor* gave notice of a meeting of master carpenters, at the school house, on the 26th at 2 p. m., to consider "the propriety of organizing a society and regulating the prices of work". There had been an evident anticipation of much carpenter work, for the Yandes & Wilson saw mill started in on a large scale. On April 13, 1822, Mrs. Fletcher records: "The waters are very high at this time, and have been for a week back. Mr. Levington and many other men have been ten miles up the river, on the public lands, cutting saw-logs for several weeks. They have made a contract with Daniel Yandes to deliver him 2,000 logs at one dollar per piece, and since the rain the saw-logs are coming down the river".¹⁹

This performance, of going ten miles up the river to cut logs on the public lands, was delightfully American, for at this time there were hundreds of thousands of feet of fine timber on the town site that everybody wanted

¹⁹*News*, June 2, 1879.

removed. In the preceding Fall the State Agent had offered the timber in the streets to anyone who would cut it, and Lismund Basye, tempted by the cheapness of it, undertook to clear Washington street. After getting a large amount of the timber cut he concluded that there would be no profit in it, either because the saw mill was not yet in operation or because of the trouble of getting it to the mill, and abandoned his undertaking, leaving the trees where they were felled. The street, which was the one thoroughfare of the place, was completely blocked by the logs, stumps and brush, and the whole community joined in clearing it by fire.²⁰ This occurrence was long a favorite topic of the old-timers, and gave rise to Uncle Jimmy Blake's justly celebrated joke: "The early settlers spent their evenings one winter in cutting and rolling logs in Washington street. They employed two or three hundred negroes to cut the logs in two and keep the heaps burning."²¹ This really needs a diagram, for there is no dictionary or glossary, that I know of, that gives the exact meaning of the word "nigger" in backwoods parlance. As a noun it means a small log, rail or chunk of wood, that is set well ablaze and used to fire log heaps, brush heaps, etc. By laying a brand or two of this kind across a large log and replacing them if the fire dies, or keeping it up with brush, the log is burned through; and this is what is meant by "niggering off" a log. One man can keep twenty or thirty of such fires going and cut as many logs in less time than he could do it with an ax. At the same time the "nigger" did all the work, and the employer, like the Irish hod-carrier, had nothing at all to do but carry it to the place. This was probably the idea that gave origin to the term, for "nigger" was the common expression for anyone who had to do drudgery; but possibly it might have come from the thought that this was a lazy man's way of working, or it may even have come from the old Northumberland dialect in which "nigger" is used for an andiron or fire-dog. It may be added that "nigger" is used in this backwoods sense in the expression "a nigger in the wood pile", i. e., something that destroys the purpose of the wood pile, and not that an African is despoiling the wood pile, as is very commonly supposed. But, to

get back to the subject, these logs that were burned up, and thousands of others not cut in other streets, could have been used at the Yandes & Wilson mill just as well as those ten miles up the river. Even in the absence of heavy wagons, they could easily have been sledded to the river while the snow was on the ground.

Notwithstanding the improvement of local conditions of living, the growth of the town was not as rapid as had been expected by some. There was no advance in real estate as had been anticipated. The capital did not come in fact. More or less people were coming in, but others were moving to the country. Why invest in a town lot when you could get a farm for the same money? Others sought more rapidly developing localities. On September 22, 1823, the *Censor* declared that the place contained between 600 and 700 souls, and the estimate was probably liberal. A census in April, 1824, by the Sunday school visitors showed 100 families, with 172 voters and 45 unmarried women between the ages of fifteen and forty-five years. The number of children is not stated but it was presumably not far from the number of voters, for a census in February, 1826, showed a total of 720 souls, 209 of whom were children of school age. Money was not very plentiful, but that did not cause much inconvenience, except in the payments for lots and lands, as business was almost universally conducted on a basis of barter, with money prices as the measure of value. Hides and furs were always practical legal tenders. The newspapers advertised from time to time that they would accept "country sugar", "corn", "poultry", "clean linen and cotton rags", "furs and tallow", and other commodities. In April, 1824, James Givan advertised that for general merchandise he would accept "ginseng, beeswax, honey, sugar, deer and fur skins, or almost anything else in preference to promises", but cash only would be taken for "powder, shot, whisky and salt". The prices of agricultural products decreased somewhat as farms were cleared. On January 12, 1824, Amos Griffith, cabinet maker, advertised that he would accept corn at 37½ cents per bushel, potatoes at the same price, and pork at \$2.50 per hundred. On December 26, 1826, the *Journal* stated that one could purchase here "corn at 15 to 20 cents a bushel and pork and beef at \$1.50 per hundred".

²⁰ Brown's *Hist.*, p. 6.

²¹ *Journal*, June 10, 1857.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COMING OF THE CAPITAL.

For its first five years, Indianapolis was an answer to the conundrum, "When is a capital not a capital?" The one essential purpose of its existence was to be the seat of state government, but the legislature showed little disposition to make it that in fact. By the constitution of 1816, Corydon was made "the seat of government of the State of Indiana until the year eighteen hundred and twenty-five, and until removed by law".¹ The important point was to secure the removal as soon as the constitution permitted it. Of course it was useless to talk about moving the state offices here until there were buildings for the transaction of state business, but there was no haste about getting the buildings. The people early realized that they must have representation if they wanted their interests cared for, and on September 26, 1822, a meeting was held at Crumbaugh's which petitioned for representation. The petition was successful and, by act of January 7, 1823, Marion County was included in a representative district with Madison, Johnson and Hamilton counties, and in a senatorial district with Decatur, Rush, Henry, Shelby, Madison, Hamilton and Johnson counties. The election came on August 4. There were only two candidates for representative, James Paxton and John W. Reding, and Paxton carried every county in the district, being elected by 374 votes to 136. For the senate there were four candidates, James Gregory of Shelby County, Dr. S. G. Mitchell of Marion, John Bryson of Decatur, and Wm. B. Laughlin of Rush. The votes received by them were Gregory, 729; Mitchell, 294; Bryson, 299; Laughlin, 289. A bill was introduced at the next session, making Indianapolis "the permanent seat of gov-

ernment of this state upon, from, and after the second Monday in January (January 10) in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five", and requiring all state officials to be established there at that time. The bill was warmly contested, and would have been lost but that "Whitewater" stood loyally by the New Purchase. It was passed by the House, but was amended in the Senate and then passed only by the narrow margin of 9 to 8. It came back to the House and on January 7, Dennis Pennington, of Harrison, moved to amend by striking out the words "second Monday in January in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five", and inserting "first Monday in December one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five"; but the previous question was demanded, and the amended bill passed by a vote of 25 to 17.² On January 23, Pennington introduced a bill to suspend the operation of this act until 1826, but it was laid on the table until the following Tuesday, and remained there permanently. The act was approved on January 20.³ It was hailed with joy by Indianapolis, and on February 20 a supper was given in honor of Paxton and Gregory at Washington Hall, at which some thirty gentlemen were present. After the edibles were disposed of Dr. S. G. Mitchell was chosen president, and Judge Wick vice-president, and "numerous toasts and sentiments were proposed and drunk", beginning with one by the president: "The Representation from the New Purchase—Our thanks are due to them for their industry and zeal in promoting our welfare and prosperity". This was drunk standing, and "Colonel Gregory in behalf of Colonel Paxton

¹Art. II, Section 11.

²*Sen. Journal*, p. 188; *House Journal*, p. 123.
³*Rev. Laws 1824*, p. 370.

and himself, returned thanks in a very short, but feeling and appropriate manner". We are told that "Great harmony and good feeling prevailed during the festivities of the evening".

The act for removal provided: "And Samuel Merrill esq. is hereby appointed on behalf of the state, to superintend, generally, the removal of the records, documents and public property of every description, as well those above referred to as all and every other article or species of property, which now is or hereafter may be remaining at Corydon, the present temporary seat of government, which may belong to the state, to Indianapolis, aforesaid, previous to the said second Monday in January, in the said year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five; and he is required to keep a fair and exact account of the expenses necessarily incurred in the said transportation and removal, to be submitted to the general assembly at their next regular session". This was modified by a joint resolution of January 30, which authorized Mr. Merrill "to sell at public vendue, to the highest bidder, all the chairs, tables and other furniture belonging to the state, which, in his opinion, cannot be advantageously removed to Indianapolis", giving twenty days notice of the time and place of sale in the *Indiana Gazette*, appropriating the proceeds to the expense of the removal, and rendering "a just account" to the next general assembly.⁴

Samuel Merrill was an ideal man for such a task, thoughtful and painstaking. He made a two weeks' trip to Indianapolis in September, 1824, to arrange for places for his family and the state property,⁵ and in November disposed of the state's surplus furniture at auction, and started for Indianapolis, accompanied by John Douglass, the state printer, and his family. Says Colonel Merrill, "The journey of about one hundred and sixty miles occupied two weeks. The best day's travel was eleven miles. One day the wagons accomplished but two miles, passages through the woods having to be cut on account of the impassable character of the road. Four four-horse wagons and one or two saddle horses formed the means of conveyance for the two families, consisting of about a dozen persons, and for a printing press and

the state treasury of silver in strong wooden boxes. The gentlemen slept in the wagons or on the ground to protect the silver, the families found shelter at night in log cabins which stood along the road at rare though not inconvenient intervals. The country people were, many of them, as rude as their dwellings, which usually consisted of but one room, serving for all the purposes of domestic life,—cooking, eating, sleeping, spinning and weaving, and the entertainment of company. At one place a young man, who perhaps had come miles to visit his sweetheart, sat up with her all night on the only vacant space in the room, the hearth of the big fireplace. He kept on his cap, which was of coonskin, the tail hanging down behind, and gave the children the impression that he was a bear".

It was the venerable Mrs. Ketcham, then one of Samuel Merrill's tots, who awoke in the night to see the coonskin cap in the flickering light of the dying fire, and dropped asleep again thinking she had seen a bear. The one other vivid impression of the trip on her infantile mind was the memory of how their "ambitious teamster would put on all his bells in honor of the Treasurer of State and the State Printer, so that every man, woman and child would run to the front to see", whenever they approached a village on the road. But the feature that made the most lasting impression on Samuel Merrill was the bad roads, and, twenty years afterwards, he wrote:

"Though the distance was only 125 miles, such was the state of the roads that it required about ten days to perform the journey in a wagon. Specimens of bad roads that it is thought cannot well be beat, may still be found at some seasons of the year; but the veterans of those days, unless their memories deceive them, have seen and experienced of the depth and width of mud-holes that cannot well be conceived in this 'degenerate age.'" The writer of this article, on two occasions, after hours of weary travel, found himself, very unwillingly, at his starting place in the morning, and his good friends the present Postmaster at Indianapolis and the Auditor of State, after a day's travel, as they thought, towards Cincinnati, paused in wonder at evening, at their own town, which at first they supposed was some unknown settlement in the wilderness. A respectable citizen of Ohio having traversed

⁴*Special Acts*, 1824, p. 113.

⁵*House Journal*, 1826, p. 481.

this state about that time, was asked, on his return home, about his travels, and whether he had been pretty much through the state. He said he could not tell with certainty, but he thought he had been pretty nearly through, in some places." The closing jest was Mr. Merrill's favorite story in later life. The getting lost did not occur on the journey to Indianapolis, but is illustrative of another feature of the difficulties of early travel. The Indianapolis trip was made at the best season, for if an Indiana mud road is ever dry, it should be so in November. What it must have been in the spring can be left only to the imagination, with no danger that any imagination will picture the road worse than it actually was.

Of course this tedious removal of all the state's belongings over these appalling roads was an expensive affair. Here is the bill that Samuel Merrill rendered to the next legislature for the expense of it:

| | |
|--|----------|
| To Messrs. Posey and Wilson for boxes | \$ 7.56 |
| To Mr. Lefler for one box..... | .50 |
| To Seybert & Likens for transportation of 3,945 lbs. at \$1.90 per hundred | 74.95 |
| To Jacob & Samuel Kenoyer for transportation of one load..... | 35.06 |
| | ————— |
| | \$118.07 |
| Deduct for proceeds of sale of furniture at Corydon, November 22nd, 1824 | 52.52 |
| | ————— |
| | \$65.55 |

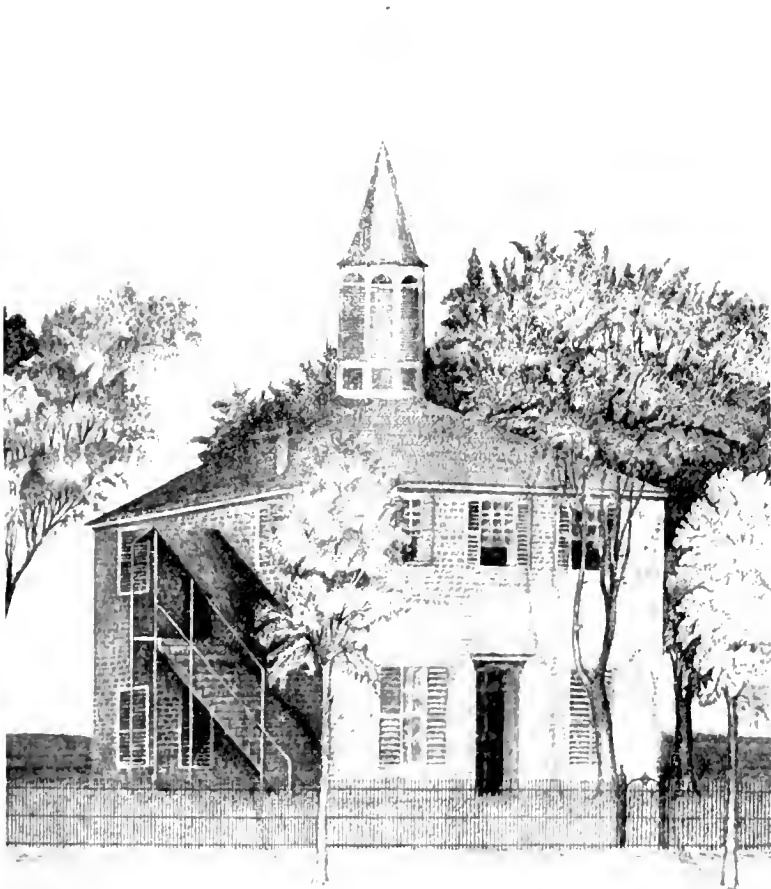
One is moved to wonder if there is not a typographical error in the specific appropriation act of February 12, 1825, which allowed to Samuel Merrill, "sixty dollars and fifty-five cents for cash advanced by him for expenses incurred in removing the property of the state from Corydon to Indianapolis". There is surely a need for some explanation of that cut of five dollars. However, the legislature was generous, and allowed Mr. Merrill "also one hundred dollars for his personal trouble and expenditure in packing and moving the property of the

state". And all future generations must acknowledge that this was not a case of "graft", for evidently he must have done most of the work himself or have exercised an ability in getting it done that could hardly be measured in money. And this covered also a two-weeks' trip to Indianapolis to prepare there for the removal! Verily, we shall not soon see his like again.

Arrived at Indianapolis, the clerk of the Supreme Court was installed temporarily in the 13x13 room in the southwest corner of the second floor of the court house, and the Secretary of State in the similar room immediately below it. The Auditor and Treasurer went into rented rooms until the state provided a building for them, and rents were not exorbitant at that time, for they were each allowed \$20 a year for office rent—the Agent of State had only \$16. The Governor was the only official who was allowed house rent, and the appropriation for that purpose was \$200 annually. Mr. Merrill's family moved into James Blake's palatial tenement with Calvin Fletcher, evidently displacing Mr. Blake, who had been boarding there. Mrs. Ketcham recalls the residence thus: "It was on Washington street, south side, half way between Tennessee and Illinois streets,— a small one-story, red frame: two rooms, two doors in front and two windows: occupied by two families. Calvin Fletcher had the west side. I cannot remember how they managed, except in each room was a big bedstead and a trundle one that wheeled out at night and under in the daytime. A door opened into Mrs. Fletcher's apartment from our room, and from hers out on to a rough porch or covered space that led to a large log kitchen. I suppose both cooked by the same large fireplace and probably ate on this porch, and I remember the wind taking our dining-table over clear to the fence—a half square." Even these restricted quarters were diminished later, for the log kitchen burned down during the joint tenancy. But people in those days had not acquired the delusion that they needed residences so large that all their time and strength would be expended in caring for them—a condition to which, in our higher civilization, the flat-dwellers are rapidly returning.

Bad roads were not a matter of concern to Samuel Merrill alone. They weighed on everybody. The necessity of roads to the capital

⁶*Chamberlain's Gazetteer*, p. 125.
⁷*Sen. Journal*, 1825, p. 7.



THE METHODIST CHURCH, INDIANAPOLIS.

(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

had been realized from the first and the legislature of 1824 had ordered state roads to Indianapolis, and made appropriations for them, as follows:

| | |
|--|-------------|
| From the High Banks of White River | \$7,022.00 |
| From the Horse Shoe Bend, via Paoli, Palestine and Bloomington.. | 8,426.00 |
| From Mauk's Ferry, via Salem and Brownstown | 8,988.00 |
| From Bethlehem, Clark County, via New Washington and Lexington | 3,033.00 |
| From Madison, via Vernon and Columbus | 6,357.00 |
| From Lawrenceburgh | 6,333.00 |
| From Ohio line, via Brookville... | 4,362.44 |
| From Ohio line, via Connersville... | 4,249.00 |
| From Ohio line, via Salisbury... | 4,182.00 |
| From Ohio line, via Winchester... | 2,672.50 |
| Total | \$55,624.94 |

It also ordered a state road from Indianapolis to Terre Haute, but made no appropriation for it. The road from Indianapolis to Fort Wayne was ordered by act of February 10, 1825; the road to Crawfordsville by act of January 23, 1828; the Michigan Road by act of January 24, 1828; and the road to Lafayette by act of January 9, 1829. For the improvement of all these roads additional appropriations were made from time to time. The Michigan Road was a special undertaking, and was cut 100 feet wide. All the others were 48 feet wide. The "cutting" of a road meant the removal of the timber, the law requiring that the smaller trees should be cut even with the ground, while "such as are eighteen inches and upwards shall be cut at the usual height of twelve inches." Supervisors were appointed for each five miles of state road to be cut, in the several counties, and after they were cut they were cared for as county roads, with the addition of an occasional state appropriation for improvement. At the same time that these state roads were under construction, the county authorities were pushing the work on local roads. At their first session, as mentioned, the county commissioners ordered roads to Conner's Station; to the western county line on about the line of the National Road; to McCormick's mill, just above the Country Club;

and southwest to the county line. At the August session it ordered a road "commencing at or near the Indian Camp, where the county road prayed for by Eliakim Harding and others crosses Eagle Creek", northwest past Thomas Martin's farm to the county line, i. e., the general line of the present Eagle Creek and White Lick Road; also on petition of Joel Wright, a continuation of the road to McCormick's mill to the north; also on petition of Jeremiah Corbaley, a road from the west end of Ohio street to Isaac Wilson's mill, on Fall Creek, thence north and "across White River at the Big Rifle", thence northwest to the county line. Additional roads and extensions were ordered at nearly every future session for several years.

The first step in the construction of either a state or a county road was the appointment of "viewers" to select and mark the line of the road, and on their reports the roads were established, subject to future changes if the lines selected were not found the most desirable. In the unsettled state of the country these reports were not always in terms that are readily intelligible now, as may be judged from the following official record of the report of the viewers of the road to Conner's Station, before mentioned: "John Smock and Zaddock Smith, two of the viewers of the Fall Creek Road now report that they have laid out and marked by two chops with a tomahawk on the trees adjacent to the said road, and recommend the route and ground running thus: Beginning at the north end of Pennsylvania street (i. e., the corner of Pennsylvania and North streets) thence to the half mile stake dividing Section 36, Township 16, Range 3 east (i. e., up Fort Wayne avenue to the corner of Central avenue), and north with the dividing line until it intersects with the road leading to Reagan's brick yard (i. e. about Twenty-fifth street), in Section 25 in said Township and Range, thence, north three degrees and fifteen minutes east, with said road until it strikes Fall Creek, thence with said Creek to Wm. Rooker's, thence with the Indian trace crossing said Creek at the Rocky Ford in Section 9, Township 16, Range 4 east (i. e., Millersville), thence with said trace on the west side of said Creek to McClearin's improvement, Section 3, said last mentioned Township and Range, thence leaving the trace on the west in a north-east direction until it strikes Fall Creek at

the Indian Camp in Section 2 said Range and Township, thence north 50 degrees east until it intersects the Indian trace at the hill, thence with said trace to the county line dividing Sections 16 and 9, Township 17, Range 5 east, determining at a hackberry marked with the letters M C L." Or, as we would put it now, the general lines of the Millersville Road and the Fall Creek and Mad Creek Free Gravel Road.

The next step was cutting the road, and making the worst places passable. The means for this were supplied by a road tax payable in work, or its equivalent in money at the rate of 50 cents a day. Each male, between 21 and 50 years of age, whether living in town or country, and owning real estate or not, was required to do three days of road work annually, excepting only "preachers of the gospel" and persons excused for cause by the county board. The owner of from 40 to 80 acres of land was required to do one day's work additional; the owner of 80 to 160 acres two days' additional; and one day additional for each 160 acres above that, up to ten days, which was the maximum tax. Owners of town lots were required to do one day's work additional for each lot owned, up to a maximum of six days. The "owner of a wagon and team of two or more horses or oxen used as a road wagon" was required to do two days' work additional. A licensed tavern keeper, store keeper or grocery keeper was required to do a total of six days' work, if not an owner of real estate. If the work and money thus supplied were not sufficient to put the roads in repair, it was the duty of the supervisor to call out the hands assigned to him and put them in repair. In all this work the supervisors were authorized to go upon any adjoining land, cut any ditches that might be necessary to drain a road, take any sand, gravel or stone needed, and cut timber adjacent or near to the road. In addition to all this there was a special provision that road supervisors in the New Purchase "shall have a right to call out the hands, allotted to them severally, six days in each year, in order to put and keep the roads assigned to them respectively in repair." Any unexpended balance of the road tax could be used for bridges, for which the county commissioners were also authorized to accept donations or order a tax, or, if a tax were considered burdensome, they might authorize toll bridges.

This was the road law of 1824. By the law of 1834 the universal tax was reduced to two days' work, the tax on nonresidents was made one-half of the state tax on their lands, and the tax on owners of town lots was made one-half of the county tax on their lots; this to be applied to work on the streets, and with the privilege of paying the tax in work at 50 cents a day. A person furnishing a plough or wagon with team and driver, at the request of the supervisor, received credit for three days' work for each day of the team's use. There was also a provision for "cart ways" from "a plantation or dwelling-house to a public highway". These were made on special petition, and were made 18 feet wide. If one that was ordered crossed the unimproved land of anyone who objected to it, the land was valued by appraisers and paid for, after which the road was proceeded with.

Roads made as these were necessarily went out of repair quickly. Every stump at the surface, and every root, made a jolt which sank the opposite wheel into the ground and started a chuck-hole which was helped on by standing water, more jolts, and occasional wallowing hogs. The more the road was traveled the worse it became. The roads in the central part of the state were usually worse, so far as mud was concerned, than those in the south part, for the surface soil here was commonly a soft loam with a coating of mold and dead leaves. Almost the only improvement attempted to the natural surface was corduroying, or as it was more commonly called "cross-laying" or "cross-waying" in specially swampy places. This was done by laying small logs, close together, crosswise the road, and covering them with dirt. If badly laid, or out of repair, this construction was sometimes worse than nothing, for a horse was liable to break his leg in it. Even where there were fewer chuck-holes the roads were very bad. Capt. Basil Hall, who crossed the southern part of the state in 1827-8, says: "The country is hilly nearly all the way, the roads execrable, and the carriages made as rigid as if they had been cast in one piece of metal. This is quite necessary, I admit, considering the duty they have to go through. One other refinement in these vehicles I must mention. In every other part of the Union we found at least one door, though there were rarely two, in any stage coach. But upon this occasion, where so large an opening

was a weakness that could not be afforded, the passengers had nothing left for it—females as well as males—but literally to mount the coachman's seat by aid of the wheel, and then scramble in at the front as well as they might.”

As soon as the capital was moved, the southern part of the state began to experience the disadvantages of the bad roads leading to it and the poor mail service; and their woes found expression. On Friday, January 11, 1825, the Lawrenceburgh *Palladium* said: “On Monday last the legislature met at Indianapolis, but owing to the present arrangement of the mail to that place, it will be impossible to have any information from the legislature before the middle of next week, nine days from the commencement of the session! (We can have information from the City of Washington in 11 days, which is more than five times the distance to Indianapolis.) But this isn't all—it will be (after the mail arrives next Wednesday) the 2nd of February before we have another return of the mail, nearly the close of the session, should it not continue longer than 4 or 5 weeks, as is expected. It is an old adage, and may be a true one, that ‘every evil has its good’, but we can't see this connexion here, unless the legislature was wanting to have a place unconnected with the stir and bustle of the world, where they might digest and make laws and regulations for the good of their constituents, in peace and quietness; where they might vote as they pleased, and no person know anything about it—just abridge the Journals a little. They have found just such a place we guess as Cowper was wishing for, when he said—

‘Oh, for a lodge in some vast wilderness!
Some boundless contiguity of shade.’”

And yet Lawrenceburgh was an early bird as compared with Vincennes, for the account of the opening of the session did not get into print there until January 29. But the conditions gradually improved, and communication with the outside world became comparatively rapid. On September 8, 1832, the *Journal* published the advertisements of four lines of stages then in operation from the capital: that of A. L. & W. L. Ross to Brookville, leaving and returning twice a week; Johnson's two lines of “mail stages” to Lawrenceburgh and Mad-

son, each three times a week; and the line of P. Beers to Dayton, also three times a week. In those days of rapid transit one could go from the capital to the Ohio River, or return, in two days, and there was little improvement on that until the railroad came. Judge C. P. Ferguson, as a small boy, made the trip up from Madison in 1836. His father had been elected to the legislature, and arranged for the boy to go with Judge Dewey from Charlestown, by way of Madison, while he rode through horseback. Says Judge Ferguson: “The programme was carried out, and the judge and myself took passage on the steamboat Rochester, at the Charlestown landing. * * * On the boat the judge met several friends, among whom was Randall Crawford, a great lawyer and father of the now distinguished Harry, who was also on his way to Indianapolis. At Madison we three took lodgings at Pugh's Hotel and occupied the same room. Next morning, before it was light, the stage drove up to the door and we got in, after which the driver picked up a few passengers at private residences, one of whom, upon entering was addressed as judge, and I got to learn that he was Stephen C. Stevens, who had been a supreme judge, and, having resigned, Judge Dewey had been appointed to fill his place.

“From Madison to Columbus made one day's journey, and there we expected to meet an Indianapolis stage, that would take us on. We passed the night at the Jones hotel, and the Indianapolis stage failing to meet us, a private conveyance was provided—a common farm wagon—and in that way we were sent on to Franklin. At Franklin, late in the next morning, the stage was on hand ready to take us on. It was not a coach, but a large, covered spring wagon, drawn by four horses. Getting so late a start, we trudged the balance of the day and into the night through mud and chuck-holes and over corduroy roads. * * * A little after dark on this last day's journey, while perched upon my seat, drowsy and worn-out, Mr. Crawford aroused me and said, in his peculiar tone of voice, which those who knew him will recollect, “Now you can see the lights of Indianapolis”, and shortly afterwards we were in the town. What a contrast with the present! There were no brilliant lights, no jingling of bells and shrieking of whistles; no yelling of the names of different hotels, but in darkness and quiet the stage drew up in

⁵*Travels in North America*, Vol. 3, p. 386.

front of the Mansion House, kept by Basil Brown, and there emerged therefrom and entered the hotel, cold and tired—a supreme judge, an ex-supreme judge, a great lawyer, and a little country boy.”⁹

The coming of the capital did not have any immediate and marked effect on the fortunes of the town. There was no boom in town lots, and no rapid increase of population, though there was a general stiffening of prices and a feeling of stability that had formerly been wanting. The condition was quite similar to that of a college town. The sessions, which were then annual, brought a number of people to town, and business of all kinds livened up. Considerable money was put in circulation, and very soon the session marked the common fiscal year. People made bills payable when the legislature was in session, and there was a general settlement of accounts at that time. But the most notable effect was social. There were usually a number of persons of more or less prominence here besides the legislators, and a great many families took one or more boarders in their homes. In anticipation of the coming, a number of young men of the place met at the Land Office one evening in the fall of 1824 and organized the Indianapolis Legislature, with jurisdiction over all known subjects, and especially over such as came before the real legislature. Among the early members were William Quarles, Dr. K. A. Scudder, Austin W. Morris, John Frazee, Israel Griffith, Alexander W. Russell, William New, Joseph K. Looney, Douglass Maguire, John Cain, Joseph M. Moore, Thomas H. Sharpe, Thomas A. Morris, William P. Bryant, Newton S. Heylin, Andrew W. Ingram, Hugh O’Neal, George W. Kimberly, Benjamin S. Noble, Fabius M. Finch, Simon Yandes, and Nathaniel P. Bolton. Benjamin I. Blythe, who had been a member of the legislature from Dearborn County, was chosen the first speaker, and the organization was launched.

It was popular from the first, and soon many other young men joined, and also a number of the older citizens, including Judge Wick, Hiram Brown, Morris Morris, Calvin Fletcher, and later Governor Noble and General Hanna. It held its sessions in the senate chamber of the old court house, on Saturday nights, and

during the sessions was very generally attended by the members of the state legislature. Much interest was taken in the discussions, and it is said that many of the problems of the real legislature were settled by its debates. The ladies of the town were quite regular attendants, and were always welcomed. This organization met weekly, winter and summer, for over ten years, and was a source of both amusement and education to the community. It elected a governor at intervals, and his “message” was always an elaborate, and often humorous document, which was generally printed by the local papers.

But according to Mr. Bolton the legislative influence was still more extensive, for he says: “After the removal of the seat of government to Indianapolis, the social intercourse of the people seemed to partake more or less of a legislative character, particularly amongst the young of both sexes. At a wedding party a society was instituted, consisting of young ladies and gentlemen, on the legislative principle; yet not quite so democratic, in one of its departments, as that of our state government. The aristocratic branch consisted of four young ladies, who constituted a council, or board of directors, having a strong veto power on all matters brought before the society. The other branch was purely democratic, and consisted of ladies and gentlemen. The subjects brought before the society were generally such as tended to matrimony. There was a marshal or sergeant-at-arms appointed, whose special business it was to carry out the decrees of the council or board of directors. James Blake, the Indianapolis marshal of thirty years standing, was first elected. Moonlight excursions on a large ferry boat on the river were projected; and the society, on fine evenings, would proceed to the boat, where, by the light of the soft silver moon, as our bark floated over the waters, to the sound of sweet music, many a tale of love was told. A grave charge was made against several of the first directory of ladies, who instead of attending to the interests of the society at large, were the first to form matrimonial alliances for themselves. When their wedding parties came on, these charges were a source of much amusement.”¹⁰

⁹*Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. 2, p. 351.

¹⁰*Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. 1, p. 112.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MORAL FOUNDATION.

In its beginnings Indianapolis had most of the characteristics of an American frontier settlement, varied by the fact that it was not on any line of travel. They were not so marked as usual in the matter of lawlessness, as has been noted, and they were more marked than usual in the physical conditions and the social relations because the place was isolated—set down in the primeval forest, with almost no roads, and very limited waterways. The settlers were thrown on their own resources for almost everything, and there was a very slow advance towards those social distinctions that are found in older communities. There was practically no help to hire—the only way to get it was to get into trouble and trust to sympathy. People did their own work when possible, and helped each other when necessary or mutually desirable. The following entries from the diary of Mrs. Calvin Fletcher in 1821, will illustrate the condition: "November 5, 1821. Mr. Fletcher has been helping Mr. Blake husk corn." (Mr. Blake—James—owned the house in which the Fletchers lived, and boarded with them.) "December 7. We killed a beef. Mr. Paxton and Mr. Blake helped to butcher it." "November 22, 1821. I spun some candle wicking." "November 24, 1821, Mrs. Nowland was making a bonnet. She came to me to know whether I could make it. I did not understand it, but gave her all the instruction I possibly could." There are numerous references in this journal to visits, small dinner parties, teas, quiltings, etc., and evidence that general fellowship and good feeling pervaded the community. And the first settlers evidently made the most of their limited opportunities for amusement. On December 27, 1821, Mrs. Fletcher notes the return of Mr. Blake from Corydon, and says, "Mr.

F. has gone to see him, and when I write a few more lines I will go also, although I feel very much fatigued, for it is a long time since I have heard the fiddle played. (Mr. Blake was a performer.) I think it will seem very melodious, and I am just about to start to hear it". A few days later she writes: "I visited Mrs. Nowland, and Mr. Russell played a few tunes on the fiddle, and we also danced a few reels". The crowning dissipation of the second year was the New Year's ball at Wyant's tavern, which may be regarded as the opening of "society" in Indianapolis. They had written invitations, the following one being preserved:

"The company of Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher is requested to a party at J. Wyant's, Tuesday the 1st of January, 1822, at 3 o'clock p. m.

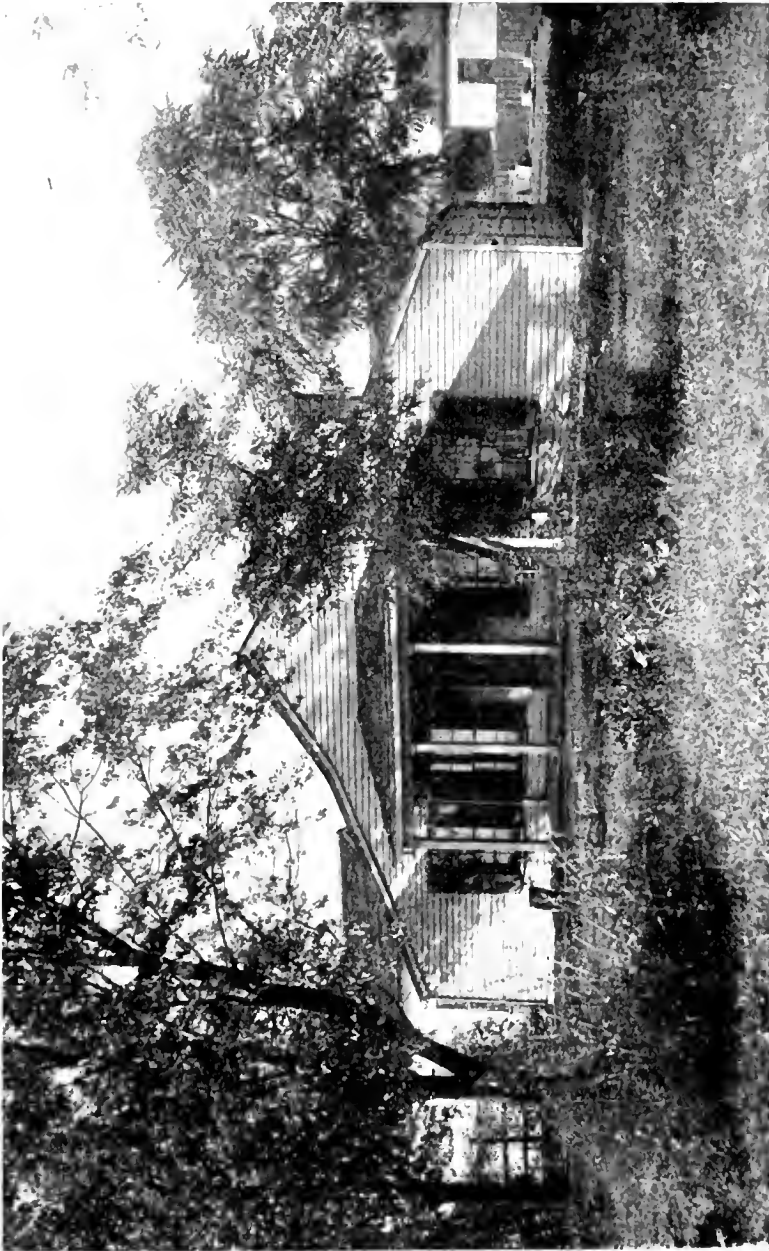
Indianapolis, December 28th, 1821.

Managers,

A. W. Russell,
K. A. Scudder."

Calvin Fletcher records in his diary for New Year's 1822, "About 3 of the clock, Mr. Hogden called with a carriage and carried Mrs. F. and myself to Mr. Wyant's, on the river, where we met about twenty couple. We enjoyed ourselves very much and returned about twelve, and not fatigued".¹ Mrs. Martin—daughter of George Smith, the first publisher—then thirteen years of age, also went to this ball in Hogden's "carriage", which she describes as "a great lumbering thing" similar to the "mud wagons" that were used in stage-coach days when an ordinary stage could not navigate the flooded roads. The refreshments were elaborate. Rev. J. C. Fletcher records Mrs. Martin's account

¹*News*, April 12, 1879.



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

PATERSON HOMESTEAD.—OLDEST FRAME HOUSE.
(Maxwell and North Streets. Central part built in 1823.)

of them thus: "According to Mrs. Martin there was in the great open fire place an immense kettle or cauldron, which contained no less than sixteen gallons of coffee; and there were pans, skillets and other cooking and baking vessels, in which were biscuits, sweet bread, ginger bread, and that best of all cakes which is a lost art among the moderns. I refer to the real, old-fashioned pound cake, which has given way to a lot of insipid and indigestible sweetnesses under the names of marble, coconut, chocolate, mountain and icing cakes, to say nothing of ribbon, fig and I do not know how many other combinations of cakes. That New Year's party was composed of every grade in society, so that the candidates had an excellent opportunity to see the people, for my father told me that invitations were extended to everybody, from the Helvey neighborhood on the school section down to the humblest inhabitant of the meanest log cabin on the donation."²

There was dancing as well as eating. The music was furnished by Col. Alexander W. Russell, who enjoyed the distinction of coming to Indianapolis on the first keel boat that came up this far, in May, 1821. He was also a brother of John W. Russell, the steamboat captain, celebrated in Western annals for an achievement at Natchez. One of his passengers had been robbed in one of the gambling dens that lined the river. Russell demanded the return of the money; and when refused had a gang of hands fasten a hawser around the house, and started the boat. The gamblers tossed the pocket-book out of the window, and cried "enough". Alexander W. was a Kentuckian, notable later as county sheriff, militia officer, merchant and postmaster. He was a "fiddler" of note, and was in demand at all of the early entertainments. On this occasion, under his inspiring strains Matthias R. Nowland invited Mrs. Wyant to open the dance with him. Others followed, and all was going merry as a wedding bell when Mr. Wyant entered and ordered the music to stop. According to J. H. B. Nowland; "Mr. Wyant said that 'as far as himself and his wife were concerned, they were capable of and able to do their own dancing, and that he thought it would look better for every man to dance with

his own wife; those that had no wife could dance with the gals'. This order, as far as Mr. and Mrs. Wyant were concerned, was strictly adhered to and faithfully carried out the balance of the night."³ This manifestation of religious or moral scruples on the part of the tavern keeper was characteristic of the time. Mr. Fletcher records: "On December 31, 1823, visited, or rather attended, a theatrical performance at Thomas Carter's tavern. The performers were Mr. and Mrs. Smith purporting to be directly from the New York theaters. They both were not less than 50 years of age, representing the 'Jealous Lovers' and 'Lord What a Snow Storm in May and June'. Admittance 25 cents. No music at first; fiddle strings broke. Russell and Bolton were requested by our host, Thomas Carter, to play nothing but 'note tunes or psalms' as he called them." Carter, who was a strict Baptist, always insisted on this form of propriety in his house, and Nowland records a similar instance in the winter of 1825-6, in which a Mr. Crampton was the troupe and Bill Bagwell was the orchestra.⁴

Just who "Mr. and Mrs. Smith", the first players, were, is not known. Their entertainment was exactly like those given by "Old Sol Smith"—uncle of Sol Smith Russell, and a theatrical pioneer of the Ohio valley—and his wife, when "touring the provinces", and they were at a Cincinnati theater that winter, but they were much under fifty years of age then, and Smith makes no mention of any visit to Indianapolis in his reminiscences. Crampton was a well-known player in the west, and Smith mentions playing with him elsewhere.⁵ Whoever they were, they seem to have done well, for they came back the following summer, when they made the awful mistake of advertising in the *Gazette* and not in the *Censor*, and on June 22, the *Censor* observed: "Mr. and Mrs. Smith whose performances were treated with so much contempt and ridicule last winter, arrived in town a few days ago, and commenced their performance last night, with what encouragement we have not yet been informed. We have not the same objection which exists in the minds of many people

³*Reminiscences*, p. 128.

⁴*Reminiscences*, p. 66.

⁵*Theatrical Management in the West and South for Thirty Years*, N. Y., 1868.

²*News*, April 26, 1879.

against the performance, by regular and respectable companies, of tragedies and comedies; but the encouragement of *this company*, whose exhibitions we understand (for we have never witnessed them) afford neither instruction nor rational entertainment, would be a reproach upon our understandings, and would evince a want of taste and discrimination in our citizens, which we are proud to believe does not exist." This seems to have reached the public conscience, for, on June 29, the *Censor* said: "Mr. Smith and *his company*, we understand, have *absconded*, without taking from us any of our cash." Bolton also attended the first Smith entertainment, and says "a musical society had just been established, of which I was a member, which was invited to be present". He puts Smith's age at 55, and Mrs. Smith's at 60, and states that the latter, in addition to the plays, sang the Star Spangled Banner, and danced "a hornpipe, blindfolded, amongst eggs".⁶

Indianapolis was unquestionably more moral and religious than the average frontier town, and presumably so because it was out of the line of travel, and because there was nothing here for some years to attract the vicious or even the speculative element. There was quite an influx of speculators at the sale of lots in October, 1821, but that was of short duration, and as the town gave no evidence of becoming a "boom town", and had nothing to make it such, the speculative element sought other fields, and the town was left to those who had come to make homes. These were naturally sober-minded, and mostly religious people; and there were religious meetings held in the cabins of the settlers by representatives of all the leading sects long before any of them could afford a meeting-house. There is some question as to who preached the first sermon here, some claiming the record for Rev. Resin Hammond, of Charlestown, a Methodist, who preached at Isaac Wilson's cabin in the spring of 1821, and some for Rev. John McClung, a "New Light"⁷ who addressed an open-air meet-

ing about the same time, with the probabilities favoring McClung. He was at least the first preacher who settled here, locating on Fall Creek, not far from the present State Fair Grounds, where he died on August 18, 1823. He was originally a Presbyterian, but joined the reform movement, and for seventeen years was one of their most active preachers in the Ohio Valley. His obituary sketch says: "About two years ago he moved to this, then commencing settlement, and continued to preach to very general acceptance until about the 1st of April last, when he called together the church he had formed, and informed them that having, after careful and prayerful examination, become satisfied that the distinguishing doctrines of the society were not scriptural, it became his duty as an honest man to withdraw his membership from the church. * * * For his labors in our infancy as a settlement, and before any other regular preaching was established in this place, we are under much obligation." Some doubts as to points of doctrine prevented his joining any other church until a short time before his death, when he returned to the Presbyterian fold.

Rev. Resin Hammond was only a visitor, but in the summer of 1821 the Methodists formed a class which met at Isaac Wilson's, and which was the nucleus of the first church. In the fall of 1821 Rev. Wm. Cravens was sent here by the Missouri Conference, in which Indiana was then located, to organize a circuit, and Indianapolis was made a station in his circuit for the year following. Cravens was a forcible speaker, with special antipathy to slavery and to the sale or use of intoxicating liquors, and he preached at them straight and hard.⁸ Rev. James Scott, a Methodist minister, located here on November 28, 1822, being in charge of a circuit that included the northern part of Marion, with Hamilton and Madison counties; though he was in charge of the camp-meeting held here in September, 1822, and performed various

lowers of Alexander Campbell, but not quite so damp—they did not consider immersion essential. Most of the two sects united in 1832, and "New Light" and "Campbellite" came to be nearly synonymous.

⁶*Western Censor*, August 25, 1823.

⁷*Holliday's Indiana Methodism*, p. 58; *Smith's Indiana Miscellany*, p. 109.

⁶*Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. 1, p. 167.

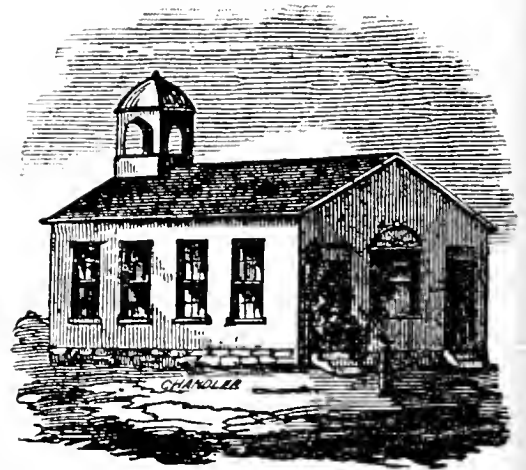
⁷"New light" is a rather indefinite term. At the time of the founding of Indianapolis it was most commonly applied in the West to the followers of Barton W. Stone, of Kentucky. Their tenets were almost the same as those of the fol-

ministerial functions at a later date.¹⁹ The Methodists did not undertake to maintain a meeting-house until 1825, when they located in a log building on the south side of Maryland street, west of Meridian, which they occupied for four years.

The McCormicks, the first permanent settlers, were Baptists, and others soon followed. There were some religious meetings at private houses and in 1822 the Baptists formed the first church organization at this point. The original minutes of the church, which are preserved, show that a preliminary meeting was held at the school house, at the point between Kentucky avenue and Illinois street in August, and it was decided to organize on September 22. Samuel McCormick was directed to write to Lick Creek and Franklin churches, and John W. Reding to Little Flat Rock and Little Cedar Grove churches for "helps" in organization. On the appointed day Elder Tyner from Little Cedar Grove appeared as a help, and letters having been presented by Benjamin Barnes, Jeremiah Johnson, Thomas Carter, Otis Hobart, John Hobart, Theodore V. Denny, John McCormick, Samuel McCormick, John Thompson, William Dodd, Jane Johnson, Nancy Carter, Nancy Thompson, Elizabeth McCormick and Polly Carter, it was decided to adjourn to October 10. On that day the parties assembled, with John W. Reding and Hannah Skinner added, and Benjamin Barnes was selected to speak for the members. "Brother Tyner went into an examination, and finding the members sound in the faith, pronounced them a regular Baptist church, and directed them to go into business". In January, 1823, arrangements were made to secure the school house for meetings, and in June an agreement was made with Benjamin Barnes to preach once a month for the remainder of the year. In the spring of 1825 Major Chinn invited the church to use his house, on the north side of Maryland, between Meridian and Illinois, for regular meetings, which was accepted. In June, 1825, the church purchased of William Wilmuth lot 2 in square 60, where the Hebrew Synagogue on East Market street now stands, and meetings were held in a log house that stood on it, which was rented for a

school house on week days. In 1829 the church purchased a lot on the southwest corner of Meridian and Maryland streets, and erected its first regular meeting-house there.

The first Presbyterian who preached here was Rev. Ludwell G. Gaines, of Ohio, a missionary of the General Assembly who held an open air meeting in August, 1821. Rev. David C. Proctor, under the direction of the Connecticut Missionary Society, visited Indianapolis for about a week in May, 1822. In February, 1822, Dr. Isaac Coe organized a bible class, and in the fall of that year arrangements were made with Mr. Proctor to preach three-fourths of his time at Indianapolis for the year begin-



FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND SCHOOL ERECTED.

(From an old cut.)

ning October 1, 1822, the other one-fourth being given to the church at Bloomington. In the spring of 1823 a subscription was made for a meeting-house, the first in Indianapolis, which was begun in May and completed in July. A formal church organization was made on July 5, 1823, at Caleb Seudder's cabinet shop. Rev. Isaac Reed, who preached at New Albany, and made occasional missionary tours into the back settlements, writes: "My first visit to Indianapolis was through many perils of waters by the way, in company with Mr. Proctor, the 3rd of July. On the afternoon of the 4th, I preached to the Presbyterian friends at a cabinet maker's shop; and at the

¹⁹ See *Gazette*, June 15, 1824; *Western Courier*, March 15, May 24, September 11, 1824.

same place, on the morning of the 5th, I preached as moderator in the formation of the church of Indianapolis. The same day two other ministers arrived. The next day was the Sabbath, and there were four ministers with this new formed church. The church was organized with fifteen members. Dr. Isaac Coe and Caleb Scudder were elected elders. A church edifice had been begun in May before the organization of the church, and was so far completed that it was occupied at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper on the Sabbath, the next day after the organization of the church."

The early religious meetings, especially where there was preaching, were generally attended, without regard to denomination. Among the notes in Mrs. Fletcher's diary for her first year here are the following: "Sunday, November 18, 1821. I attended prayer meeting at Mr. Stephens'." "Sunday, November 25, 1821, I attended preaching at Mr. Hawkins' where I heard a very good sermon by a Newlight minister." "Sunday, December 30, 1821, I heard a sermon delivered by a Newlight minister which I did not think commendable, but we must allow for it as it has not been but about three months since he began to speak in public." "Sunday, May 12, 1822, I attended preaching at the Governor's circle. It was the first sermon ever delivered at that place. Rev. Mr. Proctor took his text from the 30th chapter of Proverbs and 17th verse. * * * The preacher is a Presbyterian and a very good orator. He will speak again on Tuesday p. m." "Tuesday, 14th. In the morning it rained, and in the afternoon was clear but muddy. Mr. F. attended preaching at the school house." "Sunday, 9th June. Mrs. Wick and I attended Methodist preaching." "Sunday, 16th June, 1822. Mr. Blake went to Sabbath School." "Sunday, 12th July. This day attended Baptist preaching at the school house." In September, 1822, is the note: "Camp meeting commenced the 13th of September and held four days."

The Sabbath school to which Mr. Blake went on June 16, 1822, was presumably Dr. Coe's bible class, for there is no record of any Sabbath school here until the union school was organized the next spring at Caleb Scudder's cabinet shop. Mrs. Fletcher writes of it: "April 6, 1823. Our school commenced, which I hope will be of great benefit to the children

of our town." This school organization was named the Indianapolis Sabbath School Union, and included all denominations as well as non-church members. James M. Ray, the first superintendent, and James Blake, one of the active workers, were not then church members. Among the teachers were Caleb Scudder, Douglass Maguire, Henry Bradley, B. F. Morris, Dr. Dunlap, the Misses Coe, Mrs. Morris, Miss McDougall, Mrs. Scudder, and Mrs. Paxton. It followed the general plan of the American Sabbath School Union, and served a valuable educational purpose aside from the religious instruction. The school was divided into four "classes", or as they would now be called "grades", and each class was divided into "sections" corresponding to modern "classes". Those of the first class studied the scriptures direct; the second memorized hymns, catechisms, etc.; the third included "those who spell in two or more syllables, and the fourth those who are learning the alphabet and monosyllables". In August, 1826, the Indiana Sabbath School Union was organized at Indianapolis, and at its first annual meeting, August 3-6, 1827, elaborate directions for Sabbath School organization were issued, based on the work of the Indianapolis school, of which the following extract will give a comprehensive idea: "The first class should memorize Matthew, beginning at the 2d chapter, John, Acts and Romans. A selection, as given in the appendix, from Genesis, Exodus and Deuteronomy, with such other parts of scripture or catechisms as may be thought advisable. The second class should memorize catechisms and hymns—those published by the American Sunday School Union are prepared by a committee consisting of the principal religious denominations in the United States, and contain no doctrines in which all do not unite. In the Indianapolis school, Watts' First Catechism, Milk for Babes, Watts' Divine and Moral Songs, Doddridges Poetical Lessons, and Taylor's Original Hymns are learned in course, before commencing the Testament. The third class should use some spelling book. And the fourth class some spelling book or primer containing the alphabet and words of one syllable; and both classes should memorize their spelling lessons. The Sunday School Spelling Book and Union Primer were designed for these classes, but might, the committee believe, be

still better fitted for the object they are intended to accomplish, particularly the last,—the vocabulary of monosyllables in Webster's spelling book appears better calculated, they believe, to advance the young beginner."

The memorizing was the chief feature of the work, and to encourage it the distribution of books from the Sunday School library was made dependent on it. The library was composed chiefly of publications of the national Union, and of these three depositories were established in the state, at Madison, New Albany and Indianapolis. Any school joining the Union, and paying one dollar, could obtain these books at cost; to others an advance of fifteen per cent, was charged. The books were classified by price, and the pupil could "draw a book from the library of the value of four times as many cents as the average lesson assigned by the religious instructor to the class consists of verses, or their equivalents, which book may be kept one week and no longer". For "every dirt or grease-spot, turned down or torn leaf, or week over-kept" there was a fine of from one to seven cents, according to the value of the book, which was to be paid in money or memorizing. The class record was devoted to this matter of memorizing, as appears from the following model prepared and circulated by the Union:

TEACHER'S CLASS BOOK

| Male.—Peter Punctual, Teacher. | 1st Class, 1st Section. | | | 13. | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|----|----|-----|----|----|
| | C | V | M | C | V | M |
| Israel Industrious | 23 | 30 | 50 | 24 | 41 | 50 |
| Solomon Steady | 20 | 1 | 50 | 21 | 17 | 40 |
| Simon Sober | 19 | 1 | 50 | 20 | 21 | 50 |
| Abraham Active | 19 | 23 | 49 | 11 | 21 | 45 |
| Charles Careless | 4 | 1 | 20 | 4 | 21 | 15 |

C stands for chapter, V, verse, where lesson begins. M number of verses memorized.

The Sunday School was a success from the start, there being 50 in attendance on the third Sunday. On April 23, the *Censor* said: "It is highly flattering to witness the success that has attended the formation of the Sunday School in this town. The exertions of the Directory and Superintendent have produced the most flattering prospects. The school on the two last Sabbaths was numerously attended, and the order and harmony that prevailed, considering the inexperience of those engaged in teaching, furnish the strongest proof of the practicability of rendering such establishments eminently useful in improving

the condition of the rising generation." The chief promoter of the union Sunday School was Dr. Isaac Coe, who became its "clerk"; but he was warmly seconded by the press¹¹ and all public-spirited citizens. The school was discontinued in the winter months of 1823-4, but was renewed on April 24, 1824, and was continuous thereafter, meeting in the Presbyterian church when it was completed. It was the only Sunday School until the spring of 1828, when the Methodists organized a separate school, and the Baptists did likewise in 1832.

An interesting feature of the early Sunday schools was their participation in the celebration of the Fourth of July, which began in 1828. The glorious Fourth had not been overlooked before that time. Even in 1821 the young people of the place had celebrated by obtaining a keel-boat that had recently come up the river, and going up to Anderson's spring for a picnic. Anderson's spring is still the finest spring in this vicinity, though it is little known because of its out-of-the-way location. It is at the foot of the bluff south of Emmerich's grove, on the west side of the river, about half way between the Cold Spring and the Emmerichsville bridge. At present it is partly harnessed to a hydraulic ram, and pumps water to a tank in the garden farm of Mrs. Denke just above. It took its name from Thomas Anderson, one of the earliest settlers, who located at that point. In 1822 the citizens met at Hawkins' tavern on June 17, and made arrangements for a public celebration on the Military Reserve, which then extended south to Washington street as well as including the present Military Park. The celebration opened with a sermon from Rev. John McClung, from the text, "Righteousness exalteth a nation but sin is a reproach to any people"; which was followed by a brief speech and the reading of the Declaration of Independence by Judge Wick, Washington's Inaugural Address by Squire Obed Foote, Washington's Farewell Address, by John Hawkins, and a prayer and benediction by Rev. Robert Brenton. Then followed a dinner, the central feature of which was a barbecued buck that had been killed the day before by Robert Harding, with patriotic toasts, and an ample supply of the spirit of the maize. The toasts, fourteen in number, were

¹¹*Censor*, March 19 and 26.

written by Calvin Fletcher, the last one being, "Indianapolis. May it not prove itself unworthy the honor the state has conferred upon it by making it her seat of government".¹² At night there was a ball at Crumbaugh's tavern and justice shop, at the corner of Market and Missouri streets.¹³ In 1823, the *Censor* says: "The day was ushered in by the firing of muskets and rifles. About ten o'clock, agreeably to a previous notice, the citizens of the town and vicinity assembled in a handsome shade on the town plat, where, after an appropriate prayer by the Rev. Mr. Proctor, and the reading of the Declaration of Independence by D. B. Wick, Esq., an oration was delivered by Morris Morris, Esq., and the services of the occasion were closed by prayer from the Rev. Mr. Reid." The dinner was at Wilkes Reagans with the customary toasts, and the festivities closed with a ball at the same place.

These celebrations increased in splendor as the military and civic organizations developed. In 1827 the *Journal* says: "The day was announced by the discharge of 24 rounds of cannon, amid the cheers of the citizens. At an early hour, the artillery, commanded by Captain Morris, and the rifle company, commanded by Captain Reding, paraded and placed in front of the procession formed by Captain McFarland, who acted as marshal of the day. Then followed the committee of arrangements, the President and Vice-president, Chaplain and leader of vocal music, Orator and Reader of the Declaration of Independence, Revolutionary soldiers and citizens." This imposing body moved to the court house where a large concourse, with many ladies, was waiting. The dinner, at the tavern of Mr. Hays was made memorable by 24 regular toasts and 18 volunteers. But in 1828 the procession was more impressive, for "the scholars of our two Sabbath schools, attended by their superintendents and instructors, together with a large number of ladies from town and country took a conspicuous part". The services were at the court house, and there was "music from a select choir of singers, accompanied by instrumental music from the members of the Indianapolis Handelian Society". After the services two processions were formed; one of the male patriots to repair to the dinner at the Sugar Grove,

cast of the town, and the other of the Sabbath school scholars, and ladies "to return to the schools". This innovation gave such general satisfaction that the Sunday schools thenceforward became star attractions, as may be seen from the order of formation in 1829, which the *Gazette* gives as follows:

1. Artillery.
2. Ladies and Female Teachers.
3. Four Female Teachers and Banner
4. Female scholars, smallest in front
5. Music.
6. Four Male Teachers and Banner.
7. Male scholars, smallest in front.
8. Two Clergymen, Reader and Orator
9. Superintendents, Teachers, Etc.
10. Citizens, four abreast.

On this occasion the address was by Judge James Morrison, who gave a history of the Sabbath school movement. At that time he said there were 490 on the rolls of the Union school, with an average attendance of 110 scholars and 30 teachers; while the Methodist school had 98 scholars and 19 teachers. The work had been prosecuted outside of town till 18 schools had been formed, and the attendance at all the schools in the county was between 1,100 and 1,200. As illustrating their benefit he mentioned one locality where there were only 30 children in the day schools, but 90 attended the Sunday school.

The participation of the Sunday schools in the Fourth of July celebrations continued until 1855, and as they were shut out of the dinners it became the custom to stay the juvenile stomachs by a distribution of rusk and water, until home and something more substantial could be reached. And as the various denominations formed independent Sunday schools it became the custom for each school to join the procession as a separate organization. All of the schools joined, with two exceptions. The Episcopalians did not join in this diversion, but just why is not recorded. The Universalists, after a brief and unsuccessful effort at organization in the '40s, reorganized in 1853, and maintained a Sunday school, but it always flocked by itself on the Fourth, usually holding a picnic in the woods north of the University, on College avenue, which Ovid Butler furnished for the occasion. The picnic was the microbe that destroyed the old-time celebration. In early days the tendency of the seeker for recreation was to get out of the

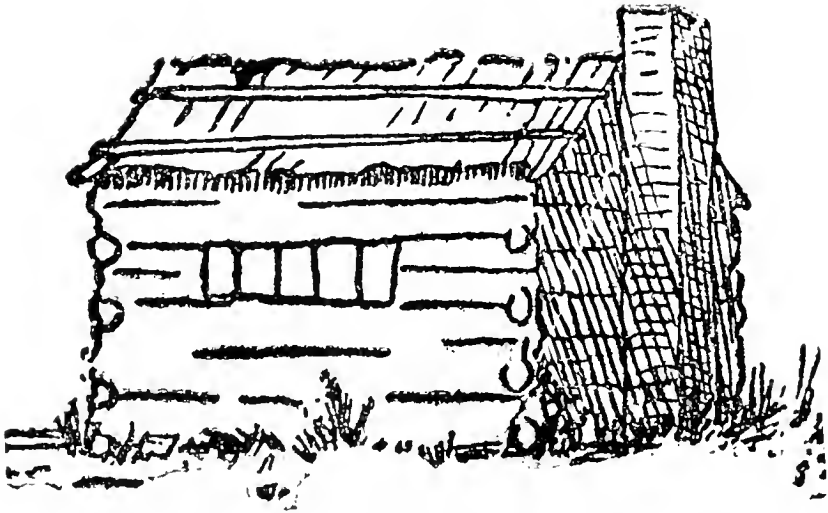
¹²*News*, June 7, 1829.

¹³See also *Nowland's Reminiscences*, p. 131.

woods and into town, but as physical conditions changed this tendency was reversed. Occasionally even a Sunday school cut the parade and went to the woods for a picnic. And so it came to pass that the celebration in 1857 was a fizzle. The National Guards had gone to Lexington, Ky., to the laying of the corner-stone of the Henry Clay monument, and had taken the city band with them. The firemen had gone to a picnic near Franklin. Several of the Sunday schools had taken to the woods. The *Journal* ingubriously observed: "The Sunday school children made the only display that was made, and even they fell short of their

dropped entirely, and the time-honored parade, with "Uncle Jimmy" Blake as marshal, has become only a fond memory of the older citizens.

Although the Sunday school was organized in large part to supply the deficiency of day schools, the early settlers were not unmindful of the latter. In 1821 they got together and put up a log school house on the edge of a large pond that was located at the corner of Kentucky avenue and Washington street, and here Joseph C. Reed was installed as the first teacher.¹⁵ Its construction was voluntary, and the school was a "pay school", for there was no official school organization as yet. A descrip-



THE FIRST SCHOOL HOUSE, KENTUCKY AVE. AND ILLINOIS ST.

(From a pencil sketch by James B. Dunlap.)

usual numbers and spirit. There was no music in the city, no firemen's parade, no military display, no movement of any kind after an early hour in the morning. The thundering of the cannon, rapidly fired by the Artillery boys, opened the day well, but the promise of a 'good time' was illy fulfilled. The remark was universal that 'so dull a Fourth was never seen'. At night there was some compensation for the sleepiness of the day in a profusion of fireworks and bonfires, but that was all."¹⁴ In 1858, the Fourth came on Sunday, and part of the community celebrated on Saturday, part on Monday. Thereafter the ancient custom was

tion of this school house is given in the notes left by Mrs. Martin, who, as Miss Betty Smith, daughter of George Smith, the pioneer publisher, went to school there at the age of thirteen. She says: "The first school house was a cabin with rough-hewed floor and benches, and a slab of the same kind was fastened to the wall to write on; and back of that a log was sawed out, and sticks put in to paste paper on, and the paper was greased to make it light, so we were pretty well fixed. We used to have singing school of evenings, and prayer meetings, and on Saturday and Sunday the sheep used to occupy our school room in our absence. And

¹⁴*Journal*, July 7, 1857.

¹⁵*Brown's Indianapolis*, p. 7.

how do you suppose they got in? Well, they got in by the chimney. I suppose you think the chimney was not very high—it was about four feet high, and six feet wide, so you see we could have a good fire.” The occupancy by the sheep was not regular, however, for the school house was often used for preaching and other meetings. The state law, which was very rudimentary, provided for putting the “school sections” under the care of superintendents, leasing them, and applying the returns to the use of schools; but no appointments could be made until after the county commissioners were elected in the following spring; and even then the profits from the school lands were only nominal for several years. The law also provided for the election of school trustees by the people, and gave these trustees power to do almost anything “not inconsistent with the constitution and the law” for the “encouragement of schools.” Mr. Reed’s service was evidently acceptable, for he was elected County Recorder the next spring, but that left the school without a teacher. A meeting was held on June 29, 1822, and trustees were elected, but the school was very irregular, on account of the difficulty of getting a teacher. Several are said to have been tried but with so little satisfaction that not even their names are preserved.

But relief was coming from another source. Says Rev. J. C. Fletcher: “It is a noted fact that from 1822 to 1839 the Methodists had the best preachers in Indianapolis and the Presbyterians the best schools.”¹⁹ It certainly was a blessing to the community that the first Presbyterian Board of Trustees included those two energetic educational cranks Dr. Isaac Coe as chairman and James Blake as secretary. The new church for which subscriptions were taken in May, 1823, was completed that summer, and it included a school room arranged for use on week days as well as Sundays. On March 11, 1824, the trustees announced that school would be opened on the first Monday in April by Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence, who were certified to be qualified instructors in “Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar and Geography”, in addition to which Mrs. Lawrence taught needle-work. The tuition was \$2 per quarter, and realizing that even this seeming small

¹⁹*News*, June 28, 1879.

charge would be a burden, the trustees say:

“It has been a matter of serious solicitude with the Trustees that the school should be of the greatest advantage to the public; and believing that many from the largeness of their families, and the difficulties attending a removal to a new settlement, are but ill prepared to pay for that schooling they would wish their children to have, and which it is of high importance they should enjoy, the board have reserved the privilege of sending six children gratis, and provision will be made by a number of young men and others to pay for the instruction of several more.” They also proposed to “give one scholar his tuition for giving the signal for school, and making the fire each morning one hour before its opening”.

The Lawrences—Rice B. and Ann—were very competent teachers, from New York originally, but direct from Troy, Ohio. Mr. Brown says they taught for a time in the log school house, but if so it was a short time, for they came here in the last of October, 1823. They were Presbyterians, and active workers in the Sunday school as well as the day school. The second quarter of this school was announced to open on July 26, but Mr. Lawrence fell ill, and died on July 31; and the school, which was continued by Mrs. Lawrence, opened on August 9. The third term opened November 15, and this was the last one advertised, but Mrs. Lawrence evidently continued to teach in 1825, for a time, for Mrs. Ketchum describes her attendance there in summer, and her family did not come to Indianapolis until November, 1824. There was an interim, however, between her school and that of Ebenezer Sharpe, her successor, in which Samuel Merrill, Rev. George Bush, and Mrs. Bush made records as volunteer teachers. On November 7, 1826, the trustees announced that Ebenezer Sharpe had begun school, or rather had “opened the Indianapolis Academy”, for it was now on a more pretentious basis. There were two assistants, Miss Isabella Sharpe and Thomas H. Sharpe, the latter “then a blonde-haired young gentleman of eighteen”, and something of an athlete, for he soon established a reputation as the fastest sprinter in this locality. Ebenezer Sharpe was a Marylander, of classical education, who was one of the early professors at Transylvania University, at Lexington, Kentucky. He remained there until Dr. Holly, of Boston, was elected president, when, on account of Dr. Holly being a Uni-

tarian, several professors, including Mr. Sharpe, resigned. Mr. Sharpe then established an academy at Paris, Kentucky, from which place he came here. He raised the standard of the school and graded the rates—

“For spelling and reading per qr., \$2.00.

Writing and arithmetic, \$2.50.

Geography, English grammar, mathematics, the languages and philosophy, \$3.00.”

This school gave the first public exhibition at the court house, on October 6, 1827, and so successfully that the *Journal* was moved to remark: “The original pieces that were spoken on the occasion were of a character well deserving commendation.” And so were those not original, for tradition records that Tom Morris (later General) enacted the part of a miser so well, in his recitation, that old farmer McDowell, who had the reputation of being “a little near”, took offense, and left the room with audible denunciations of the whole performance. In fact this may almost be called the beginning of amateur theatricals, for Thomas appeared in costume, with knee-breeches and a wig which he had himself constructed from cows tails. About 1830 Mr. Sharpe removed his school to a frame building at the corner of Ohio and Meridian streets, and continued it there until a short time before his death in 1835. The opening of the “old seminary” in 1834 marked a new epoch in Indianapolis schools, to be considered later. There were several other private schools in the early period, but little is recorded concerning them. Among the teachers were Messrs. Lambert, Fleming, Bryan, Tufts, Austin W. Morris, Wm. Daily (later president of the state university), McPherson (who was drowned by Vandalicism), and “Scotch” Mayne. The last-named was an eccentric Scotchman, with an untiring devotion to snuff and the ferule, both of which went chiefly to the head.

As illustrative of the homogeneous character of the settlement prior to the actual coming of the capital, may be mentioned one other dance that occurred towards the close of that period, and which was as celebrated in tradition as the opening ball at Wyant’s. In the summer and fall of 1823 James Blake and Samuel Henderson erected a new frame tavern on Washington street where the New York store now stands, and started out as tavern-

keepers—just imagine “Uncle Jimmy” Blake taking out a retail liquor license. The new house was christened Washington Hall, and was opened with a ball on Christmas eve, concerning which Calvin Fletcher recorded: “December 24. We this day have had a ball at Keepers Henderson & Blake’s. Mr. Foote, Mr. Ralston, Mr. Culbertson, Douglass Maguire and myself were the managers. The day was clear and cold. Our party was attended by about 30 couple. Supper splendid—and everything surpassingly agreeable.” This ball was fruitful of reminiscences in the old settlers’ meetings, and Douglass Maguire is authority for the statement that “Mr. Blake did some very good dancing and Mr. Fletcher was the best manager in a ball room that he ever saw.”¹⁷ Of course it will be remembered that at this time these gentlemen had not become church members, and it must not be understood that there was no objection to dancing in the community. The Methodists prohibited it at that time, and so did some of the other sects. On January 26, 1827, the Presbyterian minutes say: “It having been ascertained that the children of one of the members of this church have in two cases recently attended a dancing party in this place, resolved thereupon that Mr. Bush be requested to visit and converse with, and if necessary admonish that member in the name of the session on the impropriety of her conduct.” On the whole Indianapolis at the time was quite deserving of the following editorial puff which appeared in the *Western Censor* of October 19, 1824: “Our town is well supplied with schools and they are beginning to be established in different parts of the country; we have preaching in town every Sabbath, and our society is excellent. The moral and correct deportment of our citizens is a subject of remark to every observing and intelligent traveler. And here we cannot avoid mentioning as one among the most important of the moral engines in operation for the restraint of vice and the promotion of virtue and religion, and as being an ornament to the town, the existence of the Indianapolis Sabbath School, an institution in the encouragement and support of which all denominations unite, which is attended by children of both sexes and all conditions of life, and on the rolls of which there are nearly one hundred scholars.”

¹⁷*Locomotive*, June 14, 1856.

CHAPTER X.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWN.

There was never any approach to general privation and hardship in Indianapolis after the first two years, though there was some inconvenience for a time on account of the isolation of the place. The difficulty and expense of transporting goods from the outside operated somewhat like a tariff tax to stimulate domestic manufacture, but even that condition was improved by the gradual improvement of wagon roads. As early as May 15, 1839, the editor of the *Democrat* (Nathaniel Bolton) was indulging in reminiscence articles on "Indianapolis—the past and the present"; and on that date he said: "We have been assured by several old settlers that our personal friend, the venerable Mr. John Hager, now clerk of the court in Hancock County, frequently brought the latest intelligence from Cincinnati by his ox cart. Mr. Hager is well known here to our old citizens as among the most enterprising, active and industrious of the old pioneers. When an immense and almost trackless forest stretched over the now beautiful and improved country, Mr. Hager was busy in the wilderness. It is even now a job of some difficulty to haul from Cincinnati with oxen, even if the road is fine; anyone acquainted with a western wilderness can form some faint idea of the task of driving through a roadless, trackless, uninhabited forest, and run the risks necessarily incident to such an undertaking. Old Johnny Hager, who first by his team brought the necessaries of life to the first settlers, is still alive, and long may he live to see the improvements of the country in which he spent the vigor of his life. Yes; seventeen years ago, the inhabitants of this part of the country anxiously flocked around the ox-cart of Mr. Hager to hear the latest eastern news!"

As has been mentioned, the speculative class

of the earliest comers did not remain here, there being so little prospect of any speedy advance in real estate that they let their first payments go. On December 6, 1826, Benjamin I. Blythe, the State Agent, reported that under the relief act of January 26 of that year, there had been transfers of payments on 25 lots, amounting to \$1,857.52, but there had been relinquishments of 99 lots on which \$2,619.06 had been paid. But meanwhile the country was steadily settling and improving. On February 20, 1827, comparing the situation with that at the sale of lots in October, 1821, the *Journal* said: "At that time the whole population in what was called the New Purchase, embracing all the territory within 50 miles of this place, was returned by the Marshal at about 1,300. The population within the same bounds must now amount to upwards of 55,000 and that of this town to about 1,000 souls. There are now 25 brick, 60 frame, and about 80 hewn log houses and cabins in town. The public buildings are a Court House 60 feet by 15, a Jail, and Meeting Houses, belonging to the Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist societies. The former have a settled preacher and upwards of 30 members in their church. The Baptist church has 36 and the Methodist 93 members. A Sunday school, which all denominations join in supporting, has existed without interruption for more than five years. The present number of teachers is about 20 and the scholars from 100 to 200. There are weekly schools in which some of the teachers would not discredit their calling in any part of the Union, and the same may be said of some of the members of each of the learned professions."

These estimates were conservative. The report of the Sunday School, on April 10, showed

4 superintendents, 8 religious instructors, 34 teachers and 188 scholars on the books, with an average attendance of 150. The census taken by the Sunday School visitors on November 27 and 28, showed a total population of 1,066, composed of white males, 529; white females, 479; colored males, 34; colored females, 24.¹ The Sunday School work gave especial cause for satisfaction. The Indiana Sabbath School Union had established one of its depositories of books at this point, and the local school had put in circulation a library of 152 volumes. The children seem to have been quite as well behaved as their elders. One of the teachers testified to the *Journal*: "I have had under my care for the last six months an average number of between 70 and 80 scholars; in all that time there has been but one complaint (and that was in the case of a new comer) against any of those children for profanity or quarreling. Not even a pane of glass has been broken in the school room, though frequently a large part of the scholars spend their intermission time there."² The women had organized a Female Bible Society on April 18, 1825, and in its second year they distributed gratuitously 50 testaments and 7 bibles, besides selling 69 testaments and 6 bibles. The men followed by organizing the Marion County Bible Society on November 13, 1825. They did not apparently secure so great results, but they were very strong on reports and resolutions.³ The Indianapolis Tract Society was also organized in the spring of 1825, and maintained a useful existence for many years.

But while moral conditions were excellent, the *Journal*, which already leaned to "the American system" of tariff, lamented the large importation of merchandise. On October 2, 1827, it stated that it had been making investigations of the imports for consumption for the past year, and that, "within the time mentioned, twelve of our merchants and inn-keepers have purchased for home consumption from manufacturers without the county, 76 kegs of tobacco, 213 barrels of whisky, 200 barrels of flour, 100 kegs of powder, and 1,500 lbs. of spun cotton. The first cost of these articles must somewhat exceed \$5,000, and when we

add what has been purchased from other sources by individuals for their private use, and what has been paid for cigars, cordage, linseed oil and hats, it is believed that the first cost of the whole will fall but little short of \$10,000. Another year will no doubt lessen the importation of some of the articles mentioned. The wheat crop was good, and it is thought to be nearly sufficient for home consumption. At any rate we have been supplied with flour, with but slight exception, of our own manufacture, in plenty and of good quality since harvest. The hatting business it is expected will be carried on in future as extensively as our wants require. In this article and that of flour there will be a saving of at least \$3,000. We do not learn that the manufacture of whisky is increasing. It does not appear that more than 71 barrels of whisky, distilled in this county, have been purchased by our merchants within the year. No attempts have yet been made to manufacture tobacco, powder, linseed oil, cordage or cotton yarn."

Unquestionably this publication was in aid of the steam mill project, the stock for which was being sold at this time, for on November 20 the *Journal* recapitulated its facts and added: "Some of the articles mentioned, it is believed, will hereafter be furnished by our own workmen, but we can hardly expect in the present age of improvement to be able to compete with others without the aid of steam. If no individual has the capital necessary for the purpose, let the united efforts of our citizens provide for the erection of machinery, which would not only relieve us from excessive drains of money, but afford employment to the industrious of almost every age and capacity." As mentioned elsewhere, the steam mill was duly built, and duly demonstrated that there is no advantage in doing things yourself if you can get someone else to do them cheaper for you—also that cheapness of manufacture depends largely on the amount produced and sold, and that involves a market for your surplus, which Indianapolis did not then have.

In reality manufactures had been coming about as rapidly as they were profitable. As has been seen, saw and grist mills were early in demand, and were started as soon as possible. Yandes and Wilkins opened their tannery in 1823. Israel Phillips and Isaac Lynch were rival shoemakers in the early settlement.

¹*Journal*, December 11, 1827.

²*Journal*, April 10, 1827.

³See *Journal*, November 21, 1826.

but Lynch moved to Crawfordsville in August, 1824, and left the field to Phillips for the time being. Andrew Byrne, the pioneer tailor, found a competitor in John K. Looney in November, 1823. Caleb Sessler, the first cabinet maker, seems to have been rivalled only by Fleming T. Luse till April, 1824, when Amos Griffith opened a shop; and in June, 1824, Andrew W. Reed started another just north of Yandes and Wilkins' tannery. John Shunk the first hatter came in 1821, and the next was Henry Knutt, who opened a shop on West Washington street in the summer of 1824. His coming and advertisement brought Shunk into the papers with a statement that he was enlarging his business, and desired those who had owed him "for 1, 2 or 3 years" to pay up. Charles J. Hand established his "hat manufactory" on Market street in November, 1825. George Myers, potter, came in 1821, and opened a pottery, which apparently descended, for in 1824 Abraham Myers advertised that he "continues to carry on the potting business in all its variety on the Kentucky avenue, corner of Maryland and Tennessee streets". J. R. Crumbaugh also started a pottery at the point between Kentucky avenue and Illinois street at a very early date, but dropped out of the business, perhaps when he was appointed justice of the peace. On June 1, 1824, Margaret Gibson, who seems to have been the first business woman, outside of the hotel and boarding-house business, advertised a new pottery at the corner of Ohio and Tennessee streets, stating that she has in her employ J. R. Crumbaugh "who is perfectly master of the business". Mr. Crumbaugh resumed the pottery business on his own account at the corner of Washington and Kentucky avenue, in June, 1826. William Holmes, who came in the spring of 1822, is accounted the first tinner, but on July 20, 1824, "Abraham Beasty, Tinker", advertised that he had "returned from Cincinnati with the necessary molds for casting powder plates and spoons according to the latest fashions", and that he would "attend to mending old vessels in its various branches" at his shop on Washington street "nearly opposite the state house square".

George Pogue, the first blacksmith, had hardly disappeared when John Vanblaricum took his place, and was the local Vulcan for a year or two, when Capt. Elam S. Freeman opened a shop. In the fall of 1824 Peter Har-

monson announced that he would serve as blacksmith in Freeman's old shop, "on Washington street opposite the mouth of Kentucky avenue". There appears to have been no permanent gunsmith here until Samuel Beck came in 1833. He was emphatically *the* gunsmith of the place, for the next half century, though his brother Christian divided the business with him part of the time, and there were occasional lesser rivals. On March 22, 1825, John Vanblaricum advertised that he had "employed a first rate gunsmith for a few days" and advised those who wanted guns mended to hasten in. The Davis brothers were very early chair-makers, and Samuel S. Rooker, the first house and sign painter also manufactured "Windsor chairs". On September 27, 1825, J. W. Davis announced the opening of his saddle shop; and on the same date John Foster, blacksmith, announced that he would "make first rate Cast-steel Axes for \$2.50" and edged tools of every description, ploughs, hoes, etc., to order, at his shop on Pennsylvania street, south of Washington. It is sometimes said that Humphrey Griffith was the first clockmaker, but his first advertisement appeared on January 20, 1826, reading, "having opened a shop in the above line on Washington street, opposite the Washington Hall". This was preceded nearly a year by the advertisement of John Ambrozone, on February 15, 1825, announcing his location at the northeast corner of Washington and Meridian, in the business of watch and clock repairing. Mr. Brown says that Mrs. Matilda Sharpe, who came in October, 1827, and opened a millinery establishment at "Mr. E. Sharpe's, Meridian street, north of the Governor's Circle", was the pioneer in that line,¹ but four months earlier Miss Marietta Cobb (late of New York) milliner and mantua maker, announced her location "at the residence of Samuel Goldsberry on Pennsylvania street nearly opposite the Presbyterian church", where she proposed to "make and repair Bonnets and Dresses", and attend to "most other descriptions of needle work".

Liquid manufactures were not overlooked. A distillery was erected on the bayou west of the river soon after Yandes and Wilson's saw mill, and it furnished the community with a

¹*Hist. of Indianapolis*, p. 19.

²*Gazette*, June 19, 1827.

whisky commonly known as "Bayou Blue", of whose strength no complaint is handed down. This institution furnished the "71 barrels" mentioned by the *Journal*. There was no brewery here until 1834, when John L. Young and William Wernwag, contractor for the National Road bridge opened a small one on the south side of Maryland street between Missouri and West. Strange as it may seem, it was preceded by the first soda fountain, which was opened on July 2, 1831, at Dunlap & McDougal's drug store, and was largely patronized. In fact Indianapolis was getting into the dissipation belt. Macomber's animal show reached the place in July, 1830, and another in August, the latter having a "real Bactrian or two-humped camel" and a "troupe, an animal similar to the hyena". The second show was a dangerous approach to a circus, for it announced that "Captain Dick and his shetland pony will perform many pleasing feats of horsemanship." A cow and calf elephant were with us at Henderson's tavern on August 12, 1831. But the genuine circus did not come until August, 1833, and then it stayed three days. It was Brown & Bailey's and in addition to the circus it had an extensive menagerie, including the first kangaroo that ever invaded the New Purchase.

From the earliest settlement there was an effort to put agriculture not only on a paying basis but on a pleasing basis, so far as products were concerned, by improving quality and seeking variety. Dr. Coe was one of the practical leaders. He had a garden-patch in Fall Creek bottom near Patterson's mill, and in 1821 he raised there, on one acre of ground, 125 bushels of sweet potatoes.⁶ He also gave attention to the cultivation of Irish potatoes, and on March 22, 1824, he advertised "several choice kinds of Irish potatoes for sale, consisting of Early Whites, Large Red, Long Pole Red, and the Large Early Blue, a very superior kind. Also a quantity of sweet potatoes". Fruit was introduced early. On September 22, 1823, it was announced that "there are upwards of 1,000 thrifty young apple trees at the nursery on the donation" which could be bought at 60 cents each. On February 28, 1826, Aaron Alldredge, who had a nursery two miles southeast of town, on the Lawrenceburgh road, adver-

tised "cultivated" apple trees at 10 cents; "natural" apple trees at 4 cents, and "cultivated" pears at 12½ cents, together with quinces, etc. On February 27, 1827, James Givan advertised "peach trees for sale at three cents, for Cash, Country Produce, or Labour". Nearly everybody had a garden, and care was given to the planting, as may be judged from Isaac N. Phipps's advertisement, on March 22, 1825, of "garden seed of various kinds from the Shakers".

On September 3, 1825, the Marion County Agricultural Society was organized for the special purpose of encouraging the cultivation of tobacco.⁷ The members pledged themselves each to raise 1,000 pounds of tobacco, cultivate one acre of it, or pay one dollar to the society. The money paid or subscribed was to be divided in premiums, one-half to the person who raised the most merchantable tobacco, one-fourth to the person who raised the most on one acre, and one-fourth to the person who raised the best hog-head. A number of leading citizens took part in the organization, the object being to turn attention to a crop that always had a money value, but the enterprise did not take with the farmers, and practically nothing resulted from it. The problem of finding some product besides furs to export was one that attracted no little thought, and one of the most interesting developments of it was the trade in ginseng. In August, 1825, Henderson and Blake advertised that they would pay 6 cents a pound for all the fresh ginseng brought to them. James Blake was the inspirer of the enterprise, for he had come here with a suggestion from Philadelphia friends to look after ginseng for the Chinese trade. It was very common in the woods, and the business developed into one of considerable extent. Nicholas McCarty also taking an interest in it. They had a little establishment for cleaning and drying the roots on Delaware street south of Pogue's Run. A little hoe, commonly called a "sang-hoe", was specially made for digging it and many a farmer's family helped out the family income by digging ginseng. The product played an important part in the winter of 1828-9. Mr. McCarty had a large purchase of goods which he shipped from Philadelphia to Pittsburg by wagon, expecting to

⁶*News*, March 29, 1879.

⁷*Journal*, September 6, 1825; *Gazette*, September 13, 1825.



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

THE OLDEST BRICK HOUSE. SAMUEL McCORMICK'S HOME.

(West end of Riverside Dam. Built in 1827.)

take them by boat from there to Madison. Arrived at Pittsburg they found the Ohio frozen and navigation closed. It was important that the goods should be in Indianapolis promptly, and Mr. McCarty took the alternative of sending sixteen loaded Conestoga wagons through from Pittsburg to Indianapolis, the first and only time such a thing was ever done. The expense would have caused a heavy loss but for one thing,—there was a return load of ginseng for the wagons, and that made their trip a profitable one.

The original tobacco agricultural association did not last long, and was criticised while it did last for its restriction to one kind of product. Nothing further was done until after the state created the State Board of Agriculture by act of February 7, 1835. The first members of the Board were James Blake, John Owens, Larkin Sims and Moses M. Henkle, and on May 22 they issued a circular urging the formation of county agricultural societies and the holding of county fairs. Under this law an organization was effected on June 27, with Nathan B. Palmer as president, Seton W. Norris, vice-president, Douglass Maguire, secretary, and Calvin Fletcher, treasurer. There were also two "curators" appointed for each township. The first fair was held on October 30 and 31, and curiously enough there was not a premium given for any direct agricultural product, though a total of \$184 in premiums was paid, of which \$50 was contributed by the county board. Domestic animals took \$139 of the money, and the rest went to the best pieces of jeans, domestic flannel, domestic carpeting, and domestic linen, the best pair of woolen socks, best home made cheese, best 10 pounds of butter, and best gallon of domestic wine. In addition to money premiums a volume of *Indiana Aurora* was given for the best essay on grasses, and the best essay on the culture of the mulberry and the production of silk. In 1836, agriculture was given more recognition, but on the basis of "the best five acres" of corn, wheat, oats and rye, while John Johnson carried off prizes for "the best cultivated farm" and as victor in a "ploughing match". The judges also gave prizes from "the discretionary fund" to "M. M. Henkle, for beets and carrots; A. W. Morris for vegetable eggs; Richard Williams for mammoth pumpkin, and Robert Mitchell for beets". The mulberry and

silkworm seem to have made some progress for three ladies were awarded prizes for "domestic sewing silk". These fairs were held for a number of years, and very successfully, but finally succumbed to the competition of the state fair.

After the first few years the Indianapolis people lived better, so far as eating went, than most of their successors now; or at least had the opportunity to, for choice edibles had no foreign market, and hence were cheap—in fact were home products of most families. Says Mrs. Ketcham: "Milk was plenty; every lady had her own cow or cows, and they were even milked in Washington street. Butter 6 cts. a pound; eggs 2 cts a dozen. So we had griddle cakes taken from the great round griddle before the great fire. There was no soda; eggs made them light and the baking speedy. Biscuit was kneaded a great deal and baked in a hot skillet quickly. Waffles! I can see the long-handled irons thrown into the blazing fire and whirled over so quickly, and out in the same way. Maple syrup was plenty and wild honey. We had good light bread made of hop yeast. Chickens were almost always broiled. It was considered a great thing to have chickens and new potatoes on the Fourth of July. Currants and cherries grew speedily till then. We had wild strawberries, raspberries and blackberries. In the fall wild grapes for preserves and jelly, and also wild plums. When out in the woods looking for these things, I have been led on by the fragrance of the plum, till walking on the trunk of a huge fallen tree, I put aside with my hands the thicket, and the ground was covered with plums of large size and that peculiar beauty of color they have. White sugar was only in the loaf and was 25 cts. a pound, so our preserving was done with New Orleans sugar. We took extra care and they were real good. Maple sugar was also plenty. * * * Wild turkey and game of all kinds abounded. Fish from White River and Fall Creek. I have never tasted such fried potatoes as my mother's. * * * These good housekeepers talked of the better ways of doing things and encouraged one another, and thus learned and taught. I remember how good the last roasting ears tasted just before the frost, and as soon as the corn was at all hard it was grated and made rare mush. The great kettle of lye hominy looked so good on the great

kitchen crane and smelled so appetizing as we came home from school. It took the best of white flint corn; then boiling water was poured over the nicest ashes, and when this was settled clear, it was poured on the corn and stood in the corner of the great fire place till the skin was loosened; then it was taken to the well, in a tub, was washed with buckets of water till it was white, and then boiled slowly all day; then eaten in milk or fried, as one wished. * * *

"Our smoke-house. Everybody had one. They were full of ham, pickled pork, bacon, dried beef, corned beef, backbones, spareribs, that were always boiled, unless in pot-pie. Bones, sausage, head-cheese. How handsome the baked pork looked. We had never heard of its not being healthy nor looked out for a headache after eating it. Our cellars were full of potatoes, turnips, cabbage, cucumber pickles, and great jars of preserved fruit. Soon dried fruit grew to be plenty. * * * Deer were plenty. Their steaks were broiled and relieved of dryness by being well buttered. Also wild turkeys were so abundant that William Anderson brought down three at one time with his shot-gun. The breasts of these were fried." Of course it will be remembered that Mrs. Ketcham's father, Samuel Merrill, was fairly well to do, and, what is more important, that her mother was a good housekeeper. She tells of stopping one night at the house of a farmer who boasted that he kept three hundred head of hogs, and yet there was nothing on his table but corn bread and pork. Some people would live poorly, no matter what the abundance of supplies.

But while there was a basis for comfort, Indianapolis could hardly be considered attractive. Hugh McCulloch made his first visit here in 1833, and he describes it thus: "Ample provision had been made for parks to enclose the public buildings, and the plan of the city upon paper was attractive and artistic, but upon paper only. Little resemblance, indeed, did the place itself bear to the plat. The parks in which were the State House, just then completed, and the court-house, had been enclosed with post and rail fences, but nothing had been done to the streets except to remove the stumps from two or three of those most used. All of the noble old trees—walnuts, oaks, poplars, the like of which will never be seen again

—had been cut down, and around the parks young beest and other inferior but rapidly growing trees had been set out. There were no sidewalks, and the streets, most in use, after every rain, and for a good part of the year, were knee-deep with mud. As a director of the State Bank, I was under the necessity for many years of making quarterly trips on horseback from Fort Wayne to Indianapolis through a country almost impassable by carriages of any kind, and yet I never encountered mud deeper or more tenacious than in the streets of the capital of the state. I have seen many of the incipient towns of the West, but none so utterly forlorn as Indianapolis appeared to me in the spring of 1833. It had no local advantages except the fact that it was surrounded by a very fertile country; nothing to recommend it but its being the metropolis of the state. There were then only two bridges in Indiana, and these had been built by the United States in anticipation of the extension from Richmond to Terre Haute of the National road, which extension was prevented by the veto of President Jackson. * * * Upon none of the roads were wagons in use, even for carrying the mails, except those from Madison and Terre Haute to the capital. From all other points it could only be reached by those who traveled on foot or on horseback. No one who saw Indianapolis when I saw it for the first time could have anticipated its rapid growth and present condition. No one could have dreamed that in half a century this almost inaccessible village would become a great railroad center, with large and varied manufactures, a population of a hundred thousand souls, one of the best built and most populous cities in the Union not situated upon navigable waters." Mr. McCulloch has mixed the impressions of his numerous visits a trifle, but his general impression of Indianapolis prior to 1840 is no doubt very exact, at least for wet weather.

The growth of the town up to 1835 was very slow. As mentioned, in 1827 the population was 1,066. In 1835 a complete census was made by George Lockerbie, the town assessor, which showed a total population of 1,683, composed of 859 white males, 743 white females, and 81 colored of both sexes. The settlement

Men and Measures of Half a Century, pp. 74-2.

in this period was chiefly within a square or two of Washington street. There were still forest trees standing within that belt, though most of the timber had been cut from the mile square. The outlots were still forest. Says Brown: "All the territory south of Maryland and east of Meridian streets was unimproved except as farms till 1815, and most of it till 1855. A fine walnut grove existed in the first and second wards north of North street and Drake's addition was a good hunting ground till 1848. Squirrels, rabbits, and turkeys were killed in sections now (1868) thickly peopled. No grading whatever had been done, and few sidewalks existed even on Washington street. Ponds along the bayous afforded skating in winter, and in summer were covered by green scum and tenanted by countless frogs. The streets were semi-fluid in thawing weather, but the drainage in many places was better than since the engineers changed it. The town was a dull country village, with no excitement beyond the annual sessions, when a little animation was given to society and to trade. It seemed to have attained its growth. Few expected a brighter future, nor was there any prospect of it till the internal improvement scheme was originated." The change in the drainage to which Mr. Brown refers was a survey and fixing of grades by James Woods, civil engineer, in 1841, which was adopted by the council as permanently fixing the street grades, and all improvements were required to conform to his street profiles.⁹ It was after-

wards found that he had undertaken to make an uniform drainage from northeast to southwest, which had to be abandoned in the interest of economy.

For several years from 1835 prospects seemed very cheerful for Indianapolis. The work on the National Road and the canal brought many laborers here, and trade of all kinds was much stimulated. Prices of real estate began to jump, especially near the water-power of the canal. Even when the panic of 1837 came it did not have its full effect for some months, and people retained something of their good spirits. On May 30, 1838, the *Democrat* said: "The population of Indianapolis is now estimated at 4,000. In five years it will be 8,000." But when the internal improvement work had to be stopped permanently, and the National Road work was abandoned in 1839, the town went back very rapidly. When the census of 1840 was taken, the total population was only 2,662, of whom 1,329 were white males, 1,211 white females, and 122 were colored—evenly divided between males and females. From 1840 to the coming of the railroad in 1847 the life of the town was quiet, but with a gradual growth of population. There are no records of local censuses for the intervening period, but at the municipal election of 1839 there were 324 votes cast, and at that of 1846 there were 520. In proportion this would indicate a population of about 4,000 in 1846, but this is more a guess than an estimate.

⁹*Ordinances, 1846*, p. 31.

CHAPTER XI.

THE STATE BUILDS.

Judge Howe aptly terms early Indianapolis "the capital in the wilderness"; and it could very properly have held that title for a long time after the seat of government was transferred to this point. It was for years the capital, and nothing more. It was located, laid out, and started into existence on that basis as completely as St. Petersburg was by Peter the Great. But it did not have the advantages given to the Russian capital by the unlimited power and large resources of the czar. It was dependent for its public buildings on the sale of town lots, and the accumulation of funds from this source was not rapid enough to admit of immediate and extensive building. Moreover a part of this fund was diverted to public buildings elsewhere, especially to the state prison at Jeffersonville. The state officials were not unmindful of the obligation to Indianapolis. In his message to the first legislature at this place, on January 10, 1825, Governor Hendricks said: "The sales of public property at this place have been looked to for the completion of the public buildings. * * * Public faith stands pledged to the purchasers of property in various parts of the town, that the public buildings contemplated on the circle and the state house square should be completed as soon as practicable. In this policy will be consulted alike the interest of purchasers and of the state; for the commencement of the public buildings will afford a very strong inducement to the completion of payments, the prevention of forfeitures, and the increase of the means to finish the work." The legislators, by meeting here, acquired a personal knowledge of the situation that could not have been gained from any number of reports, and promptly manifested a disposition to promote the interests of the capital, in a rational way.

Their first step was to increase the funds by ordering the Agent of State to sell all the reserved lots on Washington street between Meridian and New Jersey streets, and a number of others, together with two additional tiers of outlots, one north and one south of the town. He was also instructed to lease the ferry at Washington street for five years, with two acres of land on the east side of the river and one on the west, the lessee to be bound to keep a ferry boat sufficient to carry "a loaded wagon and four horses", and also "a good canoe or skiff".

By way of appropriations, the Agent was directed "to cause to be cleared out the timber and obstructions in Pogue's Run, so far as the same is included in the original plat of Indianapolis," at an expense of not over \$50. All of our local historians have made this an order to cut the timber in the valley of the run, but it was very plainly only a plan to promote the flow of the stream. The legislature also appropriated \$1,000 "to build on lot number one in square number sixty-eight in Indianapolis, a substantial brick house for the residence of the treasurer of state, to contain the offices of the treasurer and auditor, and a fire-proof vault for the better security of the funds and records of the state." This house, the first state building erected in Indianapolis, stood on the southwest corner of Washington street and Capitol avenue, with the offices on the west side, and the residence on the east and at the rear. Mrs. Ketchum says of it: "The house was a two-story brick, two rooms below and two above, with the dining room back of the office, and kitchen south of it. The front was set square on Washington street, as the houses were then. On Tennessee street (Capitol avenue) was a rather narrow long yard, then the

porch, on which opened the back parlor door, the dining room door and the kitchen. (The dining room and kitchen were one-story, and over the parlor was a chamber to which a stair led from the sitting room.) The other upstairs room was the auditor's office, with outside stairs on the west side. When this was removed it was chiefly our play room. * * * The parlor had one door and one window on the street (Washington) and another on the porch, and a window on the yard that in summer was covered with vines. * * * The pleasant porch was our time table when Pa had his watch away—we could tell the time by the shadow reaching the rows of nails on the porch. In 1820 Mr. Nowland brought here the first watch. The people all borrowed it and put black marks on their south doors by which they could guess at the time. I think it must have been like the town Robert Louis Stevenson tells of,—that but one woman in it had the time, and it was never right. * * * The porch was covered with the loveliest morning-glories, and we often ate there. Four o'clocks made the air fragrant with their perfume, that still lingers with their beauty and the variety of the balsam. The sitting-room, dining-room and bed-room were one and the same. * * * Under my father's pillow was always a pistol. A door just by opened into the office. * * * The office was paved with brick. Full one-third of it was covered with a vault, as we called it. It was of brick, built up four feet, plastered, and with an iron door on top. Up and down through this double-locked door went boxes and bags of silver."

The sale of lots ordered by the legislature was held on May 2. Of the reserved lots seventeen were sold for a total of \$3,328, the highest price paid being \$360, and the lowest \$134. The twenty additional outlots brought \$1,167, or a little more than \$18 an acre. This legislature also petitioned Congress for the removal of the land office from Brookville to Indianapolis, and for better postal service at this point, both of which were granted. The land office was removed to this point in September, 1825. The militia authorities also sent a cannon here that summer, and an artillery company was formed, which shot as many arms and legs off the members of the company and innocent bystanders as any company in the country. When the legislature convened for

the session of 1826, local conditions had not improved much, and the purchasers of lots were in sore straits. Many had purchased more than they were able to pay for, expecting an advance in values that would make the profits on part pay for the remainder. Others had bought at high prices near the State House Square, expecting the new capitol to make their property advance in value, and it had not been built, and was not in immediate prospect. At the time of the sale in 1821 payments could be made in depreciated treasury paper, but now they must be made in specie or its equivalent. In view of the whole situation the legislature adopted the law for the relief of purchasers allowing them to forfeit one lot and apply what had been paid on it to the payment for another, provided the other was paid for in full. This proved beneficial both to purchasers and to the state. The only improvement ordered by the legislature of 1826 was a contract for a ferry-house with the ferry lessee, Asahel Dunning. It was to be a brick building, 18 x 30, and two stories high, the cost not to exceed the rents under the existing lease. It was built that summer, and though partially destroyed by fire on November 27, 1855, was repaired, and occupied for some twenty years longer.

In 1827 the financial conditions were somewhat improved, and the legislature was more liberal. It appropriated \$500 for building an office for the Clerk of the Supreme Court on the Court House Square, which was duly erected as heretofore mentioned. It also appropriated \$4,000 for a mansion for the governor, on Governor's Circle, which was ordered to be enclosed by a rail fence. The contract for this building was let on March 17, to Wm. Smith, Robert Culbertson, Austin Bishop and Wm. Speaks, and it was completed at a cost of \$6,500. It was a large, square, brick building, about 50 feet each way, with two full stories, a basement and an attic. The main floor was about six feet above the ground, with steps coming up to a hall door in the center of each side. From these doors two halls, ten feet wide crossed the floor at right angles, dividing it into four large rooms. The rooms on the second floor were smaller. It had a pavilion, terrace roof, with a dormer window in the center of each side, and a deck or look-out about twelve feet square, surrounded by a balustrade.

The basement rooms have a traditional reputation of being dark and damp, but that comes from the memory of boys who played there after the rooms were unoccupied. They were apparently comfortable enough in ordinary use, and were occupied for purposes not consonant with darkness and dampness, such as the Union Literary Society, and Miss Sargeant's infant school. The partitions on the main floor were made with sliding panels, so that the whole floor could be thrown into one room if desired, and this was done for balls on a few occasions. It was early seen that the situation was too exposed for ordinary residence purposes, and the legislature of 1828

"Then I turned me around, to see what else I could;

At the Governor's mansion a crowd met my eye,

On the top was erected a steeple of wood,

And two wings at the sides, that the Gov'nor might fly.

"But a wag at my side said this house was design'd

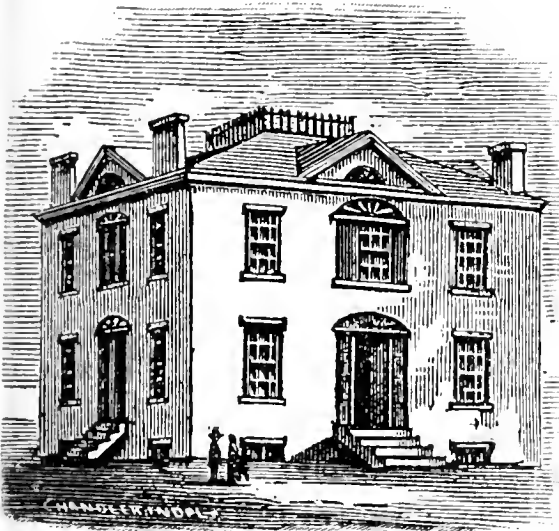
For the wisdom of state to assemble to rule;

That for flying the Gov'nor was never inclined;

'Twas the State-House, and I but a poor silly fool."

The "mansion" was turned over to the state officers, who occupied the main floor for a number of years. The state library was kept there until the state house was built. The state bank was there until its building was finished. The state engineers were quartered there during the internal improvement period. The Clerk of the Supreme Court had his office there for a time. The Supreme Judges had chambers on the upper floor, and many of the anecdotes preserved about Judge Blackford cluster about his room there, where he lived his hermit life and edited his celebrated law reports. John Strange, the famous preacher of early times, died in one of those upper rooms. The building was singularly open to the public, even when officially occupied. Thirty years ago Mrs. Priscilla Drake, widow of Col. James P. Drake, the old time proprietor of the Capitol House, excited my wonder by telling me how, in her time, the fashionable young folk of the town used to play at battledore and shuttlecock in the broad halls—which shows that Indianapolis let no fad escape, even in those early days. The Court of Common Pleas of Marion County held its first sessions in this building. But gradually it fell out of repair, and became a resort for disreputables, and the legislature of 1856-7 ordered it sold. It was auctioned off on April 16, 1857, to David Macy, for \$665, and part of the material was used in building the Macy House, at the southeast corner of Illinois and Market streets, now in use as a store and office building.

The legislature of 1827 also provided for the sale of seven acres for a steam mill—a private undertaking that was quite as ghastly a failure as the Governor's Mansion. The



THE GOVERNOR'S MANSION IN THE CIRCLE.

(From an old cut.)

undertook to rectify this by reserving lots 7 and 8 of square 46—now covered by the Hotel English—for "a garden and stable-lot for the governor". But none of the governors had any desire to occupy this overgrown structure, and indeed it was never finished for a residence, but only for office purposes.

At the session of 1829 a proposal was made to add wings to this building and make it the state house, but this met no favor. This proposal is referred to, in a vision of the future, in the "carrier's address" of the *Gazette* for January 1, 1829, in these words:

Steam Mill Company was chartered by the legislature on January 28, with a capital of \$20,000 in \$50 shares, but the stock went off slowly, and the materials were not collected and the work of erection begun until 1831. It was a tremendous undertaking for the time and place. It stood on the east side of the river just above the National Road bridge, and included a saw mill, a grist mill, and a carding mill. The saw mill was on the west side, on the slope of the bluff, and the main building on the high ground back of it. It was a large frame building with three full stories and a high gambrel roof which provided two additional floors. It was put up by James Griswold, a gigantic carpenter, famed for honest work, and was as solid as a rock. It took one hundred men two days to raise the frame, and they did it without any whisky, which was a long approach towards a miracle. The boilers and engines, the first ever used here, were to have been brought from Cincinnati on a steamboat, but the conditions were unfavorable, and so they were brought through on wagons at great expense. In fact the only cheap thing about it was the land, which was sold on March 8, 1827, to George Smith and John Johnson, for \$100, and the certificate was assigned by them to Nicholas McCarty, one of the chief promoters. On account of the difficulties met, the legislature on January 6, 1831, granted an extension of a year in the time for completing the mill, and paying for the land, and the deed was issued on March 8, 1832, to James Blake & Co., the company being Nicholas McCarty and James M. Ray. The saw mill had been completed in the fall of 1830, and put in operation. The main building was completed in December, 1831, and the grist mill began operations in January, 1832. It first gave the community home-made bolted flour. Prior to this time all the meal and flour made here was sifted; and there was not much flour made because there was little wheat raised, the soil being too rich for it.

But the new institution was too large for the place. After supplying all local demands there was no possibility of shipping its surplus product. Moreover there was difficulty in getting good wood for fuel at seventy-five cents a cord, and the company could not profitably pay more for it. Within a year it was seen that the enterprise was not going to be a fi-

nanacial bonanza, but the company hung on until 1835, when the mill was shut down, and the machinery offered for sale. But little of it was sold, and the plant lay idle, the building becoming a haunt of the vicious and depraved, until 1847. The coming of the railroad improved business prospects, and the Geisendorffs took the old mill and operated it as a woolen mill until 1852, when they vacated it. On the night of November 16, 1853, someone set it afire, and it was totally destroyed, as was also the toll-house on the National Road adjoining. The bridge over White river was saved by the greatest exertions of the firemen.

By 1830 there were symptoms of enough money to build a state house, and a committee was appointed to investigate. It reported at the next session that a satisfactory building would cost \$56,000, and the sale of the remaining lots in the donation would bring the available funds to \$58,000. It was therefore decided to proceed, and on February 10, 1831, a bill for that purpose was passed. It made James Blake a commissioner to collect materials for the foundation—210 perches of rough stone and 150 perches of cut stone—by the second Monday in May, 1832; and also to advertise for plans for which he was to offer a premium of \$150. For this work an appropriation of \$3,000 was made. The plans called for were to include a Representative hall for 100 members, a Senate chamber for 50 members, quarters for the Supreme Court, Secretary of State, Auditor of State, State Library, Law Library, six committee rooms and six clerks' rooms; and the building was to cost not more than \$18,000. The plans were submitted to the next legislature, and by act of January 26, 1832, the plan submitted by Ithiel Town and Andrew J. Davis was adopted. They were partners, at New York, and were probably the most notable American architects of the time. They had designed the executive and postoffice buildings at Washington, the city hall at New Haven, the custom house at New York, the University of Michigan, and other public buildings. They completed the capitol at Springfield, Ill., the same year as ours, and that at Columbus, Ohio two years later. Mr. Town was known here, having furnished the plans for the first bridge over Fall Creek at the Lafayette Road crossing, now Indiana ave-

me.¹ By act of February 2, 1832, Governor Noah Noble, Morris Morris, and Samuel Merrill were appointed commissioners to superintend the construction of the building; \$18,000 additional was appropriated to carry on the work; and the lot fund was pledged for the entire cost, which was limited to \$60,000. Town and Davis, the architects, got the contract for the building and completed it in December, 1835, in time for that winter's session of the legislature.

The new capitol was considered a very fine building at the time, and it was. It was about 200 feet long and 100 feet wide, and followed the style of the Parthenon in its exterior, except that a dome was added. This always raised the wrath of Berry Sulgrove and other critics, because it was a departure from the Greek, but it would be a sad fate if we could not improve on the "dagoes" of two thousand years ago, and an American capitol without a dome is inconceivable. In fact the dome and rotunda are the most important parts of a capitol. The others are all occupied by the public servants, and the rotunda is the one place where the citizen can feel at home, and glory in the fact that he is one of the masters of all these hirelings, and of the building. At such a time a free-born American must have room to swell, and a dome becomes no less than a necessity. But the building was not so fine as it looked. The foundation was of soft, blue, Bluff limestone, and the superstructure was partly of brick and partly of lath covered wood-work, all of which was coated with a bastard stucco plaster, and neither plaster nor stone would stand the weather in this climate, or the friendly hammering of admiring visitors. In consequence it did not age well, and before it was replaced it acquired the appearance of a genuine Grecian ruin. In fact it was a public disgrace for fifteen or twenty years. In 1867 the ceiling of the Representative hall fell in and made a magnificent wreck. The writer, as a juvenile explorer, climbed over the debris and rescued the hands of the clock, which had been smashed in the catastrophe. They made ideal arrow-heads, in appearance, but they were shoddy, too, and bent up when they struck anything hard.

But with all its dilapidation there was a charm

about the old state house that can never be found about its more business-like successor. Indeed there was no suggestion of business about the old state house unless the legislature was in session or a crowd was assembled by some other special event. The State House Square was originally quite low, and when the building was erected it was filled to the extent of nine feet, making the central part three or four feet above the street. The newly graded grounds were planted with forest trees which in due time developed into a pleasant grove, half secluded in which was the capitol, quiet and restful. It was a genuine pleasure to stroll in on a warm summer day, up the worn steps, past the battered columns of the porticos, into the cool, musty corridor, and then nose around in the State Library and Museum, which was the chief attraction of the building, and rivaled the asylums as the chief show place of the city. The first suggestion of a state library was made by the Constitutional Convention of 1816, which recommended the General Assembly "to appropriate the money voluntarily given by the citizens of Harrison County to the State to the purchase of books for a library for the use of the legislature and other officers of the government".² But unfortunately the citizens of Harrison County did not give any money. What they gave was a bond for \$1,000 to be paid to the state when the constitution was adopted—the constitution providing that Corydon, the county seat of Harrison County, should be the seat of government until 1825, and until removed by law. But the legislature of 1817 found it necessary to pass a joint resolution that whereas this bond had been "lost or mislaid", demand should be made on the makers, and unless they paid suit should be brought.³ The report of the Treasurer for 1817 stated that suit had been brought and that "when the money was paid it would be \$1,000",⁴ and the same in 1818,⁵ but the money never appeared in the state's receipts.

In his message of 1817 Governor Jennings said: "The commencement of a state library forms a subject of too much interest not to meet your attention", and then he dropped the

²*Journal Const. Conv.*, p. 68.

³*Acts of 1817*, p. 252.

⁴*House Journal*, 1817, p. 28.

⁵*House Journal*, p. 71.

¹*County Courts, Record*, January 3, 1832.

unpleasant subject. The next mention was in the message of Governor Hendricks, of January 10, 1825: "Among the improvements before alluded to, there is none more deserving of attention than a state library. Many valuable books already belong to the state, and if some regulations for their use and preservation should be made with only a moderate annual allowance for their increase, they would soon constitute a respectable collection." The legislature was of like mind, and by act of February 11, 1825, made the Secretary of State the State Librarian and appropriated \$50 for the purchase of books, with a continuing appropriation of \$30 a year thereafter. The first librarian's report, made by Secretary Wm. Wick the year following, stated that he had expended the \$50 for Hume's *England*, with Smollet's continuation, *Johnson's Lives of the Poets*, and Mayor's *Universal History*, but some days later he filed a supplemental report saying that he had forgotten to mention that he also purchased *The Federalist*.¹⁸ The Secretary of State continued to be ex-officio Librarian until 1841, the library being kept in his office in the Governor's Circle. In that year Sulgrove says: "John Cook, a bustling, log-rolling, pushing little fellow, recently from Ohio, got himself made librarian, and the library was put in the south rooms, west side, of the State House."¹⁹

There is reason to suspect that Mr. Sulgrove did not admire Librarian Cook. He alluded to him elsewhere as "a recent comer here, a little, conceited, mud-headed, arrogant Englishman, who made himself conspicuous as a leader of the Whig singing clubs, and thus commended himself to an office that he was about as well qualified for as he was for Mayor of the New Jerusalem."²⁰ Mr. Cook may have got the appointment through his political vocalization, but he was not responsible for the library legislation of 1841. The man that effected that was Dr. Philip Mason of Fayette County,²¹ the most enthusiastic reformer of his day, and he was not so much interested in the library as he was in the regulation of public business. At that time

the Secretary of State was not only keeper of the state library and the legislative papers, but also of the furniture not in other state offices, and he was required to keep "a branding iron, on which shall be engraved the Roman capital letters P. S. L. (meaning the property of the State of Indiana)" and with it to brand "all movable wooden furniture". The state house was in the custody of the Treasurer of State. Dr. Mason's law provided for a State Librarian, elected by the legislature for three years, at a salary of \$300 a year, who should be keeper of the state library, the state house, the State House Square, and all the furniture of said house which is not in the care or keeping of any of the public officers of the state; he was to keep up the fence around the State House Square, and by way of recompense was "permitted to mow the grass plat and apply the grass to his own use"; and he was required to take over all the business of the Agent of State for the sale of lots at Indianapolis, and attend to that. In 1843 the care of "the Governor's Circle and public buildings thereon" was added to his sinecure.²² Dr. Mason's law made one great advance by making the annual appropriation for books and binding \$400, but unfortunately that was what it remained for nearly fifty years. It also separated the law library and provided a room for it adjoining the Supreme Court.

From that time forward the office was partly on a political and partly an eleemosynary basis for many years, though some very creditable people held it at times. Cook was succeeded by Samuel P. Daniels, a tailor and a Democrat, 1844-5; John B. Dillon, the historian, 1845-51; Nathaniel Bolton, 1851-4; Gordon Tanner, 1854-6; S. D. Lyons, 1856-9; James R. Bryant, 1859-61; Robert D. Brown, 1861-3; David Stephenson, 1863-5; B. F. Foster, 1865-9; M. G. McClain, 1869-74; James DeSarro, 1874-3; Sarah A. Oren, 1873-5. Librarian Bryant attained fame by "firing the Ephesian dome" with a catalogue that attracted the following comment in the *Nation* of February 16, 1882:²³

"To the Editor of the Nation:

"If there is to be a bibliography of bibliographies, your note of last week contributes cer-

¹⁸*House Journal*, 1826, pp. 22, 253.

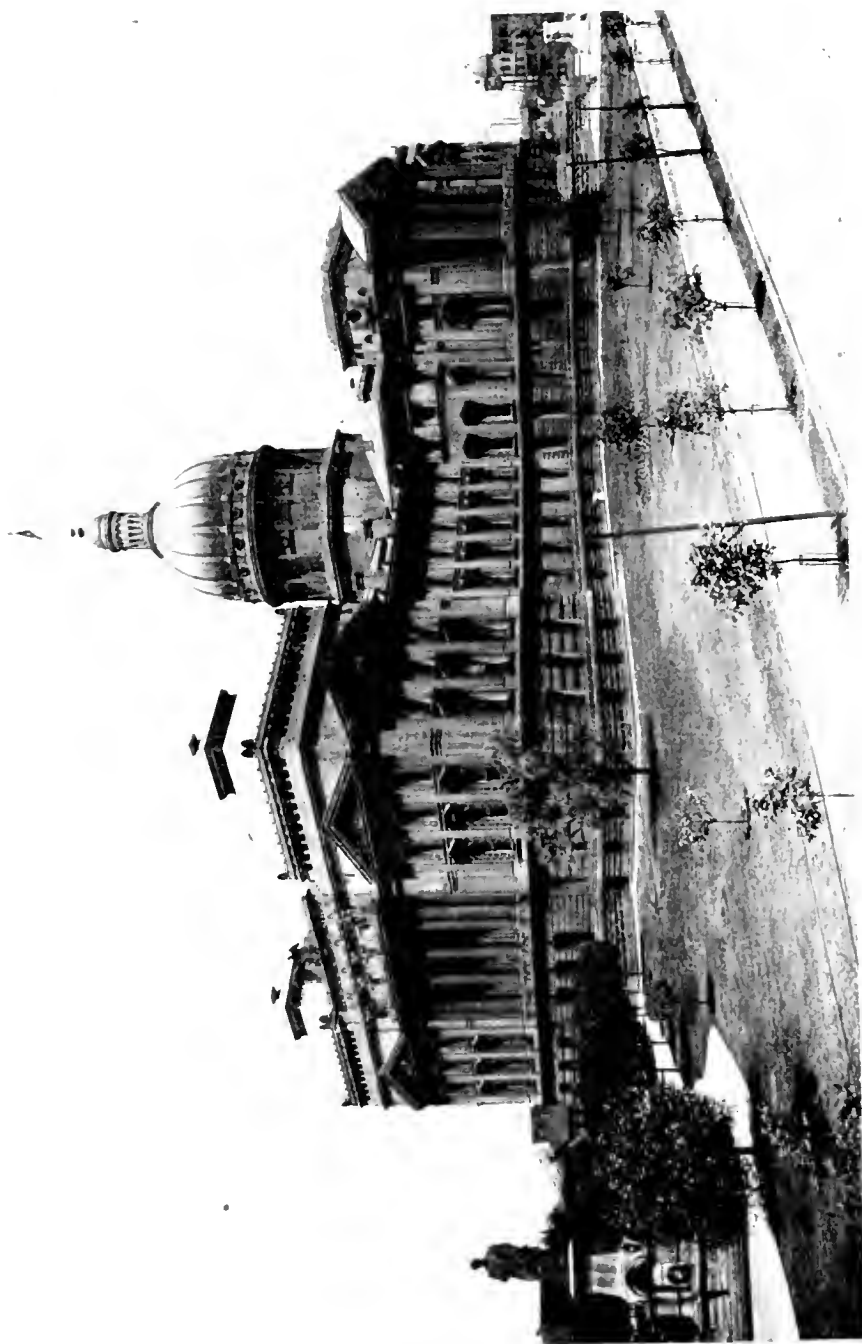
¹⁹*Hist. Indianapolis*, p. 59.

²⁰*Sentinel*, January 13, 1887.

²¹*Mason's Autobiography*, p. 164; *House Journal*, 1840-1, p. 234.

²²*Rev. Stats*, 1843, p. 174.

²³Vol. 31, p. 112.



STATE CAPITOL.

tainly a curious instance toward the material for such a work. But I beg that the future compiler of that work may not overlook the 'Catalogue of the Indiana State Library for 1859', which has long been my wonder and admiration. So far is it from attempting the complexity of the *catalogue raisonne* that its rigorous alphabeticism sets down 'A Manchester Strike' between 'Agriculture' and 'American'. It invites us to such *tours de force* as 'Autobiography of Sir Simonds D'Ewes by Halliwell', and the 'Autobiography of Sir Walter Scott, by Bart.' 'Bank's (Ranke's) History of the Popes' appears under the letter B. Strong in the historical department, it offers a choice between the 'Life of John Tyler, by Harper & Brothers', 'Memoirs of Moses Henderson, by the Jewish Philosophers', 'Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereach, by the Marquis of Londonderry', and 'Memoirs of Benvenuto, by Gellini'. In fiction you may find 'Tales of my Landlord, by Cleishbotham', and 'The Pilot, by the Auditor of The Pioneers', while if your passion for plural authorship is otherwise unappeasable—if Beaumont and Fletcher or Ereckmann-Chatrion seem to you too feeble a combination of talents—you may well be captivated by the title 'Small Arms, by the United States Army'.

"The State of Indiana has undoubtedly learned a good many things since 1859; but whoever its present librarian may be, it is hardly probable that his highest flight in bibliography has surpassed the catalogue from which I have quoted. T. B.

"Rochester, February 6, 1882."

But there were one or two even worse ones issued in the succeeding decade, and then they stopped. It was more than a relief when Mrs. Oren came into office; it was a revolution. She was probably elected because she was a soldier's widow, but she had other qualifications. She had been a successful teacher in the high school, and in addition to education she had common sense and a good business head that fitted her peculiarly for the somewhat complex position. There is no exaggeration in the following tribute paid to her in the Democratic organ fifteen years later:

"There are many persons living in Indianapolis who remember the reforms instituted by Mrs. Oren, the first woman who served as

Librarian, not only in the library proper but in the entire state building, of which the Librarian has been for many years the legal custodian. The whole building was cleaned and disinfected; chimneys, ventilators and flues which had become stopped up were opened and cleaned; the grimy walls were papered; the steps and pavements of the porches were repaired to an extent which would permit one to walk over them without becoming seasick; the dilapidated soft-coal stoves were replaced by base-burners; water pipes were put in; the regimental colors were carefully dusted and bound up; the legislative papers that had not yet been eaten by mice were taken from the musty cupboards and packed in tin boxes. In the library the books were examined volume by volume, and it was ascertained that several hundred listed in the catalogue of 1872 were not in the library. The old records were searched, and a number of these missing volumes were recovered from people who had borrowed them under the old law and never returned them. The duplicates, which had been scattered haphazard through the shelves, were sorted out and placed in a separate room; exchanges were made with other libraries by which the collection was increased and many broken sets were filled. The library was rearranged on the plan of the Boston Public Library, in departments by subjects, and alphabetically by authors' names. Labels were pasted on the books designating their places in the shelves and ranges. In the purchase of books, which has been the best test of any Librarian's merit, Mrs. Oren displayed the soundest judgment. An examination of her list of purchases will show this, and will show the truth of her statement that 'in the purchase of books a careful eye has been had to the needs of the laboring people, who cannot afford to purchase costly reference books.'¹²

As before mentioned, the "Governor's Mansion" was never occupied as a residence by any Governor. James Brown Ray, who succeeded when Gov. William Hendricks was elected to the Senate in 1825, and was twice thereafter elected Governor, serving till 1831, lived in his own house. He was at first allowed house rent, but as some criticism was made of it, the salary was increased and declared to cover

¹²*Sentinel*, January 6, 1887.

house rent. Governor Noble, who served from 1831 to 1837 had a farm lying east of Noble street and north of Market, with a fine residence on a knoll near the present corner of Market and Pine streets, where he resided. Following him came Governor Wallace, a non-resident, who found a tenement near the corner of Washington and Missouri streets until the legislature was convinced that it should provide a gubernatorial residence, and on February 12, 1839, ordered the purchase of the residence of Dr. John H. Sanders, at the northwest corner of Illinois and Market streets. It was then considered the finest residence in the city, but for some reason, probably a low site made worse by street grading, it was always unhealthy. Governor Bigger was supposed to have contracted there the fatal illness from which he died soon after leaving office. The young wife of Governor Whitcomb died there, and so did Governor Wright's first wife. Governor Willard's wife was ill nearly all the time they occupied the house. Governor Morton abandoned it in the fall of 1863 on account of the ill health of himself and family, and after boarding for a time purchased the house at the southeast corner of Pennsylvania and New York streets, where he died in 1877. The residence of the governors for nearly a quarter of a century was sold in 1865, and some years later was torn down to give place to the Cyclorama Building, which in turn was succeeded by the present Union Terminal and Traction Station.

By the time Indiana had completed its requisite governmental buildings, the public conscience of the state was becoming aroused to the duty of care for the blind, deaf and dumb and insane, which had been attracting attention in the older states in the past decade. The proceeds of the donation tract had been exhausted, and the three per cent fund had been used up in internal improvements, but somebody was struck by a happy thought, and in January, 1839, the legislature memorialized Congress asking a further grant for these purposes. Having thus made a tentative provision of means, on February 13, 1839, it directed the assessors to ascertain and report the number of deaf mutes in each county. But Congress had troubles of its own, and did not respond. Meanwhile members of the medical profession became interested in the treatment

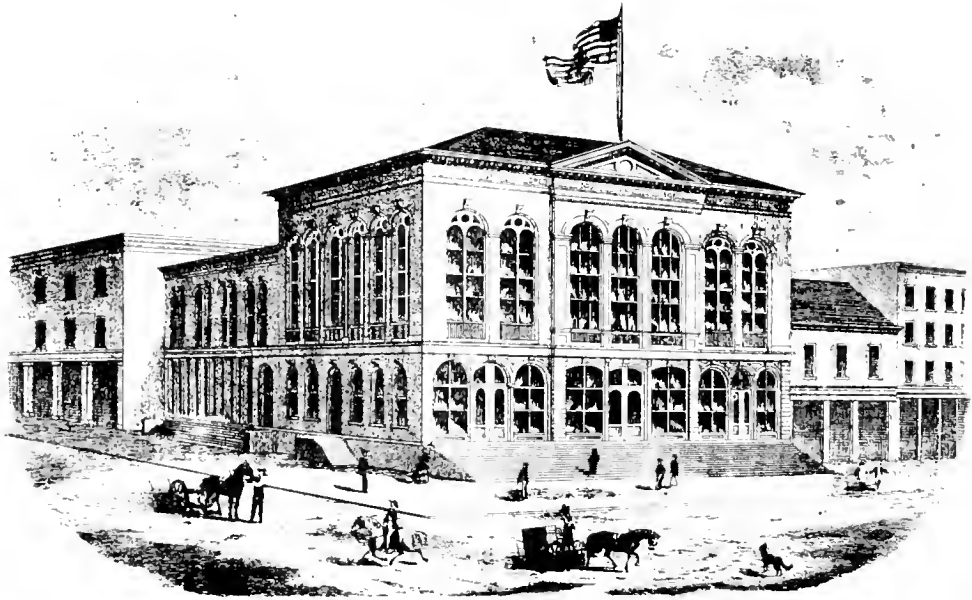
of the insane, which had the medical as well as the merely philanthropic side, and a special champion of state action arose in the person of Dr. John Evans of Fountain County, afterwards Governor of Colorado. On January 31, 1842, the Governor was directed to correspond with the governors of other states as to the cost, construction and management of insane hospitals—or as they were then called "lunatic asylums"—and report to the next session. This was the result of a very forcible letter from Dr. Evans and Dr. Isaac Fisher of Fountain County, pointing out the evils of the existing treatment of the insane and the progress of other states, on which a favorable report had been made on January 26.¹³ On December 25, 1842, Dr. Evans delivered a lecture before the legislature on the treatment of insanity, and on February 13, 1843, the Governor was directed to correspond with the superintendents of hospitals and procure plans, and submit them with his suggestions at the next session. On his report, the legislature, on January 15, 1844, levied a tax of one cent on the hundred dollars for the hospital buildings and site. On January 13, 1845, Dr. Evans, Dr. Livingston Dunlap and James Blake were appointed commissioners to select a site of not over 200 acres. In the spring they selected the site of the present Central Hospital for the Insane, then known as Mount Jackson. It had been the property of George Smith, the founder of the *Gazette*, and had been named by him in honor of "Old Hickory". For some years it had been occupied by Nathaniel Bolton and his gifted wife Sarah T. Bolton, who maintained a tavern there. At the next session they reported the site and a plan for the building, and on January 19, 1846, they were directed to proceed with the building. An appropriation of \$15,000 was made, and they were also instructed to sell "the Hospital Square" (square No. 22) and appropriate the proceeds to the work. The main building was begun in the summer of 1846, and completed the year following at a cost of about \$75,000. The south wing was added in 1853-6, and the north wing in 1866-9. This completed the main building, and later additions will be mentioned hereafter.

Before the hospital for the insane got to

¹³*House Journal*, p. 591.

the appropriation stage the advocates of the education of the deaf and dumb had secured the passage of an act on February 13, 1843, levying a tax of two mills on one hundred dollars for an asylum for the deaf and dumb. In the spring following they brought here William Willard, a teacher in the Ohio institute for the deaf and dumb and he opened a private school, in which there were sixteen pupils the first year. On January 15, 1844, the legislature established the institute for the deaf and dumb, and made trustees for it the Governor, Secretary and Treasurer of State, Henry

and thirty acres of land were purchased. The same year the school was removed to the Kinder block, a three-story brick building on the south side of Washington near Delaware. Here it remained until the completion of the new state building in 1850, at a cost of \$30,000, and it is still being occupied while a new institution is being constructed north of the city. Mr. Willard was superintendent until 1845, when James S. Brown succeeded him and served until 1853. Thomas McIntyre was then appointed and served until 1879. He was a trained instructor, and made the value of the



OLD SUPREME COURT AND STATE OFFICES.

(From a cut.)

Ward Beecher, Phineas D. Gurley, Love H. Jameson, Livingston Dunlap, and James Morrison, of Marion County, and Matthew Simpson, of Putnam County. The trustees practically adopted the Willard school, under their directions to rent a room and employ teachers, first locating it in a large frame residence on the southeast corner of Maryland and Illinois streets. The act provided that nothing in it should be "construed to make any permanent location of the asylum for the deaf and dumb at Indianapolis", but in 1846 a site was selected at the corner of Washington and State streets

institution plain to everyone. His successor, Dr. Wm. Glenn, served till 1885, when Eli P. Baker succeeded, and served till 1889. Mr. Richard O. Johnson, the present efficient superintendent, has been in charge since 1889. Extensive additions were made to the buildings at various dates, and the grounds were increased to 105 acres.

Kentucky served as an example and a spur to Indiana in the matter of benevolent institutions. Its deaf and dumb asylum was advertised here, ten years before we had one, as educating the indigent deaf and dumb of Ken-

tucky free of charge, and outsiders at \$80 per year.¹⁴ In 1845, during the session of the legislature, pupils from the Kentucky Blind Asylum were brought here and gave exhibitions of their attainments in the Second Presbyterian Church, of which Henry Ward Beecher was then pastor. Many legislators attended, and on one occasion Senator Dirk Rousseau, of Greene County, convulsed the audience by writing out a problem and holding it before the sightless pupils while he tried to help them comprehend by tracing the figures with his fingers. The legislature was convinced and on January 13, 1845, levied a tax of two mills on \$100 to build an asylum for the blind, which was increased to one cent on January 27, 1847. On January 19, 1846, the Secretary, Auditor and Treasurer of State, with James M. Ray and Dr. George W. Mears, were made commissioners to provide for temporary schooling of the blind of the state. Wm. H. Churchman, who had been in charge of the exhibition of the Kentucky pupils the year before, was appointed to address the people of the state on the subject of educating the blind, and to ascertain the number of the blind in the state. On January 27, 1847, Dr. George W. Mears, Calvin Fletcher and James M. Ray were appointed commissioners to provide the buildings for the school, and \$5,000 was appropriated for the site. Mr. Fletcher declined to serve, and Seton W. Morris was appointed in his place. The present site then known as "Pratt's Walnut Grove"—between North and St. Clair, Pennsylvania and Meridian streets—was selected, and the workshop—the three story brick building at Walnut and Pennsylvania streets which was torn away in 1909 to make place for a new wing—was first erected. Meanwhile the school was opened in the building formerly occupied by the deaf and dumb at Maryland and Illinois streets, on October 1, 1847. In September, 1848, it was removed to the workshop, then completed, and remained there till the main building was finished in February, 1853. The buildings and

grounds cost \$410,000, and the asylum proper was the most imposing state building, excepting possibly the state house, that had been erected up to that time. It still stands, substantially as built, except that large additions have been made at the rear. This was the last of the state buildings erected at Indianapolis prior to the Civil War.

The old building for the State Treasurer, at the southwest corner of Capitol avenue and Washington street, was abandoned by that official in 1857, and was rented and used for various purposes until 1865, when it was torn down. By this time the capitol was so dilapidated and overcrowded that an additional building was needed, and in 1867 one was erected on the site of the old Treasurer's house—a two-story brick building with a basement reaching some five feet above ground—into which the Supreme Court, with its library, and all the state officers except the Governor and the State Librarian removed. This arrangement continued until 1877. Everybody realized the need of a new capitol, but neither party would take the responsibility for the expense of erecting one. In that year the control of the houses being divided, the act of March 4 was passed, providing for the appointment of four commissioners to build a capitol costing not over \$2,000,000, and levying a tax of one cent on \$100 to meet the expense. Gen. John Love, Gen. Thos. A. Morris, Col. I. D. G. Nelson and John M. Collett were appointed. Collett resigned May 3, 1879, when he was appointed State Geologist, and General Love was later succeeded by H. Mursinna. The first plans submitted were all rejected as too expensive; and from a second submission of 24 plans, one by Edwin May, of Indianapolis, was chosen. The general contract was taken by the firm of Kammacher & Denig, and the building was completed in 1888 within the cost limit fixed by the law. While it was being erected, the State Library was housed in the Gallup block, at the southeast corner of Capitol avenue and Market street.

¹⁴*Journal*, September 11, 1835.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TOWN GOVERNMENTS.

Until the year 1832 there was no municipal organization at Indianapolis, the only local government being through the state laws, enforced by the courts and the county and township officers. But town organization was wholly dependent on the will of the people, and in the fall of 1832 a movement was inaugurated for that purpose. An act had been adopted on February 2, 1832, which changed the system of town incorporation that had been in vogue since the admission of the state. Under the new law it was necessary for two-thirds of the legal voters of the town to sign a petition to the county board asking for incorporation, the signatures being proved "by the oath of any reputable person", and the board was thereupon to order an election to be held within one month from that time for the election of trustees for the incorporation, of which ten days notice was to be given by written notices posted in three public places. At the meeting for the election, the voters were first to elect as president and clerk who should "without delay lay off said incorporation into five districts and forthwith present the same to said voters, who shall proceed to elect one trustee for each district". In other respects the old law was to be followed. The old law provided for a public meeting on the first Monday in March or September, at which a president and secretary were to be chosen, who were to divide the town into five districts and hold an election for trustees on the following Monday, certifying the result to the trustees elected, who filed their certificates with the county clerk, and then organized by electing a president. Under the old law the county board had nothing to do with the incorporation, but under the new law, which has since been followed, it became the authority in control of the process.

On September 1, a call was published for a meeting to consider incorporation, to be held at the court house on September 3. This meeting prepared a petition to the Board of County Commissioners for incorporation, which was presented on the following day, and this record was made: "Glidden True and others presented a petition praying that the Town of Indianapolis be incorporated, and it appearing to the satisfaction of the Board by said petition that two-thirds of the legal voters of said town are favorable to said incorporation, and have signed said petition, the signatures of whom are proved by the oath of Glidden True—

"Resolved that said town be and the same is hereby incorporated according to law, and further ordered that an election be held at the Court House in Indianapolis on the twenty-ninth day of September, 1832, for the election of trustees of said incorporation, of which notice is ordered to be given according to law."

On September 29, the voters assembled at the court house, and then elected Obed Foote, president and Josiah W. Davis, clerk, who were duly sworn in by Bethuel F. Morris, the President Judge of the Fifth Circuit. The president and clerk forthwith divided the town into five districts as follows: 1st, from the eastern boundary of town to Alabama street; 2nd, from Alabama to Pennsylvania; 3rd, from Pennsylvania to Meridian; 4th, from Meridian to Tennessee; 5th, from Tennessee to the western boundary. The election was then held, and "John Wilkins received fifty-four votes, Henry P. Coburn fifty-five votes, John G. Brown fifty-four votes, Samuel Henderson forty-one votes, Samuel Merrill fifty-one votes", and these five were elected for the five districts, in the order named. They organized by electing Samuel Henderson president, and their first work was

the passage of a general ordinance which served in part the purposes of a city charter. It provided for the appointment of a clerk, an assessor, a treasurer and a marshal, who also served as tax-collector. All of these officers were appointed for one year and gave bond. In addition to prescribing the duties of these officials the ordinance defined offenses and fixed penalties as follows: firing a gun or pistol, flying a kite, or running a horse within the town limits a fine of not less than \$1 nor more than \$3; suffering firewood to remain on Washington street more than twelve hours \$3; failing to remove shavings from the shop where made and burn them once in two days \$1; maintaining a stove-pipe within two inches of wood-work \$1; leaving open a cellar door on a street in the night \$1; driving a horse or vehicle on a sidewalk \$1; leaving team unhitched and without trace chain unhitched \$3; giving show without license \$3; exhibiting stallion within fifty yards of Washington street or of a dwelling house \$1; selling liquor, less than a quart without license \$2. Special taxes and licenses were fixed as follows: each male dog, more than one \$.50; each female dog \$.5; each hog, over six, belonging to one owner and running at large \$.50; show or exhibition, twenty times the price of admission for each day; retail liquor license, same as county tax and 25 cents for issuing license; a breeding sow, or pigs under six months old, could be taken up by the marshal and sold to the highest bidder.

At the same time the trustees adopted an ordinance for the control of the market, providing for a market master at a salary of \$30 a year. The market was to be opened on Wednesday and Saturdays at daylight, and anyone who sold at or adjacent to it before daylight was subject to a fine of \$1; the market was to remain open two hours and no goods brought to town for sale could be sold elsewhere during market hours. Feeding horses, hogs or other animals in the market-house was finable, not over \$3; hitching an animal to the market-house or putting a vehicle where it would obstruct passage to the market-house was finable \$1; buying goods in market for re-sale \$3; huckster occupying place in the market-house \$3. The market master was required to seize and destroy any unwholesome food offered for sale; to inspect weights and measures; and to confiscate any butter or other articles of less

weight than represented. When meal was sold by measure, it was required to be "heaped" to the satisfaction of the market master, on penalty of confiscation. The market-house had been provided during the preceding summer by the voluntary action of the citizens. There had been a general desire for one for some time, but a difference of opinion as to where it should be located; but on March 28, 1832, a public meeting was held at the court house, and it was decided to put it "on the market square, immediately north of the court house, and pursuant to the original design". Accordingly Thomas McQuat, Josiah W. Davis and John Watton, as commissioners for the erection of the market-house, were directed to take subscriptions and build it there, all of which was certified by C. L. Hand, chairman, and John Givan, secretary of the meeting. On August 11, 1832, the *Journal* announced the market-house finished and ready for occupation. As an inducement to sellers it stated the ruling prices to be, flour \$2.50 *aa* \$3 per cwt.; corn meal \$.75 per bushel; bacon 8 cents per lb.; butter 10 to 12 cents per lb.; beef cattle \$2.50 per cwt. on the hoof. In 1818 the experiment was tried of opening the market at noon, instead of at daylight, but it was abandoned after a brief trial.¹

It is very evident that politics got into the town government at the start, for the *Journal* recommended the winning ticket for trustees, and also the division into districts as adopted, though it also published a note from "many voters" suggesting for trustees the names of William Hammaman, J. L. Mothershead, Jacob Landis and William Wernwag, in addition to John Wilkins who appears to have been on both slates. After the organization, the ordinances adopted were published in the *Journal*, but not in the *Democrat*, whereupon the latter on November 24, 1832, in large type, advised "the very liberal, impartial and honorable Board of Trustees of the Corporation of Indianapolis" that it would publish "all laws, orders and ordinances which your honorable body may pass and think necessary to publish for the good government of the town, without charge and without pay". The editor, A. F. Morrison, added the post-script: "I have been requested to inquire of your honorable body

¹*Locomotive*, November 4, 1818.

whether Jackson men are chargeable with Corporation taxes." But the trustees "just laughed" and went ahead. The appointive offices were not in great demand. Samuel Merrill acted as clerk till November 27, 1832, when Isaac N. Heylin took charge. He resigned March 22, 1833, and was followed by Israel P. Griffith, who resigned December 6, 1833. Then Hugh O'Neal took it and served out a year, coming back for two years more in 1836-38. John Wilkins served as Treasurer to November 27, 1832, when Obed Foote took the office till his death, and Harvey Bates followed him from 1833 to 1835. Josiah W. Davis served as Assessor to November 27, and resigned. He was followed by Butler K. Smith for one year, and George Lockerbic for two. Glidden True was marshal and collector till February 8, 1833, when Edward McGuire came in and lasted till May 10, 1833. He was followed by Samuel Jennison, who resigned in 1834, and was succeeded by Dennis L. White, who stuck for a year. Then came John C. Busie, who resigned October 7, 1835; John A. Boyer, who resigned December 19, 1835, and Richard D. Mattingly who served his year.

In fact the marshal's life was not a happy one, especially in the later years, owing to an increase of "undesirable citizens". In the summer of 1827 Commissioner Knight passed through the state locating the National Road, arriving in Indianapolis early in July, and returning in September from the western end.² The next fall the contracts were let and work was soon begun. The contract for the bridge over the river was let July 26, 1831, to William Wernwag and Walter Blake for \$18,000, and it was completed in 1834. This work brought a large number of hands from the outside, many of whom were of a somewhat reckless character, and the canal work, which soon followed, brought many more. Among these were many Irish immigrants, among whom there soon arose factional differences that occasioned resorts to "shillelah law"; for in addition to fighting the battles of the nations, "Kelly and Burke and Shea" are wont to take up private causes, just for practice. There were other nationalities to help on, and the native American did his share as usual. There grew up two distinctively "tough" neighbor-

hoods, one south of town near the river, known as "Waterloo", and the other in the northwest part. The leading spirit in the latter section was David Burkhart, more commonly called "Old Burkhart". He came here about 1824, and seemed to have developed in depravity under the influence of whisky. In the zenith of his greatness he kept a groggery grocery at the southwest corner of New York street and Tennessee, which was headquarters for a collection of rough characters known as "the chain gang". Burkhart was a square-built, red-headed, muscular fellow, who prided himself on his fighting abilities, and when drinking was usually hunting trouble, his pet aversions being negroes and preachers. This brought about his downfall, for in 1836, he undertook to disturb a camp-meeting that was being conducted by Rev. James Havens on the military reservation, after having made threats to whip "old Sorrel Top" as Father Havens was irreverently termed. There are various accounts of this affair, the most plausible by Rev. J. C. Smith, who says he saw it. According to him Mr. Havens was notified of Burkhart's presence by a lady who complained of his profane and obscene talk near her tent. He at once went to the place, Smith, George Norwood and several others following. After a few words Havens said: "Burkhart, I wish you to walk with me a short distance", his object being to get him to a justice's office. Burkhart assented, and Smith says:

"Having proceeded about one hundred yards Burkhart suddenly halted and said, with a bitter oath, 'I will go no further', and quickly gave three loud, shrill whistles, and cried aloud, three times, 'David Leach!' the name of one of his most desperate followers; but David not responding, Burkhart said with another bitter oath, 'The coward has forsaken me'. He then made a sudden turn on his captor and tried to throw him on the ground. In this he failed. After much struggling we all at length reached the magistrate's office, which was the objective point. The office stood at the crossing of Delaware street on Washington. Squire Jennison (not Scudder) soon appeared and began to fix up the papers for the trial of the case. While this was doing, Burkhart, with quick and nervous steps, continued to pace round the room, and coming in front of the chair in which Elder Havens sat, he suddenly stopped and

²*Journal*, July 3, 10, September 4, 1827.

pulled from his pocket a large knife with a spring back, which, with a sudden jerk, he threw open with a snap. This Brother Havens mistook for a pistol and in a moment, with the fury of a chafed lion, he sprang to his feet, and catching the hand that held the knife he planted a terrible blow with his clenched fist on the proboscis of his dangerous enemy. The scene that followed this beggars description. They fought desperately several times around the room, planting terrible blows on each other, till they were parted by the assembled crowd, and order was restored. The result was that Burkhart was heavily fined for breach of the peace and for carrying concealed weapons, and failing to give bond, he was committed that night to the county jail. Just as he entered the jail door his courage gave way, and he said with trembling voice, "Has it come to this, that David Burkhart has been whipped by a Methodist preacher?"³ A few days later, when doing some swaggering down town, Burkhart met a challenge from Samuel Merrill, who told him he believed he could throw him, although he was a smaller man; and to Burkhart's astonishment and humiliation he did it.

These events had a salutary effect, but there were more potent agencies of reform at work. The police powers of the trustees under the general incorporation law were not sufficient, and on February 5, 1836, the people obtained a special charter from the legislature. The general law gave authority to adopt such ordinances "not inconsistent with the laws and constitution of this state, as they shall deem necessary for the good government of such corporation; and to prevent and remove nuisances, to restrain and prohibit gambling or other disorderly conduct, to provide for licensing, regulating or restraining theatrical and other public shows and amusements within the corporation, to regulate and establish markets, to sink and keep in repair public wells, and shall have the sole and exclusive power and authority to keep in repair all necessary streets, alleys and drains, and to pass regulations necessary for the same".⁴ The new charter empowered the trustees "to adopt and put in force such laws, ordinances and regulations as they shall deem necessary for the police and good government of

the town", not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the state, and such laws "as may be necessary to guard against damage by fire; to organize fire companies and to govern the same; to regulate the duty and conduct of the citizens of the town in relation thereto; to regulate and govern the markets; to prevent the erection of public nuisances, and remove the same; to declare what shall be a public nuisance, and generally to enforce, by proper penalties, the observance of all laws and ordinances relative to the police and government of the said incorporated town".⁵ The charter also gave authority to make the retail liquor license \$50 and made the first provision for street improvements. On petition of two-thirds of the owners of lots on any street or section thereof for "grading, graveling or paving said streets or sidewalks thereof", the petition specifying "the improvement wanted or contemplated to be made", it was the duty of the trustees to cause it to be done as economically as possible, and assess the cost ratably by the front foot, the assessment being a lien upon the lots.

The maintenance of order, however, was the chief thing in mind, and that the people were determined on. Notice was given of a meeting at the court house on March 19 "for the purpose of consulting on measures connected with the peace and safety of the town", and it was well attended. George Lockerbie was made chairman and Charles L. Hand secretary. A committee was appointed to select ten persons "whose duty it shall be to assist the civil officers in bringing to justice all offenders against the law", and the ten selected were Butler Smith, William Campbell, Andrew Smith, John Wilkins, John McMahan, John Woollen, Samuel Merrill, James Kittleman, William H. Wernwag and Daniel Yandes. Spirited speeches were made by Herod Newland, a revolutionary soldier, and Calvin Fletcher; and, on motion of John Cain the following was adopted: "Resolved, that this meeting will use their endeavors to have such men elected to the next board of trustees as will command the respect and confidence of the citizens of our town, and who shall appoint such town officers as will do their duty without favor or affection. And this meeting pledges itself to aid and support them

³*Early Methodism in Indiana*, p. 50.

⁴*Rev. Laws*, 1831, p. 524.

⁵*Local Laws*, 1836, p. 42.

in all lawful endeavors to preserve the peace and good order of the town, and the preservation of the persons and property of the citizens thereof." It was then decided to sign the resolution as a pledge, and 121 men came forward and signed their names. The election was held on Monday, April 1, with a polling place in each ward, and George Lockerbie, John Foster, Samuel Merrill, Humphrey Griffith and John L. Young were chosen trustees, all law and order men. At the same time four constables were chosen—J. B. Ferguson, J. P. Duvall, Daniel Baker, and R. D. Mattingly—every one of whom was a signer of the resolutions above.⁶

Another pacificatory event at this time was an opinion rendered by Judge Wick. Among the negroes who were annoyed by "the chain gang" was James Overall, a quiet but resolute man with a number of white friends. He had defended his house from an attack by several of these roughs by the free use of a shot-gun, and on this account became involved in trouble with David Leach, one of the worst of the gang, and swore out a peace warrant. The justice put Leach under bond, and he appealed on the ground that a negro was not a competent witness. Judge Wick, in a long and elaborate opinion, held that while the statute prohibited a negro's being a witness against a white man, it did not prevent his taking legal steps for his own protection, and the affidavit for the warrant was not evidence heard on trial, but only a step in bringing on the trial. He therefore held Leach, and both the negroes and their tormentors were made to know that there was some protection for the negro in the law.⁷

The new board of trustees proceeded in line with the will of the law and order people. George Lockerbie was elected president, and William Campbell was made marshal for three successive years. On June 8 the trustees passed an ordinance imposing a fine of \$3 on anyone who "shall be guilty of any assault, assault and battery, affray, rout, riot, or unlawful assemblage within the town of Indianapolis, or shall provoke or encourage any other person or persons to commit either of said offenses." They also provided a fine of \$3 for anyone who "shall be guilty of using publicly any indecent or blasphemous language, or who shall appear in

the streets intoxicated, or who shall sell or give any spirituous liquors to any person intoxicated". They showed a spirit of progress that was really remarkable for the time and the conditions by declaring all "horse racks" on Washington street to be nuisances, and ordering their removal.⁸ The more stringent law and its more vigorous enforcement lessened the disorders, and begot favor for a stronger local government in all respects; and more power was needed, especially as to street improvements, for these were almost at the will of the property owner aside from regular road work, and he got no credit on that for any special effort before his own premises.

After two years' experience under this charter the people wanted one granting more power, and on February 17, 1838, the town was reincorporated by the legislature. Under the new charter the council consisted of a president elected by general vote, and six trustees, each elected by the voters of his ward, all of whom were required to be freeholders of the town. The charter fixed the wards as follows: 1st, all east of Alabama street; 2nd, Alabama to Pennsylvania; 3rd, Pennsylvania to Meridian; 4th, Meridian to Illinois; 5th, Illinois to Mississippi; 6th, all west of Mississippi. The act is indefinite in that it incorporates all the land "included in the bounds of the donation", but general taxation was limited to the mile square, and the council was required to open and keep in repair "the border streets of said town, being North, South, East, and West streets", or "forfeit all rights and privileges of jurisdiction beyond the said streets which are conferred on said council by the 23d section of this act", which powers were licensing and regulating "taverns, groceries, tippling houses, shows, theaters and stores, within the limits of the donation". The council decided that the people on the donation outside of the mile square were entitled to vote in town elections. The president of the council was given the powers of a justice of the peace within the donation, and the marshal the powers of a constable. The council could appoint a secretary, marshal, treasurer, assessor, collector, supervisor of highways, clerk of the market, and other subordinates deemed necessary, and impose a fine not exceeding \$5 for refusal to accept an office.

⁶*Journal*, March 26, April 9, 1836.

⁷*Journal*, May 7, 1836.

⁸*Journal*, June 11, 1836.

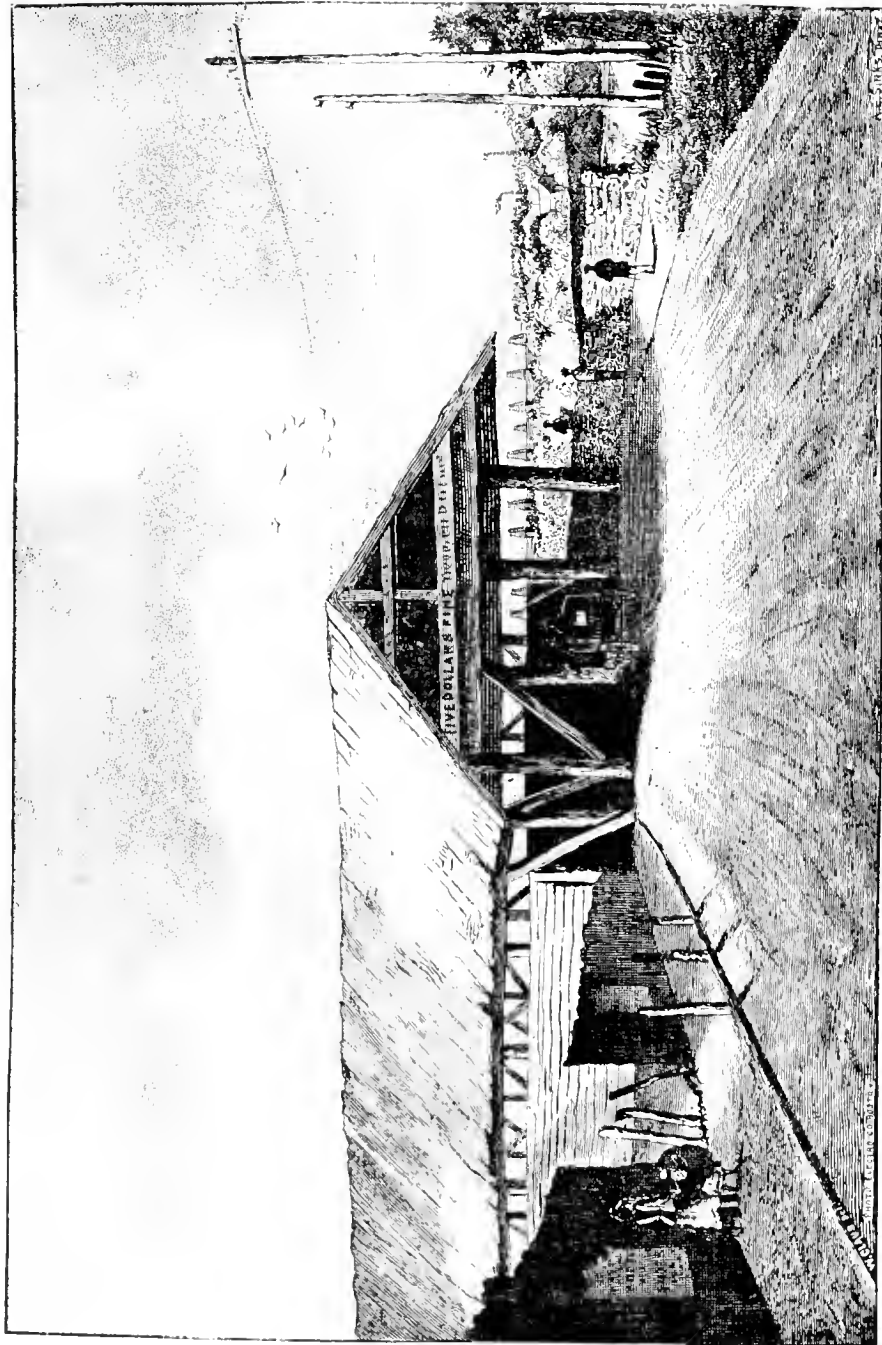
The trustees were allowed \$1 each for each regular monthly meeting, not exceeding twelve. The limit of the retail liquor license was raised to \$100. The trustees were empowered to adopt "such laws and ordinances as to them shall seem necessary relative to the regulations of streets, alleys, sidewalks and highways; to cleaning, raising, draining, turnpiking, macadamizing or otherwise making and keeping the same in repair; to making, causing, and requiring owners of in-lots to pave or gravel the sidewalks in front of their respective in-lots".

The realty tax was limited to one-half of one per cent of the valuation, and the poll tax to \$1. In addition each able-bodied man between 21 and 50 years of age was required to do two days' work on the streets each year, or pay \$1 in lieu thereof. The town was allowed to tax dogs, and all property subject to county taxation, and also to require licenses of "shows, exhibitions, auctions, peddlers and amusements". This charter, with its amendments, continued in force until the adoption of city government in 1847. By act of February 15, 1839, the council was directed to open and keep in repair all streets and alleys running through the donation, and could tax for this purpose, and this only, outside of the mile square. By act of February 22, 1849, the councilmen or trustees were divided into two classes, those of the 1st, 3rd and 5th wards, and those of the 2nd, 4th and 6th wards, to be elected in alternate years; and the qualification for membership was changed from freholder to householder. The law as to licensing auctioneers was also changed but the change is not very important, for all of the early laws on that subject were in violation of the United States constitution in that they imposed greater burdens on citizens of other states than on citizens of Indiana. The act of February 13, 1841, repealed the incorporation law, so far as it applied to the donation lands west of White River. By act of February 13, 1841, the marshal was made elective by the people; and the same change was made as to the assessor, collector, street supervisor, and secretary by the act of January 15, 1841, but this latter act was repealed on January 19, 1846. By another act of January 15, 1841, the town was required to keep the state ditch in repair and remove obstructions from it.

There was practically no effort at street im-

provement until 1836, beyond cutting out timber, and a little corduroying in very wet places, and making an occasional ditch. In that year the town began the good work by filling a pond in Meridian street in front of Wesley Chapel, just south of the Circle. The council also adopted an ordinance for a "town surveyor and engineer". His principal duty was to establish corners and boundaries, which he was required to do on request of a citizen; but besides this he was to "take the proper level and grade of any of the streets, sidewalks, drains and alleys of said town, as may from time to time be deemed necessary"; and also to "make estimates of any proposed improvements in said town, and perform such other professional services as may be required by the common council". For compensation he received \$3 a day for actual service; and for part of a day \$2 for not more than four hours, if called by a private individual, and \$1.50 for not more than half a day if working for the city. To this office was called William Sullivan, a very competent man. He was a Marylander, of English descent, who came here in 1834. He was well educated, and had taught school in Ohio, and at Hanover. At Indianapolis he first opened a private school, and later taught at the Seminary, of which he was principal when appointed surveyor. One of his first steps was to prepare a map of the town which was published in October of that year. Luke Munsell had also copyrighted a city map on May 30, 1836; Dr. Munsell was a man of notable attainments, but rather impractical, who came here from Kentucky, where he had been State Engineer, and had published a map of Kentucky. He established one of the first Daguerrean galleries at Indianapolis. There seemed no cause for the people not knowing "where they were at", but a careful resurvey by Mr. Sullivan in 1839 revealed the fact that, in the survey and sale of out-lots in 1831, eight acres had been laid off and sold that were not in the donation. This was set out in a memorial to Congress by the legislature in 1840, and Congress corrected the error by donating the eight acres.

In 1837 the macadamizing of Washington street as a part of the National Road awoke aspirations for a higher life, and there was a demand for sidewalks. An ordinance was adopted providing that when property owners on that street, for not less than one square,



THE OLD NATIONAL ROAD BRIDGE OVER WHITE RIVER,
(Eastern approach. From a painting by Alois E. Sinks.)

"shall be desirous of paying the gutters and grading and gravelling the street between the same and the McAdamsizing as made by the United States, and shall petition for the same", it should be the duty of the council to have the work done, and assess the cost by the front foot. But for the amount assessed and paid, the lot-owner was to receive an equal amount of town scrip, which was receivable for any street improvement tax afterwards levied on that lot, so far as the owner could make change with it, for "the collector shall in no case be required to pay in money any overplus where a larger amount of scrip shall be offered than will meet the amount of street tax due". Originally the sidewalks on Washington street had been laid off fifteen feet wide, and those on other streets ten, but they were now made twenty feet on Washington and twelve feet on other streets. There was vigorous protest against this by lot owners, but the trustees stood firm, and also prohibited extending cellar doors more than five feet from the property line, and railings more than four feet. Considerable improvement was done under this ordinance, and in the year ending March 25, 1839, the town itself expended \$145 for street improvements and gravel for crossings. This was not a bad start, especially in consideration of the fact that the town that year paid \$3,850 for building a west market on Ohio street between Tennessee and Mississippi—the present north end of the Capitol grounds—and \$113 for clearing and fencing the old graveyard, while the total receipts were only \$7,912. In 1840 the town expenditure for streets and bridges was \$1,350, and in 1842 the street improvements cost \$1,138.

Political lines were not well defined locally at the beginning of municipal government in Indianapolis. The state was growing away from the old territorial alignments, and taking up national divisions, but there was no public demonstration of this until the Whigs formed a local organization on May 17, 1834. Although the Democrats were in the majority in the state, the Whigs were a little more numerous in the town, for, in November, 1832, Center Township gave 510 votes for Clay and 163 for Jackson, and, as has been mentioned, the trustees elected that year showed their Whig leaning by giving all the town printing to the *Journal*. In 1836 Center Township gave the Whig na-

tional ticket a majority of 920 to 634, and in 1840, one of 872 to 549. Nevertheless Mr. Brown says that in 1840 "the Whigs carried the municipal election for the first time", and he ought to have known for his father was one of the active local organizers of the Whig party. But there were some local officials who were reputed anti-Jackson men before then, and at any rate the Whigs did not hold on from 1840, for the Democrats carried the next municipal election. Possibly Mr. Brown refers to this as the first victory on a recognized party basis, for it was not the custom then to nominate municipal tickets by party convention, and the elections had at least the appearance of personal contests.

The presidents of the Board of Trustees, while elected by the Board, were Samuel Henderson, October 12, 1832, to September 30, 1833; James Edgar, September 30 to December 9, 1833; Benjamin L. Blythe, March 7, 1834, to February 14, 1835; Alexander F. Morrison, February 14 to October 2, 1835; Nathan B. Palmer, October 2, 1835, to April 13, 1836; George Lockerbie, April 13, 1836, to April 4, 1837; Joshua Soule Jr., April 4, 1837, to April 2, 1838. In the period when elected by the people they were James Morrison, 1838-9; Nathan B. Palmer, 1839-40; Henry P. Coburn, 1840-1; William Sullivan (resigned November 12), 1841; David V. Culley, 1844-4 and 1850-3; Lazarus B. Wilson, 1844-5; Joseph A. Levy, 1845-7; Saml. S. Rooker (resigned November 1), 1847; Charles W. Cady, 1847-8; George A. Chapman, 1848-9; Wm. Eckert, 1849-50; Andrew A. London, 1850. The office of president of the council was continued under the city charter of 1847, independent of the mayor, but in March, 1853, the council adopted the general city incorporation law in place of the charter, and it made the mayor president of the council. The town treasurers were John Wilkins (acting) and Obed Foote, in 1832; Harvey Bates, 1833-5; Thos. H. Sharpe, 1835-9; Chas. B. Davis, 1839-40 and 1841-4; Humphrey Griffith, 1840-4; John L. Welshans, 1844-6; George Norwood, 1846-7. The town marshals, following William Campbell, as before mentioned, were James Vanblaricum, 1839-42 and 1844-5; Robert C. Allison, 1842-3; Benjamin Ream, 1843-4; Newton N. Norwood, 1845-6; Jacob B. Fitter, 1846-7. The assessors were Josiah W. Davis (resigned), 1832;

Butler K. Smith, 1833-4; George Lockerbie, 1831-6; John Elder, 1836-7; Thos. McOnat, 1837-8; Albert G. Willard, 1838-40; Henry Bradley, 1840-1; Thos. Donellan, 1841-2 and 1843-6; James H. Kennedy, 1842-3; John Coen, 1846-7. The office of town attorney was not formally created until September 5, 1816, when John L. Ketcham was elected for one year; but James Morrison served as attorney for the town in 1837-8; Hugh O'Neal, 1838-10; and Hiram Brown, 1810-6. William Sullivan, town surveyor from September 27, 1832, to June 18, 1838, was succeeded by Luke Munsell, 1838-9, 1839-41, 1843-4; Robert B. Hanna (resigned August 17), 1839; and James Wood Sr., 1811-3, 1844-5. The position of town supervisor of streets was held by Thomas Lupton, 1838-9; James Vanblaricum, 1839-42; Robert C. Allison, 1842-3; Thos. M. Weaver, 1843-4; William Wilkinson, 1845-6; Jacob B. Fittler, 1816-7. The clerks of the market were Thomas Chinn (resigned), November 27, 1832 to February 21, 1835; Fleming T. Luse (resigned July 29), 1835; Andrew Smith, 1835-6; Jacob Roop (died), 1836-7; James Gore (resigned February 6), 1837; Jeremiah Wormegan, 1837-40. In 1841 the office was

changed to market-master and Wormegan was continued in it until 1845, and then as market-master of the east market until 1846. Jacob Miller was master of the west market from 1845 to 1848. The town weigh-masters were Jacob J. Wiseman, October 27 to December 12, 1835; Edward Davis, 1835-6; John F. Ramsey, January 30 to April 18, 1836; James Edgar, 1836-7; James Gore, January 19 to February 6, 1837; Jeremiah Wormegan, February 6 to May 17, 1837; Isaac Harris, 1837-8; Adam Haugh, 1838-9, 1840-7; Charles Williams, 1839-40. The town sextons were James Cox, 1842-3; John Musgrove, 1843-4 and 1845-7; John O'Connor, 1844-5; Benjamin Lobaugh, 1847. The town also maintained a messenger of the fire department, James Vanblaricum, 1840-2, and David Cox, 1842-5. In 1845 David Cox was made messenger for the Marion Company only, and Jacob Fittler for the Good Intents, and they were continued in these positions until 1848. In 1847 James H. Kennedy was added as messenger of the hook and ladder company. As the councilmen were elected from the wards their service can be better shown by table, the years used indicating the ones in which their terms began.

TRUSTEES AND TOWN COUNCILMEN BY WARDS, 1822-1847.

| | 1st Ward. | 2nd Ward. | 3rd Ward. | 4th Ward. | 5th Ward. | 6th Ward. |
|------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 1832 | John Wilkins | H. P. Coburn | John G. Brown | S. Henderson | Saml. Merrill | |
| 1833 | Benj. A. Blythe | S. Goldsberry | James Edgar | J. Vanblaricum | Nath. Cox | |
| 1834 | Alex. Morrison | L. Dundup | Jos. Lefevre | J. Vanblaricum | Nath. Cox | |
| 1835 | Jas. M. Smith | Jos. Lefevre | Chas. Campbell | H. Griffith | N. B. Palmer | |
| 1836 | Geo. Lockerbie | John Foster | Saml. Merrill | H. Griffith | J. L. Young | |
| 1837 | Geo. Lockerbie | John Foster | Geo. W. Stipp | Henry Porter | Joshua Soule | |
| 1838 | Geo. Lockerbie | John Elder | John W. Fondray | John F. Ramsey | Wm. J. Brown | S. S. Rooker |
| 1839 | Geo. Lockerbie | Wm. Sullivan | John E. McCluer | P. W. Seibert | Geo. Norwood | S. S. Rooker |
| 1840 | Matthew Little | S. Goldsberry | Jacob Cox | P. W. Seibert | Geo. Norwood | A. A. Loudon |
| 1841 | Matthew Little | S. Goldsberry | Jacob Cox | A. A. Loudon | Geo. Norwood | C. H. Boatright |
| 1842 | Joshua Black | S. Goldsberry | Jas. R. Nowland | P. W. Seibert | T. Rickards | A. A. Loudon |
| 1843 | Joshua Black | S. Goldsberry | Jas. R. Nowland | A. A. Loudon | T. Rickards | S. S. Rooker |
| 1844 | Wm. Montague | S. Goldsberry | Jas. R. Nowland | A. A. Loudon | H. Griffith | S. S. Rooker |
| 1845 | Wm. Montague | S. Goldsberry | Jas. R. Nowland | A. A. Loudon | H. Griffith | Wm. C. Vanblaricum |
| 1846 | Wm. Montague | S. Goldsberry | A. W. Harrison | A. A. Loudon | Chas. W. Cady | Wm. C. Vanblaricum |

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EARLY SCHOOLS.

One who reads the early school legislation of Indiana is liable to get an exaggerated idea of the extent of the public schools. The provision for them was very full, on paper, but it did not amount to a great deal in money. The rents of the school lands were small. The fines were neither numerous nor closely collected. The effort for public schools was largely centered on the county seminary, to which was devoted, by the constitution of 1816, the fines for penal offenses, and the money paid for exemption from militia duty by people conscientiously opposed to war, which was popularly known as "conscience money". By the law of 1824, reenacted in 1831, the seminary funds were kept by a trustee until they amounted to \$100, and then the people were authorized to elect a board of trustees, one from each county commissioner's district, who should erect a school building. This period did not arrive in Marion County until 1832, and at the general election in August, of that year, Samuel Merrill, John S. Hall and William Gladden were elected trustees of the Marion County Seminary. On January 8, 1833, they reported to the county commissioners that they had settled with Dr. Livingston Dandlap, who had been the trustee of the funds, and had received from him \$115.75; since which they had collected \$16.50 additional. By act of January 26, 1832, the legislature authorized the agent of state to lease to the trustees of Marion County Seminary the University Square—No. 25—for a period of thirty years with permission to erect a school building on either the southeast or southwest corner. At the expiration of the term the state could take the building at its appraised value; and if it wished to use the square before the expiration of the term it could either sell one half acre to the county,

including the building, or permit the continued use of one half acre for the remainder of the term. On November 4, 1833, the trustees reported that they had leased the square and asked the commissioners to approve their action which was done. On January 7, 1834, they reported the total receipts to date, \$1,353.21, of which \$632 was subscription, and that from this they had paid \$783.11 on the building. The school was opened on September 1, 1834.

It was obviously fortunate for the youth of Indianapolis that there were other provisions for education. Most of the schools of the earlier period have been mentioned, but there were others, of a more transient character, that gave opportunities for instruction to adults as well as the young. John E. Baker opened a school at his residence on December 29, 1823, to teach "architectural draughting and drawing", and Major Sullinger followed close after, on January 13, 1824, with a military school for the instruction of militia officers and men. On October 1, 1827, J. H. Ralston opened a series of lectures on grammar, announcing that, "He pledges himself to enable those who become his pupils (however in commencing unacquainted with the science) to advance so far in twenty-four days four hours each day as to be enabled to parse common language", and this for only \$3. The first school distinctively for young ladies was the "Indianapolis Female School" of Mrs. Tichenor, opened in March, 1830, and was not of long duration. She taught "spelling, reading, writing, English grammar, geography with the use of maps, astronomy and needle-work". On the same day that the seminary opened "Miss Hooker's Female School" also opened. It offered everything taught by Mrs. Tichenor, and also composition, history, natural philosophy, drawing and painting. This

school was "limited to 30 scholars, and no incidental expenses". At this time George H. Quigg was teaching a day school in Indianapolis and also opened a night school for special instruction in "Penmanship, the Art of Penmaking, Arithmetic, and Bookkeeping, although by request any branch taught at the day school may be acquired". This may be considered the pioneer business college. Mr. Quigg was of a philanthropic turn of mind, and announced, "Apprentice Boys taught at half price, and Orphans gratis".¹

The Baptists had a school in their church building most of the time from the start. In 1834 they put up a little frame building back of the church, abutting the alley east of the Grand Hotel, for a school building. At this time Miss Clara Ellick was teaching there, and had been for two years. She continued for a year longer, when a Methodist preacher persuaded her to change her name to Smith, which happened to be his, and the school passed into the charge of Miss Laura Kise. There was a frame work bell tower built against this school house, which presented great attractions to enterprising boys. One night two youths, one said to be Lew Wallace, fastened a string to the clapper and carried it across to a room in a block on Washington street, from which they sounded the alarm, to the mystification of the neighbors. It was about this time also that Miss Sargeant opened her school for small children in the basement of the Governor's Mansion, in the Circle, which has a traditional reputation for being damp and disagreeable that is unjust, or that she managed to counteract. This was the first school in the nature of a kindergarten, and the first in which object lessons were used. She had pictures of animals of various kinds, and also an orrery to illustrate the motions of the earth and the heavenly bodies. She also used the "singing method" of imparting instruction, which was popularized here some ten years later by Mr. Tibbetts for teaching geography. They used to sing the capitals of the states in the Misses McFarland's school as late as the sixties.

The Marion County Seminary opened under charge of Ebenezer Dumont, later known as Colonel and General Dumont, of the talented

Vevay family. He remained but one term, being succeeded in January, 1835, by W. J. Hill, who was in charge for a year. In May, 1836, Thomas D. Gregg took charge of the school. He had previously been teaching school in a large frame building on Washington street, just east of the present Park Theater, known as "the Linton house", and in which Rev. Geo. Bush had lived, and where Mrs. Bush died. There are somewhat conflicting traditions as to Gregg, some holding him a severe, almost cruel, man. He was in charge of the seminary only one term, being succeeded in December, 1836, by William Sullivan, the surveyor. Mr. Gregg is kept in memory by the bequest he left for the benefit of teachers in the public schools, known as the Gregg Fund. After Mr. Sullivan, Rev. Wm. A. Holliday took charge of the school in August, 1837, for one year, and he was followed in October, 1838, by James Sprigg Kemper, who was principal for seven years. In 1845, Rev. J. P. Safford became principal for one year; and he was followed by B. L. Lang, who was principal until 1852.² This was the leading school in central Indiana at the time, and furnished education to a great many men who were later well known in Indianapolis life. The organization of "Old Seminary Boys" continued for many years, and they used to hold their annual meetings, talk, eat, and play shinny with vast enthusiasm. In fact shinny seemed to be the chief memory, and there was some cause for it as may be seen from this reminiscence of Berry Sulgrove's:

"Shinny was the great game, however, and it was no fool of a game either. It was neither easy nor harmless. At first we played with wooden balls, and we might almost as safely have played with musket balls. Then we took India-rubber balls. Sometimes we made balls, but they were used up nearly as fast as glass balls under Mr. Carver's rifle. The wooden balls, shot out by such a blow as Mr. Kemper could give, were bad things to get in the way of. Marcus C. Smith was a terrible fellow with a club, and never would 'shinny on his own side'. Henry L. Coe was a dangerous player, too, for he was so short-sighted he could not see anybody else's club, and ran right in regardless of the chances of getting

¹ *Journal*, October 26, 1833; August 29, 1831.

² *Journal*, July 18, 1848; *Locomobile*, September 21, 1852.

his head broken, and once he did get his nose broken. General John Coburn once ran into Mr. Kemper and broke the latter's watch. Judge Charles A. Ray had his forehead laid open with a club and bears the scar to this day. Garrick Mallory, who never would use anything but a straight stick, had himself laid up for several days with a blow on the head. Osborn, the New Orleans baby, had some of his teeth smashed in his mouth by a blow from Mark Smith that slipped up the other's club and landed unpleasantly. "Stars" Coburn laid the speaker low with a lick on the knee that lamed him for three weeks. Austin Fallis was knocked as flat as a flounder by a wooden ball that hit him squarely in the forehead." And yet these bald-headed old sports talked about football being a dangerous game, and not altogether without reason.

It will be noted that the seminary was not a free school. The public furnished the building, and the patrons of the school kept it up by tuition, and in the earlier days by contributions. By a special act of February 7, 1835, the number of trustees of this seminary was increased to ten, of whom one-half were to be appointed by the circuit court, and the others elected by donors to the institution, it being provided that the giver of \$20 should have one vote; \$50, two votes; and \$100, three votes. Previous donors were allowed one vote for each \$10 given, and those who had given less than \$10 were allowed a credit of one-half the amount on the purchase of a vote. Even this ingenious device did not result in any material endowment of the institution, and it was kept on a tuition basis during its existence. It is also to be observed that it was strictly a boy's school. On what principle the girls should be shut out from an institution, supported even in part by public funds, does not at this day seem clear. But at that time co-education was not tolerated outside of the primary schools. And there was a generally prevalent impression that girls had no need for higher education, which was much better founded then, when the field of occupation for women was so much more restricted, than it is at present. In consequence the instruction in the higher schools for girls was almost wholly in the line of "accomplishments", and was the occasion of more or less jest by individuals who imagined that they took a thor-

oughly practical view of life and its requirements.

The district schools were intermittent, and held in rented rooms, at first, for short sessions. In 1842, Alexander Jameson, brother of Rev. Love Jameson, became teacher of the south district school. At that time the part of town south of Washington street was one district, and the part north was divided into two districts by Meridian street. Later the south side was also divided in the same way. The trustees for the south district were James Sulgrove, Nathan B. Palmer and Isaac Roll; and Jameson had an arrangement, as was common, to take what public funds were available, and get the balance of his pay from tuition payments. His school prospered so well that he could not attend to all his pupils, and he sent for his brother Patrick H. to come and help him. This assistant, now our venerable citizen Dr. P. H. Jameson, recalls his experience thus: "I was a boy of nineteen when I came to help my brother Alexander with his school. I was raised on a farm in Jefferson County, north of Madison, and had begun reading medicine at the time. He offered me \$10 a month and my board, and I accepted. The district had no schoolhouse, and the school was held in the old Campbellite church on the south side of Kentucky avenue, just above Georgia street. It was a one-room, one-story building about 55 feet long and 35 feet wide. There were no desks, but we had boards fastened temporarily to the backs of the seats to serve as desks. I taught there one year, and then decided to organize a school of my own in the northwest district, which had none.

"In the spring of 1844 I got the trustees together and submitted the matter. They were Ezekiel Boyd, Carey Boatwright and Benjamin McClure. Boyd was the only one that had any education. We talked the matter over and Boatwright proposed that they build a schoolhouse. To the question, 'how?', he answered 'Call a school meeting, and levy a tax'. We looked into the law and found that this could be done by giving three weeks' notice. Boyd, who wrote a beautiful hand, made out the notices, and I put them up in the most public places. Very little attention was paid to them, and on the appointed day only about twenty voters appeared. They organized and levied a tax of \$600, of which \$100 was for a

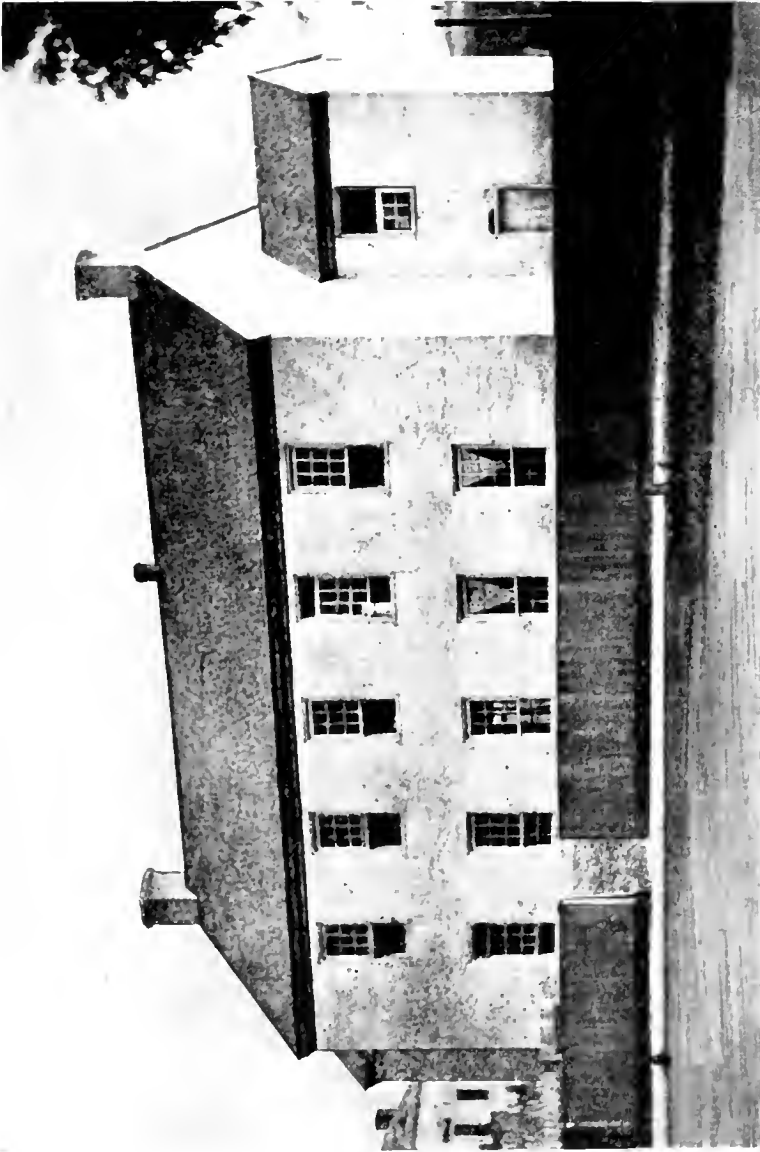
lot and \$500 for a house. It was certified to the auditor and put on the tax-duplicate. When tax-paying time came, there was an awful row. A number of people refused to pay and the treasurer refused to receive any of their taxes unless they paid the school tax. The matter drifted along until the legislature met, and some of the influential people of the district induced it to adopt a resolution for another election. Notice of this was given, and we had one of the warmest elections ever known in Indianapolis. People were almost fighting-mad. About 200 votes were cast, and the school tax won by just one vote.

"The schoolhouse was then built, on the east side of West street, south of Michigan. I was teacher, and as there was not money enough to furnish desks I put them in myself. There was about \$100 of public money for each district, and the balance was made up by subscription, for which I circulated a paper. It was on the basis of \$3 a pupil for 13 weeks of 5 days each. Exact account of the attendance was kept on blanks furnished by the County Auditor, and the subscribers were credited for actual attendance, but it need not be by the same pupil. At the end of the term the accounts were footed up and the balances due were collected. As the public funds were used, anybody who desired could come to school, no matter whether there had been any subscription for them or not, and I had a number of pupils that paid nothing. I furnished the fuel, cut the wood, swept the room, made the fires, and ran the school just as I pleased.

"I had scholars all the way from a-b-cs up to nearly as far as I could teach, but my worst trouble was with the a-b-cs. I worked out a plan of putting the letters on the black board, and having my 'abecedarians', as I called them, stand in front of it for ten or fifteen minutes, four or five times a day, while I pointed out the letters and they repeated the names; and in that way made some progress. For school books I had Webster's Elementary Spelling-book, McGuffey's First, Second and Third readers, Ray's Practical and Mental arithmetics, and Alonzo C. Smith's Grammar and Geography. The last two were arranged with questions and answers, which made much less work for the teacher. Not all the pupils had the same books, however, and they studied and recited from whatever they had. There was very

little grading or classification, and each pupil was advanced in his work according to his individual progress. I taught a few algebra and geometry, but there was very little call for anything above the common studies. Music was taught by rote. I used to have a pretty fair voice, and I would sing a song and they would join in as they learned it. I had a book of songs called *The Odeon*, published by Mason & Webb, that was a very good collection. I taught them *America*, *Hail Columbia*, *Star Spangled Banner*, *Bonnie Doon*, *Ship Ahoy*, *The Barcarole* and, in all, probably 40 or 50 airs. I gave them a few hymns, but there was a good deal of prejudice about teaching religion in the schools, and I was pretty careful about that.

"We put in the day, then. I called school at 8 o'clock in the morning, and before that I came around, swept out, and fired up. I gave them 15 minutes recess at 10 o'clock and an hour at noon, and kept them till sundown in winter, and pretty near it in summer. I used to send the younger children home earlier. The older pupils studied *United States history*. I used *Grimshaw's history*, which was a good text book. The boys did not care much for anything but the battles, and I had them write descriptions of all the battles of the Revolutionary war, from *Lexington* to *Yorktown*. I could not begin to recall all who went to school to me, but among them were *Samuel*, *James* and *George Douglass*, *Alonzo Atkinson*—afterwards *Captain Atkinson*, *Samuel Norman*—whose brother was a newspaper man at *New Albany*, the *Pitts boys*, and the *Perhams*, who afterwards went to *Oregon*. In addition to teaching school I read medicine at night, and on Saturdays was *County Librarian*. The county library was not used a great deal at that time. It had about 200 books. *Dick Fletcher*, a nephew of *Calvin Fletcher*, was the chief patron. Teachers complain now that they do not get enough pay to live on, but they get much better pay than I did. I paid my board and other expenses out of my wages, and at the end of four years of teaching I had \$600 saved up. It all depends on how you use your money. I do not recall now who taught in the other schools, excepting *Levi Reynolds*, the brother of *Governor Whitecomb's Adjutant General*. He came here and tried to get my school, but when he found he could not he took the



(W. H. Bass Photo Company)

MARION COUNTY SEMINARY.

school in the northeast district. It was held in a rented room, as they had no schoolhouse at that time."

The seminary had rivals from the start, in addition to Ebenezer Sharpe's school. On June 22, 1835, Mr. Drapier opened his "Inductive School" in "the class room north of the Methodist church". This was undoubtedly an institution of higher learning for Mr. Drapier said: "The design of this institution is to accommodate instruction, as well as may be, to the circumstances in which the people of this country are placed, with regard both to the acquisition and the application of knowledge. Arithmetic and algebra will be taught with clear views of their importance to the purposes of common life, and the ready comprehension of scientific theorems and formulæ. The general topics of geometry, trigonometry, conic sections, curves, mensuration, and the doctrines of mechanics, will be exhibited in a brief series, with perspicuous illustrations of their practical utility". On July 21, 1835, M. Butterfield announced his "Fundamental School" to commence on the 27th "a few doors west of the seminary where the subscriber will receive pupils, and bestow on them his undivided attention in imparting to them a critical knowledge of the fundamental branches of science". On September 25, 1835, E. M. Travis announced that he would "commence teaching an English school, on reasonable terms, the 19th day of October next, in his new schoolhouse in the eastern part of Indianapolis on Market street".

One of the most celebrated teachers of this period was Josephus Cicero Worrall, who began teaching here in 1836, on Delaware street opposite the market house. He had an ingenious system of putting a boy in chancery by laying him over his right leg and hooking his left leg over the offender's neck, while he applied his ferule to the seat of educational discipline. The only recorded escape from this hold was by Robert McQuat, who fixed his teeth in the teacher's thigh and caused an automatic opening of the human vise and the release of the young scapegrace. But the chief distinction of Josephus was in the high-flown circulars with which he used to startle the community. In one of these, preserved in the *Journal* of March 11, 1837, he warns parents

of the dangers of incompetent teachers by saying: "When the time comes that the infant institutions which are springing up in our state, as nurseries of the future poets, philosophers and statesmen of Indiana, begin to decline, their downfall may probably be traced to an improper selection of individuals to conduct their concerns, who are not sufficiently impressed with the necessity of accommodating their usages to the increasing light of ages." At the same time he ingeniously appealed to the consciousness of the suffering pupils by the statement that, "They are driven into studies to which they have no attraction, but regard them as objects of mental agony, instead of intellectual recreations: decorated with the variegated hues of a glowing genius, sensible of the capacity of those untledged eaglets, that, though they may be destined to tower in sublime flight, are now restricted in taste and ability, by dispositions and powers peculiar to infantile weakness." It is not surprising that Berry Sulgrove, who was one of his pupils, and who had a tendency to air his classic acquirements, dubbed him "Polyphlos-bois" (the far-resounding sea), with the approval of the generation that remembered him.

The jesting at Josephus Cicero was not withheld till later days, but was indulged in by his contemporaries. Rev. J. C. Fletcher gives one of the circulars of Worrall's "Select Academy" which his father had filed away with the indorsement, "pragmatical bombast". The one above quoted was assailed in the *Journal* of March 18, 1837, by an unfeeling critic who hurled sarcasm at all of the educator's ideas. He disapproved the academy as a mixed school, saying, "By what rule or rules 'the intercourse of the sexes' in his Academy is to produce 'a thoughtful deportment' is a secret worth knowing. In Dilworth's days we did not expect the production of much thoughtfulness by turning a bevy of wild boys and girls together in the school-room, or on the common". But especially severe were his reflections on the Academy orthography, for Josephus had gone in for reformed spelling, and according to this critic, wrote tongue, tung; sovereign, suveran; stead, sted; porpoise, porpess; picturesque, picturesk; acre, aker; cloak, cloke, etc. There is reason to rejoice that this feature of "the increasing light of ages" was not adopted by the commu-

ity. Tradition says, however, that Worrall was an exceptionally good teacher of mathematics.

Worrall had some pupils, but a more substantial rival to the seminary appeared in the "Indianapolis High School" which was opened on October 25, 1837, in "school rooms on Washington street opposite Browning's Hotel" by Gilman Marston. This was a really high grade school. Marston had graduated from Dartmouth that spring, and in addition to all the usual English branches gave "a course of experimental lectures in natural philosophy and chemistry", and taught Latin, Greek, and French. He refers in his advertisement "to the Hon. David Wallace, Hon. Isaac Blackford, Dr. L. Dunlap, Rev. J. B. Britton, A. St. Clair, Esq." This school was continued afterward as the Franklin Institute, and Rev. J. C. Fletcher says of it: "About 1837 Messrs. Sweetzer and Quarles, Lawyers, Col. A. W. Russell, Dr. G. W. Stipp, and some others felt that all the higher educational institutions were run by the Presbyterians, therefore they formed a new school and dubbed it the 'Franklin Institute'. Their first teacher was a Mr. Chester, the second was Gilman Marston, a graduate of Dartmouth College. In 1838 a frame schoolhouse was erected on Circle street, occupying a position between Mr. Quarles's house and the corner of Circle and Market streets (now the English Hotel). This building was removed a few years ago to the east side of Pennsylvania street. It is the third house on Pennsylvania street north of Massachusetts avenue. Mr. Marston was from New Hampshire, and returned in 1839-40 to that state to practice law. He once told me at Exeter, New Hampshire, that he had an educational debt to pay, and a limited time to pay it in, therefore he came to Indianapolis to teach. I believe that he had letters to Mr. Sweetzer. He afterwards became eminent as a lawyer in the Rockingham, New Hampshire, district, which includes Exeter and Portsmouth. In the war he lost an arm. He represented the southern district of New Hampshire in Congress, and it may be said that no one of the many teachers in Indianapolis has been more successful in life. He was succeeded by Mr. Wheeler, who married Mary, the eldest daughter of the late Daniel Yandes. I do not recall when the Franklin Institute

became extinct." Gilman Marston went into the Civil War as colonel of the Second New Hampshire regiment, and was made a Brigadier General in 1862. He was in Congress both before and after the war, and became governor of Idaho in 1870.

Rev. Wm. Holliday taught school up to 1850, after his service in the seminary, first in a log building where Roberts Park church now stands, then in the basement of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, which stood on the north side of Ohio street midway between Pennsylvania and Delaware, and then at his residence on North Pennsylvania street, opposite University Square. Rev. J. C. Fletcher says that prior to his teaching at the seminary he taught at the northeast corner of Pennsylvania and New York.⁴ Mr. Holliday was a ripe scholar and his schools were well patronized. Mr. Brown states that Eliza Richmond assisted Marston in his school,⁵ and this was no doubt in the primary work. She kept a school for many years afterwards on New York street between Alabama and New Jersey, which was popularly known as "Sister Richmond's school"—she being a prominent "sister" in Roberts Chapel, and her patrons chiefly Methodists. There was not a little sectarian jealousy and rivalry in early times that was notably displayed in the field of education, and that lived long in the memory of its chief actors. Rev. F. C. Holliday, writing in 1873, says: "The state funds for educational purposes in Indiana as in most of the Western States, were for many years under the almost exclusive control of Presbyterians, who assumed to be the especial guardians and patrons of education. It is impossible, at this day, to comprehend the self-complacency with which their leading men in the West assumed to be the only competent educators of the people, and the quiet unscrupulousness with which they seized upon the trust-funds of the states for school purposes, and made those schools as strictly denominational as though the funds had been exclusively contributed by members of their own communion. A young man who, in either the Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, or Lexington, Kentucky, or Bloomington, In-

³*News*, July 19, 1879.

⁴*News*, June 28, 1879.

⁵*Hist. Indianapolis*, p. 10.

diana, would have questioned the correctness of any of the dogmas of Calvinism, would have been an object of unmitigated ridicule and persecution. * * * When, in 1834 and 1835, efforts were made in Indiana so to change the management of the State University, by amending its charter, that the trustees should be elected by the State Legislature, instead of being a self-perpetuating corporation, a storm of indignation was raised among those who controlled the State University; and it was made the occasion of heaping all sorts of opprobrium on the Methodist church. The movement was said to be an effort on the part of the Methodists to get a Methodist professor in the University; and it was tauntingly said, in the halls of the legislature, that "there was not a Methodist in America with sufficient learning to fill a professor's chair, if it were tendered to him". Such taunts proved a wholesome stimulus to Methodist enterprise and independent church action in the department of education".⁶

Of course this is the reminiscence of one who was in the fight, and the Presbyterians might have answered, and probably did, that the Methodists needed "a wholesome stimulus"; and also have pointed to the fact that they had established their separate collegiate institutions in order to avoid proselyting influences of other denominations. But the extract shows the feeling from which arose the fact that, when the constitutional convention of 1851 met, there were eight independent collegiate institutions in the state, each controlled by a religious sect. It explains the fact that the constitution of 1851 provides only for "a general and uniform system of public schools", and does not mention a university. It explains the effort made in the convention for the express prohibition of support by the state of a higher institution of learning.⁷ It explains also the school conditions of Indianapolis. The several churches had concentrated their efforts on collegiate institutions on a state basis, the Presbyterians on Hanover and Wabash, the Methodists on Asbury (now De Pauw), and the Baptists on Franklin, none of them located

here. It is probable that this division of energy prevented, or retarded, the building up of a great central institution with the highest advantages for education, and caused numbers of Indiana boys to be sent to the larger institutions of the east; but it did what was probably better for the state by putting the opportunity for really good education within reach of hundreds who could not afford to go far from home. But none of these institutions were co-educational, and indeed at that time coeducation inspired almost as much horror as woman's suffrage. The question arose "What shall we do with our girls?"

The Presbyterians led off in the solution. In 1836 James Blake, Isaac Coc, James M. Ray, and others obtained a charter for the Indianapolis Female Institute, which was opened in June, 1837, under the management of Misses Mary J. and Harriet Axtell, of Courtlandville, New York, who had been teachers at the Geneva Female Seminary. At this school were taught "the mathematical and natural sciences, with history, and every branch of a thorough English education, and also music, drawing and the languages as desired." It was at first held in the second story of what was known as the Sanders' building, on Washington street near Meridian, and later removed to a frame building adjoining the old Presbyterian church on Pennsylvania street. There were arrangements for private boarding in connection with the school. It attained quite a high reputation for excellence, and was continued until 1849, when the health of the elder Miss Axtell failed and the school was discontinued. It is said that she became deranged on the subject of predestination, acquiring the delusion that she was doomed to be lost. She died a short time afterwards while on a trip to the West Indies for her health. The Misses Axtell were excellent teachers, and were held in high esteem by their pupils.

After this there was an interval with no Presbyterian school for young ladies, but in 1852, Rev. C. G. McLean was induced to come here and open one. He was well educated and talented. He was prepared by his step-father, Rev. James Gray, D. D., for many years pastor of the Spruce Street Church, Philadelphia, for admission to the University of Pennsylvania, of which he was a graduate. He pursued his theological studies under the cele-

⁶*Indiana Methodism*, pp. 347-8. See also Edson's *Early Indiana Presbyterianism*, p. 229.

⁷*Boone's History of Education in Indiana*, pp. 135-6.

brated Dr. John M. Mason, and was for twenty-seven years pastor of the Associate Reformed Church of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and eight years of the Dutch Reformed Church at Fort Plain, New York. He was a fine preacher, but left pastoral work on account of his health just before coming here. The school was opened as the Indiana Female Seminary, and was very successful for some years, the first catalogue showing 151 pupils, nearly all from Indianapolis. It was a boarding school and day school occupying a three-story brick building which was erected for it, at the southwest corner of New York and Meridian streets. The faculty and course of instruction were of high grade. Day scholars paid from \$1 a quarter in the preparatory department to \$8 as seniors, and there were numerous extras, including vocal music, instruction on the piano, guitar and harp, drawing and painting. The pupils were also assessed \$1 per year for "support of the gospel". Dr. McLean continued the school till his death, in 1860, after which it was continued by his son-in-law, Charles N. Todd and Rev. Charles Sturdevant, until 1865. This school was commonly known as McLean Seminary.

The Episcopalians were second on the field. In 1839 Mrs. Britton, wife of the rector of Christ Church, opened a school for girls on Pennsylvania street above Michigan, which was later removed to the site of the When building, and in the fall of 1843 to a frame building across the alley, to the north, from Christ Church, then owned by Mr. Reck, the Lutheran pastor. Steps were then taken for the erection of a building especially for the school, back of Christ Church, and it was completed and occupied in 1845, the Reck property being purchased and used as a boarding-house for the school. On January 15, 1844, this school was chartered by the legislature as St. Mary's Seminary, with James Morrison and George H. Dunn, wardens, and Geo. W. Mears, Charles Cox, Jeremiah Foote, Wm. R. Morrison and Joseph M. Moore, vestrymen of Christ Church, as directors; the wardens and vestrymen of the church to be directors thereafter *ex officio*. Rev. Samuel Johnson, successor of Mr. Britton as rector of Christ Church, and his wife now took charge of the school, which had a very successful career for five years.

After the discontinuance of the Axtell school,

the Presbyterians attempted another, and a charter was obtained January 19, 1850, for the Indianapolis Collegiate Institute, with James Blake, James M. Ray, Wm. Sheets, Thos. H. Sharpe and Isaac Coe as trustees, their successors to be elected by the First Presbyterian Church. This movement came to nothing and the Methodists decided that this was their time to get busy. They accordingly formed a voluntary association known as the Indiana Female College, and began operations in the basement, or Sunday School rooms, of old Wesley Chapel in 1850, with Rev. Thos. H. Lynch as principal. This was of course temporary. The same year the Episcopalian property, where the Board of Trade building stands was purchased, and an additional building was erected next to Ohio street. Mr. Lynch himself took an active part in the erection of this building, which was intended for the school proper, a two-story frame with four rooms upstairs and four down. The south building—the old Episcopalian school boarding house—was used as a boarding house for the school, and in the numbering system of that time was No. 11 N. Meridian, while the school was No. 16. The school was chartered February 13, 1851, with provision that three-fourths of the directors should always be members of the Methodist Church. Mr. Lynch conducted the school till 1854, when he was called to New Albany, where the Methodists had made the mistake of starting Asbury Female College in 1852, instead of centering on one institution. In 1854-5 the school here was in charge of Rev. Charles Adams, and in 1855-6, of G. W. Hoss, who was followed in turn by Benjamin T. Hoyt. In 1859 the school suspended, but was resumed in 1860 under Rev. Oliver M. Spencer. By this time competition of the McLean Seminary and Baptist Seminary were making the female college business somewhat precarious, and in 1862, Rev. Thos. H. Lynch was recalled to help the institution out. In 1865 the school was put in charge of W. H. DeMotte, who had been a teacher at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum from 1850 to 1864, when he became for a year Military and Sanitary Agent of the State at Washington, D. C. And now a change was made. The McLean Seminary property had been sold to John Pyle, who wanted to open a hotel there, but concluded that it was too far out, and traded it for the Methodist school prop-

erty. He put up a brick building between the two frame ones, uniting all in the Pyle House, which continued so long that everybody got tired of it. The Indiana Female College was removed to the old McLean Seminary, and was continued there until 1868, in charge of Professor DeMotte. It was then determined to consolidate it with Asbury, which till then had not been coeducational, and this was done. The property was sold to the Wesley Chapel congregation, which built there, changing their church name to Meridian Street Church. This in turn gave place to the Central Telephone building.

The Baptists got along without a separate female institute until 1858, when they organized a stock company and bought the old residence of Robert Underhill, at the northeast corner of Michigan and Pennsylvania streets. He was a pioneer in iron work, and had his foundry one square below, where the Second Presbyterian Church now stands. In 1859 the school was opened by Rev. Gibbon Williams, who continued in charge until 1863, when he was succeeded by C. W. Hewes. He remained until 1870, and was followed by Rev. Lucian Hayden, the last principal. The Indianapolis Female Institute, as it was called, closed in 1872, not being able to compete with the free schools. The property was exchanged for other real estate, and passed into the hands of the City School Board. It was at that time quite an extensive building, having been much enlarged while occupied by the school. This seminary had good standing as an educational institution. Among its teachers were Miss A. R. Boise (later Mrs. Dr. Wood), daughter of Professor Boise, of the University of Michigan, and Miss Rebecca J. Thompson, who was afterwards Professor of Mathematics at Franklin for thirty years.

There were several other schools for young ladies at later dates that have since gone out of existence, in addition to the mixed school of Mrs. Price. Mrs. A. Ashby had an excellent school at 18 East North street (old number), from 1872 to 1878. Mrs. E. R. Colwell taught at 956 North Delaware from 1876 to 1880. Jennie L. Burr had a school for younger girls at Broadway and Cherry from 1879 to 1888. J. H. Kappes and wife conducted their Young Ladies' Institute from 1879 to 1883. Rev. James Lyons had an Institute for Young

Ladies on North Pennsylvania street in 1888 and 1889. The most notable, however, was the Girls' Classical School. T. L. Sewall started a classical school for boys, in 1879, at Home and College avenues, which was removed in 1881 to North and Alabama streets, and continued there till 1887. In 1882 Mrs. May Wright Sewall opened a classical school for girls at the southeast corner of Pennsylvania and St. Joseph streets, where the Episcopalians had been holding St. Anna's school for girls, under charge of Rev. J. B. Clarke. In 1885 a special building was erected for the girls' school at 824 North Pennsylvania, and the school was continued there till 1907. Both the boys' and the girls' classical schools were primarily designed to prepare for college, and the graduates usually took Harvard, Smith, Bryn Mawr, or other examinations, whether they went to these schools or not, but the Girls' Classical covered practically all the ground of the earlier female colleges and seminaries, and did a most satisfactory educational work throughout its long existence.

The Quakers were always zealous promoters of education, but they were not strong enough to do much in Indianapolis in the early years. Early in the fifties Sarah A. Smith, wife of Hugh Smith, opened a private school at the southeast corner of Alabama and Market streets, which was continued for nearly thirty years. In 1856, her daughter, Anna Mary, then fifteen years of age, became an assistant in the school, and continued till its close. This was a primary, neighborhood school, and a good one of its class. When the Friends built their meeting-house at the southeast corner of Delaware and St. Clair streets, in 1856, they made it two stories so that a school might be held in the lower room, and a very excellent graded school was maintained there for a number of years. It was attended both by Friends children and outsiders, but they were all marched upstairs to Wednesday morning meeting. Thomas Charles, assisted by William Mendenhall, both members of the Society of Friends, opened a school called the City Academy, in 1867, on New York street opposite University Square. This was an excellent school, and well attended. It continued three years, after which Mr. Charles became joint editor with G. W. Hoss of the *Indiana School Journal*, for a short time, and later removed

to Chicago. Hiram Hadley, another prominent Friend educator, later president of the University of New Mexico, had a private school on Illinois street above Tenth, in 1880, and was associated in 1881-2 with Prof. Junius B. Roberts in the Hadley & Roberts Academy, at the southwest corner of Meridign and Vermont streets. This school was continued two years longer by Mr. Roberts, at the southeast corner of Pennsylvania and Walnut streets, after which he resumed work in the High School.

The Disciples, or "Campbellites" were later than the others in getting their college started, but they located it at Indianapolis. Butler University was originally begun, and for twenty odd years continued, as Northwestern Christian University. It owes its existence chiefly to Ovid Butler, who was at the head of a committee originally appointed at the state meeting of the church at Greensburg, in 1847. He designed and formulated its plan, drafted its charter, donated the site and a large part of the endowment, and gave it his personal attention through life. The Northwestern Christian University was chartered by act of January 15, 1850. The charter created a stock company of \$100 shares, the total not less than \$75,000 nor more than \$500,000, of which one-third might be used for site and building, but at least two-thirds must be held for endowment. In loaning the endowment fund, the shareholders were to be preferred borrowers. When \$75,000 was subscribed the directors were to be elected and proceed with the building. The charter voiced the features of Campbell's teaching that appealed most powerfully to Mr. Butler, and the directors were to provide for "an institution of learning of the highest class, for the education of the youth of all parts of the United States, and especially of the states of the Northwest; to establish in said institution departments or colleges for the instruction of the students in every branch of liberal and professional education; to educate and prepare suitable teachers for the common schools of the country; to teach and inculcate the Christian faith and Christian morality as taught in the sacred Scriptures, discarding as uninspired and without authority all writings, formulas, creeds, and articles of faith subsequent thereto; and for the formation (promotion) of the sciences and arts." The charter

provided that the property should be exempt from taxation.

Rev. John O'Kane was appointed soliciting agent for the enterprise, and by June 22, 1852, the required \$75,000 was reported subscribed. On July 14, twenty-one directors were elected, with Ovid Butler as president. Mr. Butler donated twenty acres of fine woodland for the institution (at College and Home avenues); plans by Wm. Tinsley, a Cincinnati architect, were adopted, and contracts were let in July, 1853, for the west wing of the building, which was designed for addition as needed. The building was erected in 1854-5, at a cost of \$27,000, and was opened on November 1, 1855, with services including addresses by Elder O'Kane, Prof. Benton and Elder Hoshour at the college chapel during the day, and by Prof. Young at Masonic Hall at night. The university opened with John Young, president and professor of natural sciences; A. R. Benton, professor of ancient languages, and James R. Challen, late of Somerset Pennsylvania Academy, principal of the preparatory department. In 1858, Prof. Young having resigned, Prof. S. K. Hoshour, a noted teacher of eastern Indiana, succeeded to the presidency; G. W. Hoss took the chair of mathematics; R. T. Brown that of natural sciences, and Prof. Challen that of English. Prof. Hoshour taught modern languages. The war caused a great falling off in students, and called for a reduction of expenses, so the faculty was reorganized in 1861 with A. R. Benton as president, who held the position for seven years. In 1868 Otis A. Burgess became president, but returned to the ministry in 1870 and was succeeded by W. F. Black who held until 1871, when Prof. Burgess returned. During his presidency the university was removed to Irvington in 1875, and on February 22, 1877, its name was changed to Butler University.

The liberal ideas of the founders of this institution were manifest in its control as well as in its charter. It was from the first a co-educational institution, giving the same advantages to young women as to young men; and in this it was a pioneer. There was no other educational institution in the United States, at the time, on a university basis, that admitted women, though Oberlin preceded it

Journal, Nov. 2 and 3, 1855.

as a college. Earlham and other "Friends' boarding schools" had departments for both sexes, but they were essentially distinct in faculties and teaching, and it was only about this time that they began to move towards co-education in its present sense. In this school no distinction was made as to sexes in the privileges of education. The school also adopted the elective system of studies, in which it has been preceded only by Campbell's College at Bethany, West Virginia, and Brown University. It conferred the degrees of Bachelor of Science, Art or Philosophy, according to the course taken, with masters degrees in regular course for post graduate work. On March 10, 1869, Mr. Butler submitted a proposition to the board of directors to endow a chair of English Literature in the university, which was accepted; and nominated as the professor Miss Catharine Merrill, daughter of Samuel Merrill, one of the most accomplished educators of the city, who accepted the position on April 21. This gift, amounting to about \$11,000 was on condition that the chair should always be held by a woman. It was named the Demia Butler chair, and was in memory of his daughter, who was the first woman graduate of the institution in the classical course. Miss Merrill had first had a private school at the family homestead on Merrill street, the site of the present Catharine Merrill school; later in the basement of the Fourth Presbyterian Church, at the southwest corner of Market and Delaware streets; and later about where the Commercial Club building stands. After the war broke out she went out as an army nurse, and after the close of the war published the work, "The Soldier of Indiana in the War for the Union". Miss Merrill remained on the Butler faculty until 1885, when she resigned to take up private class work with Indianapolis women, and continued this till her death in 1900.

There was a law class in the university from the first, which had 4 graduates under President Young, 18 under President Hoshour, and 30 under President Benton. In 1871 a law department was formally organized, with Byron K. Elliott, Charles H. Test, and Charles P. Jacobs occupying the three chairs. John Young, Judge David McDonald, Judge Samuel E. Perkins and Judge Horatio M. Newcomb were among the instructors at various

periods. The Medical College of Indiana formed the medical department of the university. The preparatory department was presided over, in order of succession, by James R. Challen, Love H. Jameson, Madison Evans, Mrs. Nancy E. Burns, A. C. Shortridge, W. W. Dowling, A. Fairhurst, and H. W. Wiley, of pure food fame. A teacher in, and later at the head of the "academic department", or the preparatory, from 1857, was Mrs. E. J. Price, a daughter of Professor Hoshour. After leaving the university she became one of the best known private school teachers in the city. Her school was on Broadway at the corner of Alabama and St. Clair streets, and later on North street, from 1871 to 1875, and on Illinois street, now Nos. 803 and 805, from 1875 to 1890. It was a mixed school for boys and girls from twelve to twenty years of age, and was extensively patronized. There was another private school which might be considered under Campbellite auspices, and that was the primary school kept by the Misses Laura and Charlotte McFarland, for more than twenty years, beginning about 1860, on St. Clair street, opposite St. Clair park. This was a very popular school with northside youngsters, the large yard of the McFarland's making a choice playground for the girls, and the "Blind Asylum lot" across the street, with a great hackberry tree half way between the present fountain and the north fence, being an ideal place for "black-man", which was the favorite diversion of the boys. The teachers were daughters of Demas McFarland, one of the earliest settlers, and their kindly natures cause them to be held in loving memory by their old pupils, of whom there are dozens in the city.

It would be impossible at this time even to ascertain the names of all the private schools there have been in Indianapolis, most of them of few years' duration, like Miss Ellen Douglass' school on New York street, west of the canal, in the fifties; Miss Tousey's school on Ellsworth street in the sixties; Miss Keating's on Dougherty street and Miss Fitzhugh's on St. Joseph street in the seventies; Rev. N. E. Tuck's on East Market street and Wm. W. Hall's in North Indianapolis in the later seventies, the North Indianapolis school being continued by M. L. Riechart in the eighties. It is to be remembered that the Catholics al-

ways had their separate schools, which are mentioned elsewhere, as also the Lutherans, and in fact the Germans, generally, until German was made a study in the public schools. And there have been schools of all sorts, one of the most notable lines of activity being in business colleges, which were especially prominent in the sixties and seventies, with Bryant & Stratton, Purdy and Southard as the leading proprietors. In brief, there have always been the fullest opportunities for education in Indianapolis, even outside of the public schools, and these will be considered elsewhere.

Before leaving the subject, there is one private school legend that should be recorded. Along in the fifties there was a Mr. Dorsey who had a school on the south side of Walnut street just west of New Jersey. Among the pupils was George Owings, who had an irresistible penchant for profanity. Nothing seemed capable of stopping the habit. Warn-

ings and whippings were fruitless. Finally Dorsey told him that the next time he was caught swearing he would slit his tongue. The offense was soon committed, and George was brought up on the platform, before the school, for punishment. Dorsey made him kneel down before a chair and put out his tongue. Then he produced a big jack-knife, and began to whet it on his boot, with a conversational accompaniment. "I am sorry to have to do this George"—whet—whet—whet—"but you know what I told you"—whet—whet—whet—"put out your tongue!"—whet—whet—whet—"it won't do to let you grow up this way"—whet—whet—whet—"it would be a disgrace"—whet—whet—"put out your tongue!"—"if I should try you once more"—whet—whet—whet—"if I should let you off this time"—whet—whet—whet—"do you think you would ever swear again?" "No", sobbed the terrified culprit, "no! I'll be d—d if I would."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MEXICAN WAR.

On May 13, 1846, Congress declared that war existed with Mexico, and President Polk issued his proclamation of the fact. On May 16, Secretary of War Marcy issued his requisition to Governor Whitecomb of Indiana for "three regiments of infantry or riflemen", which reached Indianapolis on May 21. On May 22, Governor Whitecomb issued his call to the people "to form themselves into volunteer companies with all despatch". On June 10 the quota was filled. On June 17, the *Scimitar* said: "Just as our paper is going to press the twentieth company has been reported to the Adjutant-General's office over and above the complement of thirty companies called for from this state. Well done, Indiana.

"Ohio, with thrice our population and four times our wealth, was called on to furnish the same number of men and had two days the start of us, and yet our quota was made up on the 19th inst., not any longer time, we believe, than was required by Ohio.

"When the requisition reached here on the 21st it found us with our militia system broken and in ruins after thirty years of peace. Not a dollar had been appropriated by the State or the General Government for such an emergency, yet the Governor devised a system, mainly on his own responsibility, in time for his proclamation for the very next day, and he and Adjutant-General Reynolds have ever since been incessantly occupied looking after everything and answering correspondence, without even a private secretary, which office was abolished immediately upon the Governor coming into office. The Governor is much indisposed and fatigued by labor night and day, yet he will be ready to go with our troops to New Albany to aid in their organization and to do everything for their comfort and wel-

fare before they leave the state. Well done, Indiana".

When Indianapolis was founded the militia system was in full bloom. It was but seven years since the close of the last war, and there were still enough Indians near at hand to cause apprehension of trouble. The militia was composed of all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45, and was organized in regiments by counties, which, in turn, were grouped in brigades and divisions. As soon as Marion County was organized steps were taken for the organization of the militia, and on September 7, 1822, the first election of regimental officers was held. James Paxton was chosen colonel, Samuel Morrow, lieutenant colonel, and Alexander W. Russell, major, and on September 26, they were commissioned. The detailed organization was completed in the following spring and on June 3, 1823, captain's commissions were issued to Demas L. McFarland, Asa C. Ives, John Montgomery, Noah Flood, Thomas Anderson, Andrew W. Ingraham, John McFall and Geo. Smith; lieutenant's commissions to Eli Sulgrove, Andrew McClintock, John Jones, Alexander Ayres, Asa B. Strong, John Morris, Jacob Smoock and Jacob Crone; and ensign's commissions to Jacob Bieler, James Freel, Hiram McCarty, James Williams, John Barnhill, Joseph Kirkendall, Wm. Kennick and John Foster. On July 30, commissions were issued to Hiram M. Cuny, captain; John Hay, lieutenant, and Moses Cox, ensign, of a ninth company. On December 2, 1823, commissions were issued to Henry McGuire, captain, Elam S. Freeman, lieutenant, and Noah Leverton, ensign, of the tenth company needed to fill the regiment. The regiment took number as the Fortieth.

and Marion County always held that number while county organization continued.

In addition to the regular rank and file of the militia the law provided for three special companies in each regiment, riflemen, artillery, and light dragoons, or cavalry as they would now be called. These were intended as more permanent and better disciplined organizations than the regular militia. There was no organization of these until 1826, in the spring of which an artillery company was formed, and on April 21, Bethuel F. Morris was commissioned as its captain, Samuel Merrill as first lieutenant, Douglass Maguire as second lieutenant, and Austin Bishop as ensign. Immediately after a company of riflemen was organized, for which Robert Wilson was commissioned captain, Robert Martin, lieutenant, and Sydney Wilson, ensign, on June 14. On the same day Alexander W. Russell succeeded as colonel of the Fortieth regiment, and Geo. L. Kinnard as lieutenant colonel. On July 5, Isaac Stevens became major, and Elam S. Freeman succeeded Robert Wilson as captain of the riflemen. On August 23, Judge Wm. W. Wick was commissioned Brigadier General of the Seventeenth Brigade, of which the Fortieth was then a member. James Paxton had been made Quarter Master General, and held that office until his death in 1829, when he was followed for two years by Wm. Quarles, and he, on December 12, 1831, by Demas L. McFarland. Benjamin L. Blythe became captain of the artillery company on April 10, 1828; and on June 13, 1828 a cavalry company was organized with David Buchanan as captain, Edward Heizer, first lieutenant, John Saylor, second lieutenant, and Jacob L. Payne, cornet.

The special companies, particularly the artillery and the riflemen, usually took part in the Fourth of July parades, and appeared on other gala occasions. The regular militia did nothing but appear on muster days and perform legal "militia duty", or get fined for neglect. They were not uniformed, and were armed with anything they might fancy that would serve the purpose of going through the manual of arms. Muster day was a sort of picnic, characterized by perhaps an hour of drilling and large quantities of frontier recreation, from eating and drinking to racing and fighting. They were very convenient for re-

newing old acquaintance and political campaigning.

There was no appearance of actual service for the militia until the Black Hawk War, news of which reached here on June 3, 1832. On the next day Colonel Russell called for 150 mounted volunteers from the Fortieth, and an equal number from adjoining counties, which promptly appeared at the appointed rendezvous at Indianapolis, armed with rifles, tomahawks, knives, a pound of powder each and ball in proportion, on June 9. They were organized in three companies under captains James P. Drake, J. W. Reding, and Henry Brenton. Captain Drake had not appeared on the militia rolls before this time. He came to Posey County in 1816, a youth of nineteen, and was soon prominent as a holder of both civil and military offices, being chosen first as colonel and in 1818 as brigadier general. In 1829 President Jackson appointed him receiver of public moneys at Indianapolis, and he removed here. His company for the Black Hawk War was organized as "rangers" and Drake received a captain's commission on June 8, with Geo. W. S. White as first lieutenant, Robert McHatton as second lieutenant and Douglass Maguire as ensign. The most sanguinary part of the campaign was the rendezvous, at which, by a premature discharge of the cannon, William Warren lost both his arms, and qualified himself as the only pensioner of the war at this point, a special act of Congress for that purpose being secured by Geo. L. Kinnard. On the day of the rendezvous, the three companies marched for Chicago, under command of Colonel Russell, with Wm. Conner for a guide. At Chicago they learned that the war was over, and marching around the south end of Lake Michigan they returned home by way of South Bend. Here they encountered the facile pen of John D. Defrees, more deadly than Indian tomahawk, for he christened them "the Bloody Three Hundred", and they never heard the last of it. Possibly the fun poked at them fell on the militia service for it gradually went almost out of use.

But civilized young men cannot live without uniforms, and on February 22, 1831, a meeting of the young men of the city decided to organize a military company. At later meetings constitution and by-laws were adopted, and officers elected, and on March 27 com-

missions were issued to Alexander W. Russell, captain; P. W. Seibert, first lieutenant; Wm. Hannaman, second lieutenant; Charles Cox, third lieutenant; and Wm. H. Morrison, ensign. They had a showy uniform of gray with black velvet facings, tall bell-crowned leather caps with brass trimmings and black pompons, and were armed with muskets. Colonel Russell did not have time enough to devote to the company to satisfy the uniform enthusiasm of the members, and in the following year he gave way to Thomas A. Morris, a West Point graduate, who was commissioned captain of the Marion Guards on June 30, 1838—recommissioned April 27, 1842. On September 15, 1838, commissions were issued to Philip K. Landis, first lieutenant; John McDougall, second lieutenant; Thos. Donellan, third lieutenant, and Milton Foudray, fourth lieutenant. The company, which had been incorporated by special act on February 14, 1838, was assigned to the Fortieth regiment. Captain (later General) Morris was a fine drill master, and brought his company to a high state of efficiency, it being the crack company of the state. Its imposing appearance on parade awakened other military ardor. A cavalry company was organized, and on November 4, 1840, its officers were commissioned, Samuel Ross, captain; Thos. A. Thomas, first lieutenant; Ephraim Law, second lieutenant; Samuel Vandaman, ensign. It did not last long. Horse soldiering involves too much trouble for popularity in times of peace. In 1842 the Marion Riflemen were organized, with Thomas MacBaker as captain; George Robinson, first lieutenant, and Reuben P. Adams, second lieutenant, the commissions issuing April 30. This company, popularly known as the "Arabs", while the Guards were called the "Greys", or the "Grayback", was uniformed in fringed blue hunting shirts, and armed with primitive and awkward breech-loading rifles. In August, 1842, the independent companies formed a battalion, and elected Harvey Brown lieutenant-colonel and George W. Drum, major. They had several parades and one or two encampments, but military duty grew monotonous, and by 1845 the companies were practically abandoned.

When the call for troops for the Mexican war came, Lew Wallace was theoretically studying law in Indianapolis. The call came

to him like a release to a prisoner. For years he had dreamed of military glory and especially in connection with Mexico. The romance of "The Man at Arms", unpublished to which he had devoted his juvenile talent, had been laid aside under the charm of Prescott, and that romantic tale "The Fair God"—the most artistic of all his stories—was now well-nigh finished. He had been a militiaman a sergeant in MacBaker's Rifles, and he gives this account of the militia conditions in Indianapolis: "The differences between the companies were not of a kind to foster what the French call *camaraderie*. The Greys were solid men, verging, many of them, upon middle life; the enlisted of the Rifles were mostly incapable of mustaches. The uniform of the Greys was of rich cloth; that of the Rifles consisted of a cap, a cotton hunting-shirt, blue and yellow fringed, and fashioned after the style bequeathed to the American people by General Daniel Morgan of Revolutionary renown. The Greys carried muskets with bayonets; the Rifles, Hall's patent breech-loaders. The Greys timed their steps to the sonorous music of a brass band; the Rifles were contented with the fife and drum. The Rifles despised the aristocratic airs of the Greys; the Greys laughed at the Rifles, and the good-natured contempt could have been endured had they stopped with it. Their last insult was the nickname 'Arabs'. We waited a long time for a chance to punish the Greys. At last a sham battle between the companies was hippodromed in celebration of January 8th, with Washington street for scene of action. We were posted at the intersection of Meridian street, facing eastward; while, turning from Delaware up by the court-house, the enemy moved to the attack in column of sections, their band playing vociferously. Their appearance was beautiful; and it was then I first knew what inspiration there is in white handkerchiefs shaken out by fair hands from overlooking windows. The Greys opened with volleys; we replied, lying down and firing at will. All went well until in the crisis of the engagement our captain forgot to order the retreat provided for in the schedule of manoeuvres. The melee that ensued was tremendous. Wads flew like bullets. We shot one man, took several prisoners, and were left masters of the field. At sight of the haughty foe in flight I yelled my throat into tatters. The

incident is, of course, trivial; yet it was of consequence to me. It put a final finish upon the taste for military life by turning it into a genuine passion. It was my initiation into the Ancient and Honorable Order of Soldiers.¹

Wallace longed for Mexico, and war. He hastened to the office of the Adjutant General before the call was issued, seeking an interview. He says: "David Reynolds, the incumbent, was a good-looking person, stout, rubicund, affable, who had not yet appeared in uniform. He knew nothing military, and, to his credit, he made no pretension to such knowledge. His appreciation of the title even needed cultivation. He was intelligent and willing to learn. I found him in a flustered state not unlike that of a mother hen unexpectedly visited by a marauding hawk. There were a hundred things to do—blanks to be prepared, books to be opened—everything, indeed, that ought to have been done long before, and that would have been done but for the lack of the needful appropriation. A corresponding inexperience on the part of the Governor heightened the confusion of the staff officers. * * * I had the good fortune to know him, though at a distance. His position was too exalted for familiar acquaintance with so young a man. He was a lover of books. His fine library was useful as well as ornamental. It was a certificate that his reputation for learning and scholarly attainments was deserved. * * * His picture in the state library is a better likeness of the war governor than the statue under the monument. If in speaking of him one confines remarks to his abilities as a statesman, the choicest terms of eulogy may be used with propriety; but he was not a soldier."²

And yet these were the men that made Indiana's line record for promptness in this emergency. Governor Whitecomb did not wait for appropriations. He borrowed the needed funds from the banks that were willing to loan on his personal and official responsibility. One has but to glance over the contemporary accounts collected in that most admirable volume of Col. Oran Perry's, "Indiana in the Mexican War", to see how quickly and how fully he

mastered the situation. Nor was Reynolds lacking. Says Perry: "Fortunately for the reputation of the state, the incumbent, General David Reynolds, was a man of superior executive ability, dauntless in all emergencies, a tireless worker, and blessed with an abundance of common sense, which largely offset his inexperience. His success in rapidly organizing the State's quota for the war had no parallel at that time, and in 1847 a grateful legislature recognized the fact by adding \$150 to his salary for that year."³ The addition looks better when it is remembered that his regular salary was \$100 a year, and "find himself" with office, stationery and fuel. Inexperienced as he was, Adjutant-General Reynolds sent Wallace away with the information that a call would be made, and that anybody might raise a company, subject to acceptance by the Governor; and of his use of the knowledge I let him tell:

"There was much talk in Indianapolis about volunteering. Other parts of the state were showing activity. I hustled about, interviewing members of the 'Grays' and 'Arabs'. To my argument that the term of service was short, only one year, some of them, with an earnestness implying personal experience, replied that a year was ample time in which to die. Finally, in fear of the passing of the opportunity, I resolved to open a recruiting office myself. The town could not more than laugh at me. So I took a room on Washington street and hired a drummer and fifer. Out of the one front window of the building I projected a flag, then a transparency inscribed on its four faces 'For Mexico. Fall in'. I attacked the astonished public in the street. The first round was productive. A dozen or more young men fell into the procession. Within three days the company was full. In the election of officers, James P. Drake was chosen captain and John McDougall, first lieutenant. The second lieutenantcy was given to me. Upon acceptance by the Governor, we were ordered to the general rendezvous at New Albany, on the Ohio River."⁴

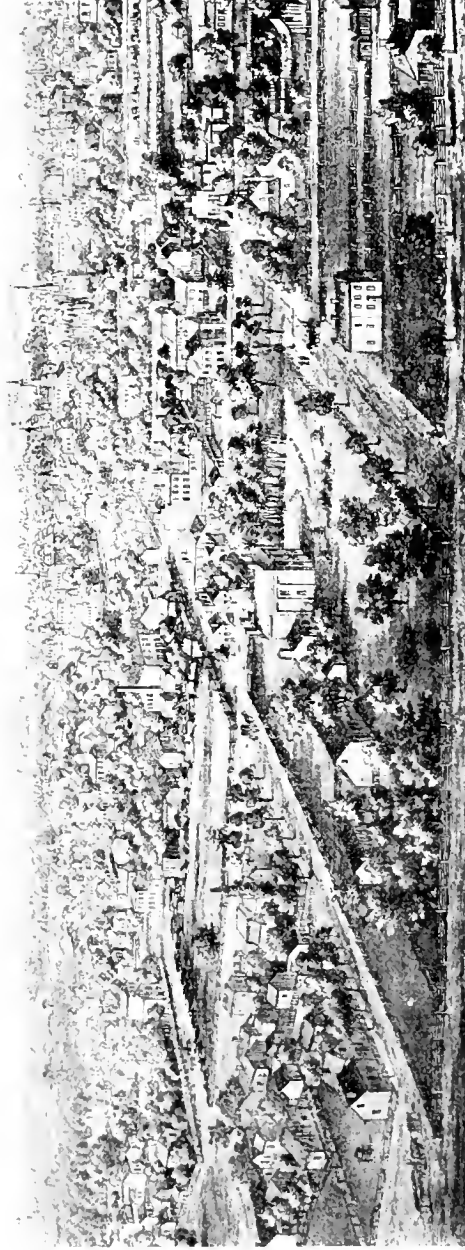
The Indianapolis company was not first. Its commissions were issued on June 1. Those of the Dearborn Volunteers and Monroe Guards

¹Autobiography, pp. 93-4.

²Autobiography, pp. 108-9.

³Indiana in the Mexican War, p. 3.

⁴Autobiography, p. 111.



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

BIRDSEYE VIEW OF INDIANAPOLIS, 1854—SOUTHEAST FROM TOP OF BLIND ASYLUM.
(The street corner, center front, is Pennsylvania and North.)

were issued on the 1st; the Putnam Blues and Cass County Volunteers on the 2nd; the Montgomery Volunteers and Johnson Guards on the 3d. The Marion Volunteers went into camp near the city, and after two weeks of drill they were started on the 17th on their march, or rather on their ride, for enthusiastic farmers had volunteered their wagons to take them to Edinburg, to which point the Madison railroad was then opened. They marched to the door of Drake's Hotel (west of the Lombard building) and there were presented a flag by the ladies of the city. Sarah T. Bolton made the presentation address, and responses were made by Captain Drake for the company, John H. Bradley for the citizens, and Governor Whitcomb for the state. Then they started with the godspeeds of the multitude, for all of Marion County seemed to have gathered for the departure. To Madison by rail, and New Albany by boat, then to camp for two weeks on the old estate of George Rogers Clark, then called Camp Whitcomb, and be mustered in. On July 5, the Marion Volunteers, now Company H, of the First Regiment, marched on board the steamer *Grace Darling*, and started for New Orleans. The company had reorganized at New Albany, Captain Drake having been elected colonel of the regiment, John McDougall was chosen captain, and Noah Noble Campbell, first lieutenant in place of McDougall.

If ever a military organization was entitled to promulgate a hard-luck story it was the Marion volunteers—or rather the whole First Indiana regiment. They got their first taste of real soldiering at New Orleans in their camp on General Jackson's battlefield, which was romantic but very damp. The regiment crossed the Gulf in two ships, the *Flavio*, of 640 tons, taking five companies, and the *Sophia Walker*, of 350 tons, taking three, including the Indianapolis company. Two companies were left behind temporarily. The voyage was fairly pleasant for those who were not seasick, and could keep out of range of those who were.⁶ Arrived at Point Isabel, the regiment was marched ten miles up the Rio Grande and camped in a mesquite chaparral, about a mile from the river, separated by a low, wet bottom, through

which all the water for the camp had to be carried. Here they began to experience the ills common to all soldiers who do not know how to take care of themselves, and whose officers do not know how to care for them. Measles and diarrhoea broke out in the camp. Many died and most of those who did not were greatly enfeebled. They were learning the lesson that with unsanitary living, disease always causes more deaths than the arms of the enemy. In the Civil War the deaths from disease were 249,235, while only 110,070 were killed in battle.⁶ In the Spanish War the proportion was far greater, 4,015 by disease to 208 killed in battle, because there was so little fighting.⁷ The great stress of militia training now is on the preservation of health, and every commissioned officer has to pass an examination in sanitation. It is as important, if not more so, to know where to place a camp as to know where to place a battery.

Fortunately the supply of medicine, which consisted in those days of opium pills and calomel, gave out about the time the sickly season ended in the fall, and the health of the troops began to improve. But there were no indications of an order to move towards the front. It became evident that the First Indiana was to be left in that wretched hole to guard communications. Requests to move had no effect. But finally, after weary weeks of waiting Gen. Robert Patterson came along and ordered an advance to Walnut Springs. Then there was joy. The regiment was to get some share of the glory others were acquiring. It marched with alacrity. On December 24, it had reached Corristos, only six miles from Walnut Springs, when it received orders from Gen. Taylor to march back. There had been a mistake. The communications must be guarded. Back they must go into the pacific and prosaic mud-hole. And that was not all. Along the line of march they had been passing other troops that had been left behind, and which had cursed lustily because this regiment was brought up from behind them. Now the First had to march back past these envious creatures, and they were idiotic enough to think it was funny. Gen.

⁶*For's Regimental Losses*, p. 16.

⁷*Report of Adjt. Genl.*, Vol. 1, Pr. 2, p. 100.

⁸*Indiana in the Mexican War*, p. 83.

George F. McGinniss was a lieutenant in the Second Ohio, stationed at the time at Punta Aguida, and he recalls with undisguised glee how they chaffed the First Indiana as it marched back again. And it stayed back till the year of enlistment had expired, and it was sent home. It was a horrible blow to all of them, but worst of all to Lew Wallace. Think of a man who had been dreaming of "the halls of the Montezumas" for years, who knew the City of Mexico by heart without having seen it, brought this near and then stopped absolutely and hopelessly. Think of a young fellow full of military ardor, a dreamer by nature, forced to hear the stories of the glorious achievements of the others, so near at hand, while his regiment did practically nothing but take medicine and bury the dead. No wonder he hated Taylor. No wonder he tried to prevent his nomination for the presidency. No wonder he, a Whig born and bred, edited a campaign paper against the oppressor, and, when he was elected, went over bag and baggage to the Democrats.

And so the Marion Volunteers came home with hardly a smell of powder and large quantities of experience, but it was all the same here. They were all veterans. The first Regiment shared in the glories of the Third and the martyrdom of the Second under unjust criticism. Extensive preparation was made at Indianapolis for the public reception of the volunteers, but instead of coming in a body they came in squads, and spoiled the programme. And there was another event to turn attention from any celebration. There had been several Indianapolis people in other organizations than the company raised here, and among them none better known or more popular than Trustin B. Kinder. He had gone down to Orange County to practice law, and when the war came on he volunteered there, and his company, of which he was captain went into the Second Regiment. He fell at Buena Vista, and his body was brought home for burial, and it was the only one of the Indianapolis dead that was brought back. Luther Reek, son of the first Lutheran clergyman here, had been drowned in the Rio Grande on August 18, 1846,⁸ and Harry Cartwright, John Johnson, Jerome Lutz, Wm. Green, Edward Malone

and John Peyton had succumbed to disease, but their bodies had been left on Mexican soil. Captain Kinder's funeral was on July 12, 1847. His company had come from Paoli to attend the service, and acted as escort while a great concourse joined in the procession. It was by far the largest funeral ever seen in Indianapolis up to that time and for years afterwards. The remains were escorted from his father's house to the State House Square where the services were held. A prayer was offered by the Rev. Kavanagh, a sermon delivered by the Rev. Gillette, and an eulogy by the Rev. Ames; after which the funeral train moved down to the old graveyard. Here an oration was pronounced by John T. Morrison, and the soldier was consigned to his grave with military honors. To the wreaths upon his grave, Sarah T. Bolton added her immortelle of song—

"Gallant soldier, farewell;

True, thy country has proved thee,

And thy memory will dwell

In the warm hearts that love thee."

On April 24, 1847, Governor Whitecomb issued a call for another regiment for the Mexican War, and a company was organized here with Edward Lander as captain; Abraham B. Lewis, first lieutenant; Benjamin Pillbean, second lieutenant, and Joseph Combs, third lieutenant, by May 22. It left on the 26th for the rendezvous. The ladies of the city made them a banner, but as it was not ready when they left the presentation was made on their behalf by Adjutant-General Reynolds, at Jeffersonville, on July 7. The Fourth regiment, in which they were Company D, organized on June 16, electing Willis A. Gorman of Monroe County, colonel; Ebenezer Dumont of Dearborn—former principal of the Marion County seminary—lieutenant-colonel, and William McCoy, of Laporte County, major. On the 24th they left New Orleans for Mexico on the "Sophia Walker," the same boat that took the former Indianapolis company, but they had better luck than their predecessors. They were assigned to Joe Lane's brigade and went almost direct to Vera Cruz, from which they marched on September 18 for the City of Mexico. They got into some of the prettiest fighting of the war, at Huamantla, Puebla, Tlascala and Atlixco.

⁸*Indiana in the Mexican War*, p. 94.

As there were several organized companies in the state desirous of going to the front, Adjutant-General Reynolds notified the Secretary of War of the fact, and James H. Lane was authorized to raise another Indiana regiment. The call was issued by Governor Whitcomb on August 31. A company was raised at Indianapolis with John McDougall, who had served in the First regiment, as captain; Thomas MacBaker, of the Rifles, as first lieutenant; Wm. C. Kise, second lieutenant, and Thomas O'Neal, third lieutenant. This became Company F, of the Fifth Indiana. The regiment was full on September 23, and on the 25th, the Indianapolis company, then called the Center Guards, left for Madison. The regiment organized on October 22, with James H. Lane, colonel; Allen May, of Montgomery County, lieutenant-colonel, and John Myers, major. Dr. James S. Athon was surgeon of this regiment, and John M. Lord, adjutant. The regiment was hurried to the front, arriving at Vera Cruz on November 21. They were in time to "in at the death", and had the satisfaction of camping with the Fourth Indiana and others at En Cerro, the estate of Santa Anna, preparatory to their return home.

A consideration of the troops furnished by Marion County for the Mexican War would indicate that there was no intense interest in that conflict at this point, and there was not. This was a Whig stronghold and as a party they were opposed to the war, though, at the same time, as citizens they felt under the necessity of supporting it after the country had got into it. Clayton and Corwin put this inconsistency at their fellow Whigs in Congress in a very pointed way. And their logic was unanswerable. If it were "a war of in-

vasion"; if it were an unconstitutional act for the President to declare that war "existed", and to order the troops forward without any declaration of war by Congress; if it were "an unholy war" and "waged in the interest of slaveholders for the acquisition of slave territory", why should a conscientious Whig support it? But the people were evidently for war, as Americans usually are, and it would be suicidal politics to oppose "my country, right or wrong". And so the average Whig drifted along with the current waiting for the chance to say, "I told you so", that never came. The feeling is cautiously expressed in the *Journal's* observation when the call for the Fifth regiment came: "We understand that Governor Whitcomb received by yesterday's mail a requisition for another regiment of volunteers from this state. It would appear that the President has not much hopes of either purchasing or conquering a peace very soon. The end is not yet."² But the brilliant success of the war disposed of that horn of the dilemma, and the Whigs certainly made the best of the situation when they nominated Taylor for president, though they said in their platform that he had gone into the war with reluctance. This political feeling probably furnishes the real explanation of why the militia companies here did not volunteer as organizations; and the expressions of fear of death by their members, of which Lew Wallace speaks above, should be taken as evasions rather than sincere statements of sentiment. They were, no doubt, based on the theory of the legal aphorism that, "A bad answer is good enough answer to a bad complaint".

²*Journal*, September 7, 1847.

CHAPTER XV.

ADVENT OF THE RAILROADS.

If ever the adjective "pathetic" can be properly applied to a public failure, it may rightfully be used for the breakdown of Indiana's internal improvement system. It was of such vast consequence and so near success. Never did a people undertake a great enterprise on more apparently rational grounds. And they came so near to accomplishing something really great. Just a little difference of policy here and there would have carried them through. If they had put their money into railroads instead of high-line canals; if they had put the southern terminus of the one railroad they did undertake at Jeffersonville instead of Madison; if they had started on the high level at Madison, and put off till later the work on the "Deep Diggings" to the lower ground, in which so much money was sunk; if they had taken up one thing at a time, finished it and put it on a paying basis before beginning another; on any of these lines they might have succeeded. But they did not, and on the face of the situation they were justified in expecting to get through on the basis on which they started. Possibly, if the panic of 1837 had not occurred they would have succeeded. As it was, the report of the State Auditor for 1849 shows that up to that time the State had expended for turnpike roads \$412,326.25; for the Indianapolis and Madison Railroad, \$1,624,603.95, and for canals, \$8,408,543,—a total of \$10,204,273.34. And for all this it had practically not one cent's worth of property to show. If it had succeeded it would have had valuable properties that would have been sources of revenue, increasing in value daily; instead of having as now practically all of the state's transportation lines owned outside the state.

There were persons who advised more wisely

at the time. On November 27, 1835, the *Journal* published a long and strong letter from S. Whitman, of New Albany, advocating railroads in preference to canals on the substantial grounds that they were cheaper to construct; gave more rapid transit; could be used all the year round while canals froze up in winter; and were less liable to get out of repair so as to interfere with traffic. The cost of a railroad of course depends largely on the kind of country it runs through, and heavy cutting and filling cost more than now. The state began the road from Madison to Indianapolis in 1838, and in 1842 had completed 28 miles from the start, as well as having done about half the grading and bridging for the next 28 miles. It then surrendered the work to a company, being financially unable to go on itself, which took possession in February, 1843. The inclined plane at Madison, and the heavy cuts and fills south of Vernon, made an average cost for this part of the road, built by the state, of \$40,000 a mile. The balance of the road from Six Mile Creek to Indianapolis, furnished by the company, and laid with bar rail, cost less than \$8,000 a mile. The branch from Edinburgh to Shelbyville, sixteen miles, cost only \$800 a mile for grading and bridging. The road could have been built from Jeffersonville over much more favorable ground; in fact, the Jeffersonville road when built to Edinburgh, had cost for the 78 miles, only \$1,185,000, or about two-thirds of what the state paid for the 28 miles from Madison. And, moreover, it would, if built to Jeffersonville, have been completed much sooner, and would have had a vastly more important terminus.

There had been some effort at railroads by private companies before the state adopted its

internal improvement scheme. Indeed Indiana caught the railroad fever very early for it began chartering railroads in 1832, and the first one in the country—a horse-tram, 3 miles long from the granite quarries at Quincy, Massachusetts, had been built in 1826-7, and the first steam locomotive built in the United States was completed in 1830. The success of short lines, chiefly in connection with mines, created an enthusiasm for railroads throughout the country, and on February 2 and 3, 1832, the legislature of Indiana chartered eight companies, five of which were to connect Indianapolis with the Ohio River. They were the Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis, via Napoleon and Greensburg; the Harrison and Indianapolis, from Harrison, Dearborn County, via Brookville and Rushville; the Madison and Lafayette, via Indianapolis; the New Albany, Salem and Indianapolis, via Columbus; and the Ohio and Indianapolis, from Jeffersonville via Columbus. The other three were the Ohio and Lafayette, from the Falls to Lafayette; the Wabash and Michigan, from Lafayette to "the mouth of Dislman,¹ or Trail Creek, in Laporte County"; and the Richmond, Eaton and Miami, from Richmond to Hamilton, Ohio. The Indianapolis people interested in these ventures at the start were, in the Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis, Nicholas McCarty, Benjamin I. Blythe and James Blake; in the Harrison and Indianapolis, Isaac N. Phipps, Hervey Bates and Alfred Harrison; in the New Albany, Salem and Indianapolis, A. C. Reid; in the Ohio and Indianapolis, James Morrison and James Blake.

None of these roads were built under their original charters, though roads were later constructed on nearly all the lines selected. Surveys were made on several, but the only construction by any was a mile and a quarter of road at Shelbyville, made by the Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis Company, which, as the first in Indiana, is of passing interest. James Blake, as president, pro tem, of the company, made a report on December 5, 1834, of the work accomplished and of the hopes based on it. At that time railroad-building was so much in its infancy that most of the work was experimental. The most common

mode of construction was to lay cross-ties on stone at either end, and on these place heavy wooden rails, which were capped with bar-iron. This mode was not altogether satisfactory, as there was no stone along part of the line. The following extracts from Mr. Blake's report will give an idea of the work:

"With a view to ascertain whether long pieces of timber laid lengthwise the road, one on each side for the cross ties to rest upon, might not answer in the place of broken stone foundation, the one mile and a quarter of the road at Shelbyville was laid in that manner. Timber of various kinds, six by eight inches, and twenty feet long, and completely covered with earth, have been used for this purpose. * * * After the road is laid, the stone for the horse path (should one be thought necessary) can be readily brought upon the road from the extensive quarries on Flat Rock, at a very little expense. * * * There are, however, two alterations in the plan of construction which the Board is desirous of making. The road in every respect is calculated for the use of locomotive power—and the speed and cheapness of that power over every other, will no doubt occasion it to be adopted on this road as it has been on almost every other of any extent in the United States and in Europe. It would, therefore, be proper at once to save the expense of a horse path. This is estimated to cost three hundred dollars per mile, and supposing the road to be ninety miles long, twenty-seven thousand dollars may be saved. A sum sufficient to procure all the locomotive power necessary for a long time. And it will likewise supercede the outlay of capital that would otherwise be necessarily invested in horses. In addition to these advantages, if steam alone should be used, the intermediate space between the rails need not be so entirely filled with earth as is required by the horse path, and thus the rails, at least, may be made to last many years longer than they would do were they brought into immediate contact with the earth. * * *

"Having formed and expressed the intention of completing this piece of road by the 1th of July last, under the expectation of having Mr. Van De Graff to superintend it, the Board found it necessary to comply with the expectations of the public on the subject, notwithstanding they were disappointed in procuring

¹ i. e., Du Chemin—site of Michigan City.

an engineer as early as was expected. This piece of road was accordingly let out in quarter-mile sections, and completed in about two months by its enterprising contractors. And when it is considered that it was built without the aid of competent engineers,—by men without experience in such works, and with the ordinary labour of the country, it is not only highly creditable to those concerned, but is also calculated to give great confidence in the ability of the country to construct the work throughout the whole route, and at a cost far below the engineer's estimate. In the course of the day (July 1) between six and eight hundred persons were passed upon the road by one car, a distance out and in of two and a half miles. One horse was found able to draw from forty to fifty persons at the rate of nineteen miles per hour, and this when all the work, both of car and road, was new and rough. Owing to the difficulty of procuring an engineer, the directors superintending the work did not deem it proper to carry it into Shelbyville, as they could not tell where the engineer might choose to cross the river. The work was, therefore, stopped three-quarters of a mile from town. Yet it is believed that it affords a fair specimen of the cost of construction through the line of level country already spoken of. Upon it there is one cut of five feet; one embankment of five feet, and one of ten—two curves and two bridges, already mentioned,—all in the distance of one and a quarter miles, and the whole cost was one thousand five hundred dollars per mile." Mr. Blake states that all expenses to date, including surveys, have been \$3,524.47½, and the only receipts have been from passengers at Shelbyville, from which "there has been received eighty-three dollars, of which sixty dollars was taken on the 4th of July last."

Under the agreement with the company which undertook to complete the Madison railroad, in accordance with the act for the surrender of any of the internal improvement projects,² the company was to pay the state a rental of \$1,152 per year for three years. This was later extended to ten years on condition that the road be completed to Edinburgh before July, 1846, and to Indianapolis within

two years afterward. After the ten years the profits of the road were to be divided between the state and the company in proportion to the amount constructed by each, giving the state about one-third. The company complied with the construction requirements by October 1, 1847, and entered on a career of apparent prosperity. It had a monopoly of transportation between the river and the central part of the state. Population and business were steadily increasing and the receipts of the road grew accordingly. The receipts from transportation, which had been \$22,110 in 1843, with 33 miles of track, and \$60,053 in 1845, with 50 miles of track, rose in 1848 (11 months, owing to a change in the fiscal year) to \$212,090; in 1850 to \$272,308; in 1852 to \$516,411. The financial success of the road seemed assured from this point of view, and yet in 1852 it was practically bankrupt.

The road had scarcely begun operation before the defects of inexperience began to appear. The portion constructed by the state had been laid with light T rail, and the rest with bar plate on wooden rails. By 1848, practically all of this had to be replaced. The ditching, and indeed almost every feature of the original work had been inadequate, and had to be done over. In February, 1846, President Samuel Merrill said: "More water stations must be made, and they must be better adapted to the business of the road. The turn-outs at Dupont's, Butler's, Vernon, and Scipio must be extended, so that long trains can pass, and new ones must be made at Middle Fork and Tamehill's Depot. More tracks are required at the Hill Depot, and more room for the deposit of freight. The depot in Madison must also be enlarged to double its present size. A new locomotive will be required in the fall, and the number of cars must be considerably increased." There were all sorts of trouble, some of which seem hardly sufficient now to seriously affect the business of a railroad, but they did then. In the fall of 1855 there was a prolonged drought, followed by extreme cold and much snow in December, and President Merrill thus depicts the effects: "When frequently not less than 200 barrels of water a day were to be dipped in buckets, or hauled in wagons; when, until apparatus could be made for throwing steam into

²*General Laws 1842*, p. 3.

the tank, one of the hose was usually before the furnace to melt the ice in it, while the other was in use; when more car wheels broke in a month than had previously in two years; when the trips required from 18 to 20 hours instead of 10, the usual time, it is a matter of surprise that so much was done. Wells could not be dug in the region south of Rock Creek, nor suitable hands found to attend the pumps north, and it was only by great exertions of all who were employed that no trips were lost. When one set of hands was worn down with fatigue, another took their places, and all that could be done under the circumstances was effected."

The inclined plane at Madison was a source of heavy expense from the start. On March 28, 1844, when the track was wet and slippery, a loaded freight car escaped control and sped down the plane colliding with a passenger train, and killing five persons and maiming as many more. The company undertook to escape the difficulties and dangers of the plane by a cog track, known as the Cathcart patent, for which it paid Cathcart \$6,000. About \$2,000 more was spent in defending the patent and \$75,000 for installing it. But this did not secure either safety or convenience, and when the state sold its interest to the road in 1852, it stipulated for a new terminus. On April 10, 1855, President Ellis said: "That work was immediately commenced, over three hundred thousand dollars expended thereon, and was finally abandoned". But all these things were of minor importance as compared with another element of disaster. The company applied to the legislature of 1851-2 for the purchase of the state's interest in the road, and by the act of February 28, 1852, the state sold, agreeing to take \$600,000 in state stock, or \$300,000 in money, payable in four annual installments, beginning in 1854. Up to this time the state had avoided giving any opening to competing lines, but by the general law of May 11, 1852, it threw the door wide open to construction of railroads anywhere, by anybody. The results most harmful to the Madison road were the construction of the Jeffersonville road, giving direct competition to Indianapolis, and a change in the line of the Lawrenceburgh and Upper Mississippi road, giving more direct communication with Cincinnati. Says President Ellis: "The business

of the Madison road began at once to decline, at the most rapid rate, and the line, instead of being the great thoroughfare for trade and travel, became a local road, shorn of its business and profits". It made an effort to recover by investing half a million dollars in the Columbus and Shelby road, and buying the controlling interest in a line of steamers, but in vain. It was doomed.

The gross earnings of the Madison road, which had reached \$476,892 in 1852, dropped to \$275,557 in 1854. Its stock, which sold for \$1.60 in 1852 had dropped to \$0.02 $\frac{1}{2}$ in January, 1856. On March 1, 1855, a law was passed appointing Governor Wright, Judge Thos. S. Stanfield and Elijah Newland commissioners to investigate the affairs of the Madison road and compromise to the best advantage the debt to the state. The commissioners reported at the next session of the legislature, and on its report the road was a hopeless wreck. On May 1, 1861, to raise the money needed for its terminal and other work, the company had placed a mortgage of \$600,000 on the entire property, due in 10 years, and on this there was \$46,310 of interest in arrears. The state had taken a second mortgage for its \$300,000 on August 12, 1853. On October 1, 1853, a third mortgage had been executed to secure \$600,000 of additional bonds, and of these \$264,000 had been disposed of. There was a domestic debt, unsecured, of \$287,286 for repair work, material, damages, etc., and in addition to this \$1,617,800 of outstanding stock, making total liabilities of \$3,132,396. The commissioners said: "The pecuniary condition of this company is a hopeless insolvency, and to some extent has been rendered so by the legislative policy of the state, in granting charters to other railroad companies, who have made more fortunate locations in securing the trade and travel of the country. To maintain a successful competition with these rival roads, the company has expended large amounts of money more than the entire road is now worth, which expenditure has become almost an entire loss. Most of this money has been lost in an unsuccessful effort to avoid the inclined plane at Madison, and the building of branch roads. And after all these prodigal expenditures were made, and business connections formed with other companies, it was still doomed to fall

from its position of a great leading thoroughfare to a mere local road. The expense and hazard in transporting over the inclined plane at Madison, and the increased distance by this route over others to the principal cities on the river, will forever prevent it from doing any considerable business, other than that in its own neighborhood.

"The present prospects of this road indicate the entire loss of its capital stock, one million six hundred and forty-seven thousand and eight hundred dollars, and also the \$261,000 of bonds issued under the third mortgage, and, indeed, it seems quite evident from what has already been shown, that when the first mortgage bonds become due, viz.: May 1, 1861, the road must from necessity fall into the hands of the bondholders under that mortgage. That there is not money enough in it to justify the state or anyone else to take the road by paying that debt and the other necessary outlays that will be added to it by the time the bonds become due." On this situation the commissioners agreed to accept \$75,000 in 5 per cent state bonds in full of the claim, which was duly paid, and the mortgage released. The state also had \$31,450 of stock of the road, which had been issued as earnings dividends, when the road was sold in 1852, and this was then exchanged to Winslow, Lanier & Co. for \$59,300 of state 2½ per cent stock. These represent the state's returns from the venture; and the settlement was a good one. In January, 1854, the road was consolidated with and operated with the Peru for a few months, and then this relation was dissolved. On March 27, 1862, the Madison road was sold on foreclosure by the United States Marshal, for \$325,000. A new company was organized and operated the road for a year or two when it was bought by and consolidated with the Jeffersonville road, which later passed into the Pennsylvania Railroad system.

In reality the loss to the state was not so serious as the loss to the stockholders and bondholders. The state got all the advantage, of opening up the part of the country at its center, in the beginning; and by its course in 1852, although it destroyed its prospects of getting its \$300,000 from the Madison road, it produced a development that was of much greater value in income from taxation. No doubt it might have worked out a system of

state-owned railroads by different management from the start; but it is not given to mankind to use the knowledge gained by experience and retrospection in the exercise of foresight as to the same affairs. The great point at the time was to get the road built at all, and the benefit of that was felt immediately, especially at Indianapolis. The period of isolation of the capital was ended. A new era was opened. For the first time manufacture for other than domestic consumption became a possibility, and the agricultural products of the region became sensitive to the movement of outside markets. In a few weeks wheat advanced from 40 cents a bushel to 90 cents. Undoubtedly the railroad investment was more than returned to the state; and undoubtedly Indianapolis and Marion County had value received for all they paid; and they paid a goodly share in the subsequent extinction of the state debt by taxation.

There was naturally a brisk competition for the location of the new Madison depot at Indianapolis, various parties offering liberal donations, but it was finally located on South street between Pennsylvania and Delaware, which was then a quarter of a mile outside of the settled district, there having been no extension of the town south of Pogue's Run. The depot, or "depot house" as it was then called, was built in 1846-7, and though the location caused a great deal of criticism on account of its "distance from business", Mohammed concluded to go to the mountain, and soon an embryo town sprang up about the depot. On September 9, 1848, the *Locomotive* gave the following description of the progress in that vicinity: "The Depot house is brick, substantially built; the first building is 50 feet square and two stories high. This is occupied as offices, rooms for clerks, board of directors, ladies sitting room, &c. It is finely finished and is a handsome looking house. The ware-house extends 350 feet from the front building, and is 50 feet wide; this building is brick, with a covered roof—the eaves extending about ten feet beyond the walls on each side, affording protection from the sun and rain. The cars run through the centre of the entire building, and in the ware-house, on either side of the cars, is ample room for storage.

"On the east of the railroad, and within two



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

RELICS OF 1847—CORNER SOUTH AND DELAWARE.

squares of it, there has been, and is now being built, 19 houses this spring and summer, among which are two brick ware-houses, both two stories high, and one of which is 136 by 25 feet, and a large Hotel. To show the dispatch with which business is done here, we will state that the design of the latter excellent and valuable improvement was drawn in February; on the 15th of August the house was finished, furnished and occupied; even to the sign, on which is displayed in large gilt letters, 'THE DEPOT HOUSE BY BANNER LAWHEAD.'—The hotel is of brick, 3 stories high, the front 66x20 feet, with a wing 160 by 20 feet.—The balance of the houses erected east of the Depot are mostly one story frame dwellings. West of the Depot, and immediately adjoining the railroad track, there was built this summer 13 houses, including 5 two-story ware-houses, two brick, one of which is 25 by 136 feet."

Of course the railroad increased in usefulness to the town as it approached, but this only whetted the public desire to have it completed. When it was assured that it would be opened on October 1, 1847, a citizens' meeting—apparently predigested by the officials of the road—was held on September 25; and resolutions were adopted for a celebration, with a committee of seven to prepare for it, and also "that the Railroad Company ought to permit passengers, for a week at least, to travel on the road at reduced prices". In response to this last, Samuel Merrill, as President and Superintendent of the road, graciously announced that, "The M. & I. R. R. Co. will on the day the Road is completed take passengers along the whole or any part of the route for one-third the usual rates, and they will continue to take families, or parts of families at the same rates for the ensuing week, with the understanding that ladies alone, if their number be sufficient for the purpose, shall occupy the covered cars. If any person shall wish to take a ride on the afternoon of the day of the celebration, they may ride to Franklin and back at 25 cts. each". The regular rate to Franklin was 75 cents one way. This was eminently satisfactory. The celebration was helped out by the arrival of Spalding's North American Circus, declared to embrace 200 people, including "35 widely celebrated lady and gentlemen artistes,

at the acme of their profession", and Ned Kendall's brass band of "15 picked musicians in lustrous uniforms". The importance of the latter may be judged from this statement of the circus advertisement: "Led by the IMMORTAL EDWARD KENDALL whose fame as the MAGIC BUGLER has penetrated every circle to which music has access, (it) at once gives tone to the pure and admirable amusements of the Monster Circus, whether in leading the immensely extended procession in the Gorgeous Colossal Music Car or awakening the echoes of the streets while MOUNTED ON 15 RICHLY COMPARISONED steeds, or metamorphosing the performance into a *Soiree Musicale!* not the least attractive feature of which will be the never to be forgotten Solo upon his Magic Silver Bugle."

Altogether it was a red letter day. The town was thronged with people from the vicinity. The last rail was laid at 9 o'clock in the morning. At 10 the circus entered the town from the east and Captain Evans' company of mounted volunteers from the west Captain Chapman's artillery company was already on hand. At 1 all moved out to the depot. The *Journal* developed so much local enterprise on the occasion that its account is worthy of preservation. It said: "Friday, sure enough was all that was anticipated and more too. Spalding's North American Circus came rolling along about 10 o'clock A. M., attended by an old-fashioned North American crowd that would have done honor to any public occasion. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the belching forth of the loud-mouthed cannon announced the time for the approach of the cars from Madison. Such a collection of people as thronged the grounds adjacent to the depot has not been witnessed in these parts since Tippecanoe times. They were there by acres, stretching far out along the railroad, some upon trees, stumps, fences, mounds, and everything which tended to raise one squad above another. Soon a dark spot in the distance was descried by those picketed upon the furthest outposts; then was heard the shrill whistle of the locomotive, echoing through hoary forests and o'er verdant fields and shout answering to shout as the two iron steeds pulling and snorting majestically turned the curve in the road a short distance from town, followed by two long trains of passen-

ger and freight cars, completely filled with human beings, the ladies waving their white handkerchiefs and the men and boys using their lungs in answering back the long, loud huzzas from the people awaiting their approach.

"Well, they came to a halt, as all things in this world must, sooner or later. Then there was such a getting out, and such a tumbling in, and such a calling for a speech from the Governor, such a squeaking from a short sprinkling of young 'uns, then a sprinkling of rain, which caused such another running to and fro as we never saw before. Then the Governor mounted the top of one of the cars, as did the men, women and children the long platform which flanks either side, outside and in, of the depot, for the purpose of making a speech to them. But the Governor couldn't govern *there*. Confusion was rendered worse confounded by a snort from a locomotive, and the chime of its bell, which signified a pleasure ride to Greenwood and back for 15 cents a head. La me! what a scampering among the novices of railroad riding. It couldn't have been worse if the ride was to have been performed by steam, with the 'road' part left out, only as in that case instead of scampering away, they scampered right up to the conveyance, pell mell, as if they wasn't afraid of the rail cars, 'bull-gine' and all. But hark! A tap of the bell—*are you ready?* A loud unearthly if not unsteamily whistle—clear the track—and away went about five hundred as happy, uproarious fellows as was ever 'mixed up'—yelling like so many Indians at every thing they saw from the scampering of a pig to the wonder-struck gaze of the young hoosiers as they peered out from behind some huge forest tree or some humble cabin by the wayside. That much we will say about the ride. But we won't say anything about a *supposed* crack in one of the axletrees—how the train was stopped—what anxiety was all of a sudden depicted upon those hitherto happy faces—how they were eased of their 15 cents in the interval—how they were relieved of all fear when the cars moved forward again, and how they laughed to think the cracked axletree was easily produced sound! It was thought a Santa Anna manœuvre to gain time to 'pass' round the hat, and laughed over accordingly.

But let that 'pass' as the conclusion of the whole rail road scene.

"Friday was ended—and a 'good Friday' it was without any accident to mar the pleasure of the people—by an exhibition of fire-works after dark, the illumination of many buildings, and the performance of Spalding's equestrian troop—the latter of which, though exaggerated as all such exhibitions are upon paper, was a little superior to anything we have ever seen in these parts. And thus the day ended, at 10 o'clock P. M., with the public appetite for amusement and excitement satiated."

Amid the enthusiasm of the day Henry Ward Beecher left Indianapolis in response to his call from Plymouth Church. Thirty years later he wrote: "I left Indianapolis for Brooklyn on the very day upon which the cars on the Madison Railroad for the first time entered the town; and I departed on the first train that ever left the place. On a wood-car, rigged up with boards across from side to side, went I forth. * * * The car was no car at all, a mere extempore wood-box, used sometimes without seats for hogs, but with seats for men, of which class I (ah me miserable!) happened to be one. And so at eleven at night I arrived in Madison, not overproud in the glory of riding on the first train that ever went from Indianapolis to Madison."² And yet Mr. Beecher overlooked the fact that he was escaping all the dangers of the "locked-in" system of the English railroads, of which Rev. Sydney Smith's pen pictures of the more or less certain horrors had caused the hair of the English public to stand on end in 1812.³ And this illustrates the fact that a really great clergyman can find something to complain of in almost any condition.

The completion of the Madison road made possible the building of roads from Indianapolis, and numerous plans for this were projected, though they were rather slow of execution. The first company to accomplish anything material was the Bellefontaine, whose president, Oliver H. Smith, set a livelier pace for older companies. The company was chartered in 1818, secured stock subscriptions and right of way in the year following, let con-

²*Beecher and Scoville's Biog. of H. W. Beecher*, pp. 207, 216.

³*Wit and Wisdom of Sydney Smith*, p. 344.

tracts for grading in the fall of 1849, commenced track-laying in April, 1850, and on December 19 of that year announced daily trains to Pendleton (28 miles) from which stage lines furnished connection with the upper White River valley and the Wabash. In December, 1852, it was completed to Union City, at the state line, 84 miles, where it connected with an Ohio road to Bellefontaine. The two were consolidated in 1855, under the name of Indianapolis, Pittsburg & Cleveland Railroad; and in 1868 this became part of the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis. Originally this road was known as the "Bee Line", later as the Cleveland Division of the "Big Four", and now as the Cleveland Division of the New York Central Lines. The Bellefontaine Company built a brick depot and shops in 1854, at Massachusetts avenue, then in the extreme northeastern part of the city, which were used till the Union Depot and tracks were finished. In November, 1853, a frame depot, and brick engine house and shops were built at the Virginia avenue crossing of Pogue's Run; these were abandoned in 1864, and new ones constructed near the east Michigan street crossing. The first depot and shops, with 1,100 feet of tracks and five acres of ground were sold for \$17,500 in July, 1853, and were converted into the Indianapolis Car Shops, which were operated by Farnsworth & Barnard from 1853 to 1859. They were then vacant for three years till 1862, when the Government took the buildings for a stable and used them till they burned down in 1865.

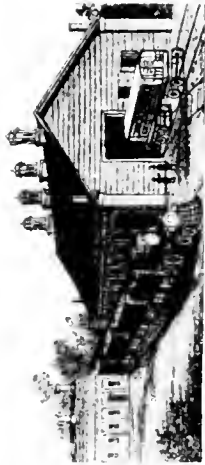
The Peru & Indianapolis Railroad was chartered January 19, 1846. The company was organized in July, 1847, the road surveyed and located in 1847-8, and work begun in 1849. On March 11, 1854, its completion to Noblesville was celebrated by an excursion to that point, where there were speeches by ex-Governor Wallace and others, and music by the Noblesville Brass Band. The announcement states that, "The cars will leave Indianapolis at 8 o'clock in the morning, stopping in their passage at James' contemplated warehouse, Wilson's Mill, Castleton, Roll & Teal's Mill, and Big Branch. Will leave Noblesville returning, at half past 10, stopping only at the water station east of Allisonville. The trains, with the passenger cars, from Madison and Pendleton will leave Indianapolis at two

o'clock precisely, stopping only at the water station. Returning, will leave Noblesville at 1 o'clock, the two forward trains stopping only at the water station, the others stopping at the intermediate stations." Round trip 50 cents. The Peru seemed destined to hard luck. It was completed to Peru, 73 miles, on April 3, 1854, at a total cost of \$760,000. It operated at first without a regular depot at this point but in August, 1856, began a frame depot at New Jersey street and Pogue's Run. After the frame work was up, the whole structure blew down on September 18, fatally injuring Mr. Hill, one of the contractors, and wounding several others. It was originally laid with flat bar, but T rail was substituted in 1855-6. The country through which the road ran was new, and its business small until connections were made to the north. It went into the hands of a receiver in 1857 and was operated for the benefit of the bondholders for a number of years. It passed into the control of the Lake Erie & Western in 1887, whose lines are now operated in the name of that company, though practically owned by the New York Central.

For several years the Madison depot was "the depot",—unrivalled. It stood on the south side of South street, between Pennsylvania and Delaware, on ground now occupied by open tracks. The office building, fronting north on South street, was about 50 feet square, two stories high, with a single trackway through the center. On either side were offices, waiting room, etc. Back of this was the long freight depot, of brick, with a projecting roof that reached over the outside platforms. The freight depot was about thirty feet wide, with a track through the center and raised platforms on both sides. The east line of the front building, and the east platform of the freight building, were the same as the east line of the present little frame office of the South street yards. The passenger trains did not run into the depot, but came up on the west side. Here they were met by the runners for the three uptown hotels, prominent among whom were Taylor Elliott (late President of the Board of Public Works) for the Wright House, and Wash Little for Little's Hotel, discoursing volubly on the merits of their various busses. Then came the drive through the Pogue's Run bottom, where in wet weather a wagon with more than two trunks



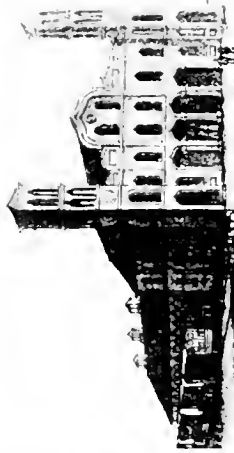
Madison & Ind Depot



Lafayette Depot



Belle fountain & Ind Depot



Cincinnati, Lawrenceburg & Ind Depot

(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)
INDIANAPOLIS DEPOTS.

was apt to mire down. Those who did not wish to go up town could stop at the Depot House—name soon changed to Ray House—which stood where St. Vincent's Hospital now is. A little later Jacob Gruenert built the Jefferson Hotel west of the depot, and when it was torn down to make way for the Standard Paper Co.'s building the name was carried on to the hotel at the corner of Pennsylvania. At the northwest corner of South and Delaware in the building still standing, was a sort of restaurant saloon, where the waiters for trains used to lunch on gingerbread and "krank beer," if they had the money; if not they would lie down the tracks one block to Fletcher's pork-house, and fill up on "cracklings".

The other lines added to the importance of this depot for a time by running to it. In June, 1849, the directors of the Peru road asked permission "to straighten the Pogue's Run from Noble's pasture north of the National Road, to the southeast diagonal".⁵ This was granted, and on August 18, 1849, the *Locomotive* noticed the progress of the railroad work thus: "The lines of the Bellefontaine and Peru railroads intersect exactly on the northeast corner of the donation, the Bellefontaine coming from the northeast and the Peru from the north. From this point the Peru runs south along the donation line, one square east of Noble street, until it strikes Pogue's Run—the grading in the donation is partly finished, and hands are now at work on it; this will be a common track for the Peru and Bellefontaine to connect with the Madison and Richmond Depots. From the corner stone, the Bellefontaine comes down the northeast diagonal" until opposite the block on which the depot is located, where it makes a curve to the depot house, which will stand east and west." By means of this track laid by the Peru and Bellefontaine the existing roads were united before the Union was constructed. With the work that was going on at the time, not to mention what was being talked of, the *Locomotive* does not seem excessively enthusiastic when it proposed on September 22, 1849, that Indianapolis should be known as "The City of Railroads". It was in fact a leading city in that

regard, and would soon have added several more to its list of railroads but for the hard times following 1853, which caused further development in that line to be deferred for a dozen years or more.

Meanwhile the Terre Haute & Richmond road was making progress. It was chartered in 1846, but the construction did not commence until 1850, and it was finished to Terre Haute in May, 1852, the reported cost of the 73 miles being \$1,415,000. It put up a brick freight depot at Louisiana and Tennessee streets in 1850-1, and a wooden bridge across White River in 1851-2, which was replaced by an iron bridge in 1866. The depot was remodeled in 1857, and was badly damaged in 1865 by the explosion of a locomotive within the building. This was the first road that put Indianapolis in touch with the coal fields. The eastern section of this road, to Richmond, was abandoned by this company in 1851, and taken up by the Indiana Central Railway Company, which completed the line to Richmond, and on to the state line, on December 8, 1853, at a reported cost of \$1,223,000 for the 72 miles. At that point it connected with an Ohio line to Columbus, with which it was consolidated in 1863, under the name of the Indianapolis & Columbus road; and this in turn was consolidated in 1867 with the Chicago and Great Eastern. It now forms the Indianapolis division of the "Pan Handle", owned by the Pennsylvania. The Terre Haute road was extended on through Illinois to St. Louis, and has long been known as the Vandalia.

The Indianapolis and Cincinnati Railroad was the name adopted in December, 1853, by the old Lawrenceburgh and Upper Mississippi road, which was originally begun in sections in 1850. It finally succeeded in getting a through line charter in 1851,⁷ notwithstanding the opposition of the Madison road, and was completed to Lawrenceburgh, 90 miles, in October, 1853. It originally ran into Cincinnati over the Ohio and Mississippi road, on which a third rail had been laid, but in 1854-5 it bought the old Whitewater Canal, and laid its track into Cincinnati in its bed. This company built shops at Indianapolis in 1853, southeast of the city. They were burned in 1855, but soon rebuilt, and continued here until 1865, when

⁵i. e. Virginia avenue.

⁶i. e. Massachusetts avenue.

⁷e. g. See *Locomotive*, January 26, 1850.

they were removed to Cincinnati. It erected the brick freight depot at Louisiana and Delaware streets in 1853. Geo. H. Dunn, Thos. A. Morris and Henry C. Lord were the early presidents of this company.

The Indianapolis and Lafayette road was begun in 1849, and completed between these two points in December, 1852. It was well managed by its first president, Albert S. White, and, as the stock subscriptions were small, was constructed almost wholly by loans. The 65 miles cost \$1,000,000 in round numbers. The road was profitable from the start, being the chief outlet to the northwest, and its construction debt was paid from its earnings. In 1866 President H. C. Lord, of the Cincinnati road, in order to force a sale of the Lafayette line, began the construction of a rival road to the northwest by way of Crawfordsville, which accomplished the purpose and a perpetual lease of the Lafayette line was obtained. The two roads were then combined as the Indianapolis, Cincinnati & Lafayette, and the Crawfordsville line was abandoned. The consolidation, however, was too ambitious in its efforts to spread out; became financially embarrassed, and passed into the Big Four system; which in turn has been absorbed by the New York Central. In 1852-3 the Lafayette road built a frame freight depot at North street and the canal, which burned down in 1861, and was rebuilt of brick in 1866. As the city developed the line of this road through it became a source of much danger to life and limb, as well as loss of time to the road in what reduction of speed was made. In 1903-4 it shortened its line, and secured greater speed possibilities, by throwing its line to the west of the city, and coming in over the Belt to the line of Louisiana street. It did not get the change made quite soon enough, however, to escape the horrible Purdue wreck of October 31, 1903, in which 16 lives were lost, and some forty of the young people from Lafayette who were coming here for a football game were maimed and injured.

The Jeffersonville road was completed to Edinburgh in 1852 and stopped there, leasing

the Madison line for Indianapolis connection in August, 1853, and purchasing it in 1863. They were consolidated as the J. M. & I. but the road was popularly known as "The Jeff." This completes the list of roads that were constructed prior to the Civil War. Several others were projected but these seven lines—eight, counting the Jeffersonville and Madison separate, all finished by 1853, were the only ones then built. And in addition to them was The Union connecting them. The desirability of this was realized before there was very much connecting to be done, for the company was organized in August, 1849, or at least a joint meeting of committees from the Madison, Terre Haute, Peru and Bellefontaine roads met on August 15, and recommended the action to their companies.⁷ The plan was indorsed, and on December 29, the *Locomotive* announced that the joint committee had purchased the north half of Block 96 from James Blake, for \$7,000, and would erect a depot there. The tracks were laid in 1850, and the depot erected in 1852-3, being opened for use on September 28, 1853. The depot was planned by Gen. (then Capt.) Thos. A. Morris and was 120 x 120 feet, with five tracks, assigned respectively to the Madison, Terre Haute, Lawrenceburgh, Central and Bellefontaine and Peru roads, the last two using a joint line from Massachusetts avenue in. William N. Jackson, familiarly known to two or three generations as "Uncle Billy", was made general ticket agent, and held the position for years. In 1866 the building was widened to 200 feet, the offices removed to the south side, and an eating-house added. The latter was first known as the Union Depot Dining Hall, with John W. Henrie as superintendent. Later it came in charge of the Ohmers, who brought Thos. Taggart here, and gave him the chance to feed his way to the hearts of the traveling epicures of South Meridian street, and elsewhere. The old Union Depot was used till 1887, when it was torn down to make way for the present Union Passenger Station.

⁷*Locomotive*, August 25, 1849.

CHAPTER XVI.

BECOMING A CITY.

Just why Indianapolis passed from town to city government in 1847 is something that will have to be guessed at from the surroundings. The legislative journals show that petitions for and against the change were presented to the legislature, but the newspapers at the time presented no argument on either side, either editorially or as communications, and did not even mention that any such change was contemplated. The petitions are not preserved. On February 13, 1847, the *Sentinel* printed the charter law and noted that the people would have to decide on its acceptance or rejection, adding: "But how can they decide as to the comparative merits of the two? Who knows anything about the provisions of the old charter?" Apparently somebody made some explanations to the editor, for on March 13, publishing the call for the election on the 27th to decide between the old and the new charter, he said: "Both are bad enough no doubt, and provide for a great deal too much *government*. But there is this merit in the new charter: It proposes to tax all property holders upon the basis of *equality* according to their wealth. The old charter is a perfect *thieving* concern in this respect and allows some of the richest men in the community to escape from all taxation whatever to support the corporation authorities, and at the same time to a considerable extent to avoid county taxation. This old order of things has existed long enough, and a little too long, and if it were only to aid in breaking it up, every honest man should vote against the old charter, and in favor of the new one. It is Hobson's choice, to be sure, in some respects, but it is better than no choice at all; and we may be thankful for it, mean as it is."

The apparent source of enlightenment is a communicated article in the *Journal* of March 1, setting forth the advantages of the new charter, under four heads. The first is the division of power by having a mayor to perform executive functions and have a restraining veto power on hasty legislation. The second was the limitation of taxes to 15 cents on \$100, while the old charter limit was 50 cents. The third was a more suitable arrangement of wards than the former shoe-string type running across the city from north to south. The new charter divided the city by Washington street, and made four wards north of it divided north and south by Alabama street, Meridian street and Mississippi street, while there were three wards south, divided by Illinois street and Delaware street. It was urged that this could give no advantage to the north side, as there were annual elections in which any abuses could be corrected by the people. The fourth argument—the one that called for capital letters and more space than all the rest combined was **JUST AND EQUAL TAXATION!** which was to be attained because the new charter took in all of the donation east of the river, with equal taxation on all parts of it. It will be remembered that the charters of 1836 and 1838 limited taxation for town purposes to the mile square, although the incorporation included the donation. The opposition to the new charter was declared to come from certain rich citizens "who own large tracts of land situated out of the central part of the town, but near enough to be affected in value by its proximity and fitness for residence". The exemption from taxation in the old charter was by virtue of section 23, and the communication says: "It would be

an interesting question if time admitted—to inquire how the peculiar provisions of the *twenty-third* section of the old charter came to be enacted. *Who* drew up that act, and especially that part of it?"

These were cogent arguments for adopting the charter offered, but all of them except the first could have been attained just as easily by amending the old charter. They involved no necessity for advance to city form of government. It is very evident that the change of taxation from the provisions of "Section 23" was what carried the new charter in the election. That section read: "That the powers of the corporation for the purpose of raising a revenue shall extend from North to South streets, and from East to West streets, and embracing those streets, which are the present bounds of said town as appears from the town plat filed in the recorder's office in Marion County: *Provided however,* That all blocks, parts of blocks, within the donation that are now or may hereafter be laid out in lots of a less size than one-half acre, a plat thereof being filed in the recorder's office of Marion County, and all taverns, groceries, tipling houses, shows, theatres, and stores within the limits of the donation shall be subject to the same laws and ordinances as if the same were within the bounds of the corporation, designated for the purpose of raising a revenue." The evident purpose was to exempt unplatted lands within the city limits from taxation, though economists generally agree that these are what should be specially taxed, in order to promote municipal growth. It is a notable fact that exactly the same scheme was effected over thirty years later, by a law exempting from city taxation all unplatted lands, over five acres in extent, and "used for agricultural purposes, or wholly unimproved", that were included within city boundaries. This remained a law for ten years before the general public became sufficiently enlightened to cause its repeal.¹

Dr. Thos. Elliott records that the law was drawn by Senator Oliver H. Smith, except the school tax section, which was added by S. V. B. Noel, then editor and proprietor of

the *Journal*.² This, with the evident ignorance of the *Scintill* concerning the matter while in progress, shows that it was a Whig movement, but there is no especial political advantage in it beyond the appointment of a few officers, salaries of \$24 to the councilmen, and justice fees to the mayor. The Whigs no doubt expected to hold the city offices. But political scheming of that kind, where the parties concerned were tax payers, was not very probable at that date; and, from the character of the men connected with the movement, the chances are that it was a really intelligent movement for better and more adequate government. And there was need for this. The Madison railroad was completed to Edinburg, and was expected to reach Indianapolis by summer, which was prevented only by the heavy floods.³ Already it was giving Indianapolis some of the features of a terminal town, by an influx of vicious characters that had roused the indignation and alarm of the moral citizens.

As a result of this a public meeting was held at the court house on Monday evening, November 30, to adopt measures for the suppression of gambling. It adopted resolutions condemning gambling and demanding enforcement of the laws that were offered by Calvin Fletcher, Henry Ward Beecher and Wm. Sheets; and also one offered by Rev. Love H. Jameson calling for a citizens' committee of thirteen members to take the matter in hand, such action being necessary "in consequence of the prevalence of gambling in our town, especially in the winter season, owing to the confluence of strangers at this point during the sessions of the legislature". The committee appointed was composed of James Blake, Calvin Fletcher, Wm. S. Hubbard, Thomas Record, W. W. Wright, A. W. Morris, E. J. Peck, D. Maguire, Wm. Hammad, Jas. Sulgrove, L. M. Vance, O. Butler and Andrew Smith. The *Journal* in its report of the meeting, says: "In the determination evinced by this meeting to carry out the resolutions adopted, blacklegs may see what they may expect should they visit us this winter. It will have the effect, too, of inducing resident blacklegs to change their

¹City School Report, 1866.

²*Journal*, April 6, 1847.

³Acts 1881, p. 698; Acts 1891, p. 398.

location. The speech of Mr. Fletcher was listened to with much interest. The facts given by him as to the extent to which gambling has been carried on in this city, within the past few years, were new to a great majority of the audience. Mr. Fletcher derived his information from an undoubted source—the records of our courts! The list of indictments and convictions presented by those records show a *beautiful* picture. Alongside of the name of an U. S. Senator stands that of a *gentleman of color*, each of whom were found guilty of the same offense, *gambling!*⁴

The committee of thirteen, called "the vigilance committee" by its critics, reported on the 28th that they had instituted proceedings against two professional gamblers, but that they had fled from the town before service could be had; the committee was making progress in other cases. It had retained Hiram Brown to look after prosecutions. Meanwhile some complications had arisen. The council, animated by the general spirit of renovation, on December 12, had adopted an ordinance specially punishing visitors to houses of ill fame; and a member of the legislature had "fired the Ephesian dome" by offering a resolution that this was "a reflection and an insult to the visitors of this city."⁵ And in addition certain citizens had petitioned for the repeal of the town charter altogether, on the ground of excessive and discriminating taxation and other burdens. The meeting of the 28th explained that no reflection was intended on the legislature, and Councilman Loudon carded the *Scintill* of December 24 to the effect that the action was demanded by moral considerations, and was not meant as an imputation on legislators. The meeting of the 28th also appointed a committee of five, consisting of J. L. Ketcham, Hiram Brown, Oliver H. Smith, David V. Culley and Andrew Brouse to wait on the legislative committee having the petition in charge, and "give all necessary information on the subject of the charter."⁶ There is little room for doubt that the new city

charter grew out of the work of this committee, for it corrected the tax-evil of which the petitioners complained, and also strengthened the municipal government in the lines of the sentiment represented by the committee.

The new charter gave the mayor the powers of a justice of the peace, with authority to require his processes to be served by the sheriff or by the town marshal, who was given the powers of a constable. The limit of the retail liquor license was made \$100. The mayor was elected for two years and the councilmen for one. The council was authorized to pass "ordinances, as to them shall seem necessary, relative to the regulation and improvement of streets, alleys, sidewalks, roads and highways, to clearing, raising, draining, turmpiking, macadamizing, or otherwise making and keeping the same in repair; to making, causing and requiring the owner or owners of in-lots to pave or otherwise improve the sidewalks in front of his or their respective in-lots; to establish and regulate markets; to regulate the inspection of flour, beef and pork; the sale of hay and wood in the city; the cabs, hacks, omnibuses and other carriages carrying passengers, and running in the city for gain; the assize of bread from time to time; to restrain or regulate swine running at large within the city.
* * * To regulate buildings, public and private, planting trees for ornament or use, public or private; to cleaning of chimneys; to dogs running at large or being kept in the city; to preventing and extinguishing fires in the city; to regulate the height and extent of fences before door-yards; and to provide by ordinances for imposing reasonable fines and penalties upon all persons violating the laws and ordinances as the said city council shall deem necessary and proper for the health, safety, cleanliness, convenience and good government of the city".

The council was also empowered to exact a license from all shows and amusements; to make requirements for guarding against fire; to organize and govern fire companies; to establish and maintain schools; to impose a poll tax of not over \$1; and to levy general taxes not exceeding 15 cents on \$100, but this might be increased by special vote of the people. It was given "exclusive juris-

⁴*Journal*, December 8, 1846.

⁵*House Journal*, December 18, 1846; *Scintill*, December 22, 1846.

⁶*Scintill*, December 24, 1846.

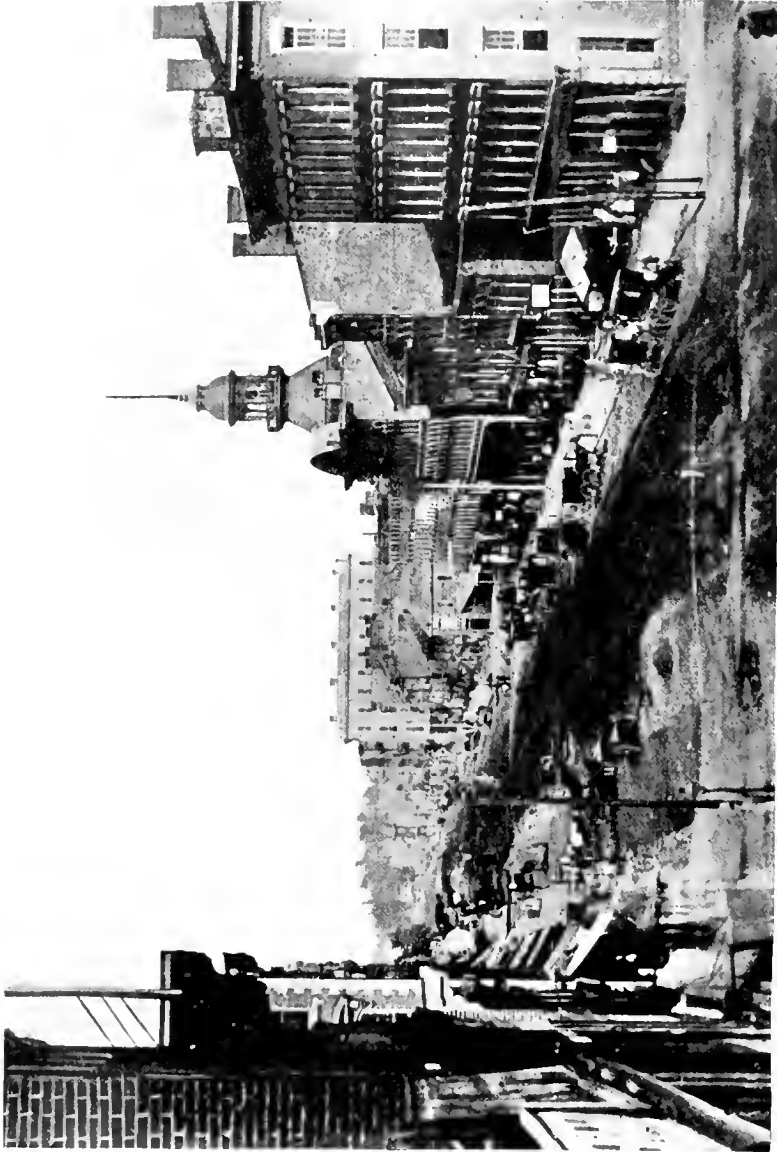
diction over all streets, roads and alleys, and water courses within the city for the purpose of opening and keeping the same in repair". It was required to appoint one or two street commissioners whose duty it was "to keep the streets, roads and alleys in the city in repair". To accomplish this "each able-bodied white man, between 21 and 50 years of age" was required to pay \$1 tax or do two days' work. Each councilman was to receive \$24 per year; "and he shall not be eligible to hold any other office under this act in the city while he continues to be such member; nor shall he hold or make any contract with the city council, or become interested in any job by which he shall in any way directly or indirectly receive any pay or compensation whatever, except when he shall be the lowest bidder at a public or competition bid; and all contracts in violation of this section shall be void".

As the new charter law was conditioned on its acceptance by the people, Joseph A. Levy, president of the town council, issued a proclamation calling a charter election on March 27. As before mentioned, all the newspapers favored acceptance, and the vote for it was 449 to 19. The result was certified to Governor Whitecomb, as required by law, on the 29th, and on the 30th he proclaimed the charter a law; and Indianapolis was a city. President Levy then directed an election on April 24 for mayor and councilmen from the several wards. The charter provided that the councilmen from the fifth (Charles W. Cady), third (Abram W. Harrison) and first (Wm. Montague) wards should hold over for one year as councilmen of the fifth, sixth and seventh wards. No elections for councilmen were held in the fifth and sixth. Wm. Montague evidently dropped out, for an election was held in the seventh, and Wm. L. Wingate was returned. The other councilmen elected were Uriah Gates from the first, Henry Tutewiler from the second, Cornelius King from the third, and S. S. Rooker from the fourth. Samuel Henderson was elected mayor, receiving 249 of the 500 votes cast; against 195 for David V. Culley, 54 for Nathan B. Palmer, and 2 blank. The school tax vote was 406 for and 28 against.

The council organized on May 1, electing Samuel S. Rooker president. Mr. Rooker

resigned on November 1, 1847, and Charles W. Cady was elected in his place. The council opened its legislative career by a salary ordinance on May 6, fixing annual compensations as follows: Secretary, \$175; marshal, \$280 and fees; treasurer, 5 per cent on collections; assessor, \$125; street commissioner, \$200; clerk East Market and West Market, each \$50; messengers of Marion and Good Intent engine companies, \$20 each; messenger hook and ladder company, \$10. On June 7, Councilman Harrison resigned, alleging that "an alliance of a most unjust and unwholy character has been entered into between four of the newly-elected members of the council for the purpose of thwarting and defeating every measure of importance or not, which may be introduced for the benefit of the ward I have had the honor to represent". The resignation was accepted, and ordered published, and on motion of Mr. Tutewiler, a committee of three was appointed to procure from Mr. Harrison "a report of the road moneys received and expended by him during the past year, and also to receive from him such sum or sums of road money as is in his hands unexpended". On this same June 7, 1847, the council adopted the city seal, which is still in use—"An eagle perched upon the globe, with a pair of scales suspended from his beak, and surrounded by the words, 'Seal of the City of Indianapolis'". It was readopted under the new charter May 4, 1891, by council resolution; but this fact was lost sight of, and it was again adopted on November 20, 1893.

There was little money in the treasury, but the council entered quite actively on the work of street improvement with what means it had. On June 21 an ordinance for street improvement, on petition of a majority of adjoining property owners, was adopted; and, at the same meeting, signs and sheds erected across sidewalks, or streets, were declared nuisances, and ordered removed within three days. Improvements were pushed from the central part of the town outward, and they went so fast that they outstripped the revenues, and by 1849 a debt of about \$6,000 had been created. A special election was held on June 9, 1849, to vote a tax of 10 cents on \$100 to pay it. There were only 258 votes cast at the election and the tax



(W. H. Buss Photo Company.)

WASHINGTON STREET, EAST FROM MERIDIAN, 1862.

(Glenn's Block, with fire alarm lower right center.)

carried by 11 majority. This brought the city tax, including school tax, up to 15 cents, and there was no little grumbling; but the march of improvement was on and there was no stopping it. The coming of the railroads put a new impetus in the place, and with the growth of business there came a demand for public improvements and more revenues. And yet the improvement was only comparative. The only street improvement was grading and graveling, and that was not very well done and was poorly kept up. There was not even any bowldering of streets until 1859. The gutters were simply shallow ditches at the sides of the streets, crossed by wooden foot-bridges at the street crossings. In dry weather the streets were solid but dusty. In wet weather the dust evil was removed, but the mud was appalling.

The city was conducted under the charter of 1847 until 1853. In 1852 the legislature adopted a general law for the incorporation of cities, which was more liberal than the charter, particularly in the matter of taxation, as it made the maximum limit 75 cents on \$100 in place of the 15 cents prescribed by the charter.⁷ Under this law, any existing city might adopt it as a charter, by vote of the council, and this action was taken on March 7, 1853, councilmen Greer, Buchanan, Fidler and Culley voting for it, and councilmen Pitts, Londen and Delzell against. This law made elections annual, fixing them in May, and the term of office was made one year. This year was the first in which nominations by convention for city offices occurred, and that only by the Democrats. On April 23 a citizens' meeting was held for the purpose of nominating "candidates friendly to temperance and good order", but owing to the short time to the election it was decided not to name a ticket. Nevertheless the election did not go by default, and on April 29 the *Journal* announced that "candidates are becoming plenty as blackberries"; and added: "The Democrats have seen proper to nominate a party ticket, but, for the life of us, we can't imagine what national questions of policy have to do with the government of a city." The election occurred on May 3, there being 1,650 votes cast, and inde-

pendent candidates were elected to all the offices but marshal. Caleb Scudder, the independent candidate for mayor, had 431 majority over his Democratic competitor, George P. Buell.

By the act of March 9, 1857, the legislature revised the law for the incorporation of cities, enlarging powers, and raising the tax limit to \$1. Section 79 of this law provided that a city might adopt it as its fundamental law by resolution of the common council. It made the official terms of the mayor and city judge two years. The new law was adopted as a charter by the council on March 16. The election on May 5 was preceded by a square party fight between the Republican and Democratic parties, and resulted in the election of a pretty evenly split ticket, the Republicans getting the council, and electing Wm. John Wallace mayor by 150 majority. By act of March 1, 1859, the charter was amended, chiefly as to its provisions for taxation, and making all city offices two years. The law then continued with slight amendment till 1867, when a general revision was made, and two years later the city got out a more pretentious volume of "Charter and Ordinances" than anything previously attempted. After 1867 the general incorporation law, which served as a charter, was amended at every session of the legislature until 1891, without any general revision. Most of these amendments were comparatively unimportant, regulating the modes of doing business, and extending powers in some cases. In 1877 the legislature adopted a law providing for a board of aldermen, or upper house, in the city council. This was considered an advance in city government, but it was found more cumbersome than useful, and in 1891 the provision was dropped.

In 1881 occurred by far the most important legislation for years, affecting the city government; not as an amendment to the city law, but as an amendment to the state constitution. Old Article 13 of the constitution was practically ignored and of no effect—it was an article prohibiting the immigration of negroes to the state, and making contracts with them void. Hon. W. H. English desired an amendment to the constitution restricting municipal debt, and adopted the ingenious mode of substituting it for

⁷Rev. Stats. 1852, Vol. 1, p. 203.

this provision, which was universally regarded as needing removal. He and the others he enlisted in the cause succeeded in their effort, and on March 14, 1881, the following became Article 13 of the constitution: "No political or municipal corporation in this state shall ever become indebted, in any manner or for any purpose, to an amount in the aggregate exceeding two per centum of the value of the taxable property within such corporation, to be ascertained by the last assessment for state and county taxes previous to the incurring of such indebtedness; and all bonds or obligations in excess of such amount, given by such corporation, shall be void: Provided, that in time of war, foreign invasion, or other great public calamity, on petition of a majority of the property owners in number and value, within the limits of such corporation, the public authorities, in their discretion, may incur obligations necessary for the public protection and defense to such an amount as may be requested in such petition."

This provision has been of inestimable value to Indiana cities and towns, and there was need for it at the time it was adopted. In 1873 the legislature had given cities power to borrow to the extent of not over 2 per cent., but there was soon a desire to exceed this amount, and the act of February 13, 1877, authorized exceeding it by temporary loans. It is well that the debt movement was checked when it was, for nothing is more demoralizing than piling up a heavy city debt, the interest on which absorbs a large part of the current city revenues. If a loan is desired for docks, water-works, or something that produces a revenue that will cover the interest on the debt created, there is some excuse for it. But for streets, parks, and other investments that are not only non-productive, but sources of additional expense, there is no justification for piling debt on future generations. It is much safer and wiser to pay as you go. It is to this provision that Indiana cities and towns owe their excellent financial condition and their splendid credit.

In 1885 the offices of city treasurer and city assessor were abolished, and the county treasurer and assessor were required to perform the duties of those offices. On March 8,

1889, was adopted the Barrett Improvement law, which has been of greater value in promoting public improvements in Indiana cities than any other one agency. It is simply a provision under which a city pays for street and sewer improvements by issuing bonds that are liens on the adjoining property. These are met by payments by the property owners in ten equal installments with 6 per cent. interest. By means of this, thousands of property owners have been enabled to pay for improvements, who could not have borne the expense if it had come in one demand. In Indianapolis, under this law, there had been, up to January 1, 1909, \$5,546,061.89 of these bonds issued and \$3,696,916.86 redeemed, leaving an outstanding balance of \$1,849,145.03. This does not represent the total of public improvements in the 20 years, for anyone is privileged to pay his assessment in cash, and many property owners prefer this course.

It will be of interest to notice here the mayors who presided over the affairs of Indianapolis during this period of city development. Samuel Henderson, the first mayor, was a local Washington in his quality of being first, for he was also the first postmaster and the first president of the first board of town trustees. He was an old-time tavern-keeper, having joined with James Blake in building the original Washington Hall (site of the New York store) in 1824, and conducted the tavern after Blake dropped out. He also had an extensive farm north of the town, and south of Fall Creek. When the California gold excitement came on, he sold out here and moved to California, where he died in 1883. He was a Kentuckian by birth, and an ardent Whig in politics. He was popular, and universally respected. His successor, Horatio C. Newcomb, was also a Whig, a Pennsylvanian by birth, who located in Jennings County, Indiana, in 1836, and learned the saddler's trade there. Ill health caused him to leave this, and he studied law. In 1846 he came to Indianapolis and formed a partnership with Ovid Butler. On April 28, 1849, when only 28 years old, he was elected mayor of Indianapolis, receiving 612 out of the 775 votes cast. On April 26, 1851, he was re-elected, defeating John T. Morrison by 502 to 441. The *Sentinel*, in compli-

menting Morrison on his race, said: "It is probable that no other man in the city could have secured as many votes in opposition to the present incumbent." Judge Newcomb was always popular, and deservedly so. He was afterwards elected to the legislature several times, and when the Superior Court was organized he was one of the first judges, and in 1874 was re-elected to this position, his name being placed on both tickets. He also served as Sinking Fund commissioner and Supreme Court commissioner; edited the *Journal* from 1864 to 1868; and declined an appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Interior from President Grant. He died at Indianapolis May 23, 1882.

After serving six months of his second term, Mayor Newcomb resigned and Caleb Sudder was chosen by the city council to fill his place. He is always remembered as the cabinet maker who achieved fame by giving his shop for the use of the first Sunday School. On May 3, 1853, Mr. Sudder was re-elected, defeating George P. Buell by a vote of 992 to 559. In 1854 the Democrats had their first inning with James McCready, who defeated Caleb Sudder 1,313 to 650. McCready was born in New York City February 22, 1816. He was a tailor by trade, and came here in the fall of 1836 as a cutter for Samuel Turner, with whom he had been associated in the same fire company in New York. Turner broke up, and McCready started a shop of his own next to Mrs. Nowland's boarding-house—about 9 East Washington street. Later he moved across the street, just west of the Capitol house, and still later to the next block west, where Wasson's store is now located. In 1852 he was elected justice of the peace, and was called from this to the office of mayor. He was the popular tailor of the day, and was notable as the player of the bass trombone in the first Indianapolis band, as well as one of the star performers of the Indianapolis Thespian Corps. In 1855 he was re-elected, defeating Lawrence M. Vance, the Know-nothing candidate, 1,469 to 1,221. Mr. McCready removed, in 1903, to California and remained there for six years. He then returned to Indianapolis, and made his home with his son Frank (Benjamin Franklin), where he died

on October 9, 1909, at the advanced age of 93 years.

The Democrats won again at the election on May 6, 1856, their candidate, Henry F. West, defeating Sims A. Colley, Republican, 1,515 to 1,183, which was practically the vote all down the ticket. Mr. West was a very interesting character, and it is astonishing how little has been preserved concerning him



HENRY F. WEST.
(Fifth Mayor of Indianapolis.)

in local histories. He was born at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, March 14, 1796. On January 6, 1820, he married Betsey Mitchell, of Southberry, Connecticut, and soon after removed to Manchester, Clinton County, New York. A few years later he went to Pulatki, Oneida County, New York, then to Rochester, New York, then to Circleville, Ohio, and then to Dayton, where the first Mrs. West died in 1842. He came to Indianapolis about 1845. He engaged in various lines of business. He

had conducted a newspaper for a time in Ohio, and here he started an educational, semi-monthly, paper called the *Common School Advocate*, the first of the kind in Indiana, preceding the *Indiana School Journal* by a decade. It was devoted to the advocacy of free schools, and furnished the substantial arguments that made the Indianapolis school tax election of 1847 almost unanimous for free schools.⁸ It must also have had great weight in the campaign for free schools, which culminated in the constitutional provisions of 1851, and the school law of 1852; and in passing it may be added that more exclusive credit is commonly given to Caleb Mills for that result than is just; he did a great work, but there were others. What is preserved of Mr. West's writing shows him to have mastered the subject of free schools, and his heart was in the work.⁹ He later rendered great service as a member of the local school board. Mr. West also wrote for newspapers and magazines over the name "Viator". In company with his brother, George B. West, he started the book-selling firm of Henry F. West & Co., at what was then 18 W. Washington street. Wm. Stewart joined the firm, which was then known as West & Stewart. In 1854 the firm dissolved, and Stewart succeeded to the business, forming the partnership of Stewart & Bowen. After various changes, this firm consolidated in 1885 with the older but smaller house of Merrill & Meigs, as the Bowen-Merrill Co. Mr. West died in office, November 8, 1856, and was buried by the Masons, of whom he was a member of high standing; with a full turn-out of the firemen, militia, and civic organizations; lamented on every hand as a good man.

Following the death of Mayor West there was an interim until the special election of his successor, when the city council unanimously selected Charles Conlon as mayor. He was at the time a justice of the peace,

⁸*Sentinel*, January 12, 1847.

⁹The only copy of the *Common School Advocate* I have found is No. 2, of Vol. 1, which is bound in the back of a volume of Beecher's *Western Farmer and Gardener*, originally belonging to Judge H. P. Biddle, and now in the Indianapolis Public Library.

and an excellent one. He came of an old Huguenot family, his father being an army officer, and later a lawyer at Goettingen. Left an orphan at 14, he first acquired a liberal education and then learned the trade of making mathematical instruments. In 1847 he emigrated to America, and in 1852 settled at Indianapolis. Here his health became impaired, and he read law with Robert L. Walpole, and opened a real estate and law office. In 1856 he was elected a justice of the peace for a term of four years. In a political way his election as mayor was a break of Democratic rule. He was originally a Democrat, and having the usual liberal views of foreigners, he and Adolph Seidensticker were indulging in a game of billiards one Sunday when the minions of the law swooped down upon them, and haled them before Mayor McCready. It was a plain case, and the mayor imposed the statutory fine. Conlon was so angered over the affair that he swore he would never vote the Democratic ticket again, and he kept his vow. After his two weeks as mayor he resumed his service as justice of the peace, and then resumed the law. In 1863-4 he was school commissioner from the Seventh ward; and from 1864 to 1868 he served another term as justice of the peace.

The city clerk, Alfred Stephens, had died on October 14, and on November 22 a special election was held to fill the two vacancies. The Democrats nominated Nathaniel West for mayor, and Captain M. North for clerk. The Republicans nominated Frederick Stein for clerk and William John Wallace for mayor. The campaign was warmer than anything preceding, and became quite personal. Wallace was denounced as too ignorant for the office, and West as a member of the "Codfish aristocracy", who performed no labor but hunting and fishing, and who had taken the benefit of the bankruptcy law. In reality both were very excellent men. Wallace was the older brother of Andrew Wallace, and while not highly educated, was an intelligent and capable man, of many admirable qualities. The Wests were aristocratic—of one of the best families of New England, whose ancestors came over in the Mayflower. The head of the family established the old cotton mill where Sixteenth street crosses the canal

—better known to later generations as the coffin factory—and owned a farm running down to Tenth street. The factory gave the name of "Cottontown" to the neighborhood. Nathaniel West was a sportsman, and he had been bankrupt, but it was for the debts of others, and he had given up all he had in settlement. He was not of the same family as the deceased mayor. But the campaign compliments were warm enough to have served fifty years later.¹⁰

The personal issues apparently cut little figure either way. It was a party fight, and the young Republican party won its first victory in Indianapolis in that special election. Wallace was made mayor by a vote of 1,550 to 1,332, and Stein's majority was 150. William John Wallace was born in County Donegal, Ireland, March 16, 1814. He came to this country as a child with his parents, and they located at Madison, where he learned paper making with John Sheets, brother of William Sheets, of Indianapolis. Wallace came to Indianapolis in the forties, and was engaged in conducting a grocery when elected. His service as mayor was terminated by his nomination and election as county sheriff. He had been re-elected mayor in the spring of 1857, defeating N. B. Taylor by a vote of 1,736 to 1,585. In November he tendered his resignation to the council, but was persuaded to defer its taking effect to the next city election, May 3, 1858.¹¹ He served as sheriff to June 27, 1859, and was appointed to the office again on June 6, 1860, in place of John F. Gulick, resigned. He remained in the office till December 9, 1862, when he resigned, and resumed the grocery business on Washington street, west of Noble. He also engaged in brick-making, and managed his farm. He died on January 9, 1894. Mr. Wallace was a very active Union man, and served on several missions to soldiers in the field for Governor Morton. He also served as draft commissioner.¹²

The election of 1858 was warmly contested, both parties making special efforts to secure

the German vote. The Republicans nominated Samuel D. Maxwell, and the Democrats N. B. Palmer, both old citizens and highly respected. The result was practically on party lines throughout, Maxwell winning by a vote of 1,984 to 1,696. Samuel Dunn Maxwell was one of the first settlers, coming here with his father in March, 1820. He was born in Garrard County, Kentucky, February 19, 1803. In 1809 his father, John Maxwell, removed to Hanover, Indiana; and in 1813-14 served as a "ranger" in the militia organization. On one expedition his command penetrated to the Delaware towns on White River, and on the knowledge of the country he then obtained he determined to settle in it as soon as it was opened. The immigrating party consisted of John Maxwell and his two sons, Samuel D. and Irwin B.; John Cowan and his two sons; and two negro men, Aaron Wallace and Richard Morland. They located on Fall Creek near the present City Hospital, at the head of the bayou which was later made into a mill race; and each family cleared about seven acres of land and put it in corn. All then returned to Hanover except Samuel D. and one of the Cowan boys, who remained to attend to the crop. When the crop was "laid by" they also returned to Hanover, and in August came back with a wagonload of goods, the family following in November. Their residence was a cabin on Fall Creek near Indiana avenue and Maxwell street, in that vicinity, is named for Samuel D. He is also remembered as the leader of the singing at the first Presbyterian preaching ever held in Indianapolis. In 1822 he moved to Montgomery County, of which he was appointed sheriff by Governor Hendricks in April, 1823. On December 15, 1822, he married Sarah Cowan, of Crawfordsville. Later he removed to Clinton County, where he was the first clerk, in 1830. In 1855 he returned to Indianapolis, where he practiced law. He also had some ice-houses on the canal above Sixteenth street.

Mr. Maxwell was re-elected, after another warm campaign, on May 3, 1859, defeating James McCready, 1,895 to 1,462. The Democrats saved only two men on their ticket, Jefferson Springsteen for marshal, and Byron K. Elliott for city attorney. Mr. Maxwell was renominated in 1861, his opponent being

¹⁰*Scimitar*, November 17; *Journal*, November 19, 22, 1856.

¹¹*Journal*, May 3, 1858.

¹²See obituary notices and *Journal*, May 3, 1858.

James M. Braeken. The election on May 7 of that year was the quietest that had been seen in Indianapolis for years. The shadow of Fort Sumter was over the city, and men spoke with bated breath. The newspapers scarcely mentioned that an election was in prospect. On May 6, the *Journal* said: "In calling the attention of our readers to the fact that our municipal election is so close at hand, we do not intend to speak of the matter in a partizan manner. Since the attack on Fort Sumter political discussions in the city papers relative to city affairs have dropped, and the election will turn, in good part, on the position of the candidates relative to sustaining the general government in its efforts to put down rebellion and crush out treason. Those known to be firm Union men, who have no association with secession sympathizers, and are thereby not contaminated in the least, are entitled to the full confidence of the public and should receive the hearty and earnest support of all patriots."

To this ingenious non-partisan plea, the *Sentinel*, which was vigorously demanding the prompt suppression of the rebellion, indignantly answered that the Democratic ticket was composed of honest and capable men, pledged to city reform, and that "every man upon the ticket is not only loyal to the constitution, but is willing to respond to every call made by the Government, either National or State, to defend its honor and maintain its integrity, whether by personal services or material aid and comfort, as may be required of them. It is not the men who are the loudest in professions of patriotism that do the fighting when the hour of trial arrives, and when the country needs their services". These two articles were practically the whole discussion of the campaign. The Republican ticket was elected throughout, Maxwell receiving 2,078 votes to Braeken's 1,390. Mr. Maxwell was desired to be a candidate again in 1863, but his health had failed and his doctor told him he must give up public life. He went South and settled at Grand Gulf, Mississippi, from where he was brought home to Indianapolis fatally ill in 1873. He died on July 3, 1873, at the home of his son-in-law, Lewis Jordan.¹³

¹³*News*, July 5, 1873.

In 1863 both parties nominated tickets, the Republican candidate for mayor being John Caven, and the Democratic candidate G. W. Pitts. On May 2 the entire Democratic ticket withdrew from the contest, giving as reasons the refusal of the Republican authorities to allow them any representation on the election boards, and the mob violence at the polls at the township elections in April. The *Journal* denounced the charges as false, and "the withdrawal of the copperhead city ticket" a sham. It said the Democrats were then colonizing voters, and that if the "Union men" slackened their efforts they would be trapped. It averred that "at the present election they were tendered a fair representation of Union Democrats, though not of K. G. C.'s,"¹⁴ and the distinction was right." In other words, they were offered former Democrats who had left the party, and were refused representation by men acting with the party. At the election 2,889 votes were cast for Caven, and 8 against, the latter classed as "Butternut votes" by the *Journal*. In 1865 the Democrats put no ticket in the field, and Mr. Caven was again elected, receiving all of the 2,241 votes cast, as reported.

It was fortunate for all concerned that the city fell under control of so excellent a man as John Caven during this period for partisan feeling was running high and the large number of soldiers located here from time to time caused an influx of the classes that prey on such gatherings of men. He was born in Alleghany County, Pennsylvania, April 12, 1824, of Scotch-Irish and Scotch-English parentage, and came to Indianapolis in 1845. In his youth he became familiar with labor, in the coal mine, the salt-works, the flatboat. His school privileges were limited, but he had a desire for knowledge and a taste for reading that made him a self-educated man of much more than ordinary attainment. In 1847 he began the study of law in the office of Oliver H. Smith and Simon Yandes. He was duly admitted to the bar and practised thereafter except

¹⁴Knights of the Golden Circle—all Democrats acting with their party were uniformly called "copperheads," "butternuts," "Southern sympathizers," etc., by the *Journal*, especially before elections.

one year—1851-2—employed in coal mining. His administration was admirable, and made him many friends, who were of value to him in his later contests with the popular Major Mitchell. Mr. Cayen was elected to the state senate in 1868 for a term of four years; and in 1875 he was brought out for mayor against Mitchell, who had astounded the Republicans by getting elected in 1873. Cayen won by only 8,805 to 8,320, while the Republican candidates for treasurer, clerk and assessor had majorities of over 1,000. In 1877 he defeated Mitchell again, after a very warm fight, in which the negro vote loomed large, by a vote of 7,324 to 6,194. In 1879 he defeated Edward C. Buskirk, 7,985 to 6,001. These last three times covered the disturbed period of financial depression, 1875-80, including the so-called "bread-riots", and the great railroad strike of 1877, which will be considered in connection with the railroad development.

Cayen's successor in 1867 was Gen. Dan Macaulay, a man of great personal popularity. Handsome, dashing, ready, Indianapolis never had a man who appeared to better advantage in a parade or a public function of any kind; and even his political enemies conceded that as a "general utility man" he was unsurpassed. He defeated Col. B. C. Shaw, in 1867, by 3,317 to 2,318; John Fishback in 1869 by 2,843 to 2,797; and Fishback again in 1871 by 4,535 to 3,675,—and these were formidable opponents. Daniel Macaulay was of Irish parentage, born in New York City September 8, 1839. Left an orphan at ten, he learned the book-binding business and worked at the trade in Buffalo till 1860, when he came to this city and worked for Bingham & Doughty. At the beginning of the war he enlisted as a private in the "Indianapolis Zouaves" which formed a company of Lew Wallace's 11th Indiana. He was elected first lieutenant of his company, and appointed adjutant by Wallace before the regiment left for the field. Within a year he was a major; in September, 1862, lieutenant-colonel; in March, 1863, colonel. He was twice brevetted brigadier general for service in battle, and commanded a brigade for a year. For five years he missed only 30 days of service, and in them he saw much hard fighting. A bullet

went through his leg at Vicksburg, and another lodged in his hip at Cedar Creek, Virginia, on the day of "Sheridan's Ride". After the war he engaged in the book-binding business in Indianapolis until elected mayor. After his service as mayor he was for a time superintendent of the city water company, and for several years manager of the Academy of Music. He left Indianapolis in 1880. He held a position in the treasury department under President Harrison, and later became connected with the Maritime Canal Company, operating in Nicaragua. He died in Nicaragua in April, 1894; and his remains were brought to Washington and buried at Arlington on June 22, 1899, near the graves of two other Indiana soldiers, Walter Q. Gresham and Henry W. Lawton. On May 30 his old comrades dedicated a modest monument, at that place, to his memory.

The spring of 1873 saw the first Democrat for a generation in the mayor's office, in the person of Maj. James L. Mitchell. The campaign and election were very quiet. There was a great deal of dissatisfaction among Republicans, and he made his campaign on a nonpartisan basis. He had been nominated by the Democrats when he was absent from the city, but consented to accept and make the race. The Republicans nominated Capt. William D. Wiles, and Mitchell defeated him 5,878 to 5,100. The rest of the Republican ticket were elected. The *Scimitar* said of the result: "In the selection of Major Mitchell there is nothing savoring of a partisan triumph. It is not, beyond all else, a Democratic triumph. Liberalized Republicans made his calling certain and his election sure." Major Mitchell was born in Shelby County, Kentucky, September 29, 1834. His parents moved to Monroe County, Indiana, when he was eight years old. He worked on the farm, and at nineteen entered the State University, graduating in 1858. He then read law with his uncle, John L. Ketcham, with whom he later formed a partnership. He entered the army July 16, 1862, being commissioned adjutant in the Seventieth Indiana, Gen. Benjamin Harrison's regiment; and served through the war. From November, 1861, he was on the staff of Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau. He re-

sumed the practice of the law after the war, and in 1886 was nominated by the Democrats for prosecuting attorney of Marion and Hendricks Counties. He was elected, and re-elected in 1888. After completing his term he resumed the practice of law, which he continued till his death on February 21, 1894.

At the close of Mayor Cayen's long period of service in 1881 the Republicans nominated Daniel W. Grubbs for mayor. Mr. Grubbs was a native of Henry County, Indiana, and in his youth served an apprenticeship in the office of the *Newcastle Courier*. He came to Indianapolis in 1857, and took up the study of law in the office of William Henderson. After admission to the bar he was associated for a time in practice with E. B. Martindale. He went out as a private in Co. B, 132d Indiana Volunteer Infantry, in the one hundred day service. He did not appear in politics until 1877 when he was elected to the Board of Aldermen, and there served as president of the Police Board until 1880. The Democrats nominated Prof. J. H. Smart, who had just finished his term as Superintendent of Public Instruction. This clever political move was probably inspired by Governor Hendricks, who presided at the Democratic city convention. Professor Smart was a man of high character and attainments and was in general esteem. However, Mr. Grubbs won out by a vote of 7,182 to 6,665. After the close of his term, in 1884, Mr. Grubbs went to Parral, Mexico, where he engaged in the banking business until 1903, and then retired from active business. For several years past he has resided at Harrodsburg, Kentucky.

In 1883 the contest for the mayoralty was between John L. McMaster, Republican, and Gabriel Schmuck, Democrat. McMaster was not seeking the nomination, but was requested to allow his name to be used two or three days before the convention. He was nominated without any canvass by him, and was elected by a vote of 8,657 to 8,387. John Lennox McMaster was born at Rutland, Meigs County, Ohio, February 9, 1843. He

enlisted in the Second West Virginia Cavalry, and served until November, 1864. After the war he entered Ohio University, at Athens, Ohio, from which he graduated in 1869. He then entered Cincinnati law school, and graduated in 1870. He came here in October, 1870, with Augustin Boice, and formed the law firm of McMaster & Boice, which continued until his election to the bench. He became mayor on January 1, 1884, the law of succession having been changed during the term of his predecessor. Before becoming mayor he had been a candidate for judge of the Superior Court in 1882, and had been defeated by Napoleon B. Taylor, in the sweep of a general Democratic victory. In 1894 he was again nominated for judge of the Superior Court and was elected. He was re-elected in 1898, 1902 and 1906, and still holds this office.

There were two other mayors prior to the adoption of the present city charter, Caleb S. Denny, Republican, and Thomas L. Sullivan, Democrat. Mr. Denny, on October 13, 1885, defeated Thomas G. Cottrell by the narrow margin of 9,098 against 9,038. He was re-elected October 11, 1887, over Dr. George F. Edenharter, by a vote of 9,960 to 9,186. On October 8, 1889, Judge Thomas L. Sullivan was elected over Gen. John Coburn by a vote of 11,363 to 9,570. On October 13, 1891, he defeated William W. Herod, 14,320 to 11,598. As both of these mayors served under the new charter, further mention of them will be made hereafter. It may be mentioned that city elections were held in April until the adoption of the general city law of 1852, and thereafter on the first Tuesday in May, until 1883, when began elections on the second Tuesday in October. Also, that during the early city period, from 1847 to 1891, the mayor was a judicial officer, serving as police judge, or its equivalent. As the city grew, this came to be the most onerous part of the mayor's duties, for he heard practically all of the cases of arrests by the city police, for minor offenses.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE VOLUNTEER FIRE COMPANIES.

The first fire in Indianapolis of which there is any record was the burning of Thomas Carter's new frame tavern, on Washington street opposite the court house, on January 17, 1825. There was no fire organization at the time, but the citizens turned out en masse and saved most of the furniture except some beds, and a quantity of flour, which were stored in the rear of the building where the fire originated. Some of the volunteers were so enthusiastic in the rescue that they chopped down the post in front of the tavern to save the new sign it carried, and were much abashed to see it break to splinters when it fell. Notwithstanding this warning a year more passed without a fire company, but on June 20, 1826, the Indianapolis Fire Company was organized under the state law of 1821, which permitted forty or more citizens of a town to form a company, and make rules and regulations for themselves, for infractions of which they could impose fines, collectable before a justice of the peace. This company had no apparatus but leather buckets and ladders, and alarms were given by ringing the church bell. Its president was John Hawkins, and the secretary James M. Ray. Fortunately it was not much called on for service, and its protection was considered satisfactory until the building of the new state house introduced the new factor of a building too high for any of the ladders in use, and too valuable to be left with no protection.

The legislature considered the matter and on February 7, 1835, passed an act conditioned on the people of Indianapolis subscribing "one-half the amount required to purchase a first-rate fire engine and a suitable quantity of hose for the same"; if this

were done, the act directed the treasurer of state to purchase 25 fire buckets and four ladders long enough to reach to the top of the state house, to pay half the cost of the engine and hose, and to erect a building for the engine. The people at once began a movement for the acceptance of this offer by a public meeting at the Methodist church on February 12, at which Governor Ray presided and A. W. Morris acted as secretary. It was decided to get a list of signatures of those who were willing to join a company, and to ask the trustees to levy a special tax, or otherwise co-operate with the state in the purchase. The matter was pushed during the summer, the county board contributing \$100, and in August Treasurer Palmer advertised for bids for the engine house. It was a one-story frame building, 14x20, on a brick foundation, with a double door at the front, and stood on the north side of the Circle just west of Meridian street. In 1837 the city added a second story to it which was used for a council chamber and city offices. The engine, named the Marion, a second-hand end-brake hand engine, was bought of Merriek & Co. of Philadelphia for \$1,800, and arrived here in September, 1835. During that and the following year five public wells were dug for fire protection. The old bucket company was merged in the new organization, which rejoiced in the name of the Marion Fire, Hose and Protection Company.

On January 20, 1838, this company was incorporated under the name of the Marion Fire Engine Company by "Caleb Scudder, Nicholas McCarty, Benj. E. Blythe, Calvin Fletcher, and not more than 300 others." By the incorporation act, the members were "exempt from militia duties except in case



(W. H. B. Photo Company.)

OUTLINE MAP, 1857.

(Showing populated districts at various periods.)

of insurrection or invasion, and from service on juries in justices courts, and from the payment of poll tax for county purposes, and road tax for personal privilege, and they shall, after ten years' service in said company, be forever thereafter exempt from the performance of militia duties except in case of insurrection or invasion". For five years this company and its engine constituted the fire department. Caleb Scudder was the first captain, and he was followed by James Blake, Dr. John L. Mothershead and others. The company occupied the house on the Circle until it was burned down in 1851, some people believing it was fired by some member of the company, which was demanding better quarters. Most of the early town records were lost in the fire. A new and substantial brick house was then built for the company at the corner of Massachusetts avenue and New York street, where the fire headquarters is now located, and the company occupied this till it disbanded in 1859. It used the old Marion until 1858, when a fine side-brake engine was purchased for it by the city; which, having been little used, was sold in 1860 to the town of Peru for \$2,130.

In 1840 a second engine was added to the Marions' equipment. It was also a second-hand end-brake engine, but in good condition, called the Good Intent. It ran with the Marion until arrangements could be made for a division of the company. An act was passed by the legislature on February 4, 1841, extending all the rights and privileges of the Marion company to "forty or more of the citizens of Indianapolis" who should form an additional fire company, selecting such name as they might desire. Under this act a part of the Marions, under the lead of John H. Wright, one of the leading merchants and pioneer pork-packers of the city, organized the Independent Relief Company, and went into business with the Good Intent. During most of its existence this company was housed in a two-story building south of Washington on Meridian street, now covered by the establishment of L. S. Ayres & Co. It used the Good Intent until 1849, when it was furnished with a "row-boat" engine, on which the men were seated, and worked the brakes horizontally. This was

used until 1858, when by the aid of the council and subscriptions of citizens a powerful end-brake engine was purchased and put in use. The company was chartered by special act of January 21, 1850, which gave additional powers for holding property. When the company disbanded in 1859, there was difficulty with the city authorities over the ownership of the engines, but in February, 1860, the company compromised by surrendering everything to the city but the old "row-boat", which was broken up and sold a few weeks later.

There were no separate hose companies in the days of the volunteers, though there were hose reels for the several companies, but the companies divided themselves into hose men and engine men. In 1843 a hook and ladder company was organized and the necessary hooks, ladders, axes, buckets and wagon were procured for it. It disbanded with the rest of the volunteer department in 1859, but was reorganized in 1860, and located in the house formerly occupied by the Invincibles on North New Jersey street. In 1849 the Western Liberties Company was organized in the western part of the city, taking the Good Intent when the Reliefs got their "row-boat." They occupied a house in the point between Washington street and the National Road until 1857, when a brick house was built for them on the south side of Washington, east of California street, now occupied by engine No. 6. At their first location, the Westerns, as they were commonly called, were the only company that did not have a bell, but used for alarm purposes a large triangle which was quite as alarming. In April, 1857, a new hand-brake engine called the Indiana was bought for them, and used until they disbanded. In May, 1852, the Invincible Company was organized, chiefly by Germans, and a rather small hand-brake engine called the Victory was bought for them. They had a brick house on the east side of New Jersey street, half a square north of Washington, on the site made notorious later by the establishment of "Queen Mabb". The Victory was a light and serviceable engine, and was used until 1857, when the Conqueror, a fine hand-brake engine, was purchased for the company and used until August, 1859. The company then disbanded,

but reorganized as part of the paid department, and served until the summer of 1860, when it disbanded permanently and the Conqueror was soon after sold to Ft. Wayne.

In 1855 the Union company was organized on the south side, and a two-story brick house was built for it on South street, just east of the present St. Vincent's Hospital. A large Jeffers hand-brake engine was purchased for them, and was named "Spirit of 7 and 6" because the company represented those two wards, but it was more commonly known as "the Spirit of Seventy-six". The company was disbanded in November, 1859, and after some unsuccessful effort to reorganize it under the paid department, the engine was given in part pay, at \$600, to the Seneca Falls Company for steam engine No. 3, which was afterwards located at the Union's house. The last volunteer company organized was the Northwestern Fire Company, commonly known as The Rovers. It had a house on Indiana avenue, and was using one of the old engines, after its organization in March, 1858, until a new one could be purchased, when the evidences of pending rupture became so strong that the purchase proceedings were stopped, and the company disbanded with the others in 1859. There should be mentioned, however, two additional organizations which do not seem to have had equal official standing. In December, 1849, a number of boys, who could not get into the regular companies on account of youth, organized the "O. K. Bucket Company", and got possession of the old buckets, ladders and wagon of the original Indianapolis Fire Company. What they lacked in equipment they made up in enthusiasm, and were successful in reaching so many fires first, and putting out so many "incipient conflagrations" that the council bought them a new wagon and buckets and furnished them a house, which was located on Meridian street above Maryland, about where Kip's notion store now is. They disbanded in 1854, reorganized in 1855, disbanded again in 1856 to reorganize as an engine company, taking the old Victory when the Invincibles got the Conqueror. In May, 1858, the Young America Hook and Ladder Company was formed, and was supplied with apparatus in June, which it used until it disbanded in November, 1859.

The fire companies were given powers commensurate with the duties they were expected to perform. By the elaborate fire ordinance of April 24, 1846, the council was to appoint annually a "chief fireward", and each organized company an "assistant fireward", who were required to appear promptly at any fire, when alarm had been given, with their "badge of office, which shall be a pole five feet in length, painted red." The firewards and officers of the engine and hose companies were given authority to "command all resident citizens to form into line for the purpose of conveying water to the engines, or to render any aid that may be deemed necessary". A citizen who refused was subject to fine of \$1 to \$20. They also had power to order a building pulled down, blown up, or otherwise removed during the progress of a fire if deemed necessary. The owners of buildings having fireplaces or stoves were required to have ladders reaching to the ridge, and fire buckets, one to every three fireplaces or stoves. The firewards could also require buildings to be repaired if dangerous, seize gunpowder if kept in quantities over 25 pounds, and cause fires made in streets or alleys to be extinguished, if considered dangerous.

In the early times membership in a fire company was almost a badge of good citizenship for the able-bodied. Everybody wanted to help. Ministers were exempt from duty on call, but they often waived their privilege. Henry Ward Beecher was noted for fighting temporal fires with as much vigor as he did the eternal kind. There was a spirit of fellowship in the companies that made them very potent political and social influences; in fact they became ultimately, as in many other cities, almost dictatorial in their political power. Among the members of the companies whose names are best remembered were John Coburn, Joseph K. English, Berry Sulgrave and Thomas Buchanan, who were all captains of the Marions; Col. N. R. Ruele, the last running officer, and Gen. Fred Knefler, the pipeman of the Marions, with Henry Coburn, John D. Morris, Hiram Seibert, James Ferguson, Samuel Wallace, Aaron Clem, Milton Sulgrave and George H. West, of the same company; Byron K. Elliott, George W. Sloan, James

McCready, William Mansur, Alex Graydon, E. S. Tyler, Paul Sherman, Taylor Elliott and John C. New of the Independent Reliefs; Charles Richmann, Emanuel Haugh and Joseph W. Davis of the Invincibles; John Marsee, Thomas G. Cottrell, Frank and Dan Glazier of the Unions; W. O. ("Deck") Sherwood, Michael G. Fitchey and Isaac Thalman of the Westerns.

The council elected Thomas M. Smith "chief fire warden" on September 5, 1846, and, for some unknown reason, there was no subsequent annual election of a "chief fireward" as provided by the ordinance. On March 7, 1853, the council abandoned the special city charter, and adopted the general city incorporation act of June 18, 1852, as the city charter. This provided for a chief fire engineer and two assistants, and Joseph Little was elected chief, with Berry Sulgrove and William King as assistants. By this time the companies were becoming somewhat unruly. Many of the original members, who represented the conservative sentiment of the community had dropped out under the "ten years service" provision, and the ranks were filled with younger men. The council sought to curb the power of the companies by making them understand that obedience to city authority would be the price of city aid. The companies met the intimation by organizing the Fire Association, which was composed of delegates from each company, and held monthly meetings in the upper room of the Relief company on Meridian street. Berry R. Sulgrove was the first president of this, and it was at once recognized as the representative of the whole body of firemen. From the first each company had elected its own officers—a captain (also president), secretary, treasurer, engine directors and hose directors, the "messenger" being formally chosen by the council, and paid \$50 a year for keeping the apparatus in order, but really being named by the companies. The Fire Association also came to a tacit power to name the clerk of the council, and practically to dictate the fire appropriations, and the growth of their demands may be judged from the extensive purchase of new apparatus in 1857 and 1858. The people objected to the expense, and so

did the council, for it made a dearth of funds for other purposes.

There was another feature that caused a sentiment against the companies. Many of the members were in the organization "for the fun of the thing," and they unquestionably got a great deal of fun out of it. Much of this was quite harmless, and grew out of the commendable rivalry of the companies in getting the first water on fires. This naturally developed contests in badinage and occasional free fights, but no lasting bitterness. Indeed there was remarkable good nature in all their horse-play. The Invincibles, being largely Germans, were dubbed "the Wooden Shoes" by the other companies, while the Reliefs—or Good Intent—were sometimes called "Swallow Tails" and sometimes "Silk Stockings," but by the Invincibles, who regarded the Reliefs as special rivals, they were called the "Shanghai's". The Germans of the Invincibles being addicted to music had a sort of battle-hymn, which originated when Emanuel Haugh was their captain, a fragment of which, as their rivals claimed they sang it, ran:

"Man Haugh is our captain,
Vere he leads ye go;
I run mit de Wooden Shoes,
Trow, Wictory, trow."

There was a chorus running:

"Trow, Wictory, trow,
Trow, Wictory, trow,
De Shanghai's has no wasser,
Trow, Wictory, trow."

And another refrain that is handed down, is:

"Trow, Wictory, trow,
Man Haugh is our president;
He makes us wax de Good Intent;
Trow, Wictory, trow."

With all their rivalry the companies had little trouble about getting together when they scented common prey, and one of their diversions was "washing out" houses of ill fame. This was not altogether pure deviltry, for, after the railroads were opened, the

river towns, especially Cincinnati, used to furnish us with some very undesirable citizens; and, sometimes on complaints of neighbors, and sometimes on a tip from the police that a resort was becoming obnoxious, the department would go through it. It is wonderful that no serious affrays resulted from these affairs, but none did. A male attache of one place on Washington street once undertook to use a shot-gun, but he was promptly hustled out of the way before doing any damage. The nearest serious results was at a place on North New Jersey street where a Cincinnati outfit had located, much to the disgust of the neighbors. The companies decided to act, and had their hose laid, when the proprietress appeared at the door with a big six-barreled pepper-box and opened fire. All of the pipemen vamoosed but one plucky fellow who danced around to dodge bullets and yelled lustily for "water". Finally the water came, and when a solid stream struck the defender in the pit of the stomach she keeled over and went into the wash. They say the like of that wetting was never seen. They washed out closets, bureau drawers, everything; and when they got through there was not a dry hook and eye in the house. In July, 1857, there was some resistance to visitations to a couple of places in the western part of the city which led to the arrest and fining of several firemen for riot, but this had no notable restraining effect. On the contrary the *Locomotive*, which was the conscience-keeper of the community at the time, justified the offense, and it was followed within a month by several other affairs of the same kind.

But all of this sort of reform work begot a disregard of property rights, and when, one year, some injudicious insurance men offered two prizes, a silver trumpet and a silver piteher, to the companies making the best records for getting first and second water on fires during the year, it was not surprising that there were numerous charges of incendiarism. There were astoundingly numerous alarms from fires in old and isolated buildings, to which some company responded with strange rapidity. One old timer says that whenever he saw a fire captain step out of the house with his trumpet he knew there would be an alarm very quickly. At this

time, in preparation for the building of the Yohn Block, at the northeast corner of Washington and Meridian streets, the old frame building that stood there had been raised on props preparatory to removal, having been purchased by a colored citizen. This last feature was in the nature of a public affront, for no "airs" were tolerated from the colored population in those days, even in Indianapolis. Passing on the opposite side, after supper, a member of the Reliefs heard a cry of fire, and saw that one was starting in this building. He sped away to the engine-house half-a-block below, yelling "fire!" and grabbed the tongue for the run. In a trice he was tripped up, and as he rose from the floor a husky voice admonished him, "Keep still, you d—d fool." He explained that he meant no offense, and after a brief wait a watchman called, "Here come the Wooden Shoes!" Then the ropes were manned in a jiffy, and the Good Intent got first water—but it did not put out the fire. Nor did any other company. If it looked like it might become dangerous to adjoining property they would smother it down; and then they would turn the hose on each other and on the crowd, until they had fooled away most of the night, and there was not enough left of the burning building to be worth moving. Of course everything was denied publicly, but there were numerous curious events, and not a little of slanderous gossip.

The companies might have outlived all this if they had not fallen out among themselves. Joseph Little had been followed as chief engineer by Jacob Fidler in 1854, Charles W. Purcell in 1855, Samuel Keeley in 1856, Andrew Wallace in 1857, and Joseph W. Davis in 1858. Davis had been captain of the Invincibles, and was one of these positive characters who make strong friends and equally strong enemies. Charges were made against the fairness of his election and also of his management, and the dissensions in the department became acrimonious. In 1859 an effort was made to restore harmony by electing John E. Foundray chief engineer. He had not been a member of any company, but there was soon as much objection made to him as to Davis. On August 13, 1859, the council added the last straw by instructing



North Side, Illinois to Meridian.



North Side, Meridian to Pennsylvania.



South Side, Pennsylvania to Meridian.



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

Little's Hotel.

State Bank.

Court House.

WASHINGTON STREET VIEWS IN 1854.

the committee on fire department to ascertain on what terms a steam fire engine could be procured. The first steam fire engine had been built in the United States in 1853, but they were rapidly gaining favor not only on account of efficiency but also because, as Miles Greenwood said, they "neither drank whisky nor threw brickbats". The companies were alarmed, and with cause. At that time Joseph K. English, of the Marions, was president of the Fire Association and also councilman from the first ward. On August 27 he introduced a resolution that "in the opinion of this council it is inexpedient at this time to attempt any reorganization of the Fire Department of this city", which was laid on the table. On August 30 it was taken up, discussed, and lost, the vote standing, Ayes: English, Haughey, Kuhlman, McNabb, Pratt and Wallace; Noes: Cottrell, Geisendorff, Locke, Metzger, Richmann, Seibert, Tilley and Vandegrift. A resolution that it was expedient to reorganize the fire department, and that a committee of five be appointed to prepare a plan, was then introduced and passed by a vote of 10 to 4, Haughey and Wallace joining the reorganizers. For this committee Mayor Maxwell named Richmann, Geisendorff, McNabb, Vandegrift and Wallace. On motion Locke and English were added.

On September 4 the majority of the committee reported a plan to continue the present companies in active service, to purchase at once a third-class steam engine with hose reel and equipment, and to issue bonds in payment. The minority, English and McNabb, recommended indefinite postponement; they urged that "whilst we admit the superiority of a paid fire department in some respects, over the present volunteer system, and while we are willing to admit that the present department is not as active in some of its branches as it might be", the expense was too great to be undertaken, and "we also believe that the present department can be made efficient and even respectable if the proper course be taken by the city council". They also offered a resolution "that for the encouragement of the present volunteer department all good citizens be requested to rebuke persons who have either wilfully or ignorantly abused and slandered the members

of the fire department, by joining some of the fire companies now existing". The minority report was quickly put to rest, and the majority report, after being amended to provide for a committee to inquire at what price an engine could be bought, and whether it could be paid for in bonds, was adopted. The committee appointed was composed of Locke, Cottrell and Richmann. At the same meeting a committee composed of Vandegrift, Richmann and Metzger, which had been appointed to investigate the demands of the companies for new hose, reported that there was plenty of hose which needed only to be oiled and put in repair, and that they had taken the liberty of ordering this to be done. (The councilmen were fire wardens under the charter law.) This report was accepted, and the committee was directed to see that its orders were carried into effect.

The committee of inquiry proceeded to business by soliciting both bids and exhibitions from the engine manufacturers, which met favorable responses. On September 23 and 24 a Latta engine was exhibited here at the county fair, and tried before the committee at the Palmer House cistern—corner of Illinois and Washington streets. On October 15, and again on the 22d, a Lee & Larned engine was tried at the canal. On October 22 the committee reported that city bonds could be sold at 93 cents or could be used at that figure in the purchase of an engine; that the Latta and Lee & Larned companies had both made offers which were submitted; and recommended that a committee of three be appointed with discretionary power to purchase an engine as soon as possible. The Latta company offered to furnish an engine for \$5,500 in bonds, and the Lee & Larned company made an offer for \$4,600. On October 29 the Lee & Larned offer was accepted, and also a motion, offered by Councilman Wallace, was adopted that the insurance company giving the largest amount, \$500 or upwards, and paying for the lettering on the engine, might name it. It is not recorded that this chance for advertisement was utilized.

The relations of the companies and the council now became tense. On November 12 a resolution was offered in council that "whereas it is reported that the volunteer

fire companies are in a state of rebellion and refuse to render service at fires." the council buy two engines and hose wagons, buy four horses, hire six men to take charge of the equipment, and employ 40 men to work the engines. No action was taken then, but it was evident that there would be, and on that day Councilman English resigned. On November 14, the council, by an unanimous vote, suspended the rules and passed an ordinance disbanding the volunteer companies. It then passed another organizing a paid department with Joseph W. Davis as chief engineer. Then followed a resolution for two engine companies and a hook and ladder company, the first engine company, under Capt. Charles Richmann to take the Conqueror engine and the Invincible's house; the second, under Capt. W. O. Sherwood, to take the Indiana, No. 4, engine and the Western's house; and the hook and ladder company, under Capt. W. W. Darnall, to take the apparatus and horse of the old company on the west end of the Market Square. Councilmen Wallace, Vandegrift and Geisendorff were appointed a committee to carry the resolution into effect and make such contracts as might be needed.

On November 19, Richmann reported that his company was organized and 25 men employed. Darnall reported that he could not organize the hook and ladder company unless a horse were furnished to haul the truck, which was quite heavy. Sherwood reported that he was unable to organize a company, and that the cause of the failure was objection to Chief Engineer Davis. Mr. Cottrell at once offered a motion that, inasmuch as the western part of the city had failed to organize, the engine be located at the No. 5 house, provided a company organized there. This was lost, and the milder course was taken of directing the chief engineer to furnish a list of names to Captain Sherwood, and that he accept them "if sober and competent men". At the same meeting the committee which had been appointed to buy horses reported the purchase of four, and recommended the purchase of two more, one of which should be for the hook and ladder company; which recommendation was adopted. On November 26, Sherwood and Darnall reported their companies organized and ready

for service. At this meeting the council took up the resignation of Mr. English, and adopted unanimously a resolution reciting that he had resigned "for the reason that he was an unfiring and uncompromising friend of the Volunteer Fire Department, and preferred to retire rather than to assist in instituting a paid fire department"; that "we appreciate his efforts in behalf of the Volunteer Fire Department, and regret that we were deprived of his services in instituting the new department"; and that the council "bear testimony that he was faithful and honest in all his official acts while legislating for the city, and we feel his loss from our council chamber". This oil for the troubled waters was introduced by Councilman Andy Wallace, who was a wise man in his generation, even if he did later write a letter to one of the city papers criticising the City Library because it contained "the pernicious works of Boeos".

The atmosphere now began to clear. On December 3 the Reliefs submitted a compromise proposition offering to surrender their new engine and all apparatus except the old rowboat engine if the city would pay the sum of \$742.15, which was still due on the engine. This was at once accepted. On January 14, 1860, the Marions submitted a proposition to surrender all of their property if the city would pay the amounts still due on the same. This was referred to a committee, which found the amount due to be \$99.39, and the offer was accepted. With these transactions the relations of the city and the volunteer companies closed, and an epoch in the city's history ended. It is gratifying that the ending was such as to leave no bitterness. There has always been a warm feeling for the men who for more than a quarter of a century fought the city's battles against fire, and there have been no better friends of the paid department than the old-time fire laddies who had learned from experience what fire service meant.

During the time of the volunteer department, fires were neither numerous nor extensive as measured by the standards of today. Coal oil and gasoline were not in use, and flues were not of intricate construction. The framework of buildings was heavier, and pine was not in use, so that some of the features

of modern "slow-burning construction" were in general use. And people were more careful, possibly because more of them in proportion occupied their own homes and did not feel the tenant's lack of responsibility. The first recorded fire was Carter's tavern in 1825, as noted, and the second is said to have been the residence of Nicholas McCarty about 1827. Henry Brady's residence was destroyed by fire July 15, 1832. The next of importance recorded was Scudder & Hannaman's tobacco factory on Kentucky avenue in 1838, which is said to have caused a loss of \$10,000, uninsured. On February 4, 1843, Washington Hall was damaged to the extent of \$3,000, and only saved from destruction by hard work of the engine companies and hundreds of citizens who formed bucket lines. The weather was very cold, the water freezing whenever it fell away from the fire. This was the great Whig hotel, and possibly for that reason efforts were made to burn it in May, 1848.¹ A fire on Washington street on May 14, 1848, burned out two or three stores, and threatened others, but was finally extinguished by the combined efforts of the engines and the citizens, women aiding in the bucket lines.² Another on December 27,

1848, burned Stretcher's furniture store, Cox's warehouse and Noel & Co.'s warehouse.³ The old Hannaman mill burned in January, 1851, while occupied by Merritt & Coughlen. In 1853 there were some trying fires. The first was the large stables back of the Wright House, on August 10. Several other buildings took fire from this, but by great efforts of citizens and firemen the destruction was confined to the stables. On November 16, 1853, the old Steam Mill burned, and gave most of the community an exhausting task. The bad year closed with the burning of Keshaw & Sinker's foundry in December. The old ferry-house was damaged by fire on November 27, 1855, and Carlisle's mill was burned on January 18, 1856. In 1857 the foundry of Ira Davis & Co. at Delaware and Pogue's Run was destroyed by fire. The year 1858 was another bad one, witnessing the burning of Ferguson's pork house, Allen May's pork house, and the old city foundry, which was then occupied by E. C. Atkins with an incipient saw works. Atkins then built and occupied a small shop near the same place, which burned in June, 1859. The burning of Hill's saw mill on East street, in October, 1859, closed the era of the volunteer companies.

¹*Locomotive*, May 27, June 3, 1848.

²*Locomotive*, May 20, 1848.

³*Locomotive*, December 30, 1848.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SOME OLD-TIME RELIGION.

(By Mrs. ANNA C. BAGGS.)¹

I cannot remember when I was not religiously inclined. The bible I have read and studied from childhood. I enjoyed the large family bible that lay on the stand in my mother's room when I was not tall enough to read it with ease. It was what we called a candle-stand. There was always a white cover, with netted fringe around it, on that stand, and on top the bible. I had a little green wooden stool upon which I stood to make me high enough to look at the pictures, and read in the good book. The schools were very different then and now. What difficult text books we had! No simplified work for us! At eight years of age I was in the large-dictionary spelling class, where we were compelled to commit a column of words with their definitions daily. Josephus Cicero Worrall was our teacher; woe be unto us if we did not have our lessons. In this same school were the Wallace, Coburn and Dunlap boys. I next attended a Methodist school for two years, taught by a Miss Lescour. She was not much of a teacher—at least she did not appeal to me. She was a cranky maiden lady. When I was eleven years old, my

brother arrived at the age of twenty-one, and I chose him for my personal guardian, and Mr. Samuel Beck (an old friend of the family) for my property guardian. My brother sent me to St. Mary's Seminary, an Episcopalian school. Dr. Samuel Johnson was rector of the church and also principal of the school. His wife, Julia (afterwards Mrs. Stoughton A. Fletcher), was his assistant. Dr. Johnson, both as rector and as teacher, was true to his pupils. He helped us both intellectually and spiritually. I think he was disappointed that I did not choose the Episcopalian church, but I told him I could not be a true church woman, because I believed in other denominations, and that there were other churches as good as the Episcopalian.

In the fall of 1846 Dr. Gillette was sent to Roberts Chapel. He was one of nature's noblemen, a thoroughly consecrated Christian minister, so graceful and courteous in manner. Having been educated in the navy, he remained in the navy for two or three years after his conversion; then he felt the call to preach, and entered the Methodist itineracy. His sermons abounded in nautical expressions. He seemed to know the bible from the first verse of Genesis to the last verse of Revelation. His charming manners first attracted me; he was so gentle in his bearing to everyone. I was the first young person he spoke to on the subject of religion, in Indianapolis. He was especially interested in me because I was an orphan. He began protracted meetings about the first of January, 1847. It was my last year at school. I could not attend the meetings regularly, but on the

¹ Mrs. Anna C. Baggs, who has kindly furnished this chapter, is a daughter of Obed Foote, mentioned elsewhere as one of the earliest settlers of Indianapolis, and the most prominent of its early justices of the peace. As a native, and life-long resident of Indianapolis, educated at St. Mary's Seminary, and always in close touch with the religious life of the place, her contribution has an especial value as history at first hand.

28th of January, my fourteenth birthday, I went to the Thursday night meeting. I went to the altar, gave myself to the Lord; committed my way unto Him.

I think it was really the beautiful manners of Dr. and Mrs. Gillette that just at that time won me to Methodism, for I am the only member on either my mother's or my father's side that is a Methodist. My mother had been a charter member of Roberts Chapel, but she died the 5th of January, 1843. I attended the Roberts Chapel Sunday-school in the afternoon, but the Episcopalian Sunday-school in the morning, often staying to church with my sister, who was a communicant of Christ Church. For two years before I joined the church I was a member of Brother Tutewiler's class, and a regular attendant. I did not speak, but I attended. And while I was not an acknowledged member of the church until I was fourteen years old, I always received a little pink ticket for the quarterly love feast, for in those days you could not enter the love feast meeting without a ticket—otherwise the members would have been crowded out, so general was the desire to hear the experiences of these Christians.

Seventy years ago the quarterly meeting was an important event to the little community that worshipped in the Methodist church at the southwest corner of Meridian and Circle streets (now Monument Place). For weeks the "approaching quarterly meeting" had been a subject of prayer, not only in the congregation on Sabbath, but at the weekly prayer meeting, the family altar, and at secret prayer: "that there might be a refreshing from the presence of the Lord, sinners convicted and converted, backsliders reclaimed, and believers built up in their most holy faith". In the homes they were busy making preparations to entertain the presiding elder, the district stewards, and all visiting brethren. The members of the church possessed the old-fashioned idea of hospitality and they deemed it a pleasure to entertain not only the elder and stewards, but other friends that came in from the surrounding country to enjoy the privileges of the meetings. The simple muslin curtains were freshly laundered and rehung, the andirons given an extra polish, the brick hearths a fresh coat

of red paint, and the pantry replenished with the good things so necessary to the happiness of the hostess or entertainer.

The elder generally arrived in the village Thursday in time for supper and the prayer meeting. Friday before the quarterly meeting was always observed as a day of fasting and prayer. Also on this day the elder, with "the preacher in charge", visited the homes of the aged and the sick members, in fact all the shut-ins, holding with each a season of song and prayer. Friday evening there was a short service in the church. Saturday morning at 10 o'clock there was a preaching service. The men of the church attended, as well as the women. I have often heard the old folks say, "what a blessed meet-



ORIGINAL WESLEY CHAPEL BUILT IN 1829.

(From an old cut.)

ing we had this morning; I really believe our Saturday morning services are the very best of the season". It was no small sacrifice for some that were present to lay aside their business in the middle of the day and spend an hour or longer in worship. Saturday evening was given over to the preparation for the Sabbath. The good housewife had everything arranged that as little cooking as possible should be done on the Sabbath day. On quarterly meeting occasions, knowing a crowd would be present Sabbath morning, we were all ready and started in good time to obtain comfortable seats. I rather liked the early arrival at the church, for I could watch the people as they entered. Fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters could walk

to the church together, but at the door they must be separated, the boys going with the father on one side of the aisle, and the girls with the mother on the other side.

Among the first to enter, in a very stately, dignified manner, were Morris Morris, wife, boys and girls. The father, a tall, angular man, accompanied by the sons, Austin, Thomas and John; the mother, a stout lady, always dressed in soft gray dresses, wool in winter and silk in summer, her daughters, Amanda, Julia and the little girl, Bettie. Mrs. Morris occupied a chair in the "amen corner", and the girls sat near her. Mrs. Morris carried a large white feather fan, which was the admiration of my young life. I resolved that when I grew to be a big lady I would have a fan like hers. But here comes Alfred Harrison and his sweet-faced wife, his daughter Mary, a tall, queenly girl, and the little girl, Dessda. Down the opposite aisle walked Mrs. Kinder with her four daughters, the famous twins among them. Then came Mrs. Henry Porter and Miss Pamela Hanson; and here is brother Isaac Phipps with his merry black-eyed wife and three mischievous daughters; then Uncle George Norwood, his daughters Maria and Louisa following; then Mrs. Paxton and Miss Susan Luce, so demure and saintly-looking.

Then come Henry Hannaman and his young wife; Mrs. Given and her three handsome daughters; Aaron Johnson and his unique-looking wife. James Drum, immaculately clad, appears. James was the leader of the singing, and occupied the very front seat. Then there were among the younger members Samuel Beck, Henry Tutewiler and Jesse Jones; but now the church is filling rapidly. I am crowded into such a small space in the corner my view is limited, but there come the elder and the preacher. They lay their hats on the table, go up the steps of the pulpit, and kneel a few minutes in silent prayer. Then the elder announces the hymn, reads it through;

"Before Jehovah's awful throne
Ye nations bow in sacred joy,
Know that the Lord is God alone;
He can create and He destroy."

Then urging the congregation to sing with

the spirit and the understanding, he lines the hymn, two lines at a time. Brother Drum starts the tune. The whole congregation join in singing. There are few hymn-books in the audience, so the minister always lines the hymns that are given out from the pulpit. After singing the hymn, the entire congregation is requested to kneel in prayer. All, turning, kneel with faces to the backs of their pews. It seems to me now, through these seventy years, I can hear the deep tones of the elder as he reverently prayed: "Oh, Thou who inhabitest eternity, Thou Creator and preserver of mankind, Thou who didst send Thine only begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but should have eternal life; to Thee we come this morning, knowing we are unworthy, but we come in the name of Jesus, our Mediator and Redeemer."

The prayer of adoration, of confession, of supplication, of thanksgiving, was accompanied by the hearty "amens", "hallelujahs", "praises to the Lord", of the earnest members of the church. At the conclusion of the prayer the congregation, being seated, led by Brother Drum, they heartily joined in singing some familiar hymn: "Come, Thou Fount of Every Blessing", "Jesus My All to Heaven has Gone", or "Oh, Happy Day that Fixed My Choice". The morning lessons would be read, one from the Old, the other from the New Testament. The inevitable collection would be taken, with an exhortation to give liberally to the support of the church. Another hymn lined and sung, and then would come the sermon. In those days the presiding elders were the strong men of the conference and invariably good sermonizers. The people were willing to listen to a sermon an hour and fifteen or an hour and twenty minutes long. I believe, as a rule, their sermons were on God's plan of saving the world, the plan of salvation from the Arminian point of view. The text would be from the Old Testament, some prophecy of the coming of the Messiah, the effect of His coming and the results. The first of the sermon was argumentative, the second fulfilled prophecy, and lastly the effect on the world of the coming of Christ, the application to our own souls, the consciousness of a personal Savior. I often wondered why the first of the sermon

was not as enthusiastically delivered as the summing up at the close.

After the sermon "the doors of the church were opened", an invitation given to join the church, either on probation or by letter, the long meter doxology was sung, the congregation was dismissed with the apostolic benediction. They slowly and reverently filed out of the church, but when out on the lawn began the buzz of the greetings of the brethren and sisters of the church. The out-of-town visitors were invited to the homes of the members. The sermon and church affairs were the topics of conversation; all worldliness was avoided. Arriving at the homes, the dinner was soon in readiness. No expanse of fine table linen was visible, for every available inch was covered. Either turkey or chicken (according to the season), vegetables, jellies, pickles, preserves, bread, butter, pie and cake. The viands were all placed before you. You could make your choice of the various eatables. How heartily they did eat! After dinner there was a little rest for the older people. The children went to the Sabbath school. At 3 o'clock the members gathered at the church to celebrate the holy communion. After entering the house of God there was no recognition of friends, no bowing and smiling, but everyone seemed engaged in silent prayer. The services were introduced by singing that grand old hymn:

"When I survey the wondrous cross
On which the Prince of Glory died,
My richest gain I count but loss,
And pour contempt on all my pride."

The ordained ministers and local preachers were invited to come to the altar and join in the consecration of the bread and wine. After the simple ritual of the church was concluded, and the ministers had partaken of the holy emblems, all the members of the Methodist church, and the members of any sister church that might be present, were invited to come to the table of the Lord. Brother Drum was requested to lead in singing a verse, while communicants were coming and going, but not during the administering of the sacrament. He began with:

"He dies, the friend of sinners dies,
Lo, Salem's daughters weep around;

A sudden darkness veils the skies,
A sudden trembling shakes the ground.
Come saints and drop a tear or two
For him who groaned beneath your load;
He shed a thousand drops for you—
A thousand drops of richer blood."

Or—

"Alas, and did my Saviour bleed?
And did my Sovereign die?
Would he devote that sacred head
For such a worm as I?"

The beginnings of the hymns were sad, but they ended with the triumph of the risen Christ. As the meeting progressed the hymns became more joyous. After all the white folks had communed, the colored friends from the gallery were invited to come and partake of the holy communion. With suppressed emotion they came down the gallery steps and down the aisle to the table. Prostrating themselves, with most reverent humility, they received the emblems of Christ's broken body and shed blood. Their joy was too great to be further restrained; they went back to their seats shouting hallelujahs to God.

Monday night the love feast was held. As mentioned, no one could be admitted without a ticket. The members received their tickets when they paid their quarterage. Outsiders could procure tickets from the pastor or some one of the class leaders, but they must promise to conduct themselves properly while present. On a table in front of the pulpit were four plates of very small squares of light-bread, and as many pitchers of water with glasses. After the singing of a hymn and prayer came the peculiar ceremony of passing this bread and water, each person taking a piece of bread and a sip of water in token of the love and fellowship existing among the members. Then the quarterly report was presented by the pastor, telling of the number who had died, who had removed, the number of probationers, the number of conversions, the present number of members in full standing, and the moneys received and disbursed.

The pastor would give his personal experience, then turn the meeting over to the members to conduct according to their pleasure. Father Foudray, a sweet singer in Israel, was generally the first to speak. He liked, he

said, to "step out from the busy throng and sit down by the wayside to meditate on and talk about the Christ", who had done so much for him. Christ had always been a present help in every time of trouble. "He walks by my side and helps me over the rough places. He is the One in whom my soul takes delight." Sitting down he sings:

"Oh, Thou in whose presence my soul takes delight,

On whom in affliction I call;

My comfort by day and my song in the night;

My hope, my salvation, my all."

A strange brother arises and says: "Ten years ago at a camp-meeting across the Ohio river, in the woods in Kanetucky, I was convicted of sin. I went to the mourner's bench, sought forgiveness, was pardoned, and, thank the Lord, I have never backslid. Pray for me, friends, that I may always be faithful, outride the storms of life and get home to glory." Mother Little would speak. She always held her handkerchief over her face, and with a sobbing, muffled voice gave her experience. Those near her could understand, but I could not catch her words. There was always a peculiar interest in listening to her, because, in the old country, she had seen and heard John Wesley, and was one of his converts.

Brother Phipps was a very proud young man and abhorred the mourner's bench, but when he was convicted of sin and felt the need of a Saviour, he found himself on his knees at the mourner's bench praying aloud for mercy. The Lord heard his prayer, and forgave his sins. Now he could sing:

"My God is reconciled,

His pardoning voice I hear,

He owns me for His child,

I can no longer fear,

Glory to His name."

A dear old lady arose and said: "When a little girl I attended a revival meeting at old St. George's church, Philadelphia. After a stirring exhortation by the pastor, he said, 'Now, everybody that wants to lead a new life, that would like to be a follower of Christ, hold up your right hand'. I saw the hands going up. I felt I wanted to hold up mine, but I was such a little girl no one would

notice me. I had on a little red cloak. I held up my hand under my cloak, and made my pledge to my heavenly Father. I knew He could see me, if no one else could. I am thankful for that decisive moment, for Jesus has been my friend all my life. Amidst all its vicissitudes He has been with me to comfort and sustain me. Thank the Lord that even a little child may know Him."

A brother said: "I came here this evening with a heavy heart, the cry of which is, 'Where is the blessedness I knew when first I saw the Lord? Where is the soul-refreshing view of Jesus and His word?' Friends, pray for me that the clouds may be removed from my mind-sky, and that I may once more be blessed with the witness of the Holy Spirit of my acceptance with God." A brother sings:

"Oh do not be discouraged,

For Jesus is your friend,

And if you lack for knowledge,

He'll not refuse to lend;

Neither will He upbraid you,

Though oftentimes you request;

He'll give you grace to conquer

And take you home to rest."

A sister said: "I am glad salvation is free; that whosoever will may partake of the water of life freely." Then with a voice that filled the house with its melody, she sang:

"Long as I live I'll still be crying,

Mercy's free! Mercy's free!

And this shall be my theme when dying,

Mercy's free! Mercy's free!

And when the vale of death I've passed,

And lodged above the stormy blast,

I'll sing while endless ages last,

Mercy's free! Mercy's free."

The song and the singer awakened the greatest enthusiasm. An old man, trembling with age, arose and said: "My life is nearly spent. It will not be long until I shall come face to face with death. He that has been with me, will still be with me, and bring me off more than conqueror. I do not doubt my admittance into the New Jerusalem. Then I shall walk its gold-paved streets. The soft hand of Jesus shall wipe every tear from my eye. I will meet the loved ones gone before, and we shall be forever with the Lord.

“And when to Jordan’s flood we are come,
 We are come;
 And when to Jordan’s flood we are come;
 Jehovah rules the tide,
 And the waters he’ll divide,
 And the ransomed host shall shout,
 We are come! We are come!”

And so with song and testimony no time went to waste. One would infer from the experiences given that the Christian life was a warfare; that we could not expect to go to heaven on flowery beds of ease, but—

“To watch, and fight, and pray,
 The battle ne’er give o’er,
 Renew it boldly day by day,
 And help divine implore.”
 The pastor said:
 “My willing soul would stay
 In such a frame as this,
 And sit and sing herself away
 To everlasting bliss.”

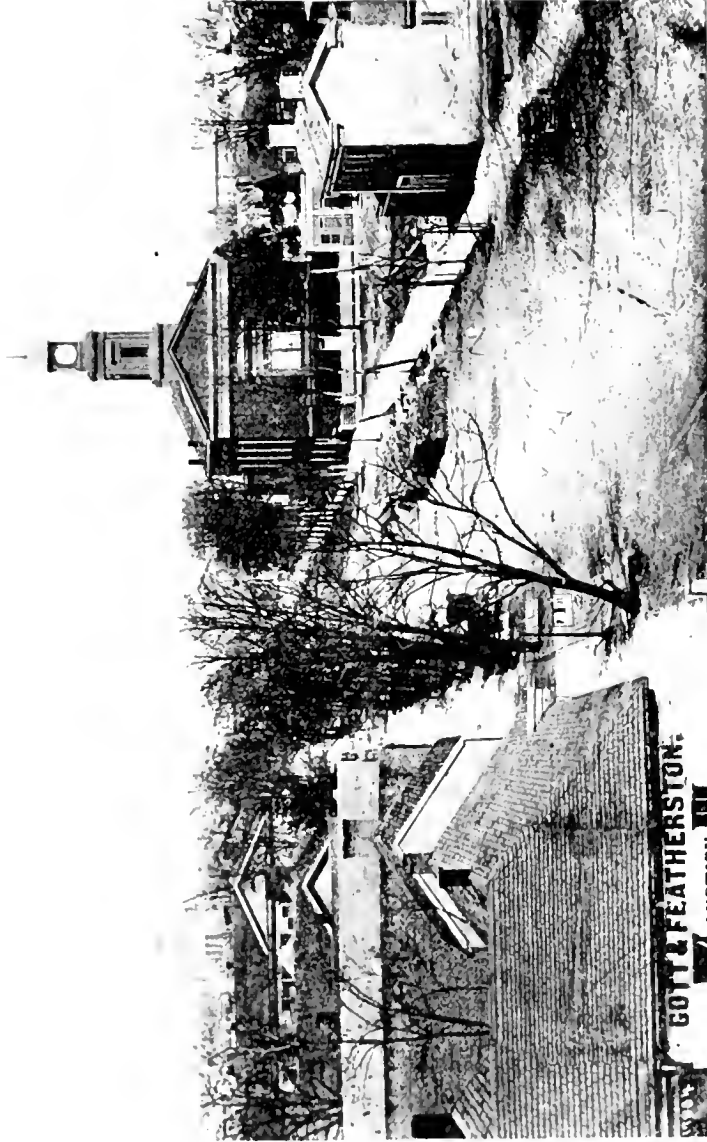
“But it is time now to dismiss our meeting. We are grateful for the refreshment we have had from the Lord. Good has been done; the church has been strengthened. Now let us all sing:

“Together let us sweetly live,
 Together let us die,
 And each a starry crown receive,
 And reign above the sky.”

The benediction was pronounced, and the quarterly meeting was something of the past. It was gone, leaving only pleasant memories. But not all the experiences of my childhood were so happy. I was brought up under the old-fashioned régime that children should be seen, and not heard. Being a delicate child, I was constantly thrown in contact with older people, heard much of their conversations, and drew my own conclusions. A few months of my childhood were terrorized by what was called “Millerism”. I heard the people talk of the second coming of Christ. The day was set, and rapidly approaching. My imagination ran riot, depicting to myself the horrors of what should be—the loud thunder; the lightning flashes; the rolling together of the heavens as a scroll; the cries of the wicked

as they would call upon the mountains and rocks to fall upon them, to hide them from the presence of the mighty God. They were not Millerites in our family, but the “ism” was discussed. I hoped they were right, yet feared they might not be. My mother did not know the agony I suffered or she would have soothed and comforted me. Across the alley from our house, on the rear of the lot, lived Dicky Weeks and his family. There was a little girl of my age, and I used to play with this little girl. This family were Millerites. They had their white robes made, ready at the second coming to fly up and meet the Lord in the air. To me that was a wonderful thing. Dicky Weeks had laid aside his daily labor, and spent his time in prayer, praise and reading the bible. He believed God would care for his own, even with all temporal blessings, as he did for the widow of Zarephath. Every village had its young wags; so, here, were the Wallaces, the Dunlaps and the Coburns. They clubbed together and decided that they would confirm Dicky Wells in his faith. As locks to doors and windows were superfluous—really unknown—these young fellows could easily have access to the Weeks kitchen; so every night when the family would be sleeping, some one of the boys would place there supplies for the next day.

At last the morning of the great day arrived. Up from the country came an old lady, very tall, very angular. As she and her family drove into the village, she stood up in the wagon; she had donned her white robe; she drove through the one principal street, ringing a bell, and exhorting the lookers-on to make ready for the coming. Having gathered the faithful together, they started toward the highest point east of the village—I think where Hilton U. Brown’s house now stands (No. 5087 E. Washington); and there they spent the day in prayer, praise and exhortation. The sun kept on his bright way, and finally went down behind the great forest trees. The stars came out one by one; the birds had gone to rest, and the quiet night was settling down sweetly and peacefully over the earth. There had been no convulsion of nature. The old world seemed to be going on in the even tenor of its way. The poor deuded souls took off their white robes, folded them up carefully and sorrowfully,



(U. H. Bass Photo Company.)
PENNSYLVANIA STREET, NORTH FROM WASHINGTON, 1856.
(The church is Roberts Chapel, northeast corner of Market.)

and wended their way back to the village a disappointed, unhappy band.²

This incident introduces one of the unique characters of our church, known in his later years as Father Weeks. At this time there was but the one Methodist church, Wesley Chapel, in the village. Father Foudray was my mother's class leader. He was much beloved in our family. My mother was anxious for the conversion of a young lady cousin and my sister, who was about fifteen years old. She thought if they would attend the class-meeting, Father Foudray's persuasive powers and sweet singing would influence them to the better life. They led class differently then; members did not speak voluntarily, but the leader called on every one individually to testify. Father Foudray would not compel a timid sister to speak, but with a word of advice, a text of Scripture and an appropriate hymn, would pass on. Unfortunately for my cousin, Dicky Weeks, then a zealous young Methodist, was leading a portion of the class that morning. When he came to this young lady, in a very loud, emphatic way, he asked her to speak a word for the Lord. "Tell your brothers and sisters what the Lord has done for you the past week." My cousin smiled and shook her head. He said: "What! Not a word for the

²Miller's prediction, based on an extremely plausible interpretation of Scripture, was that time would end in the year, March 21, 1843, to March 21, 1844. After the latter date had passed, some of his followers concluded that the error had been made in not using the Jewish year, which extended the period seven months; and fixed the last day on October 22, which was generally accepted. The boys mentioned as supplying Weeks were probably the victims of reputation. Weeks worked at Yandes & Wilkins' tan-yard, and his hopes and aspirations were fully known to Uncle John Wilkins, who was a member of the Methodist Chapel, and possessed of a marked vein of humor. Brother Henry Tutewiler, of the same church, likewise appreciative of a joke, and chummy with Wilkins, always said that Wilkins was the angel that replenished the Weeks' meal-jar, which was set on the back porch for the convenience of his supernatural friends.

Lord?" As she did not respond, he said: "Brethren and sisters, let us kneel and pray that the dumb devil may be cast out of this young woman"; and, falling on his knees before her, he prayed most vehemently that she might be released from the power of the evil spirit, and that thereafter she might be free to testify for the God that was so good to her. My cousin, chagrined and humiliated, left the class-room never to return, but soon after, under the more gentle instruction of Henry Ward Beecher, became a good Presbyterian; and my sister entered the Episcopalian Church.

As the years passed, the old Methodist hive became too full. The conference felt that there must be provision made for the increasing population, so, in 1842, from the little church at the southwest corner of Meridian and Circle streets, there was an eastern charge set off, with Meridian street as the dividing line. Never was a church organized with a more devoted, self-sacrificing, practical, loving, tender-hearted membership than this "eastern charge", afterwards named Roberts Chapel—now Roberts Park. The motto adopted by this zealous people was, "Roberts Chapel, all together". They knew that in union there is strength, and while there were differences of opinion, each party would yield a little to the other and thus all friction was avoided. "See how these brethren dwell together in unity", was the one pride of the church. They were strongly intrenched in the old customs of men and women sitting apart; of no music but the human voice; of plain dress—no putting on of gold and costly apparel; so it was possible in 1846 to pass the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas, we, the undersigned members of the Methodist E. Church, Roberts Chapel Quarterly Conference, and trustees of said Roberts Chapel, believe that instrumental music and choir singing in public worship are prejudicial to the worship of the Lord our God;

"And whereas, we believe the Scriptures require sacred music to be made with the human voice by singing with the spirit and with the understanding also; therefore,

"Resolved: That instrumental music and choir singing in public worship shall never

be introduced into the congregation attending said Chapel with our consent, while we are permitted to be members of said Chapel congregation.

"2d, Resolved: That we most sincerely request all our successors to the offices we now occupy to adhere strictly to the principles contained in the above preamble and resolution so long as it may please a kind Providence to let said Roberts Chapel stand.

"3d, Resolved: That each of the members of the Quarterly Meeting Conference, together with the trustees, subscribe herewith their names officially.

"4th, Resolved: That the above be recorded in the church book, and a copy be forwarded to the *Western Christian Advocate* for publication.

"Signed—

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| ISAAC PHIPPS, Sec. | J. MARSEE, P. E. |
| JOHN WILKINS | JOHN LOUIS SMITH, S.P. |
| JOHN D. THORPE | ABRAHAM KOONTZ |
| SAMUEL GOLDSBERRY | SAMUEL BECK |
| HENRY TUTEWILER | JAS. W. HILL |
| WILLIAM SMITH | SIMS COLLEY |
| JOHN F. HILL | W. R. STRANGE |
| | ANDREW BROUSE |

"August 24th, 1846."

In those days Brother Karns and Brother Bristol sat in the center of the church, and led the singing. The young people, both girls and young men, sat near them to assist in the music. This lasted until about 1850, when Brother Thomas G. Alford was transferred from Wesley Chapel to Roberts Chapel, and became the leader. He was most faithful—never pitched a hymn too high or too low. He could sing through a three months' revival and be as fresh at the close as at the beginning. He was most accommodating, never so happy as when singing, in the great congregation, at the social meetings, at the funerals, and at the bedside of the sick and dying. But as the years rolled on there was an unrest among the younger people—the same old excuse—we wanted to be more like other people and other churches. The organ was first brought into the Sabbath school, and finally, on feast days, when the children took part in the service, up into the church. Families began sitting together. There were some cross

looks from the older brethren and sisters, but we had been warned by our leaders never to discuss the questions, but to be very gentle and respectful to our elders; and so these great changes gradually came about. As we left old Roberts Chapel (northeast corner of Market and Pennsylvania streets) to go into our new home, we left some of the old-fashioned customs, but not the spirit of the old-fashioned religion. A choir was organized, with Dr. Heiskell as leader. It was a volunteer choir; no one was paid but the organist; This faithful leader and choir served over twenty years, when they were excused, and the new order of things was introduced.

In relating these incidents of the long ago, I do not mean to speak lightly, nor to find fault with the fathers and mothers of the old-time church. They had the peculiar ideas of their time concerning church government, the form of service and the style of dress; but they were honest in their belief and fully convinced in their own minds that they were right. I give them only to present an idea of the customs of other days, very different from the present. For change is written everywhere. "Whatever lies in earth, or flits in air, or fills the skies; all suffer change, and we that are of soul and body mixed are members of the whole;" and so our program of public worship has changed—just enough of ritual to add dignity and make the service impressive. As at the Easter time I listened to Miss Hyatt play the March to Calvary, I heard the solemn tread of the soldiers as they led the Messiah from Pilate's judgment hall, on through the streets of the city, out through the western gate, up the Mount of Calvary, and there the consummation of the great tragedy. The body, by loving hands, is conveyed to the new sepulchre, laid away, guarded by Roman soldiers. Then came the sweet strains of Mendelssohn's Spring Song. Early in the soft gray of the morning, that first day of the week, I hear the birds singing; the grass is green; the crocuses, the daffodils, the tulips, the hyacinths are blooming; the brown buds are opening, clothing the fruit trees in their beautiful pink and white blossoms; and that sepulchre has given up its occupant; and He, the Christ, is risen.

CHAPTER XIX.

AS OTHERS SAW US.

The reader will be aided in getting a comprehensive view of Indianapolis as it was by a glance at the impressions it made on some of its visitors. Among these was Mme. Theresa Pulszky, who was here in 1852, in Kossuth's party, and who published an account of their visit to the United States under the title, "White, Red, Black". She opens the second volume with the arrival of a deputation from Indianapolis, at Cincinnati, to escort them to the capital, in accordance with the invitation of the legislature. They all started down the river, on a steamboat, for Madison; but Kossuth, who was extremely plain-spoken, and who apparently discommoded himself for no one, shut himself up in his cabin to rest, and left his party to entertain the committee. In her diary Mrs. Pulszky says:

"We found most amiable persons amongst them; Senator Mitchell and his lady, plain, unassuming and kind-hearted people, interested themselves warmly about our children, and when they understood that we had four, they offered us to adopt one boy, as they were childless. I took the proposal for a jest, but they told me that such adoptions were not unusual here, and they reiterated their kindness, saying that by trusting the child to them we should not lose him. When his education would be completed they would send him back to us, and if we did not return to Hungary, we should all come to them; though they were not rich, they had enough likewise for our wants.

"Mr. Robert Dale Owen, also a Senator of Indiana, is the son of the well-known philosopher, Robert Owen, with whom he had managed the large communitistical establishment of 'New Harmony' on the Wabash, which has

proved unsuccessful. We spoke about it with him, and he remarked that nothing could replace the stimulus of individual proprietorship. His brother has since become a celebrated geologist, and has made the geological survey of the north-western country for the general government. He, himself, is a wealthy farmer in Indiana, of great influence in the legislature. Some of the ideas of his father he introduced into the laws of Indiana. By his efforts the women have here more legal rights in respect to the management of their own property than in the other States where the English common law prevails, which considers the wives as minors, and deprives them of the control of their property. Accustomed to see in Hungary the women managing their own inheritance, the common law always appeared to me very barbarous, and I was glad to understand that Indiana set an example, in this respect, to the other States of the Union. Mr. Owen spoke much about the new Constitution of his State. He had taken great part in framing it last year, and explained to us that such a reform was easily carried in America. When the General Assembly of a State finds it necessary to alter the Constitution, it submits the question to universal suffrage, whether the people wish to elect a convention or not. If the majority requires a new Constitution, the members of the convention are elected by the counties; a Constitution is drawn up, a short report marks the different reforms and innovations introduced, and the plan is submitted to the acceptance or rejection of the people. The principal change suggested in the Constitution of 1851, was, that the General Assembly shall not grant to any citizen privileges or immunities which shall not equally belong

to all the citizens. This tendency to discontinue private bills, and to establish general laws for the public at large, is a remarkable feature of the draft. The Secretary, Auditor and Treasurer of State, and the Supreme and Circuit Judges, formerly chosen by the Legislature, are now selected by the people and the Judges are appointed only for a definite term, not for life. The Legislature is prohibited from incurring any debt, and restrictions are established for Banks. These reforms prove that the Democrats had the majority in the Convention. Provisions were likewise made for a uniform system of common schools, where tuition shall be free; the Institutions for the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the insane, and a House of Refuge for the reformation of juvenile offenders, have become State Institutions. Most of these innovations had been previously accepted by other States. The election of the Judges by the people, for instance, and for a limited term, has been introduced in New York, Ohio, and other States.

“But the most striking feature of the New Constitution was, to me, that whilst it begins with the declaration that all men are created equal, it contains an article forbidding any negro or mulatto to come into the State of Indiana after the adoption of the New Constitution, and recommends that future legislation should provide for the future transportation of the free colored inhabitants of the State to the black republic of Liberia. Of course I did not disguise my surprise at this inconsistency, and Mr. Owen remarked, that as the negro cannot obtain equal social and political rights amongst whites, owing to the antipathy of the two races, it is greatly to be desired that the black should find a free home in other lands, where public opinion imposes upon color no social disabilities, or political disfranchisement. ‘Our children shall not have helots before their eyes’, said he. ‘But why are they to be helots?’ asked I. ‘In Massachusetts, as far as I know, in Vermont and in New York, they are free citizens of the United States, if they possess landed property.’ The answer was that public opinion disapproved this in Indiana.

“Another most interesting acquaintance for me was Mrs. Bolton, the poetess of Indiana, distinguished by her talent and her accom-

plishments. We spent most pleasant hours with her, and as her name is not yet known in Europe, I insert here one of her poems, communicated to me by Mr. Owen:

‘From its home on high to a gentle flower,
That bloomed in a lonely grove,
The starlight came, at the twilight hour,
And whispered a tale of love.

‘Then the blossom’s heart, so stiff and cold,
Grew warm to its silent core,
And gave out perfume, from its inmost fold,
It never exhaled before.

‘And the blossom slept, thro’ the summer
night,
In the smile of the angel ray,
But the morn arose with its garish light
And the soft one stole away.

‘Then the zephyr wooed, as he wandered by
Where the gentle flow’ret grew,
But she gave no heed to his plaintive sigh,
Her heart to its love was true.

‘And the sunbeam came, with a lover’s art,
To caress the flower in vain;
She folded her sweets in her thrilling heart
‘Till the starlight came again.’

“It is a sweet flower of the West.

“With the other ladies I spoke much of their household concerns. They almost all lived on farms or in small country towns, where their husbands, the Senators and Representatives, were lawyers, physicians or merchants, and come only to Indianapolis for the session. All complained of the great difficulty to get servants; colored people are scarce, whites work on their own account, and even the blacks say often, when asked to come as a help, ‘Do your business yourself’. The feeling of equality pervades this State so much that people do not like to work for wages. Towards evening we arrived at Madison. The fashionable people had assembled in the church, and paid for their seats, intending the result to be given to the Hungarian funds; but Kossuth thought that in the country of equality such proceedings were too exclusive, and he addressed the citizens of Madison from the balcony of the hotel.

“Today we left this small city on the rail-

way. It is carried over a steep ascent from the banks of the Ohio to the high plain of Indiana. Formerly this inclined plane was worked by stationary engines, but a workman, Mr. Cathcart, overcame the difficulty by placing between the two rails a third rail, with cogs corresponding to a wheel in the center of the wagons. One day, rolling a heavy barrel to the railway, he missed the train, and had to roll the cask up the hill. He repeatedly stopped to rest, putting a stone under the barrel that it might not slip down, and was suddenly struck by the idea that cogs would alleviate the ascent, and diminish the danger of the descent. He submitted his plan to the Railway Company, they advanced him the money for the experiment, and as it succeeded they built the present line, and gave him \$6,000 for his patent. With this capital he established himself as an engine builder in Indianapolis, and is getting a wealthy man.

"In the afternoon we reached the capital of Indiana, a very small place, whose resources are not yet sufficient to provide for drainage and pavement. The aboriginal mud of the rich soil reminded me here of the streets of Debreczin. We proceeded to the hotel, whilst the gentlemen were paraded through the streets, and were introduced to the Legislature. The hotel is very far from nice, and the attendants seem to be fully aware that everybody here is to do his own business. For example, when I was in a hurry to dress for the levee of Governor Wright, and asked for a light, the waiter brought two tallow candles, put them in my hands, and pointing to the mantel-piece, he said, 'There are the candle-sticks,' and left the room.

"We went to the house of the Governor; it is small, and I soon perceived why it is not so comfortable as it could be. In thronged the society and people of Indianapolis, ladies and gentlemen of every description. Muddy boots and torn clothes, and again desperate attempts at finery; glass jewels and French silk dresses, which, after having found no purchasers in New York, have been sent to the West. Some of the mothers had their babies in their arms; workmen appeared in their blouses or dusty coats, just as they came from the workshop; farmers stepped in high boots. Once more we saw that the house of

the Governor is the property of the people. And yet this incongruous mass did not behave unbecomingly to a drawing-room. There was no rude elbowing, no unpleasant noise, or disturbing laughter. Had they but shaken hands less violently! I yet feel Western cordiality in my stiff arm.

"Madame Kossuth found the heat so oppressive that, accompanied by Mr. Pulszky, she went to the adjoining room. A waiter was there arranging the table for supper. He looked so different from the society in the drawing-room that Mr. Pulszky asked him whether he did not come from the old country. 'Yes, sir,' said the waiter, 'I came from Worcestershire.' 'Do you like this country?' 'Sir,' was the answer, 'how could I like it? I lived in the old country and have there served *Lords*. As soon as I have made here so much money that I can live quietly in Worcestershire, I shall return.'

"March 2nd.—Now we are really in the West. It rained for one day and we are confined to our room; even clogs are of no avail in the street, they stick in the mud. The wind enters our room through a crevice in the wall, large enough to pass through my hand; and the fare! The bell was rung, we went down to the dark dinner-room. The table was covered with pies, celery, mashed potatoes, sour wheat-bread, tough cow-meat, and cold pork. In the bottles muddy water. The bell rung again, and the gentlemen burst boisterously into the rooms, rushed to the table, and pushing aside the chairs, stormed the places which were left unoccupied by the ladies. When the soup was handed round—I think it was an infusion of hay—solemn silence ensued; I almost fancied we were under the rule of the *Auburn* system; not a single word was spoken, but forks and knives worked steadily. Eating, as it seems, is here likewise a business, which must be dispatched as quickly as possible.

"Governor Wright is a type of the *Hoosiers*, and justly proud to be one of them. I asked him wherefrom his people had got this name. He told me that 'Hoosa' is the Indian name for maize; the principal produce of the State.¹ The Governor is plain, cor-

¹ As to this error, see *Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 17.

dial and practical, like a farmer, with a deep religious tinge. Yesterday we went with him to the Methodist church, and I saw that Methodism is the form of Protestantism that best suits the people of the West. No glittering formalities, no working on the imagination, not much of reasoning; but powerful accents and appeals to the conscience, with continuous references to the Scriptures; interwoven with frequent warnings, pointings to heaven and hell. The audience seemed deeply moved; they sang unmusically, but prayed earnestly. I could not doubt the deep religious conviction of the people.

"After dinner the Governor went with Mr. Pulszky to visit the Sunday schools, which he very often attends. They found there all ages assembled; children and old men instructed by the clergyman and regular and voluntary teachers. They read the Scriptures in different groups, and the teachers took occasion to explain history, ancient and modern geography, and to give other useful information, but always in connection with the Bible. Mr. Pulszky had to make a speech in each of the schools, and Governor Wright addressed them also, explaining to them that religion was the basis of social order, and instruction the only way to preserve freedom. He illustrated the obligation to submit to the law of the country by several happy examples from recent events in America. Such constant and personal intercourse between the Chief Magistrate of the State and the people he governs is really patriarchal, and is in harmony with the intellectual standard of an agricultural population.

"Mrs. Wright (she died shortly after this was written) has a strongly-marked, puritanical countenance. It seems as if a smile had hardly ever moved her lips, and yet there is such placid serenity in her features as only the conscientiousness of well-performed duty can impart. The sister of Governor Wright, a highly accomplished lady, gave me a lively picture of Western life, ever busy and wearying for the ladies; she keeps a school."²

Another foreign visitor to Indianapolis was Hon. Amelia M. Murray, who came in 1855, and published this account of her visit: "Indianapolis, May 19.—We reached Indianap-

olis soon after the evening closed in. As hours are early in this part of the world, I determined to go to an hotel for the night, so as not to intrude on my friends at an inconvenient time. This was acquiesced in by Governor Wright, who visited me soon after my arrival.

"May 20.—The Governor came early, and took me to his house. At half-past ten o'clock we went to the Episcopal church, where the duty was admirably done by a Mr. Talbott, originally from Kentucky, who preached a sermon, good in matter as in manner. Dinner was at one o'clock, and at two I accompanied the Governor to visit two large Sunday-schools, belonging to different denominations. There are about fifteen in this town. They have each a superintendent; and young men and women of the various churches in the place give them assistance. In England we might take example by the wisdom here which limits Sunday-school attendance to one hour, and leaves the place and period of Divine worship to be regulated by the parents. If the teaching at school is not such as to induce the children to go willingly to church, a forced going will not benefit their religious feelings; and too often the fatigued, bored appearance of Sabbath-school children in our churches, is a sad commentary upon the want of judgment evinced by the British public in this matter. The Sunday is kept at Indianapolis with Presbyterian strictness. No trains start, letters do not go, nor are they received, so that a father, mother, husband, or wife, may be in extremity, and have no means of communicating their farewells or last wishes if Sunday intervenes. Surely this is making man subordinate to the Sabbath—not the Sabbath to man. I have been amused at a story told me of an inhabitant of this place. The Millenarian doctrine has been rife here; all through America fanatics have lately spread an idea that sublunary matters were to close yesterday, May 19. A man not usually inclined to intemperate habits called at a store as the day waned, and requested a mug of porter to support his spirits through the expected catastrophe. Time wore on—still the elements looked calm. 'It won't be over yet awhile; I must have another glass. 'Tis very depressing to have to wait so long; give me some drink.' This continued till

²White, Red, Black, Vol. 2, pp. 6-13.

the poor frightened soul became dead drunk; and he was much surprised next morning to find the world going on much as usual—with the exception of his aching head.

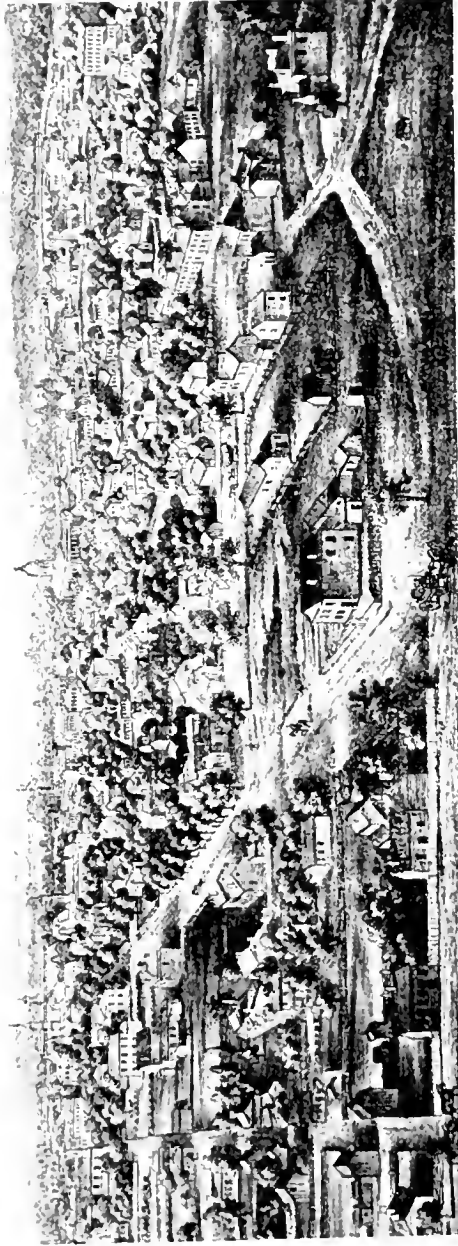
“May 21.—Governor Wright invited me to accompany him in a morning walk at sunrise—four o’clock. I had some letters to write previously, but by five we perambulated parts of the town, which is peculiarly laid out; the Court, or rather Government-house, being in the centre (and it is said also the centre of the Union; but that can only be a temporary centre, for this place lies eastward of the middle of the continent); and all the streets converging towards it. I occupied this morning in arranging my dried specimens of plants, which occasionally require attention. We dined at one o’clock, and Mrs. Wright, at present an invalid, was sufficiently recovered to join us at table. After dinner I was happy to see Judge Maclean,² whom I knew at Washington; he is come to hold a court; and Governor Powell, of Kentucky, is also expected tomorrow. The Governor took Mr. Maclean and me for a drive to see the Asylums for the Deaf and Dumb, and for the Blind of this State. They are both fine institutions, paid for by the people through special taxes, imposed for the purpose, and paid ungrudgingly. They have sufficient ground attached for out-of-door occupations and exercise. The deaf and dumb make shoes and bonnets, farm, &c., so as to acquire a knowledge which enables them to gain their future livelihood; and the girls are taught to be sempstresses, washerwomen, cooks, &c. Such charities should always be situated in the country; town life cuts off the most necessary and advantageous means of training the inmates to healthful and useful pursuits.

“From the cupola of the Asylum for the Blind the view is wide. These extensive plains of the West extend one thousand miles in the direction of Canada, and as far towards the Rocky Mountains. There is one height or bluff about fifteen miles off, which I must go and look at. Indiana produces freestone, coal and iron. The Wabash, about sixty miles from hence, is the most considerable river.

²Judge John MacLean, then Judge of the U. S. Supreme Court.

Before we left the asylum, some of the blind pupils sang quartettes and duets, accompanied by one of their number on the piano. They sang in tune and with good taste.

“I have heard much of Democracy and Equality since I came to the United States, and I have seen more evidences of Aristocracy and Despotism than it has before been my fortune to meet with. The ‘Known-nothings’, and the ‘Abolitionists’, and the ‘Mormonites’, are, in my opinion, consequent upon the mammonite, extravagant pretensions and habits which are really fashionable among Pseudo-Republicans. Two hundred thousand starving Irish have come to this country, and in their ignorance they assume the airs of that equality which they have been induced to believe is really belonging to American society. They endeavor to reduce to practice the sentiment so popular here—but no—that will never do. Ladies don’t like their helps to say they ‘choose to sit in the parlour, or they won’t help them at all, for equality is the rule here’. Mrs. So-and-So of the ‘Cod-fish’ aristocracy doesn’t like to have Lady Anything to take precedence of her; but Betty choosing to play at equality is quite another thing! Now at Indianapolis I have found something like consistency, for the first time since I came this side the Atlantic. I do not assert there is equality, for the simple reason that it is not in nature; and (as Lord Tavistock once so well said) ‘the love of liberty is virtue, but the love of equality is pride’: but here, the Governor of the State is a man of small income; his salary is only fifteen hundred dollars; he has really put aside money-making, and his son, an amiable young man, instead of wasting his time in rioting and drunkenness (which, alas! is too much the case with the sons of the ‘Aristocracy’ in the United States), keeps a store to make his own fortune, and, as he nobly said yesterday, to provide for that father who has disdained to sacrifice his country to himself. Governor Wright did not think it a degradation to carry a basket when I accompanied him to the market this morning, and his whole demeanour is that of a consistent Republican. I do not care what a man’s political creed may be (though I much prefer the monarchial principles of old England), but I do admire consistency; and I consider the



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

BIRDSEYE VIEW OF INDIANAPOLIS, 1854—SOUTHWEST FROM TOP OF BLIND ASYLUM.

(The street corner, center front, is Meridian and North.)

'Know-nothing' movement as a consequence of uncertain principles.

"May 22.—This day Governor Powell of Kentucky came on a visit here. He was in Canada two years since, and he spoke with admiration of Lord Elgin, and of his manner of conducting the affairs of that Colony. The heat has suddenly become intense; to my feelings as hot as any day we had in Cuba. At last I conclude that winter has really given up our company, after returning to it so frequently, that I feel as if I had passed three winters and three summers in America.

"May 23.—I went at five o'clock this morning to the Eastern market-place, where I first saw squirrels sold like rabbits for the table ready skinned. When dressed they are exactly like young chickens. I believe it is the grey squirrel. This evening the Governor had what is now in the States universally called a *levee* after the same fashion as the President's receptions. Governors of individual States occasionally open their doors to all the citizens who choose to attend, and it is considered a compliment to stranger guests, like the Governor of Kentucky and myself, that the attendance should be good; so the rooms were filled. The Governor and his lady do not receive their visitors, but we all went into the room after they had assembled. No refreshments are expected on these occasions, but everyone shakes hands upon being introduced. The assemblage was very respectable and orderly; it concluded about eleven o'clock, having begun at nine.

"May 24.—I went to see a Devonshire man and his wife, who have a vineyard; they have been settled here twenty years and are natives of Dartmouth; they look back to the old country with regret, and think they might have done as well there as here; though they have a cottage with an acre of ground their own property, and a married son and daughter doing well, but poor people. Their youngest boy is an inmate of the Indiana Lunatic Asylum. Mrs. N—— was brought up in the family of the lady who nursed the Duchess of Gloucester, and remembers helping to make a cradle for the Princess Amelia. She was much delighted to find that I knew Miss A——. We spoke much of England; I told her she was now adopted by this country, and that with her family here, it was wrong to

hanker so much after that of her birth. Mr. N—— buries his vines in the ground, as soon as the wood has hardened, during the cold months of the year. I wonder whether this plan would make the vine more prolific in the open air with us.

"Mrs. Wright gave an evening party of invited acquaintances; a great many agreeable people from this and the adjoining State. One lady sang some of Moore's Melodies very sweetly; but, as yet, music is not much cultivated in America; either the ladies do not devote sufficient attention to it, or there are not good masters. This is almost the first time I have heard an American sing with taste and expression. This party did not conclude before midnight. * * * I am told the thermometer stood at ninety-two degrees in the shade the day before yesterday, and the weather continues very hot, but there is now rather more air. Last night a naval gentleman told me that part of an iron fastening belonging to a ship had been found half embedded in a mass of iron, which had been supposed an aerolite, lying on a prairie in this country. From this fact a very modern origin for the locality is deduced, because it is concluded that a mass of the kind in question must originally have been left by an iceberg. I mention this as it was named to me without pretending to decide upon the truth of the matter.

"Thursday Mrs. Wright gave an invited reception, with a standing supper. All went off well, and I saw the principal people of Indianapolis. Next morning I drove with a young lady to see what are called the Bluffs of the White River, sixteen miles distance. I was surprised to find that the road there was by no means what we should call a plain, it was rather a series of continued low elevations, and many short but steep hills mark the road. It passes through a pretty country, bordered by farms, and watered by small streams, making their way to the White River, which attended our drive within a short distance. 'The Bluff' proved to be a rather higher hill than others, overlooking the river, and thickly timbered, but without a rock of any kind. I found the large leaved bloodwort, the May-apple, and a pretty red columbine growing plentifully in soil formed by the dead leaves of a thousand autumns. The in-

mates of a pretty farm near at hand gave us hospitality and a share of their dinner, while our coachman acted as guide and entered into my botanical researches with great interest. We made our way over the hill down to the river bank, where we saw the laborious but useless work for the formation of a canal, entered into by the State at an outlay of hundreds of thousands of dollars just before railroads were put into action, and abandoned in consequence. The small town of Waverly is situated a mile beyond the hill we came to visit. Our drive home was a chilly one. The thermometer has again descended below 50°. These sudden changes from intense heat to cold are much greater than those we have in England."⁹

From these views of passing strangers let us turn to those of one who came earlier and remained long enough to really know the place—to become a feature of it. Those whose memories reach back as far as 1877 are impressed by the great change that has come since then; but here is what Henry Ward Beecher wrote in 1877 of the changes that had occurred since he first came: "I went to Indianapolis in the fall of 1839 with a sick babe in my arms, who showed the first signs of recovery after eating blackberries which I gathered by the way. The city had then a population of four thousand. At no time during my residence did it outreach five thousand. Behold it today with one hundred and ten thousand inhabitants! The Great National Road, which at that time was of great importance, since sunk into forgetfulness, ran through the city and constituted the main street. With the exception of two or three streets, there were no ways along which could not be seen the original stumps of the forest. I bumped against them in a buggy too often not to be assured of the fact.

"Here I preached my first *real* sermon; here, for the first time, I strove against death in behalf of a child, and was defeated; here I built a house and painted it with my own hands; here I had my first garden, and became the bishop of flowers for this diocese;

here I first joined the editorial fraternity and edited the *Farmer and Gardener*; here I had my first full taste of chills and fever; here for the first and last time I waded to church ankle-deep in mud, and preached with pantaloons tucked into my boot-tops. All is changed now.

"In searching for my obscure little ten-foot cottage I got lost. So changed was everything that I groped over familiar territory like a blind man in a strange city. It is no longer *my* Indianapolis, with the aboriginal forest fringing the town, with pasture-fields lying right across from my house; without coal, without railroads, without a stone big enough to throw at a cat. It was a joyful day and a precious gift when Calvin Fletcher allowed me to take from the fragments of stone used to make the foundations for the State Bank a piece large enough to put in my pork-barrel. I left Indianapolis for Brooklyn on the very day upon which the cars on the Madison Railroad for the first time entered the town; and I departed on the first train that ever left the place. On a wood-car, rigged up with boards across from side to side, went I forth. It is now a mighty city, full of foundries, manufactories, wholesale stores, a magnificent court-house, beautiful dwellings, noble churches, wide and fine streets, and railroads more than I can name radiating to every point of the compass.

"The old academy where I preached for a few months is gone, but the church into which the congregation soon entered still is standing on the Governor's Circle. No one can look upon that building as I do. A father goes back to his first house, though it be but a cabin, where his children were born, with feelings which can never be transferred to any other place. As I looked long and yearningly upon that homely building the old time came back again. I stood in the crowded lecture-room as on the night when the current of religious feeling first was beginning to flow. Talk of a young mother's feelings over her first babe—what is that compared with the solemnity, the enthusiasm, the impetuosity of gratitude, of humility, of singing gladness, with which a young pastor greets the incoming of his first revival? He stands upon the shore to see the tide come in! It is the move-

⁹Letters from the United States, Cuba and Canada, pp. 328-334.

ment of the infinite, ethereal tide! It is from the other world! There is no color like heart color. The homeliest things dipped in that forever after glow with celestial hues. The hymns that we sang in sorrow or in joy and triumph in that humble basement have never lost a feather, but fly back and forth between the soul and heaven, plumed as never was any bird-of-paradise.

"I stood and looked at the homely old building, and saw a procession of forms going in and out that the outward eye will never see again—Judge Morris, Samuel Merrill, Oliver H. Smith, D. V. Cully, John L. Ketchum, Coburn, Fletcher, Bates, Bullard, Munsel, Ackley, O'Neil, and many, many more! There have been hours when there was not a hand-breadth between us and the saintly host of the invisible church! In the heat and pressure of later years the memories of those early days have been laid aside but not effaced. They rise as I stand, and move in a gentle procession before me. No outward history is comparable to the soul's inward life; of the soul's inward life no part is so sublime as its eminent religious developments. And the pastor, who walks with men, delivering them from the thrall, aspersing their sorrow with tears, kindling his own heart as a torch to light the way for those who would see the invisible, has, of all men, the most transcendent heart-histories. I have seen much of life since I trod that threshold for the last time; but nothing has dimmed my love, nor has any later or riper experience taken away the bloom and sanctity of my early love. And I can truly say of hundreds: 'For though ye have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel.'

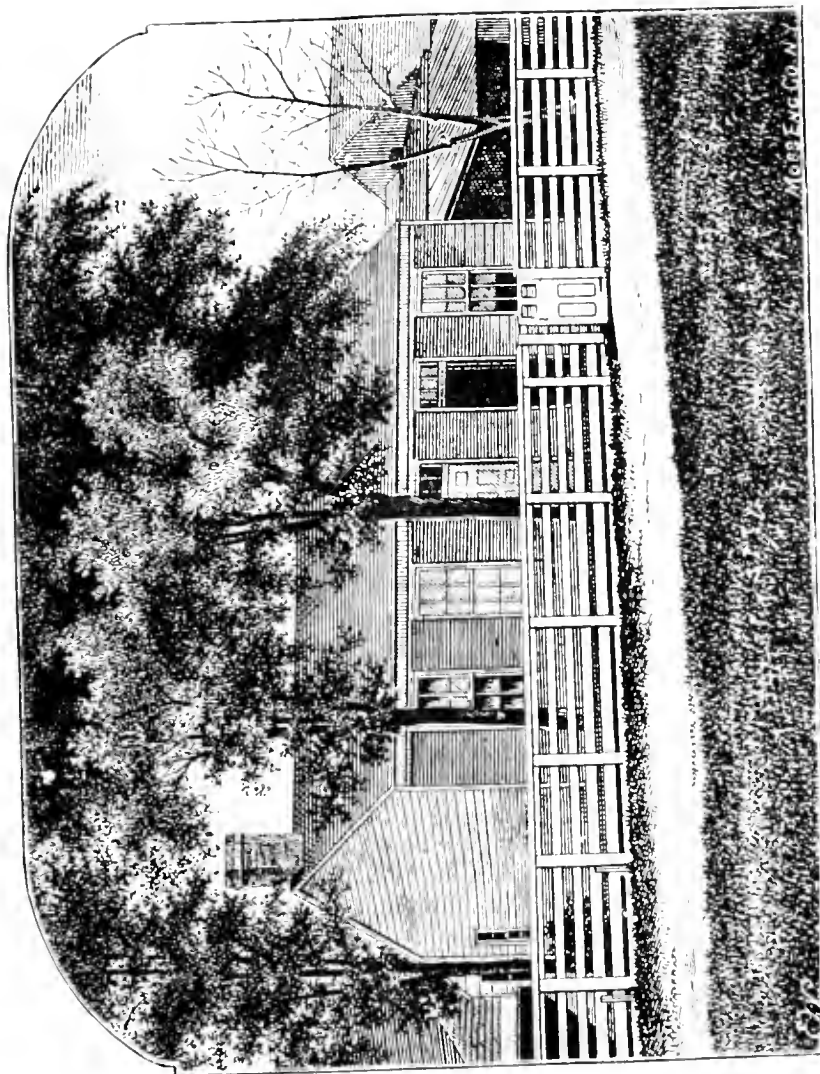
"But other incidents arise—the days of sickness, chills and fever, the gardening days, my first editorial experience, my luck in horses, and pigs, my house-building; and not a few scrapes—being stalled in mud, half-drowned in crossing rivers, long, lonely forest rides, camp-meetings, preachings in cabins, sleepings in the open air. I was reminded of one comical experience as I was seeking on Market street to find the old swale or shallow ravine which ran between my cottage

and Mr. Bates's dwelling.⁵ It had formerly been a kind of bayou in spring when the stream above town overflowed, but dried off in summer. To redeem it from unhealth a dike had been built to restrain the river and turn the superfluous freshets the other way. But one year the levee gave way in the night⁶ and when the morning rose, behold a flood between me and my neighbor! There was sport on hand! It was too deep for wading, but I could extemporize a boat. I brought down to the edge my wife's large washing-tub, and intended with a bit of board to paddle about. No sooner was I in than I was out. The tub refused to stand on its own bottom. Well, well, said I, two tubs are better than one. So I got its mate, and, nailing two strips across to hold them fast together, I was sure that they were too long now to upset. So they were in the long line; but sideways they went over, carrying me with them with incredible celerity. Tubbs were one thing, boats another—that I saw plainly.

"I would not be baffled. I proposed a raft. Getting rails from the fence, I soon had tacked boards across—enough of them to carry my weight. Then, with a long pole, I began my voyage. Alas! it came to a ludicrous end. A rail fence ran across this ravine in the field, just above the street. One end of the fence had loosened, and the water had floated it round enough to break its connection with its hither side. A large but young dog belonging to a friend had walked along the fence, hoping to cross dry-footed, till he came to the abrupt termination, and his courage failing him, he had crouched down and lay trembling and whining, afraid to go back or to venture the water. I poled my raft up to the rescue; and, getting alongside, coaxed him to jump aboard, but his courage was all gone. He looked up wistfully but

⁵ His cottage was where the synagogue now stands, and the house of Mr. Bates was at the northwest corner of Market and New Jersey streets. The "swale" was the east ravine or bayou that crossed the city from the northeast. It crossed Washington street just west of New Jersey.

⁶ He means the breaking of the State Ditch in 1847.



BEECHER'S HOME.
(Site of Jewish Synagogue on Market street.)

stirred not. 'Well, you coward, you shall come aboard.' Seizing him by the skin of the neck, I hauled him onto the raft, which instantly began to sink. It was buoyant enough for a man, but not for a man and a lubberly dog. There was nothing for it—as the stupid thing would not stir, I had to; and with a spring I reached the fence just abdicated by the dog, while he, the raft now coming to the surface again, went sailing down the pond and was safely landed below, while I was left in the crotch of the fence. One such experiment ought to serve for a life-time, but alas! There is no end of things gone by. They rise at every point; and one walks encompassed with memories which accompany him through the living streets like invisible spirits."⁷

And now, to the statements of casual visitors and the ministerial sojourner, let us add the view of one who grew up in these surroundings. Mr. John H. Holliday says: "It has always been my regret that I was not born three or four years sooner in order that I might have entered more fully into the life and actions of each period and have arrived at an age where greater knowledge and experience would have brought clearer insight. I would then have been better qualified to paint a picture of the life of the town during the 50's, but as it is I must give the impressions of a boy, modified or confirmed to some extent by the recollections of others. Let it be understood that I write as an artist must paint—as I saw it. It was a great place to be born in and a good place to live in, after thirty years or more had passed over its head. It seems now almost ideal. Its people were homogeneous, holding and striving for high standards and exhibiting the best traits engendered in a simple democracy. It was a place that encouraged the virtues of faith, hope, courage, kindness and patriotism; that brought up boys and girls to real manhood and womanhood. The fiery ordeal of the war and the terrible sacrifices the people were called upon to make, demonstrated the power of its environment and many lives of fullness and goodness have borne testimony to the

value of the examples and training of their youth.

"To begin with, life was simple as compared with what we now have. The community was small, but while the rule in small places is still towards simplicity, it is influenced by the thoughts and customs of large cities, which did not obtain fifty years ago, for there were but few such cities. The great increase of wealth, fashion and luxury affects even our villages now, while in that day New York and Boston seemed as far apart from Indiana as London or St. Petersburg. Here the life was simple because it was the life of a new country in which wealth was small, and the opportunities for its acquisition limited. Simplicity was a necessity. The community was largely self-dependent still, although it had developed from the pioneer stage in which it had to produce everything for itself, except a few unusual articles. Thirty years had improved conditions very much, houses were better, more comforts were obtainable, markets had been opened and there was more money to buy with. But the spirit and habits of the early days remained in great measure, unaffected by improved conditions. The population was not so large as to crush the neighborly feeling, the democratic idea that one man was as good as another provided he behaved himself. There was little disposition to flaunt wealth when it existed, but people clung to the old standards, the old manners and the old friends. Wealth had nothing to do with social position. It was an accident, the worth of the man and the woman was the best of merit. The woman who kept a girl, in the phrase of the day, had no call to look down upon her neighbors who did not, for these were in the great majority. The tastes of the community frowned down any attempt at ostentation and even the family which first ventured upon the use of a two-horse carriage or barouche gained nothing in the esteem of their friends from that appendage.

"Almost every one owned their own houses with more or less ground in which there was usually a garden and fruit trees that contributed to the family living, assisted often by the ownership of a cow, a pig and chickens. A thousand dollars a year was a large salary or income. One of our prominent citizens

⁷ Biography of Henry Ward Beecher, by Beecher and Seoville, pp. 206-209.

tells how he overheard some well-to-do business men talking about the salary of the president of the State Bank, \$1,500, and characterizing it as princely, and one of the boys of his class, sixteen or seventeen years old, said 'no wonder his boys can have their boots blacked for them.' Hundreds of families lived well and educated their children, sometimes sending them to college, where the income was not nearly \$1,000. In 1861 the bookkeeper of the *Journal*, a thoroughly competent man, had a salary of \$500 a year and supported a family of five or six persons and maintained a respectable position. This was true of many families and can be explained in comparison with our ideas by the fact that their extraneous wants were few. Food, shelter, clothing, taxes, something for the church and sometimes for the doctor, being provided, there was little else to call for money. People did not travel except in rare emergencies, many never. Such things as vacations were unknown. There were no street cars or daily sodas, no matinees, indeed few amusements of any kind, no lurching down town, no clubs and dues, no secret societies except the Masons and Odd Fellows, no array of charities with their insistent needs, no costly entertaining, no many things we have now clamorously calling for the dimes and dollars. Then, too, the necessities of life were cheap as a rule, meat, bread, vegetables, fuel. Wood was universally used except in stores and school houses where coal from Clay County was generally burned after 1853 or 1854. Clothing was probably not so cheap, but nearly all clothes were made at home or by women and the chief cost was for the material.

"The houses were well furnished with substantial things, but there was a notable lack of ornaments and bric-a-brac. A whatnot with some seashells and daguerreotypes on it, a center table with a family Bible and a lamp on it, an occasional candelabrum with glass pendants, some artificial flowers and a plaster cast, a vase or two perhaps, a half-dozen haircloth chairs, a sofa and an occasional piano, constituted the array of a well furnished parlor, which was a sacred place not to be opened every day or to ordinary persons. People did not live in their parlors, but in the sitting room, which sometimes was the dining room as well and (let it be

whispered low) there were some ostensibly reputable people who even ate in the kitchen. There were no bath rooms or toilet facilities. The first plumber came here in 1853 to work on the Bates House, but it was not till five or six years later that a bath room was installed in a residence, that of Mr. Vajen on South Meridian street. There were no water-works, water had to be pumped for such use and heated on a stove. Daily baths were unknown in practice and in theory regarded as the luxury of an effete people, while cleanliness was preserved by a weekly ablution in a wash-tub. Only the houses of the very richest were lighted by gas, which was also used in the larger churches and stores. The ordinary light was from candles and lard oil lamps, followed by camphene, an explosive distillation from turpentine that made a beautiful light but was dangerous to use. This was succeeded about 1856 or 57 by coal oil, not petroleum but an oil distilled from coal, which was driven out by the discovery and utilization of petroleum in the early years of the war. The houses were poorly warmed as a rule. Furnaces were known but were not common. Despite the abundance of wood, most people heated only the living rooms, fires being made in bed rooms only for visitors, sick or old people, while the halls were always left in natural fridity. Carriages, buggies and spring wagons were not uncommon, but the man of the house or his boys took care of the horse. A hired man was a curiosity.

"Necessarily the making of the living was the chief thing. There were not many who could live on accumulated wealth. It was a working community and the work was often hard and the hours long. Stores were opened by six o'clock generally, sometimes before. Mr. Vajen tells of opening his hardware store never later than five o'clock and as a rule none closed before nine. Factories and mechanics began work at seven and quit at six, with an hour's intermission at noon. Doctors, lawyers and public officials were at work early and the banks ran from eight to four. Everybody ate dinner at noon and shuddered at the idea of kings and noblemen eating dinner after dark. Dinner as a function was unknown. Supper was the great social manifestation of hospitality. Dinner was just for

the family eating, except sometimes on a Sunday when there was leisure to entertain a passing guest. But supper was the meal to invite one's friends to. It was then that the tables groaned with the good things the housewife could provide. Fried chicken, quails, oysters, ducks, ham, cheese, tongue, jellies, preserves, pickles, custards, cakes and even pies enriched the larder, with tea and coffee. Ice cream was unknown except as bought and eaten in the ice cream saloons or parlors, and at church festivals, and its purchase was a sort of a wild dissipation on summer nights to be eagerly anticipated and joyfully remembered.

The church social was a great event. Sometimes the gatherings took place at the church, but usually at a private house. It was under the auspices of the Sewing Society. The ladies met in the afternoon and sewed for some worthy cause. In the evening the men came and the young people, and a substantial supper, not mere refreshments, was served, provided by the hostess. Every two or three weeks in the winter season was the rule in some churches, but it was not confined to that season, though not held so often. The church festival was more uncommon and entirely different. That was a commercial enterprise for the benefit of the church itself. The refreshments were partly contributed, partly bought, as when the entertainment was called an oyster supper and an admission fee charged. Sometimes this was large enough to include the supper and sometimes it did not, which was not favorably regarded by some of the attendants. Sometimes articles of fancy work were for sale, and always there was ice cream as an extra at 'ten cents a saucer.' In some churches there were 'donation parties' where a body of friends would swoop down upon the home of the pastor and present gifts, and eat the supper they had brought with them. This function was the source of mirth to the humorist of the day, as well as church festivals and oyster suppers. It was said that the guests frequently ate up the presents of food they brought, that the minister was always the poorer, and that a donation party was as bad as a fire. This was an exaggeration, for usually the occasion abounded in good fellowship, kindly

remembrance and real benefit, and enriched the social life of the organization.

"Next to making a living the two most engrossing and vital things were religion and politics. It was a day of serious things. The light and trifling manner in which many people view the affairs and influences of life now was not in favor then. The town had been under the influence of earnest people from its start, people who worked and suffered and to whom life was no merry jest. To them religion was a solemn matter and even those who cared little for it or made no professions, were bound to respect it. The whole tone of the place was religious. There were numerous churches of various sects, but probably no place in the country ever had less of the bitter, sectarian feeling that existed widely and that we wonder at now. The churches here, with few exceptions, were friendly, the ministers and members fellowshiped, and united in movements for the common good, just as they do now. The Sabbath School parade on the fourth of July, the event of that day for over thirty years, was evidence of this, possibly a contributing cause. The Episcopalians and Catholics were the exceptions, the latter naturally enough, for the bitterness of the reformation was still in evidence against Papacy and almost every preacher felt bound to launch a thunderbolt against Rome 'that terrible menace to the Republic' at least once a year. It was natural then that the Catholics should assume the historic attitude of the church against 'heretics', but the Episcopalians had no such reason for exclusiveness. In the famous celebrations of the Fourth the Catholic children actually joined once or twice, but the Episcopalians never, and thereby their children missed a lot of fun and a good lesson in toleration.

"The thought of the day was altogether orthodox, and orthodox on the lines laid down two hundred years before. The preaching to a considerable degree was still doctrinal if not dogmatic. There was a fixity of opinion. There were no doubts of the fundamental truths of Christianity, no suspicion even that the Bible as a whole was not inspired in the fullest sense. Moreover, criticism was undreamed of in the church, though, of course, the opinions of Voltaire and Paine and Vol-

ney were known, and these were regarded as fearful examples of depravity whose punishment there could be no doubt of. Few disbelieved in hell, as an actual place of unspeakable and inconceivable torture of lost souls and a depiction of its awful realities and the danger of the sinner who neglected or refused to be reconciled to God was a fruitful theme for many agonizing sermons especially at times of revival. There has been as great a change in the past forty years in the attitude of people towards religion as in any other line of thought, and while the old truths may be as true as ever, they are viewed from another point and often present a different appearance and are better understood. The pendulum has swung away and different doctrines or different aspects of doctrines are emphasized now. Religion has lost much of its somberness, its harshness has been smoothed down, its more pleasing features are accentuated and it makes its most powerful plea for the Christian life through love and aspiration for the good and not by words of fear or the hope of reward. It no longer differentiates or intimates a severance of this life from the life to come. It is one indivisible whole.

"Religion was, as said heretofore, a main factor in the life of Indianapolis and that not only as governing the conduct of the people, but in their social relations. Church going was proper, reputable and fashionable, whether people were members or not. It was a custom that must be observed by all who wished to stand well with their neighbors. One's chief friends and associates were usually in the church attended and almost the first question about newcomers was 'what church will they go to?' Particular churches were often chosen because of their attractiveness in this respect. Of course the social life was not confined to any one church for most people. There was another and possibly a larger circle outside, made up from other churches, but one's own was the center of the whole fabric.

"The ministers, too, were more influential then than now, but no abler or wiser, though Indianapolis had some preachers of marked ability in that period. The church was more of an intellectual force then. Books and periodicals were comparatively few, the min-

ister was usually better educated than his flock and he spoke with more intellectual authority. Today his hearers are more nearly on a plane with him and his utterances are judged more freely. The democratic spirit, tending often towards lack of reverence, is nowhere more apparent than in this. From this and other causes is due the passing of church discipline. It is obsolete. There is a looseness in the ties, a feeling of independence that will not brook admonition and is indifferent to the bell, book and candle. In that day discipline was a powerful thing. Business differences were brought before church tribunals. Members were dealt with for breaches of rules and faithfulness to their vows as well as for sinfulness, and the penalties of suspension or expulsion were dreaded. They brought disgrace and shame, as well as spiritual suffering. Whether the change has been beneficial or not, time will tell. There is a strong reason to believe that this relaxation of bonds has caused deterioration in Christian life.

"Under these conditions there was necessarily a strict observance of Sunday, both in home life and business. Among the more rigid the line was closely drawn between secular and Sunday pursuits. Reading was confined to certain channels, riding or visiting were tabooed, even walking for the walk's sake was not regarded favorably. On Sundays the business establishments were shut, except possibly some of the saloons that kept a back door unlocked. The people went to church morning and night, and many to Sunday School besides. The latter was always held in the afternoon. Almost every principal church had a bell to call the worshippers together. Those who did not go to church remained at home and the streets were almost deserted except for the church-goers.

"Boys may have had as good times in other places as in Indianapolis, but none better. The town was large enough to have advantages over small ones or villages, but not large enough to forbid contact with the country and rural life. There were plenty of good swimming holes in the river and canal, in Fall Creek and Poque's Run. There were equally good places for fishing. The town was surrounded by woods that afforded plenty of opportunities for hunting rabbits, squirrels

and birds. There were visits of wild pigeons, making sport easy and delightful. The woods, too, were full of nut-bearing trees, from which a winter's supply could be had, pawpaws, berries, haws, etc. In the winter there was ice on the streams and as few streets were improved there were many ponds all over the town where the boys could slide and skate. It was not until during the war that the girls took to skating. There were so many vacant lots and commons that there never was a loss for a playground at the proper seasons. Nowadays one must go for miles to meet most of these things and some are impossible to get at all. As fond memory recalls those events and scenes of boyhood's days it seems to have been 'just the best place' to have grown up in.

"Probably there was as much regard proportionately for fashion in those days as there is now, but boys are not expected to notice such things. The headgear and dresses of the day look very queerly now in old pictures, though well enough then, crinoline or hoops, for instance, arraying the form divine until it looked like a balloon. It seems to me that colors were worn more and were more striking, but that may be a fancy, or a difference in fabrics. Then calicoes, delaines, muslins, prints of various sorts were in great favor, with leghorn straw hats gaily beribboned. There were no uniforms except that of the military companies, which must seem strange to this generation accustomed to the liveries of policemen, railway employees, letter carriers, coachmen and porters. Some of the old fashions prevailed with both sexes. Some oldish men clung to the blue-swallow tail coat with brass buttons and buff vests, usually accompanied by a gold or silver headed cane. Tall silk hats or plugs were in every day use, no derby or other stiff one was known. The only alternative was a soft hat or a straw in summer. A few ruffled shirts survived and the gentleman done up in this fashion was a pretty sight. In winter men wore shawls almost altogether, though occasionally an old-fashioned cloak appeared. Some more disposed to be stylish wore a fur collar and the furs of the women were long, reaching around the shoulders and to within eighteen inches of the ground. There was a coat in occasional use, called the surtout. The

Century Dictionary says it was an overcoat. Every boy and man wore boots in the winter. I mean what are called long boots now and which passed out of use here over thirty years ago when the streets had been paved and cleaned, so that there was no use for them. In the earlier times, however, there was deep snow sometimes and almost always depths of mud to be waded through so that their use was necessary. Consequent upon them was the bootjack, an implement as necessary to a house as a frying pan, but whose use none of the moderns could guess now. Shawls, too, were worn almost universally by the women. They were of all grades and price from the serviceable woolens to the costly crepes and Indias.

"Manners were more formal in those days. This was reflected among the young people. Unless they were cousins, boys of twelve or over always addressed the girls as Miss and in reply were called Mister. There was no such familiarity as today when young people of all ages call each other by their first name, after they have been acquainted a month or even less. Neither did the young fellows take the girl's arm when walking. The young lady was set upon a pedestal, now she is on a level.

"The second great interest in Indianapolis life was politics and to many it was the absorbing one. Public life offered prizes in that day of limited opportunity and scarce money, and beyond the pecuniary reward was the distinction achieved. Candidates were perhaps more numerous then than now. The community was pretty equally divided. The majority of the leading people were Whigs and Republicans, but a very considerable minority were Democrats, and the contests were sharp and close with varying results. Politics was the great subject for talk and was broached on all occasions. There was intense partisan feeling and much bitterness evolved. Men of one stripe would believe anything of men on the other side. The Democrats having opposed prohibition—old Sumptuary even then was a household term—were denounced by their adversaries as a party of whisky drinkers and the charge was believed by the makers. When the slavery question became prominent the Democrats denounced the opposition as 'nigger lovers'

and 'Black Republicans', a name clung to until after the war. Everything of a political nature was fought for and over. A race for constable or councilman was contested as if it were the presidency itself. Wherever a chance for spoils came it was seized greedily. The Democrats were in power at the time of the Mexican war and apparently used all their power for party benefit, keeping the Whigs out as much as possible. When the Republicans got on top they played much the same game. Party advantage was always looked after and party discipline was very strict and well enforced. This led to a faith in parties that was almost absolute and blinded men's eyes to the truth. It created such a conceit that men considered their parties infallible, their welfare more important than that of the government itself. Indeed myriads of Democrats believed that their party alone was fit to manage the government, and this partisan belief later led them into opposition to the war and sympathy with the South. There was more or less corruption in the elections, chiefly in crude methods of repeating and cheating in the returns, but this was done in party enthusiasm with the motto 'light the

devil with fire' and whether better or worse was not on the sordid basis of buying and selling votes. 'Anything to best the enemy' was another motto, and all sorts of trickery, cheap debate and withering denunciation was indulged in on any and every occasion.

"There was, however, one good thing in the politics then. Men hated to be taxed. Money came hardly, and representatives and officials were held to strict accountability for expenditures. Economy was universally demanded and the tax-payers were a force to be reckoned with. Once in a long while, even now, you see a card in the paper signed Tax-payer, condemning extravagance somewhere or somehow. This belated wanderer crying to a generation of which two-thirds are not tax-payers and gladly vote other people's money away, is a survival of that period and does not know that he is as extinct as the Great Auk. But once he was a live wire and the politicians feared and courted him and his words had weight. Possibly in some far distant future when taxation has ground the people down and their eyes are opened, the tax-payer again may have something to say."

CHAPTER XX.

THE GERMANS IN INDIANAPOLIS.

The Germans have had a larger influence in the development of Indianapolis than any other foreign nationality, as a nationality; but the nature and extent of this influence is not generally understood by American citizens, chiefly, no doubt, on account of the wall the Germans have kept about them by the maintenance of their native language. The early settlement of Indianapolis, like that of the rest of Indiana, was chiefly of native-born Americans. At the census of 1850 there were only 28,584 Germans in the state, out of a total population of 988,416; and the German born were over one-half of the total foreign-born population, the Irish coming next, with 12,787. And even this population of Germans was largely recent, for the revolution of 1848, with its disastrous ending, and its vindictive punishments, had sent swarms of young German revolutionists to this country, a number of whom located at Indianapolis. A contemporary notice of this influx is found in an article in the *Locomotive*, discussing the rapid growth of the "northeastern" part of the city, especially Bates and Fletcher's Addition, as follows:

"This addition occupies four blocks, bounded on the north by New York, on the east by Noble, on the south by Market, and the west by East street; this addition is more generally known as Germantown from the fact that a great many Germans have bought and built here. The houses are mostly small frames, suitable for one family, and were built and are owned by the occupants."¹

It should be understood also that there

was a difference between the German immigration of this period and that preceding it. The earlier immigration was chiefly of those who sought only to better their personal condition, very largely of the farmer class, and who were fairly content with America as it was. The new immigration was largely of those who had to leave Germany on account of the revolution, and many of them were ready to return in case a new uprising should appear. They were people of ideals—weltverbesserers, or world-reformers, as the Germans put it—and were quite as ready for reform here as at home. An admirable sketch of this German life and influence in Indianapolis has been published by Mr. Theodore Stempfel, of this city, and he has kindly consented to let me present a translation of a large part of it here. I do this knowing that the reader will appreciate the advantage of having it from the viewpoint of a German closely connected with it, and regretting only that my translation detracts somewhat from the literary merit of the original.

"In Indianapolis the German club-life (*vereinsleben*) began in 1851, with the founding of the Indianapolis Turngemeinde, from which, in the course of years, through a chain of circumstances, developed the present Social Turnverein of Indianapolis. The most zealous agitator for the founding of the Turngemeinde was August Hoffmeister, an active, energetic young man who had the talent of finding the right word at the right time. He has been a Turner in Germany, and, before he came to Indianapolis, belonged to the Cincinnati Turnverein founded in 1849. On Monday, July 28, 1851, the Indianapolis Turngemeinde was established

¹*Locomotive*, August 18, 1849.

with appropriate solemnities. The founders, in addition to the above named August Hoffmeister, were Jacob Metzger, Alex. Metzger, Clemens Vonnegut, John Ott and Karl Hill. The furniture store of John Ott, a one-story frame building opposite the State House, served as a meeting place, and the yard in front of it as a place for gymnastic practice. The gymnasium outfit consisted of a horizontal bar, and later money was collected from the members to buy parallel bars. After the course of half a year, the club rented a hotel building on East Washington street² partially destroyed by fire, through the damaged roof of which the pleasant sun and heaven's blue peered in inquisitively. In rain or snow, therefore, stay in the Turnhall was little agreeable. A single room in the first story was spared by fire, and remained in passably good condition for holding the weekly meetings, in which, with gusto, the reform of the world was forwarded.

Entirely in accord with the German national character there sprang up an opposition club—the Socialistic Turnverein composed chiefly of older men. Dr. Homburg, who had been an established physician here since the close of the 30's called the club into existence. Dr. Homburg had, at the time, taken part in the uprising of the students, and, like many others, was obliged to flee from Germany. He was a man of great learning, welcomed to every home, and notwithstanding his brusqueness he acquired a wide circle of friends in this city. An event of historical significance to Indianapolis gave incentive to the union of the two Turnvereins. The then sitting legislature had invited Louis Kossuth to visit our city. At the close of February, 1852, the distinguished Magyar came here from Cincinnati, warmly welcomed by the city authorities and the people. Kossuth was escorted to the capitol, and our Turners, as the only existing German organization, were not a little proud to serve as guards for the guest of the city, in full uniform, i. e., in white drilling suits, red cravats, and black felt hats. As the German poet, Gottfried Kinkel, on behalf of a revolutionary committee in London, had undertaken a tour through America in the

hope of obtaining a loan for the expected revival of the German revolution, so labored Louis Kossuth for the Hungarian cause. Two days after his arrival he gave, in Masonic Hall, an exposition of the Hungarian war of revolution. The great role which the former dictator of Hungary had played for several years in the fight against Austrian rule, his passionate nature, his radical ideas to which he gave utterance with all the fire of his eloquence, his living picture of the existing struggle, secured for him a sympathetic audience, and reminded our Turners of the old truth, 'In union there is strength'. In a short time thereafter the two Turnvereins united under the name of the Socialistic Turngemeinde.

Although the Turners, like most of the German immigrants of that time, were with their thoughts and feelings in the old fatherland, awaiting a call for assistance from the revolutionary party there, they nevertheless gave their attention to the political movements of their adopted fatherland. The Philadelphia convention of the North American Turnerbund, of which this club was a member, in 1851 adopted this resolution: The Turnerbund favors in general the platform of the radical Free-soil Party, and pledges itself to support it with all its power. Scarcely were 'the Greensies'—as the new immigrants were called—warm in their nest, when they dared to preach emancipation from both of the existing great parties, to the horror and astonishment of the earlier settled Germans, to whom the then Democratic party was the alpha and omega of their political faith. For a number of years both the Democrats and the Whigs carefully avoided the sore spot of the national organism, the slavery question. Both sides were always striving to bridge over by compromises the whirlpools that showed themselves, often in threatening manner, through the conflicts of the interests of the free states and the slave states. Filled with reform ideas of all kinds, for which the revolutionary soil of Germany had offered a fertile field, the newcomers pressed forward; while for the old, who for the most part had become reconciled to the conditions of their adopted land, or at least accustomed to them, the gravest problem of the time was a *noli me tangere*.

²225 East Washington.

The slavery question formed the focus of political agitation. The ideas of the two generations lay in opposition. Here the enthusiasm of youth, there the sedateness of age; here the boundless pushing forward, there the sober holding to the present; here the carelessness for the future, there the apprehension for the consequences of the forceful, progressive ideas of the young. Naturally the pushers and stormers achieved no practical results in the beginning, but they proved themselves to be a powerful leaven to bring the masses into ferment. Here in Indianapolis they even succeeded as early as the year 1850, in establishing a weekly German paper, the *Free Press*, which, wholly independent of both existing parties, represented the radical ideas of the 'Greenies', and therefore soon came to be called an Abolition sheet. The *Free Press* was the counterbalance of the Democratic *Indiana Volksblatt*, which, founded in 1848, had a large circulation among the Germans of the city and state. The following extract from an editorial article in the *Volksblatt* of March 31, 1855, entitled 'The German Immigration,' gives an excellent picture of the principal differences between the older settlers and the new immigrants in Indianapolis, differences which drew a dividing line during the entire later history of our Germans.

"Says the *Volksblatt*: 'With joy were the newcomers received by the earlier arrived Germans. * * * They saw in the newcomers the energies, which the German population of this country still lacked, to make its influence more felt in all directions upon the development of the new home. For this purpose a number of associations were quickly formed for the promotion of German arts and German life, and everywhere all seemed to be shaping itself for our welfare. But only too soon did a bitter disillusion follow this jubilation. The revolution had brought its leaders over from Germany; and with these a string of cliques and factions which could not possibly for any length of time be of good influence. Since the agitators had not succeeded in getting power over there, they expected to be leaders here in public opinion on all questions, even those which must have been beyond their comprehension on account of their being in this country so

short a time; they looked upon themselves as the exclusive representatives of the light of the world, which until their coming had shone but feebly on America and its Germans. These world-reformers, and the blind crowd which followed them, we have to thank for the failure of the hopes which at that time were awakened in all Germans. A large part of the German immigrants followed principles that were diametrically opposed to the spirit of the American people, and decidedly contrary to their character. No idea was too insane not to find fervent followers among them. The 'young Germans' danced around the tree of freedom of the Abolitionists, for which they had already been disciplined on the school bench and from the pulpit in the old home; many became apostles of Kabet and other world-blessing communists; women's rights found able advocates in Heinzen and his school; the new freedom had already become too old for these heroes; according to them it should be dumped head over heels or at least law and human rights should be remodeled to suit their own heads. For all these lunacies they soon found worthy organs in the German Press, which through their clamor contributed not a little to turn the attention of the Nativistic Party to their obnoxious principles, and in its hands they become weapons against us all.'

"The Socialistic Turngemeinde had in the meantime established itself firmly and even became a landed proprietor. Through voluntary contributions and the surplus receipts from festivities the club had accumulated a small capital that had been applied to the purchase of a building site on Noble street³ and the Turners 'had built a stately mansion', which in January, 1850, was dedicated with festivities. At the opening of this first home of a German club in Indianapolis, Clemens Vonnegut made the address. * * * It may well be believed that the members of the Turngemeinde made the fullest use of their hall. Whether the beautiful song, 'We won't go home till morning,' was often sung at that time is unknown to the writer, but from the tales of the elders it might often have been sung with propriety. The

³No. 117 North Noble.

larger festal gatherings were held in Washington Hall (later Lyra Hall, and now the hall of the Cleveland Club). To these festivities attach many happy memories of the older Germans of our city. * * *

"The great celebration in the history of the Turngemeinde, almost epoch-making, was the banner consecration, held in April, 1854. On April 29, 1854, the *Indiana Volksblatt* said: 'From far and near were the Turner brethren gathered to help in the celebration of the consecration of the banner of local Turners. Cincinnati, with its Turnengesangverein, and Louisville had sent full delegations, and Terre Haute, Lafayette, Madison, New Albany, Logansport and Shelbyville sent representatives or full delegations. On Wednesday the various trains of incoming Turners were greeted at the Union Depot by the resident Turners. They marched in procession through the streets, were welcomed at the Turnhall, and then taken to their lodgings. On Thursday morning the exercises were to have taken place in the open air, but fickle April willed otherwise. Just at the time of the display, the rain poured down in streams, and it became so cold and unpleasant that the celebration had to be adjourned. The paraders fled before the streaming rain into the Court House, and waited there an hour for it to clear up. Finally it was seen necessary to change the program, and to have the presentation of the banner in Washington Hall, during the festival ball, instead of in the open, as originally intended. Washington Hall could scarcely hold the visitors and resident members and friends of the Turngemeinde.' Says the *Volksblatt*, 'The ball was brilliant. Early in the evening a large company was assembled. The banners of the Cincinnati, Louisville and Madison societies hung from the galleries. Finally the ladies came into the hall in charming array. The banner was brought from the gallery and a thundering, thrice repeated Gut Heil greeted it. When all were seated, Fraulein Metzger (later Mrs. Hermann Lieber) presented the banner in a brief, well-turned speech. Messrs. Vonnegut and Wenderoth responded for the Turners. The handsome banner was then unfolded and borne through the hall. Soon after, the dance was opened with a Polonaise,

and till early morning the couples joined in the happy whirl.' Among the Cincinnati guests was Hermann Lieber, who found Indianapolis so pleasant that he decided to remain and settle here.

"The inspiration of the war of emancipation had awakened in the youth of Germany the love of song. Everywhere arose societies for the cultivation of song (Liedertafeln in the north—Liederkrænze in the south and in Middle Germany). Music became the social art of the new century, an indispensable ornament of every German celebration, and truly a pride of the nation. In every province awoke the passion for song as never since the days of the bards. One soon saw that with this nobler sociability a freer atmosphere came into the folk-life, and gladly boasted that before the power of song the ridiculous barriers of rank fell away.⁴ The songs of Karl Maria von Weber, Konradin Krentzer, Methfessel, Silcher, Marschner, Zoellner, Von Kueken, Abt, Schumann and others pressed into the folk life; the mighty current of the time, the democratic spirit of the new century found a strong echo in music, and free as the eagle's mighty pinions, song arose to the sun. It is hardly necessary to say that the Forty-eighters, wherever, through choice or the spite of fate, they made their residences in America, took care to make a home for song, the fairest jewel of German soul-life. The organization of song-vereins went hand in hand with the founding of turn-vereins. In the third story of a brick building, No. 75 East Washington street, which a few years ago gave place to the Pembroke arcade, resided at the beginning of the fifties a quartet of young immigrants, whom a freak of destiny had brought together in Indianapolis. An inexhaustible humor and the light heart of youth helped them over the unpleasant period of newness, and they made acquaintance of other countrymen and fellow-sufferers; and it was not long till the den in the third story became the gathering place of numerous young immigrants.

"Though inhospitable the room might appear, with its bare walls, giant bed, and

⁴Heinrich von Trietschke, *German History of the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 2, p. 3.

worm-eaten furniture, yet its occupants passed many happy hours therein, of which the elders to-day have many droll stories. The room and all that pertained to it was considered the national property of the young Germans, and—in confidence—there often ruled within its four walls a spirit of bachelorship of most daring significance. Edward Longerich, Gottfried and Hubert Recker and A. Schellenschmidt were the legitimate rent-paying occupants of the room; constant visitors and occasional fellow-lodgers were Nicholas Jose, Friedrich Ruseh, Karl Freese, August Viehweg, H. Krebs, G. Bauer, H. Schindler and others. They came together, discussed the news of the day, reminisced of home, or listened to the descriptions of August Viehweg, who as sailor on a Prussian warship had served in the war of the allies against Denmark. Naturally, by this assemblage, an effort was also made to accustom the German stomach to American beer, through frequent practice. No one of the regular or occasional occupants of the room dreamed that their congregation would attain a historical significance for the Germans of Indianapolis. Edward Longerich, a song-loving youth, was the lucky owner of a guitar, and under his direction songs were practised. Out of the original unconstrained assemblages came rehearsal evenings, for practicing vocal and instrumental music, and, in June, 1854, our brotherhood of the chamber adopted the name Indianapolis Maennerchor. New recruits were enlisted and German song was rendered in sympathetic tones.

"In the merry month of May, 1855, appeared the following notice in the German newspapers of Indianapolis: 'First Concert and Ball of the Maennerchor, on Monday, May 28, 1855, in Washington Hall. The members of the above song-verein invite all friends of song and dance to visit the arranged concert and ball. They will endeavor to give their visitors a pleasant and enjoyable evening. Admission \$1. Tickets at A. Hastreiter's, Buchrig's Hotel, or from the members.

Longerich, Jose, Baner, Committee.'

"The modesty of the singers conceals the gross results of this first concert, and inquisitive posterity must be content with the

following brief account in the *Volksblatt*: 'The German Maennerchor on Monday held a concert and dance at Washington Hall. We were unfortunately prevented from being witnesses of this Whitsuntide celebration, but we hear from all sides that German spirit and German mirth prevailed, and that all visitors had a pleasant and enjoyable evening. In place of Edward Longerich, who in the same year returned to Germany, on account of his health, E. Despa became director, and the rehearsals were held at his shop, No. 23 E. Washington street. As there was no electric light, and they could not afford the luxury of gaslight, each singer brought his light with him. One pictures to himself how the Turners held their assemblies weekly in the half-fallen hotel building on East Washington street; how the singers met regularly in the paint-shop of their director Despa, and, with notes in one hand and tallow-candle in the other, learned songs; and compare those times with today, when the Turners and singers have sumptuous quarters for practice at their disposal; and then realize how far in the course of past years we have advanced, and how much—we have lost.

"In the year 1856 the Maennerchor, which in the meantime had formally organized with constitution and by-laws, decided to admit passive members. In the same year they took part in the Saengerfest at Cincinnati. A year later they were able, through the kindness of the ladies, to celebrate a banner consecration. The year 1858 was notable for the holding of the Saengerfest of the Indiana Saengerbund at Indianapolis, in which the entire German population participated. The director of this celebration was Carl Barus, the leader of the song-verein of Cincinnati. The fest began on June 14, 1858; delegations from the societies of Louisville, Cincinnati, Dayton, Lafayette, Terre Haute and other cities being in attendance. On the opening evening there was a great concert in Masonic Hall; the Fest-president Clemens Vonnegut delivered an address, and Miss Hemminger, on behalf of the German ladies of Indianapolis, presented the Singers a handsomely embroidered banner, which bore the inscription, in golden letters, 'The honor of manhood is given into your hands;



(W. H. Bass Photo Co.)

MAENNERCHOR HALL

preserve it.' On the next day was a great parade; the procession halted at the Circle and the united singers sang several German songs amid a storm of applause from a thickly packed crowd. In the afternoon the fest-participants amused themselves on the sumptuously arranged Fair Ground (Military Park), and in the evening there was a great ball at Washington Hall.

"Of the greatest influence on the opinion of the immigrants of '48 who had made their homes in Indianapolis, was, and remained, the radical orator and writer Karl Heinzen. He was a man of iron logic. His whole life was an unending battle for freedom and truth. Revolutionist from crown to sole, he lashed unmercifully with tongue and pen the faults of his enemies and the weaknesses of his friends. He had, as Wendell Phillips said of him, 'the courage to dare to be wholly consistent.' The Germans of Indianapolis of that time found themselves in the happy stage of development; business cares, social duties, conventional considerations and aristocratic paroxysms were then unknown bacilli; the word 'society' did not exist in the dictionary of the period. The uncorrupted German good nature, with its great excellences, and possible impertinences, bloomed in the club life, and the multifariousness of German aspirations declared itself through the founding of organizations of all kinds. So there arose here, as in other cities of the Union, at the beginning of the fifties an Antimonarchy society, the leading principle of which was that it pledged the people of this republic to support the people of Europe in their struggle for free government.

"Later through the active agitation of the editor of the Cincinnati *Hochwächter*, Frederick Hassaurek, the Freemen's League was organized. This organization had for its aim 'to oppose by tongue and pen all prejudices of political, social and religious government, and through schools, public addresses and debates, to be active for the education of free men.' Alex. Metzger, John F. Mayer, George Fehrling, Th. Hielscher, Jos. Langbein and others were among the most zealous members of the league. In 1854 the first state convention of the Freemen was held in this city. The frankness with which this

convention spoke out on the subject of slavery was indeed refreshing when compared with the caution with which statesmen and politicians avoided it. To the Freemen's League is credited the service of founding the first German school in this city. Karl Beyschlag, editor of the *Freie Presse*, was the teacher. Moreover fortnightly plays were given in the league hall (southeast corner of Washington and Alabama). The dramatic section of the Freemen reached the climax in the production of Schiller's "Robbers". A further undertaking was the Tract Society of the Men of Progress, the soul of which was the then editor of the *Freie Presse*, Th. Hielscher. The literature which the society circulated in tract form was devoted to religious freedom and was directed chiefly against Puritanism and its cherished sister, Prohibition. The idea of diffusing spiritual nourishment among the masses was in fact borrowed from the Bible societies and Methodist organizations of the East, which were pledged to welcome each immigrant with numberless soul-saving tracts.

"The Turngemeinde took great care for the intellectual uplift of German life through the arrangement of lectures which according to newspaper reports were enjoyed by very large audiences. Frederick Muench, known under the name of 'Far West', Samuel Ludvigh—the 'Fackel Ludvigh', Schuenemann-Pott, Richard Solger, Judge Stallo and others gave addresses in the Turnhall. With great satisfaction, Schuenemann-Pott spoke of the activity of the liberal minded Germans here, in a letter by the Executive Committee of the Turnerbund, of which the following is an extract: 'In Indianapolis there is a living interest, as I have found for myself. Both associations were visited, and if I may judge from numerous assurances, utterances, hand-claspings and serenades, the reception of it was as sincere and hearty as I could have wished.' Historic memorial days like the Fourth of July, Washington's birthday, the anniversary of the death of Robert Blum, etc., were always fittingly celebrated, in fact, an opportunity to celebrate very seldom slipped by.

"Next to the clubs which were devoted to earnest effort, the Maennerchor gave its best

attention to musical entertainments, and the Thalia-verein to dramatic presentations. Both societies recruited their members from the same circles, and the zeal with which individuals took part in the efforts of the different societies is quite astounding to us children of the new period. From the Thalia arose another dramatic association, the Concordia, which every Sunday evening gave an entertainment at the Athenæum (northwest corner of Meridian and Maryland) under the disguise of a 'sacred concert', and on Monday evening presented more extensive plays. The Concordia appears to have gone out of business after a short time, and the Thalia-verein, of which Gottfried Recker, Alb. Hoening, Nicholas Jose, Charles Whittenberg and others were the high trumps, took its place. A visit to the presentations, however, left something to be desired, and this hampered it somewhat from the beginning. The newspapers were rather severe in their criticisms of the theatricals, but were more kindly to the attractions of the Turner Hall.

The Turagemeinde had in the meantime given up its property on Noble street, and moved to the Apollo Garden (on the southwest corner of Capitol and Kentucky avenues). The condition of Noble street was such that the unsuspecting traveler, in wet weather, would often leave his shoes sticking in the unfathomable mire, and must hastily abandon his socks lest he sink full length in the bottomless. The dear days of Kentucky avenue! How long past they seem! If one listens to our older Germans talk of the happy hours in the Turnhall on Kentucky avenue, he can almost wish that he were old, and might have lived at that time. There gathered the German life and aspiration of Indianapolis. There were turning, singing, theatricals, music, debates, as well as political and philosophical discussions. In Apollo Garden Hebe busily administered her government, and roguish Eros played his tricks with the happy youth. Turner exhibitions, dramatic presentations, concerts, dances, balls, and patriotic celebrations, with hair-raising fireworks, alternated in brilliant array. But also many a serious word was uttered there, for the Turnhall was the headquarters of the anti-slavery agitation, and the political barometer indicated a storm.

"The most meritorious work that the enterprising energy of our liberal minded Germans brought to consummation, and which proved to be of lasting benefit thereafter, was the founding of the German-English school. We cannot today judge what form the development of the German life of our city would have taken without this influence, but we know that the first German-American generation has taken up the ideal efforts of the older ones with zeal and intelligence, and has contributed much to their accomplishment. If it be a fact, as is often told us by outside acquaintances, that Indianapolis, in comparison with other cities of the country, has excellent material in its German-American citizens, then we will make no mistake in seeking the reason in the beneficial influence of the German-English school. It took to itself, in large part, the difficult task of keeping the growing youth German in thought and sympathy, a task which today falls almost wholly on the parents, and to which, if it be successful, constant perseverance, steady attention, and indefatigable effort are essential.

"The public schools in Indianapolis in the fifties were in poor condition; the entire tuition extended only over three or four months in the year, and had in consequence to be restricted to instruction in the more essential rudiments. In addition there were German private schools, for example in the Scotch church, corner of Delaware and Ohio streets, in Zion's church, in the so-called Second Ward school on Delaware street between Vermont and Michigan streets, likewise the Freemen's verein had a school, and also Theodore Hielseher, the place of instruction being on Washington street opposite the Court House. Praiseworthy as these were, there was still need for a school in which the instruction should be in English as well as in German. The practicability of this idea was often considered, especially by the members of a secret society which bore the oracular name of '*B. d. T.*'⁵ and defined the rights and duties of its members in a constitution composed of 19 articles and 121 sections. The *B. d. T.* will be remembered

⁵Bund der Tugendhaften—union of the virtuous.

as the secret society of the students, in vogue in Metternich's time, transplanted to American soil; and today, after more than 40 years, it would perhaps not be dangerous to bring one of the secrets of that circle out of the night of oblivion into the light of the sun. And so may be revealed the names of those who in 'Ziska Zelt No. 1,' i. e., in the office of the 'Z. H.,"⁶ Dr. Homburg, came together weekly for advising as to the present and forming plans for the future, viz.: Dr. Homburg, John F. Mayer, George Mannfeld, Jacob Becker, Math. Moesch, Th. Hielscher, Ferd. Wieser, Charles John, Herm. Weinberger, Fraz. Danne, and Gustav Zscheck. The members of this secret society deluded themselves with prodigious plans and built the most gorgeous air turn-and-music halls, compared with which the present German House is a mere bagatelle. Nevertheless one beautiful dream was realized after the lapse of a few years—the founding of an independent German-English school. Opportunely, at a Thomas Paine celebration, on January 29, 1859, was pointed out for the first time in official manner the need of ownership of a place for a school; rousing communications to the newspapers set the ball in motion, and a week later a provisional assembly named an agitation committee composed of V. Butsch, Alex. Metzger, F. Goepper, Wenderoth, Imbercy, Klotz and Th. Hielscher. At a later meeting was organized the German-English School Society by the election of V. Butsch as president and Hermann Lieber as secretary. The meeting decreed the founding of a school which 'independent of all sectarian influences should secure the education of free, moral men, in the principles of humanity.' At the same time \$500 was appropriated to a fund for building a school house. The project met such universal favor that within the course of three months a site was bought and a two story building was begun. Toward the end of 1859 the school was opened, under the management of the teachers Th. Hielscher and Julius Schumm with a moderate number of pupils at the start. Soon such favorable results appeared that with each term more pupils were enrolled. Addi-

tional teachers were engaged and the course of study broadened. Thereby the cost of management increased. The unavoidable deficit was made up by voluntary contributions and by entertainments, picnics, fairs, theatricals, concerts and balls, in which the whole German population took part, filled with commendable enthusiasm.

The Whig party had in the course of years surrendered one position after another, but the palliative of compromise failed of effect and the presidential election of 1852 broke the decadent party to pieces. New parties appeared. The universal clamor over the political distress raised, among others, a secret organization, which for its platform adopted the restriction of immigration, the purification of the ballot, and the introduction and maintenance of the bible in the public schools. The aim of this agitation was directed especially against the Germans, many of whom had joined the Democratic party, attracted perhaps more by predilection for the name than for the principal tendencies of the party. This secret organization called itself the American Party, and the jokers gave it the name Know-Nothing Party because its members to all questions as to their allegiance answered with a stereotyped 'I don't know.' After a short period of existence the American Party had attained success in many states of the Union, yet its methods of agitation ripened characteristic fruit; the native and foreign 'Rowdies' clasped hands, and under the firm name of American Party, these dirty confederates committed outrages. On election days it often came to cutting and stabbing affrays between the Know-Nothings and the Germans. In neighboring Cincinnati there raged a street fight for several days in the beginning of April, 1855, in which Turners and Singers had opportunity to show their readiness in barricade building.

The German society halls had to be guarded with saber and pistol; even at the peaceful beer-table our countrymen were constantly expecting the signal 'to arms', and the skatplayers looked up many times from their cards to inquire with apprehension whether they might play another round before the Rowdies came. In peaceable Indianapolis the know-nothing ferment did not

⁶Zelt-Hauptmann—Tent captain.

get in action. There was a skirmish now and then with some son of the Emerald Isle, especially as introduction to or wind-up of a picnic, and the voting in elections was often associated with danger, but in comparison with Cincinnati, Louisville, Columbus and others, Little Madam Indianapolis behaved herself very well. The entire Know-Nothing movement wrecked finally on the sound sense of the Anglo-American.

"A new party had for some time been groping into life, the Republican Party. Under its banner collected all those who had realized the danger of the supremacy of the Democratic Party. A motley assembly indeed found itself gathered together at the beginning of this new party. The Democratic *Indiana Volksblatt* described a convention of the Republican Party held in Indianapolis as follows: 'This motliest of all motley conventions of fusionists was composed of Know-Nothings, Americans, patented progressionists and abolitionists, northern secessionists and renegade Democrats, of Catholic-eaters and Temperance hypocrites, of Mainiaes⁷ and political priests.' Out of the conglomerate of political reform ideas and opinions crystallized the firm resolution, regardless of the threats of the 'fire-eaters' of the South, to call a halt on the further spread of slavery. The day for decision approached. The most exciting campaign in the history of the republic raged through the country. Mass meetings, parades, torch-light processions and demonstrations of all kinds increased the deep stirring-up; all other interests disappeared under the weight of the event. The 6th of November, 1860, holds a world's-historic significance through the election of the candidate of the young Republican Party, Abraham Lincoln.

"With the victory of the Republican Party the conflict was here; the slave states made good their threat and seceded from the Union before Lincoln entered his office. With apprehensive anxiety all eyes turned to Fort Sumter. On the morning of April 12, 1861, the hot-blooded Virginian, Edward Ruffin, fired the first shot at the Union fort; the garrison returned the early morning greeting, and the bloody drama of the Civil War

had begun. On the 15th President Lincoln issued the first call for 75,000 volunteers; on the 18th the *Indianapolis Journal* contained the following: 'The Turners marched to Camp Morton yesterday morning, accompanied by their own band, and joined the several companies with which they have identified themselves. Passing up Delaware street they stopped in front of the residence of Hon. A. G. Porter and gave him three hearty cheers, and then passed on to the residence of William Wallace, where Adjutant General Wallace is temporarily residing, and cheered the general with loud hurrah. The Turners are aroused and ready for action. All unmarried Turners answered the first call of Lincoln. The Turngemeinde was broken up. The Turnhall on Noble street was turned over to one of the creditors for the settlement of the more important debts of the society. The remaining effects of the Turners, consisting of banner, gymnastic apparatus and library were turned over to Hermann Lieber for preservation.

"The Maennerchor, which under the direction of E. Despa had made rapid progress, also went down from the beginning of the Civil War. Several of the active members had gone into the army, and moreover the harmony among the members had been tottering for some time. The interests of the whole country concentrated on the battle field. The cheerfulness of the German club life was silenced. Times had come that tried men's souls. That the Germans brilliantly stood the test is written in the book of history in indelible letters. In unmeasurable higher percentage than others the German immigrants fought under the starry banner for the preservation of the Union. Of the self-sacrificing devotion to the new home, and the patriotic inspiration of the Germans of Indianapolis, the following extract from the *Journal* of April 16, 1861, gives information: 'Our German fellow citizens held a meeting yesterday morning for the purpose of considering the propriety of offering their services to the Governor during the present emergency. They announced their firm and undying devotion to the land of their adoption and resolved to offer their services to the Governor with the understanding that they will not all be continued in the same

⁷Play on the Maine liquor law.

company, as they consider that all nationality should be sunk now, save that of the American. Long live our brave adopted citizens! They have felt and known the oppression of an aristocracy, and will never consent to again bow their necks to the yoke, nor sacrifice their love of liberty to save their lives.'

As the Turners returned at the close of their three months' service, a desire was urgent among them to organize a wholly German regiment. They were inspired to this by the service of the German regiment from the East under Ludwig Blenker, and the Germans of St. Louis under Franz Sigel. The idea was finally taken up actively at a roundtable which met every morning at 11 o'clock at Washington Hall, composed of Val Butsch, Dr. Homburg, Adolph Seidensticker, Th. Hielscher, and August Ritzinger, and with the approval of Governor Morton was brought to accomplishment. The first company was from Indianapolis. The remaining 9 companies were recruited at Madison, Aurora, Lawrenceburg, Terre Haute, Cincinnati, Lafayette, Laporte and Evansville. The command of the regiment was given to August Willich, then Major of the 9th Ohio regiment. His staff officers were, Lieutenant Col. H. von Trebra, Maj. Wm. Schnaekenburg, Adjutant Karl Schmitt and Quarter Master Edward Mueller. The regiment was enrolled as the 32nd Indiana Regiment, and departed on September 6, 1861, for Louisville, where the regimental colors were presented to it by Mrs. Seidensticker in the name of the German ladies. After a short stay in Louisville, the 32nd marched to New-haven, Ky., and from there into the field at 'Camp Nevin'." The further history of the 32nd is thus continued by the Captain of the first company, and later Lieutenant Colonel, Frank Erdelmeyer:

"Under the command of Willich, the regiment became one of the best drilled bodies of soldiers. We drilled under German command and German signals, and there developed a spirit of fellowship, a genuine soldier spirit, that brought us victory in many a bitter fight. During the latter part of the year our regiment was added to General R. W. Johnson's 6th Brigade, of McCook's Division. On the advance there appeared need

for forming a pioneer division, which Colonel Willich forthwith organized carefully, and it was put under the capable command of Lieutenant Joseph Peitzuch. These wise precautions proved their benefit in a short time. On the 12th of December (1861) Johnson's Brigade advanced to the village of Mumfordsville on Green River. The only bridge over the river was partially destroyed, and to cover its repair Willich threw two companies as pickets on the south side of the river, and our pioneers worked night and day to repair the structure. On the 17th the bridge was ready. It was high time, for shortly after noon the enemy's cavalry and infantry appeared. Our pickets gave the alarm; our companies formed quickly and went over the bridge at double quick. Colonel Willich was absent at the time, and the command devolved on von Trebra. With a precision as on parade our companies fell into line of battle. The rebel infantry could not withstand our well-directed fire, and were hurled back in wild confusion. Then the enemy advanced his cavalry, the dreaded Texas Rangers. With a wild cheer they rushed from behind a hill on our extended firing line, and individual fighting companies. But we received the impact steadily; the companies formed squares, and let the Texas Rangers come within a short distance; then sounded one volley after another; the wild riders were thrown back and many a one remained on the field. But again and again they returned! On the left wing Lieutenant Max Sachs, with a part of the Third Company, on the open field, grouped about two haystacks, was surrounded. He refused to surrender, and fought bravely till a bullet brought his end. Help came quickly, but unhappily too late for Sachs. The Texas Rangers now formed for a final charge, and our men held their position. Meanwhile I had taken possession of a little hill on our left flank to bar the way of the cavalry. Coming then we saw thick before us the enemy's infantry and artillery. I waited now till the infantry advanced to attack our right wing, and then advanced slowly with my company. The enemy imagined the whole division behind us, and, fearing a flank attack, turned back in hasty flight. The battle was over. On our side we had 10 dead

and 22 wounded. The victory belonged to the German Indiana Regiment."⁷

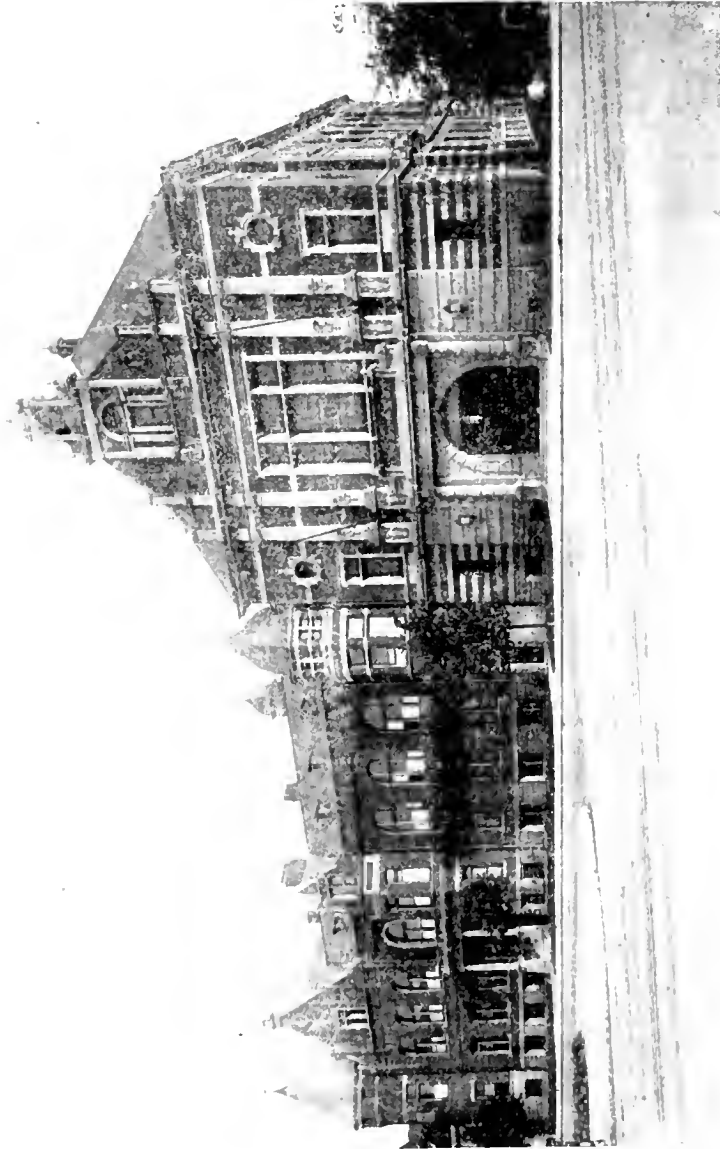
"The troops engaged were highly complimented in the general orders of December 27, 1861, by General Fry, who commended the regiment as 'a study and example to all troops under his command, and enjoins them to emulate the discipline and instruction which insure such results. The name of Rowlett Station will be inscribed on the regimental Colors of the Thirty-second Indiana Volunteers.' The following spring the legislature of Kentucky passed an act to purchase the field and notified the regiment of this recognition of its German defendants. In the further course of the war the regiment took part in the battles of Shiloh, Stone River, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge and the march to Atlanta, and maintained the good reputation it had earned in its first baptism of fire. It was Willich's regiment that attracted wide attention by a notable performance on the second day at Shiloh. It was advancing on 'the Hornet's Nest' when Willich noticed the lines of a new company wavering under the awful fire. He at once halted the regiment, and put them through the manual of arms in that rain of death; then, steadied once more, sent them on with the charge.⁸ There was also a German battery in the 6th Indiana that was raised at Evansville. Its captain was Friedrich Behr, and after his death at Shiloh, Wm. Mueller. The other officers of the battery were Louis Kern, Wm. Mussman, Ed. Janke, and Peter Butsch, of Indianapolis.

"After the close of the Civil War a new spirit made itself noticeable among the Germans of America, perhaps this change took place unknown to themselves. During the war, and frequently on account of the war, many had worked their way up to a comfortable condition in life. The improvement of their financial condition called for increased energy, and soon increased both their social obligations and their circumspection. Their active participation in club affairs naturally lessened in proportion as their commercial interests increased. Others may have neg-

lected the chance of the moment to take time by the forelock, or have lacked energy; be that as it may, the social relations of the Germans among themselves lost their former level, and the former lack of constraint of German club life began to lose its original naturalness. Moreover after the war the principal differences of opinion heightened. From social and political conditions arose animosities and enmities, which in turn spread in wide circles. The personal quarrels of some were carried into club life, and attained there the ruling influence. Factions were formed which finally broke out in long bickerings, and shivered the club in pieces. Their energies were broken in fragments. Some, weary of the unending squabbles, drew away entirely and threw themselves into the arms of the Anglo-American life. New societies, new cliques and clubs were formed. The historic weakness of the German people, particularism, broke out disastrously, also in far America. Another influence which reacted on the German club life was the readier division of the Germans in party politics. It is indeed not mere chance that in so many cities the leading spirits of two clubs, organized for the same purposes, are in public life, known as representatives of opposing political factions.

"But the chief influence in this process of transformation which slowly but irresistibly proceeded in all German clubs of the country, was the meanwhile ripening youth. A new generation had matured. Grown up in other surroundings it brought in a different thought and feeling. The revolutionary spirit of '48 which thrilled the fathers was strange and incomprehensible to the children. In the assemblages and entertainments of the German clubs, English conversation, which came so much easier, attained precedence. The German club life received a different character. The process of Americanization also overtook our forty-eighters, for the events of the past were too powerful to pass over them without leaving traces. The affectionate care for the family, the free intercourse and expression of opinion, the business and the dollar, the social and material advantages which the new home offered so profusely frightened away the homesickness, the gentle longing for the old fatherland, to a hidden corner of the

⁷ Lew Wallace's *Autobiography*, pp. 561-2; Willich's modest report of the occurrence is in the *Journal* of April 23, 1862.



(W. H. Boss Photo Company)

THE GERMAN HOUSE.

heart. The noble American knew how to appreciate the noble spirit of self-sacrifice which the Germans showed in the sore crisis of the Civil War. Business, social and political points of contact in consequence became frequent, and the mutual knowledge dawned upon both of them that each could learn much from the other. Out of the German in America developed the German American.

A strong bond for the liberal element was found for a number of years in the German-English school, the blessings of which were not obstructed through the years of war. During the war the Schulverein had bought the adjoining lot, and doubled the size of the school building (216 East Maryland street). The school itself, under the management of Johann Reitz and his son Heinrich Reitz (1862-1865) made excellent progress. It reached its bloom in the years 1865 to 1871. By the care of the principal a fine corps of teachers was secured, viz.: Th. Dingledey, Wm. Mueller, L. Klemm, Miss Mate, Mrs. Wynn, Miss Beman, and later Ernst Knodel and Christian Bopp. The studies taught were reading, writing, grammar, composition, arithmetic, geometry, geography, history, nature study in both languages, perspective drawing, music and gymnastics. The support of the school required considerable money annually, and it often required extraordinary effort to avoid a threatened deficit. Small as the tuition charge was, it exceeded the ability of many German families. There was, therefore, general satisfaction when Representative J. T. Coffroth, of Huntington, introduced a bill in the legislature of 1869 to have German included in the course of study of the public schools if the parents of twenty-five children in a school district petitioned for it. In recognition of the services of the Germans the House passed this bill on February 17, 1869, by a vote of 77 to 7, and the Senate declared itself for the same favor on April 27 by a vote of 37 to 3. Moved by an unselfish purpose to promote the general welfare, the members of the German-English society were the most zealous supporters of this law, though as before mentioned, the introduction of German in the public schools was the death blow to their own school.

"The attendance diminished yearly; the

money for the support of the management, which amounted to \$6,000 to \$7,000 annually, grew harder to raise. Nevertheless the leading members of the Schulverein did not abandon agitation for the support of the school, and thanks to the devoted activity of some the school was able to keep above water for a decade longer. It is due first to mention the capable teachers who, during this time, labored in the school, among whom were G. Gramlich, Hy. Koessly, P. Berwig, and especially R. C. Tschenteher, who was principal from 1872 to 1879, and Karl Pingpang, who served as teacher for ten years, until 1882. During the years 1865 to 1882, the names of the following members were most frequent in the Schulverein records: Val Butsch, A. Seidensticker, C. Vonnegut, H. Lieber, Ed. Mueller, F. Schmidt, Wm. Kothe, Alex. Metzger, Louis Lang, Jacob Metzger and Wm. Hauelsen. In the early part of 1882 the society found it necessary to give up the school altogether, as all attempts to find a teacher who was willing, according to the wishes of the society, to carry it on on his own account, were unsuccessful. All of the pupils went into the public schools, where they entered older classes without difficulty. In further evidence of the thoroughness of the German-English school may be mentioned the fact that pupils of former years, after finishing the German-English school, were admitted to the city high school without further examination, and, moreover, were regarded by the teachers there as model pupils. Thereby is answered the oft-repeated argument that a course in two languages is of no advantage to the intellectual development of the pupil."

Leaving Mr. Stempfel's account at this point, it may be added that the German movement from this time forward was devoted chiefly to charitable undertakings and musical culture, which will be considered elsewhere, and to the development of club interests. On January 1, 1865, former members of the Turngemeinde reorganized as the Indianapolis Turnverein, which met for eighteen months at Mueller's Hall, 27 South Delaware street, as did also the Maennerehor. The Turners then built, at 230 East Maryland street, the hall being dedicated on May 7, 1867. In 1868 the Boston convention of the Turner-

bund indorsed the Republican platform adopted at Chicago, and the Indianapolis society decided to expel those members who did not indorse the Boston action. On July 17, 1868, sixty-eight members were expelled. The "free thinkers" were putting freedom of thought behind the bars. Two years later there was another split over woman's rights, and other members withdrew. The expelled members of 1868 formed an independent organization called the Social Turnverein, and put up a building at 218 East Maryland street, which was dedicated in May, 1872. Meanwhile the Indianapolis Turnverein, weakened by the loss of members, and embarrassed by the expense of the Turn-fest of September, 1870, had to give up its building to its creditors. Various efforts to unite the two failed until the national Turnerbund ordered them to unite within three months. The union was effected on July 16, 1872, under the name, Indianapolis Sozialer Turnverein.

On April 10, 1870, the Friedenkerverein was organized to combat the pernicious teachings of Christianity, which it did by lectures, newspaper articles and tracts. More important, as a result of a meeting on December 7, 1884, it established a Gewerbeschule, or industrial training school, in which numbers of young people received instruction, and which was a large factor in the development of the Manual Training High School. In 1876 the "Zukunft", the organ of the Turnerbund at this point, supported Tilden and Hendricks, which caused a protest from the local society, and on account of which the Turnerbund in 1878 cancelled its contract with the paper. This brought the political controversy to a head, and on January 1, 1879, a minority of thirty-three members resigned and founded the Unabhaengiger or Independent Turnverein. This society made its quarters in Mozart Hall for six years. On July 29, 1884, a Turnhall Stock Company was formed, which bought the old Third Presbyterian Church property, at the northeast corner of Ohio and Illinois street, for \$12,500. Alterations were made in the building, and on February 3, 1885, the Society moved into the new home, which was dedicated on March 30. Soon after it bought, for \$4,500, the lot to the north, which was occupied for several years as a summer garden;

and in 1897 the present two-story building was erected. Meanwhile a new front was put on the building and an addition at the rear, the total of the remodeling, additions and new building costing \$45,000. The society took over the property from the stock company, and has refused to consider an offer of \$150,000 for it.

In October, 1891, the Sozialer Turnverein decided to erect a building, not for itself alone, but for the entire liberal-minded German element in the city. A stock company was formed that winter, and a site was purchased for \$20,000 at the southeast corner of Michigan and New Jersey streets. The work of building was pushed forward, and February 22, 1894, the east wing of the building was occupied with appropriate festivities. The remainder of the building was four years in completion, and on June 15, 1898, Das Deutsche Haus was dedicated, with music, addresses, and a play; followed by other festivities on the 16th and 18th. The total cost of this fine building was \$175,000. In addition to the Sozialer Turnverein, it is occupied by Der Deutsche Klub, which includes all stockholders in the house; the German-American Veterans Club, organized in 1873; the Musikverein, founded in 1897. The hall and portions opened to rent are much used by outsiders for balls, plays, and gatherings of various kinds. When the Sozialer Turnverein decided to move farther north, about a third of its members lived on the South Side, and a movement arose for a new society, the most active promoter being H. Widdickind. As a result the South Side Turnverein celebrated its foundation on November 5, 1893. Factional troubles soon came near disrupting it, but in September, 1894, Henry Victor took charge of it, and soon brought it into prosperous condition. Its first meeting place was the Phoenix Garden, but a building society was organized and on January 18, 1901, the handsome turnhall, on Prospect street near Madison avenue, was dedicated. The cost of the building and grounds was \$45,000.

In 1878 the Macmureher rented the old City Hall, 337 East Washington street; and it was dedicated to its new occupation on March 26, 27. In 1897 a fund of \$10,000 was raised, and the building was renovated

and ornamented, making a handsome residence for the society for the next ten years. But it aspired to something better, and by the accession of passive members the society had taken on largely the character of a general purpose club, and also acquired power to spread out. Accordingly it purchased a site at the northwest corner of Michigan and Illinois streets, for \$30,000, and erected its imposing hall at a cost of \$126,000. On February 17, 1907, the Maennerchor bade fare-

well to its old hall with due ceremony, and a month later dedicated its new building with a series of services beginning on March 21, on which occasion the opening address was made by Mrs. Fernanda Richter (Edna Fern) of St. Louis, on "German Song". This is the latest of the German building enterprises, of a quasi-public character, and is a gratifying addition to the ornamental structures that they have contributed to the city.

CHAPTER XXI.

CIVIL WAR TIMES.

(BY JOHN H. HOLLIDAY.¹)

The election of Lincoln had been preceded by threats of secession, but these met with utter incredulity. They were considered as ante-election bluffs. Every one believed the South would accept the situation after a little blustering. The Republicans were not abolitionists. Their contention was that slavery should not be extended, and the far-seeing ones who agreed with Lincoln, that the government could not exist half slave and half free, were few indeed in comparison with the mass who were contented to let slavery keep what it had. The Republicans had condemned Brown's raid the year before and they had no sympathy with Garrison, Phillips and abolitionists generally. In these later days it has been claimed in many obituary notices that their subjects were original abolitionists. If they had been the South would have been correct in the charge that the Republican party was an abolition party, but the fact is that most of the abolitionists were made such by the necessities of the war. Wendell Phillips was egged in Cincinnati in 1862 for an abolition speech. After the election the "fire-eaters", as they were called, proceeded to carry their threats into speedy operation. South Carolina seceded, followed by

other states. The national forts and property were seized when possible and the administration offered no hindrances, if it did not abet the movement. Even when the Confederacy was organized and the country was rushing on to war, the northern people believed it would be averted and did nothing but talk and agree to certain peace conferences that might hit upon a compromise.

Still there was some war talk in Indianapolis that winter. One faction of the Republicans, headed by Governor Morton, spoke for coercion, another, led by the *Journal*, thought it unnecessary and was almost ready for "peace at any price". On January 7, 1861, the Zouave Guards, a recently organized military company, offered its services to the Governor in case of war. On the 22nd the flag was publicly raised on the State House dome after a procession of the military and fire department in the presence of a vast concourse; a salute was fired and Caroline Richings, a popular actress, sang the Star Spangled Banner and aroused great enthusiasm. February 12 Mr. Lincoln came on his way to Washington, the first president-elect to visit here, and that was one of the great days of the town. What he said was not much but it inspired confidence that there would be no yielding without a struggle. He was inaugurated, but the rush of office-seekers almost obscured the condition of the country and the rising Confederacy.

Within two months, April 12th, the blow fell with the attack on Ft. Sumter. Sentiment crystallized in a flash. War had come unprovoked. The flag had been fired on and humiliated by defeat. There was but one voice—sustain the government and put down

¹ Mr. Holliday has kindly consented to the use of this hitherto unpublished article here. Living here during the war, and soon after its close founding the Indianapolis *News*, of which for many years he was editor, his personal familiarity with the subject, coupled with the extensive research given in the preparation of this article, make it a contribution to local history especially worthy of preservation.

the rebellion. The 13th day of April was another great day in Indianapolis, the greatest it had yet seen; and probably it has never been surpassed in the intense interest, anxiety and enthusiasm exhibited. Never were its people so aroused. It was Saturday. Business was practically forgotten; the streets were crowded; the newspaper neighborhoods were thronged; a deep solemnity was over all as they waited to hear the news, or discussed in low tones the crisis that was upon them. In the afternoon dodgers were issued calling for a public meeting at the Court House at seven o'clock. Before the time the little room was packed. Ebenezer Dumont, a Democrat who had been an officer in the Mexican War, was made chairman, and immediately a motion was made to adjourn to the Metropolitan theatre. The crowd, constantly augmenting, hurried down Washington street to the theatre, which was soon filled and overflowing. Then Masonic Hall, across the street, was opened and filled, with hundreds standing in the streets. The meetings were full of the war spirit. Governor Morton and others spoke. Patriotic resolutions were adopted declaring in favor of armed resistance. Major Gordon announced that he would organize a flying artillery company, for which Governor Morton had already secured six guns, and forty-five men enrolled their names for the war. At the close the surrender of Ft. Sumter was announced, and the meetings dispersed in deep gloom but with firm purpose.

Sunday was little observed in the usual way. There was no demonstration of excitement but great seriousness, for hundreds were pondering over the future and their possible part in it. The *Journal* published an extra with an account of the meetings Saturday night. The next day recruiting offices were opened, the military companies volunteered in large part; volunteers were offered from many other places; and on Wednesday, the 17th, the first troops went into Camp Morton, then the new fair grounds, covering the site of Morton Place. Then they poured in by thousands from town and country, some with flags, some with fife and drums or brass band; the streets were alive with them. It is beyond my power to give any adequate idea of those days with the hurry and bustle,

the innumerable details of the swift preparations, the deepening feeling and the continued excitement.

The *Journal* of the 16th reports it in a way as follows: "There is but one feeling in Indiana. We are no longer Republicans or Democrats. Never did party names lose their significance so rapidly or completely as since the news of Saturday. Parties are forgotten and only our common danger is remembered. Here and there inveterate sympathizers with Southern institutions and feelings scowl and curse the mighty tempest of patriotism they dare not encounter; but they are few, as pitiful in strength as in spirit. Even the *Scimitar* now avows its devotion to the stars and stripes, and gives us some cause to modify if not recall the harsh censures we expressed yesterday. Our streets are blazing with National flags. Huge banners wave from the tops of houses and hundred of flags flutter in windows and along the walks. The drum and fife are sounding the whole day long at Military Hall, where volunteers are pouring in to record their names and enter the service of their country; and crowds are gathered constantly around the doors of Colonel Dumont's station, where he is enlisting volunteers for a regiment of picked men. Though the news of the fight has as yet only reached towns along the lines of railroads, and no official or other notice has been published that the services of volunteers would be needed, 2,000 men, regularly organized and ready to start at the word, have already been tendered to Governor Morton, and more than 20,000 are forming with eager haste to be in time for acceptance. By the time the news can be thoroughly circulated through the state that men are needed, there will be more than 50,000 officered and ready. In the full spirit of the times Governor Morton has sunk party distinctions and yesterday appointed to the important post of Adjutant General of the State, Capt. Lewis Wallace of Montgomery County, a prominent Democrat and widely known for his military zeal and skill. Lewis H. Sands, of Putnam, another Democrat devoted to his country, has been appointed colonel. There will be no more Republicans or Democrats hereafter till the country is at peace." A vain prediction was this. The *Scimitar*, though for the moment

owed into half-hearted approval of the war, soon reverted to the denunciation of the administration and the battles of opposing politics were as many and as fierce as those of the armies, before the country was at peace.

There had been a lull in military spirit after the Mexican War, and Indianapolis had no permanent company for a decade. The City Guards were organized in 1852, with Governor Wallace as captain, and the Mechanic Rifles in 1853, but both soon went to pieces. A visit of the St. Louis Guards to the city in 1856 aroused the dormant sentiment, and the National Guards were organized, with Gen. W. J. Elliott as captain. They were uniformed in blue, with caps bearing white plumes. Some dissensions arose, and in 1857 General Elliott organized the City Greys, who wore grey uniforms and bearskin shakos. These were the only permanent companies until 1860, when a visit from Lew Wallace's Montgomery Guards, who were Zouaves, and drilled by drum beat, awakened new ambitions. The Independent Zouaves were then organized, on the same basis, with Francis A. Shoup as captain; and these three Indianapolis companies, with the Montgomery Guards and two Terre Haute companies, held a state encampment at the fair grounds (Military Park) the week beginning September 19. In October, 1860, the Zouave Guards were organized, with John Fahnestock as captain. They were gorgeous, in blue jackets with gold lace, baggy scarlet trousers to the knee, orange leggings and shirts, white belts, and rimless scarlet caps with tassels. They also made the record of being the first company to tender services to the Governor for any duty that might arise.²

These four companies went out in the Eleventh regiment in the three months' service. The Greys were Co. A., with R. S. Foster, captain; George Butler, 1st lieutenant, and Jos. H. Livesey, 2nd lieutenant. The Zouave Guards were Co. B., with John Fahnestock, captain; Orin S. Fahnestock, 1st lieutenant, and Daniel B. Culley, 2nd lieutenant. The Independent Zouaves were Co. E., with Dewitt C. Rugg, captain; Henry Tindall, 1st lieutenant, and Nicholas Ruckle, 2nd lieutenant. The National Guards were Co. K.,

with Wm. Darnall, captain; John McLaughlin, 1st lieutenant, and Wm. Dawson, 2nd lieutenant. There was one other Indianapolis company in the Eleventh, Co. H., which was organized in the spring of 1861, with W. J. H. Robinsen, captain; Fred Knefler, 1st lieutenant, and Wallace Foster, 2nd lieutenant. The Eleventh was a Zouave regiment, but with very mild uniforms of a greyish cloth resembling blue jeans, not made very full, and with very little color in the trimmings.

The Independent Zouaves went out a trifle warmer than the others. Their original captain, Francis A. Shoup, was a West Pointer who had served in the artillery in the regular army, and held the rank of second lieutenant when he resigned, on January 10, 1860, and located at Indianapolis. He was a good-looking fellow, quite talented, and a fine drill-master. The boys esteemed him highly, and at a company meeting in the winter of 1860-1, at which patriotic speeches were made by several, including Shoup, they presented him a pair of revolvers with holsters and trappings, being under the impression that the officers would ride, in the event of war. That night he went South, and it was soon rumored that he had gone to stay. There was a meeting of the company, and Volney T. Malott was delegated to correspond with him and learn his intentions. Shoup, who was then visiting Captain Hood—later General Hood at Charleston, promptly replied that he had decided to cast his fortunes with the South in the event of war. The meeting at which this answer was read was an occasion for "thoughts that breathe and words that burn". The idea that a native Hoosier, educated by the government, and sent to West Point, from Wayne County at that, should go over to the South, was simply appalling. However, there was nothing in the papers about it except mention that Shoup had resigned, and Lieut. Dewitt C. Rugg had been elected captain in his place.²

Shoup fared very well with his Southern friends. He was a major in 1861, commanding three batteries of artillery, and was made brigadier-general April 11, 1863. He was in command of the artillery at Mobile, chief of

²*Journal*, January 8, 1861.

Journal, January 30, 1861.

artillery of Johnston's army in the Dalton campaign, and chief of staff under General Hood at Atlanta. When Vicksburg was captured he was commanding a Louisiana brigade there, under Pemberton. Just after the capitulation, a private of the Eleventh Indiana saw a gorgeously attired Confederate officer approaching our lines on horseback, and recognized Shoup. With a yell of, "Get off that horse, Frank Shoup, you — — —!" he made for a stand of arms near by, but was stopped by an officer before anything serious occurred. In reply to the officer's question as to what he wanted, Shoup explained that he understood that the Eleventh Indiana was in his front, and he had come out to see some of his old friends. "Well", replied the officer, "you have seen a specimen of what the Eleventh Indiana thinks of you. You had better get back to your quarters at once; and I would advise you to dispose of those side-arms at your earliest convenience." Shoup was paroled, with Pemberton and others, and a few weeks later the Confederate exchange agent announced them as "exchanged", authorizing an equal exchange of paroled Union men; they then resumed their service. After the war Shoup entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church.

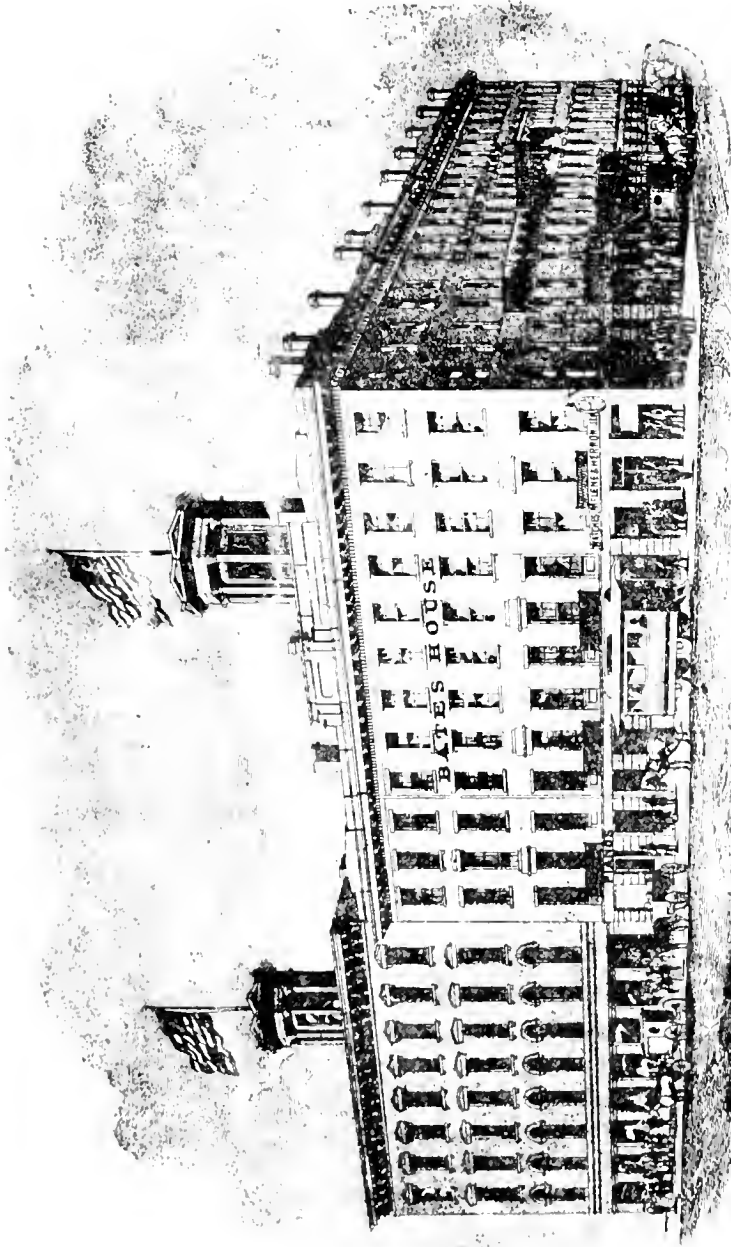
Human nature soon adjusts itself to extraordinary conditions. The town settled down and resumed its life, with the great new interest of the war. The six regiments that were called for to serve three months were quickly filled to overflowing. The Eleventh was the pride of Indianapolis. This was the Zouave regiment, organized and commanded by Lew Wallace, into which went the four militia companies of Indianapolis and one other. It not only wore the zouave uniform, and had guns with sword bayonets, but the drill was the zouave system, introduced into this country from France by Colonel Ellsworth of Chicago. It was a picturesque body, and its colonel was a picturesque figure. Who that witnessed it can ever forget how, when the regiment was gathered in the State House yard to receive a stand of colors from the ladies of Indiana, he made the men kneel and with uplifted hands swear to remember Buena Vista and the stigma put upon Indiana valor on that field by Jefferson Davis? What hopes animated and followed these de-

parting troops! How hearts were sorely tried and bereft as their boys marched away to face the unknown and perilous future! For they were but boys in the main, as we realize now, but they were men in purpose, and courage, and deeds.

Six regiments of state troops were called for by the Governor and these were soon filled and accepted by the general government for twelve months and three years. The whole state was awake. Governor Morton called a special session of the legislature to provide means for the war. The ladies met and formed an aid society composed of branches from each ward to make shirts and other garments and havelocks, a head protection modeled on the sun-bonnet and borrowed from the British Indian army—an article in great request at first, but it was never liked by the soldiers, and soon disappeared from public mention. The *Journal* issued an extra every afternoon. The City Council voted \$10,000 for the soldiers' families. Some railroads offered to carry troops free. Banks gave money. Gifts were showered on soldiers. There was eagerness to get into the service before the war could be finished. A man 92 years old enlisted; another shaved his beard and dyed his hair to pass muster. Home guards were organized in the wards, among them the Silver Grays, composed of men above military age, captained by James Blake, seventy years young, and with Caleb Seudder as president.

Illustrative of journalism was this item in the *Journal* on April 23rd: "Erratum. In Mr. Hyde's sermon as printed in our extra of yesterday there were two mis-prints which every intelligent reader corrected for himself. In the first sentence Kingdom of Israel should read Kingdom of Saul; and in the seventh paragraph peaceable resistance should read forcible resistance".

The legislature met on the 24th and all was amity. It organized by a unanimous election of officers, the only instance in the state's history probably, and then adjourned to visit Camp Morton and hear Stephen A. Douglass speak, which he did not; but he did speak that night from the Bates House veranda, of which no mention was made by the papers, when he again took his stand on the side of the Union and in support of the administra-



THE OLD BATES HOUSE.

(Abraham Lincoln spoke from first balcony, rear of car, February 11, 1861.)

tion, an act of inestimable value to the cause. Within a few days he was dead.

The Eleventh was sent to Evansville to quell possible disturbances on the border, but the remaining regiments were reviewed by General McClellan, Governors Yates of Illinois, Dennison of Ohio, and Morton and Senator Trumbull on May 24th, on the commons northwest of Military Park, then Camp Sullivan. Three regiments were in full uniform, one had everything but hats and one had nothing military, but all made a gallant appearance. It was the first time that Indianapolis had seen so many soldiers together and it was witnessed with great enthusiasm. It was the first of many such displays. The work of equipping these men was necessarily slow. It took time to make uniforms, and longer time to procure arms and ammunition, much of which was imported. It may be of interest to know what the uniforms cost. Two regiments were clothed in cadet satinnet, costing \$7.90 each, one in jeans at \$6.50 and another at \$7.50; the fifth of gray satinnet at \$6.75 and the Zouaves at \$10 each. Flannel shirts cost \$1.40, hats \$1.25, and shoes \$1.15. While waiting, the troops were drilled constantly, but it was not until June 19th that the last of the three months' regiments left for the seat of war. After this more regiments were called for, recruited and mustered, with two or three independent cavalry companies and a number of artillery companies, and later full cavalry regiments. A number of these never came here, but some passed through or camped here for a few days. There was a German regiment, an Irish regiment formed and a second projected, a railroad regiment, a mechanics' regiment, and a preachers' regiment, the field officers and captains of which were to be ministers, a scheme not fully carried out. Altogether fifty-eight regiments were authorized during 1861, although about half a dozen were never completed. Besides these many Indianians had gone into the regular army and into outside companies that recruited here, until the state authorities put a stop to it. It was a tremendous achievement to raise an army of over 50,000 men in less than nine months. Indianapolis contributed a number of companies to various regiments; and in almost every regiment there was some representa-

tive of the town. It was also true that many citizens of other places came here and enlisted.

A very important event was the return of the three months' troops in August. They had not had much war, as war appeared later; but they had done all that was in their power to do, and had borne themselves gallantly. Each regiment received an ovation of salutes, speeches, feasting at the west market house, and a heart-felt welcome. Each man was a hero, and nothing was too good for him. All these regiments reorganized for three years. Many of the men became officers in the new regiments, many new men were recruited, and before sixty days they were off to the war again.

The raising and drilling of troops was no more important than equipping them, for there was difficulty in obtaining arms, ammunition or accoutrements. On February 1, 1861, the state's supply of arms in possession of the state's quartermaster were "505 muskets, worthless and incapable of being repaired; 54 flint lock Yager rifles, which could be altered at \$2 each to percussion locks; 40 serviceable muskets in the hands of military companies at Indianapolis, which could be returned at once; 80 muskets with accoutrements in store; 13 artillery musketoons; 75 holster pistols; 26 Sharpe's rifles; 20 Colt's navy pistols; 2 boxes of cavalry sabres; 1 box powder flasks; 3 boxes accoutrements."¹

There were also estimated to be 600 muskets in fair condition, distributed among 15 militia companies in the state. The state was entitled to 488 muskets from the national government on its 1861 quota, and Governor Morton took in place of them a 6-pounder cannon and 350 minie rifles with bayonets. On April 27 Calvin Fletcher was commissioned to learn what could be obtained from manufactories of arms in the United States, and later Miles J. Fletcher was sent on the same mission, but they found practically nothing available. On May 30 Robert Dale Owen was commissioned to purchase arms to the extent of 6,000 rifles and 1,000 carbines in this country or in Europe, and this order was from time to time enlarged. To the close of his service on February 6, 1863, he pur-

¹ Terrell's Report, Vol. 1, p. 428.

chased 30,000 Enfield rifles, 2,731 carbines, 751 revolvers, and 797 sabres, at a cost of \$752,694.75; besides expending \$3,905 for cavalry equipments, \$50,407 for blankets, and \$84,829 for overcoats. His total bill for services and expenses for twenty months employed in this service was \$3,452.⁵

Ammunition was also almost impossible to obtain, and Morton, who balked at no obstacle, determined to try making it. Captain Herman Sturm, who had learned the business in Europe, was put in charge of the experiment in rented quarters on the square south of the state house, with a blacksmith's forge for melting lead, a room for making cartridges, and a detail of men from the Eleventh regiment to do the work. The work was a success, and our first troops were furnished with ammunition from this source. The work was started on April 27; and a month later Governor Morton ordered the construction of buildings for the work on the square north of the state house—now the north half of the state house grounds. On June 15 the *Journal* reported the buildings about completed. On the north side of the enclosure was a small brick building with furnaces for melting lead, and room for eight men to work at molding bullets, as well as benches for swedging and perfecting the bullets. Adjoining this was a room for filling shells and preparing fuzes. On the east and west sides of the enclosure were frame buildings for making cartridges and storing ammunition. There were soon about 100 women and girls employed in making cartridges, and the institution grew steadily. In October, 1861, Secretary of War Cameron and General Thomas visited this arsenal and inspected the work. They recommended its continuance; and it not only supplied most of the Indiana troops but very largely others. The transactions of the arsenal to its close on April 18, 1864, amounted to \$788,838.45, and the state made a clear profit from its operation of \$77,457.32. As high as 700 persons were employed in it at one time. In the winter of 1861, the furniture factory of John Oil, on West Washington street, was rented for the work, and cannister-shot and signal lights were added to the products. In 1862, partly

for safety and partly for economy, the arsenal was moved about a mile and a half east of the state house on Washington street. In 1863 the United States purchased the tract now known as the Winona Technical Institute grounds, and began the erection of an arsenal there.

In all this time the town was feeling an acceleration of blood in every vein. Military careers opened up to many; other service to some; and business opportunities to those who remained. Money was more plentiful than ever before, and population was increasing. Even politics was not forgotten. Candidates at the election of city officers on May 3 had been nominated before the war began. A few days later "C. A. R." in a communication to the *Journal* advises that "the Republican candidates should resign in favor of a patriotic ticket or a new party", "embracing all its country's friends". "Let us all unite now and forget party till the war is over." Sound advice, that if heeded and followed up would have been of untold value, but the selfish desire for office was too great and the election was held on party lines with Republican success. Soon after two new wards were organized but the councilmen were Democrats and they were kept out of office by the Republican majority until their terms were almost out. Such peanut politics bore bitter fruit in increasing partisan hostility. The *Sentinel*, though professing extreme loyalty, soon began a course of censorious criticism and opposition to the State and Federal administration that grew fiercer as the war progressed, and was terribly effective for harm to the National cause. Possibly a different attitude on the part of the Republicans might have prevented this, or at least modified it. Later in the summer the Democrats offered to withdraw their candidates for county and township officers and unite with the Republicans on a union ticket, but the offer was treated with contempt and another opportunity for conciliation lost.

Here are some interesting facts from the papers covering several months: A self-appointed vigilance committee was formed, and as early as May 4th began stopping the passage of arms to the South. There was a good deal of talk about disciplining "Secessionists". On May 3rd the *Journal* said:

⁵ Terrell, Vol. 1, pp. 433-5.

"Spot Him—That Secessionist who was chased out of Lewisville, Indiana, a few days since, who had been corresponding from that place with Southern traitors, was seen in our city yesterday. He should be attended to. Later—At a citizens' meeting he was ordered to leave instanter." It was about this time that a mob called on some well known Democrats and made them take the oath of allegiance. It is interesting to note that among the first to advertise for recruits was H. H. Dodd. His company of "Marion Dragoons" was never formed, and later he became the head of the Sons of Liberty. Within three months men began to be discharged from service for disability; officers resigned, some under compulsion; and on November 15th deserters are first mentioned, mainly from one regiment that had lost 150 men by disease in four months—a horrible commentary on the lack of camp sanitation and care of men. Regiments scarcely got to the field before they sent back recruiting officers to fill depleted ranks. An entertainment given in the fall by the Sons of Malta, exhibiting the burlesque ritual of that order, netted \$682 for soldiers' families. The City Marshal gave notice that he would take up all hogs that did not have rings in their noses; and every man that planted a shade tree was commended by the papers. October 10th, Governor Morton appealed to the women to furnish blankets, socks, gloves, mittens, woollen shirts and drawers, and on November 23rd it was announced that tons had been received and that nothing more was wanted, except gloves and mittens. This indicates something of what the women did. But for their sacrifices and support, the war would not have succeeded. They were useful in a hundred ways and at all times. In November the Ladies' Patriotic Association was organized, with Mrs. Morton as president, and glorious work it did.

In this same month the *Journal* says: "Two men refusing to take the oath mustering them into the U. S. service were yesterday drummed out of one of the camps near the city. One side of their heads was shaved, bundles of straw tied to their backs, they were moved on double quick in front of the line to the lively tune styled the Rogue's March." A notable reception was given to ex-Governor Wright on his return from Prussia. He had

been the great Democratic leader of the Douglass wing, as opposed to Jesse D. Bright; but from that time forward was an ardent Union man for whom his former party had no use. It is noted that fall that many riotous acts are being committed in saloons and evil resorts by soldiers. Much more of this is heard later on.

Indianapolis might be called the birthplace of machine guns. On November 7th a Mr. Hatch, of Springfield, Ohio, exhibited a model of a breech-loading cannon, made like a revolver, with percussion caps, and firing 25 shots per minute. It is noted that Dr. Richard J. Gatling, the inventor of the wheat-drill and other things, was present at the trial, and later he produced the celebrated "Gatling gun", exhibiting it first on May 30, 1862. The postoffice was moved on the 18th of November from South Meridian street to the new Federal building at Pennsylvania and Market streets. A national loan was offered, interest, 7.3%, for popular subscription, which realized after several weeks \$31,235; Humphrey Griffith, the largest subscriber, taking \$3,000. A review was held November 21st of 1,000 cavalry, 4,000 infantry and two batteries. The theatre went on steadily at the Metropolitan with such actors as Felix Vincent and Marian MacCarthy, Sallie St. Clair, Adah Isaacs Menken, C. W. Condoek, J. Wilkes Booth, with a daily change of bill. Prices, reduced, were 75 cents for a gentleman and lady to the dress circle, each additional lady 25 cents. Those to the pit, or parquet as now known, and the gallery were not given. The *Scout* continued its nagging opposition. It had much to say about "niggers". Witness the following: "The Rev. Dr. Weaver, This divine, late pastor of the African church opposite the Terre Haute depot, arrived in the city a day or two ago, and, we noticed, was very cordially greeted on the street by Mr. Barton D. Jones, of the *Journal*, the nigger's hand being grasped warmly by the latter."

The progress of the war was not smooth in 1861. The principal battle fought, Bull Run, was a defeat, and plunged the North into gloom; but it had a valuable result in demonstrating that the war was not to be an easy task, and convincing the people of the need of thorough preparation and larger ef-

fort. In West Virginia and Missouri the Union troops met with decided success, but the conflicts were small. In October, November and December an advance was made into Kentucky with gratifying results, but no serious fighting took place. This is not the place in which to follow the general course of the war, the aim being to allude only to incidents that directly affected Indianapolis, or to those great events that stirred it as well as the whole country to either gloom or rejoicing. The next year, 1862, was filled with big military events, and great campaigns and huge battles, with varying fortunes, but as a rule the Federal troops were successful in the West and the Confederates in the East. The story of the year can best be given in a running recital covering all matters of interest, rather than in a consecutive narrative.

Gold had gone to a slight premium in August or September, that had run by January to a point of alarm, and a number of eastern banks had suspended specie payments with the almost certainty that all would have to do so. Hugh McCulloch, president of the bank of the State of Indiana, that had not suspended during the panic of '57, wrote a card to the *Journal* early in January in which he said: "Under no conceivable circumstances will the Bank of the State of Indiana suspend specie payments." By the last of February nearly all the branches had voted to make redemptions in legal tender notes instead of gold. Another instance of Horace Greeley's wisdom when he said "it is hard enough to tell the truth about what has been, without trying to tell what is going to be."

The Indianapolis Horticultural Society was one of the institutions of the town. It met bi-weekly, and, as gardens were plentiful, had a good membership in which professional gentlemen were prominent. Apparently it never suspended meetings but kept right along dur-

ing the whole war, discussing topics of importance. It is interesting to see that the subject in January was shade-trees; and that the silver leaf poplar was decided to be a business tree, suitable for Washington street. Complaints were made of the Circle that it was used for beating carpets and littered with straw, probably the refuse of beds or straw ticks. It had a dilapidated fence around it, but University Square, which was used by the 19th Regulars as a drill ground, had none, and the aesthetic ideas of some of our aspiring citizens began to be offended.

On January 8th there was a grand review of all the troops, but singularly the *Sentinel* did not mention it. A public meeting to eulogize Douglass, seven months dead, was held. Robert Heller, illusionist, composer and pianist, gave an entertainment; Bayard Taylor lectured; Charles Bass played Falstaff, and Annette Ince Jennie Deans. The Underhill Block, being three-quarters of the square on which Shortridge High School stands, was platted into lots and offered for sale at \$45 per foot on Pennsylvania street, except the northwest corner, which was \$46.50. The southwestern quarter was occupied by the Baptist Female Seminary. The Delaware street lots were offered at \$35 for inside ones, \$37.50 for the northern and \$45 for the southern corners. The next month a lot 30 feet front centrally located within two and a half squares of Odd Fellows Hall was advertised at \$25 per foot. A *Sentinel* editorial February 6 gives the Democratic opposition in a nutshell: "He who loves abolitionism hates the Constitution and the Union. There is no friend of that pernicious heresy but who is for the vigorous prosecution of the war, provided it is for the emancipation of the negro, but not to preserve the Constitution and maintain the Union as framed by the patriots of the Revolution."

The donations of clothing and bedding for

⁶ The bank did not suspend specie payments, however, until after the Supreme Court had decided, at the May term, 1862, that it could legally do so. Its charter required the redemption of its notes "in gold or silver", but the court said: "The true interpretation of the section must be that the bank shall not refuse to redeem her bills in what Congress shall constitutionally make

legal tender money. The bank cannot be compelled to receive treasury notes from the citizen, in one hand, and pay to the citizen gold and silver in the other. Under this construction of the charter, the act of Congress in question does not impair its obligation regarded as a contract. (Reynolds vs. The Bank, 18 Ind., p. 467.)"

the troops were so great that Quarter-Master General Vajen had to advertise for applications for them from regiments, and this seemed to be unsuccessful; so, late in March they were turned over to the Sanitary Commission. This was an organization formed to look after the health and comfort of the soldiers in the field. It was a national society with a branch in each state. The one in Indiana was established in January, and of course James Blake was president and James M. Ray, secretary. There was also a Christian Commission later, on the same basis. It furnished material comforts as well as religious literature and evangelistic laborers. When the emancipated slaves became numerous the Freedmen's Aid Society was also organized on the same plan, to look after their needs. These various societies collected large sums of money and quantities of supplies, and were of great usefulness. Indiana, however, became noted for the care taken of its soldiers. This was Governor Morton's work and embraced not only the meeting of sudden demands after a battle, when he would secure surgeons and nurses with medicines and supplies as quickly as they could be transported, but also an unremitting attention to their health and comfort. When possible the sick and wounded were brought home or to hospitals in the North, at Evansville and Madison for instance, where large ones had been built. Permanent agents were maintained in cities near the front and others visited troops in the fields. It was the duty of some of these to receive the soldiers' money, when desired, and bring it safely home to their families. The system was executed carefully and Indiana gained the reputation of looking after its men more thoroughly than any other state, the credit for which was due to Governor Morton, who was justly named "The Soldiers' Friend".

In February the realization of what war was came near. Ft. Donaldson had been taken with many thousand prisoners. On the 22nd and 23rd, 2,398 of them arrived here, all from Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi regiments. They were taken to Camp Morton and in a few days the number increased to 4,000. From that time on, Camp Morton was a prison. This great victory gave rise to high hopes. It was freely asserted that the back-

bone of the rebellion was broken. The weather was severe and the prisoners were thinly clad, and many became sick. The town rallied to their aid. Hospitals were improvised, one in the old Athenaeum building at Maryland and Meridian streets, another in the old postoffice building on South Meridian and in other places. The ladies turned out as nurses, and the best possible care was given them, as much as if they had been Union men. Humanity knew no distinction, at least not much, for it was asserted that certain Democratic ladies who had never been known to help before, were very active at this time. The arrival of the prisoners created great interest. The *Journal* advised that "no rudeness be allowed or taunting expressions. Let us do as we would be done by". Later it reported that the conduct of the people was perfectly exemplary. One young man was said to be so anxious to "see the Secesh" that he followed them to Camp Morton, and getting mixed with them was taken in and held as one till the next morning. The *Scimitar* called them "Secession prisoners", never rebels. A public subscription for the wounded Federals reached \$5,400 in three days. On February 28th men were urged to join a new battery as it was probably the last one that would be organized in the state.

The price for the daily paper then was 12½ cents a week. There were no Sunday issues. All holidays were observed and there was no issue the next day. Train service was bad. The time to Chicago was eight hours and considered fast. News came slowly. It took ten days to find out that Pittsburgh Landing was not a great victory. The *Journal* published many letters from regiments and was beginning to discover what news was. After the battle of Shiloh, Berry Sulgrove, the editor of the *Journal*, paid a visit to the front there, and on the 29th of April wrote, among other things, this paragraph, which has more than passing interest: "Of General Grant I heard much and little to his credit. The army may know nothing of the real guilt of the late sacrifice and the real cause of the confusion that was left to arrange itself in a storm of bullets and fire, but they believe that Grant is at fault. No respect is felt for him and no confidence felt in him. I heard nobody attempt to excul-

pate him, and his conduct was the one topic of discussion around camp fires during my stay."

The *Sentinel* manifested some concern about public morals that savored more of a desire to carp and sneer than of sincere regret, for instance the following: "The Holy Sabbath—There is no Sabbath now. This is a time of war. It pains us, as indeed it must pain every other Christian gentleman, to see such open desecration of the holy day, although we suppose it is absolutely necessary now. Yesterday throughout our streets, soldiers were marching and countermarching continually. The drum and fife everywhere were heard. Companies and battalions with glittering bayonets and flaunting flags paraded under the Good God's glorious sun which He Himself with His own hand placed in the firmament all for His own honor and glory and not all for man's. President Lincoln's administration must be sustained, if we do smash the sacred day, which as innocent little boys we were taught to reverence, all to pieces. This might just as well be understood at once in heaven as it is on earth."

Real estate began to show activity. March 14th the Maxwell property (now the Fitzgerald), three lots and a good brick house, at the northeast corner of Meridian and St. Clair streets, was sold for \$9,000 and considered a good sale, as showing that real estate had not depreciated much on account of the war. Vacant ground within one and a half squares of the Circle was offered at \$60 per foot in 50 or 100 foot lots. The papers began to talk of contemplated buildings and probable large improvements. In April John C. New bought Nos. 10 and 12 East Washington street of S. A. Fletcher, Sr., for \$25,000, with the buildings that are still there. The Stewart corner at Vermont and New Jersey streets sold for \$45 a foot. The council ordered some street improvements, mainly downtown, which means between Maryland and Ohio streets. The houses were remembered to make room for more, what was 102 North Alabama street, for example, became No. 242. The low Court House grounds were filled up in June and so much building was done that the supply of brick ran out in the summer. On June 25th the *Sentinel* said: "Business in the city is brisk. Houses are not to be

had. The war so far has added to our population and the business of our city." The police were first uniformed in July. Before that the only mark of their business was a silver star. The coat was dark blue with brass buttons, the trousers a light blue with a small cord along the seam, and the caps were blue, a palpable imitation of army uniforms.

At this time we catch the last effort to enforce the fugitive slave law. Two Kentuckians found a runaway slave here, who agreed to return with them to Kentucky. Friends intervened and he was taken to a lawyer's office, where he escaped or walked off. Prosecutor Fishback arrested the men on a charge of kidnaping. They were brought before Judge Perkins of the Supreme Court on a writ of habeas corpus, who released them as having done nothing contrary to law, saying that while the fugitive slave law existed it must be enforced, no matter how repugnant it might be to the people of this Nation.

On July 7th Governor Morton issued a proclamation under the President's call for 300,000 more men. Recruiting had practically ceased for some time. A dangerous apathy was growing. He urged every man "to put aside his business and come to the rescue of his country", adding, "And to the women of Indiana, let me especially appeal. * * * Emulate the virtues of the Roman mothers; urge your husbands and brothers to the field. Your influence is all-pervading and powerful. And to the lovely maiden let me say, beware of that lover who, full of health and vigor, lingers at home in inglorious ease when his country calls him to arms". In spite of this appeal enlistments were few. On Saturday, July 12th, a "grand rally" to promote them was held. Governor Morton presided and spoke, as did Colonel Dumont, Wm. Wallace and Benjamin Harrison, the latter emphasizing his call by saying he would go himself. Money and land to be sold for money was offered by citizens to those who would volunteer in the 70th regiment, the one assigned to this district, and the meeting adjourned until Tuesday. On Monday Mr. Harrison was commissioned a second lieutenant and empowered to raise a company, which was the method used. The City Council voted to pay ten dollars per man to the first fifty and to make

no more street improvements this year except those that were actually necessary for the safety of the city. The County Commissioners voted \$10 each to the first 500 men. This stimulated the work and the response was such that the camp of the regiment was established on the 22nd. It was in that month that the Soldiers' Home was constructed. So many soldiers were continually passing through the city or remaining for a short time, both in bodies and individually, and for whom camps were not suitable, that it was absolutely necessary to provide a place for them. It was located on West street, south of Maryland, where there was open ground and a fine grove. Mr. George Merritt was the superintendent. At first it accommodated 100, but was enlarged from time to time until it could care for many more. All re-enlisting or returning regiments were fed there, and a hospital with forty beds was established. The maintenance came from the allowance for rations of the soldiers and the Home more than paid its way. Somewhat later a house was rented near the depot that was used for the same purpose by the wives and children of soldiers who had to remain overnight. The provost guard had its headquarters at the Home and several hundred men were in a permanent camp there for many months.

Reeniting became quite active, but it was greatly accelerated by the President's call on August 4th for 300,000 more men, to be taken by draft. Men fairly fell over each other to get into the army, rather than stand the draft, and what was considered the disgrace of being drawn. The regiments filled at once for both calls, and the scenes of the fall before were re-enacted all over the state, in this, the second great enlistment period of the war. The state's quota of the 300,000 was 21,250. In the end it was filled without the draft. In August, Kentucky was invaded in great force and our troops driven back. All available forces were sent forward at once, often unequipped and all green. Many battles were fought, both east and west, and for weeks the *Journal* was filled with lists of casualties at Richmond, Perryville, Inka, Corinth, Manassas and Antietam. A list of deaths of Indiana soldiers in hospitals had long before become an almost daily publica-

tion. Many prisoners were released in August, 500 taking the oath of allegiance at one time, but the most being exchanged.

In the last half of 1862 the more interesting facts noted are as follows: There was such a dearth of change, all silver having disappeared by reason of the premium, that various merchants issued tickets for 5, 10 and 25 cents, payable in goods. The government then issued fractional currency, or "shinplasters" as they were called, in denominations from 3 to 50 cents and these remained in circulation for years. They were counterfeited extensively even down to the ten-cent ones, and were a necessary nuisance. By this time taxes had been levied on almost everything, it seemed, but they were to be more and higher before the end. There were stamp duties, income tax, business licenses, taxes on manufactures, etc. Besides this was the tariff law, designated "an act increasing temporarily the duties on imports and for other purposes", and which filled six or seven columns of the *Journal's* smallest type. It was considered a terrible taxation on business and a prominent merchant said, "If that tax is levied it will make me disloyal". But that "temporary tariff" would be considered a light affair now. Shipments to Europe of Pennsylvania rock oil or petroleum to the extent of a million gallons during the first six months of 1862 caused the *Journal* to say: "This for a trade that is in its infancy is a large business." An event of more than usual interest was the resignation in July of Rev. Horace Stringfellow, rector of Christ Church. He was a Southern man and his sympathies were ill-concealed. Soon after the war began he was waited upon by a committee and firmly requested to pray for the administration, which he had not done before, and from time to time there were reports that he would leave. It was currently reported that his resignation was not voluntary, and that he was given a certain number of days in which to get out of town; but this was untrue, according to the statement of one of his warm friends, a lady still living here, who could not have been mistaken. He left because the situation had become unpleasant to him. He made his way to Virginia and remained there until the war was over. Frequent Union meetings were held to keep up

the spirit. "In all directions new buildings are going up, convincing proof of the prosperity of the place." The custom of ringing the fire bells when a member of the department died was inaugurated and only dropped in recent years. When the man who carried the mails between the postoffice and the depot was buried, the postoffice was closed for two hours. Nothing less than the President's death would do that now. While the draft was pending men leaving the county or state had to get passes from the military authorities. The Ladies' Protective Association reported that 10,858 articles, clothing, bedding, lint, bandages, compresses, etc., had been made since October, 1861. The State Fair was held that year at the old Military grounds, but did not prove very attractive.

October first there was the finest review yet seen, 10,000 men of all branches of service engaging in a sham battle afterwards. Christ Church was dedicated November 21st, though finished some years before. It had been planned to cost \$15,000, but ran much over. Deserters began to be very numerous and rewards were offered for their arrest, eighty-six from the 51st being missing. Crime had become so prevalent, and disorder of all sorts, that the streets were not safe. A permanent provost guard was established, that patrolled the streets, watched the Union Station and other places. Somewhat later guards were placed on every train when in the station and no soldier could enter unless he had a pass. Annoyances to citizens occurred sometimes and people began to realize what military rule meant. The Council was petitioned to remove Foot's dairy on Michigan street west of Pennsylvania, and referred the request with instructions to report an ordinance forbidding dairies in the city limits. Apparently this never was done. Thanksgiving day there was another review. There were then 12,000 men in the various camps, probably the largest number at any one time. D. J. Callinan's store, next to Fletcher's bank, was robbed of \$8,000 worth of goods, the record haul to that date. The court of inquiry into the conduct of General Buell began here. The owners of prominent newspapers met here and organized the Western Associated Press. Horses for the army cost \$94 each for a lot of 3,000. The largest tax-

payers in the county were Calvin Fletcher, assessed for \$137,155; S. A. Fletcher, \$132,824; N. McCarty's heirs, \$132,670; James M. Ray, \$135,772. The Schull Bros. bought the Baptist Church lot, southwest corner of Meridian and Maryland streets (the building had burned), 55 x 94½ feet, for \$5,000, also the Hasselman house adjoining (built by Mr. Vajen), for \$13,700. The house and lot on West Maryland on the west side of the alley back of these properties sold for \$5,400, the lot being 67½ feet front by 195 deep, and the house a good two-story one of ten or twelve rooms.

The *Journal* was an ardent admirer of General Wallace. He had been ordered to take the field in General Grant's department of Corinth, but General Grant immediately ordered him back to Cincinnati, whereupon the *Journal* said on November 13th: "General Grant has been living a good while on whiskey and the reputation he made without any effort of his own at Ft. Donelson, and if he has taken on himself to defy his superiors and flout his equals, he has about exhausted the patience that his factitious honors entitle him to."

Probably few know that on account of the scarcity of cotton, an effort was made to encourage its growth in the North. The government advertised that it would furnish free seed and instruction and appointed agents who traveled through the country to persuade farmers to plant it, making all sorts of plausible statements. So far as newspaper accounts show nobody took it up seriously. Captain Oglesbey raised some in his yard, which caused the *Journal* to make the following extraordinary statement that probably could not be verified: "Cotton was once grown in considerable quantities in this place. When Calvin Fletcher came here (that was in 1821) there was a large field of cotton full grown on Pennsylvania street, a little south of where the Blind Asylum now stands."⁷

⁷The *Journal's* statement is broader than the evidence, but Rev. J. C. Fletcher gives his father as authority for the assertion that James Mellyvain raised a patch of cotton, in 1821, on Pennsylvania street, where the Second Presbyterian Church now stands. (*News*, April 12, 1879.) It was used for candle wicking.

The general condition of the country as well as the depreciation in the value of the currency had by now vastly increased the cost of living. Prices had risen to unheard of figures and the question of living had become a very serious matter to the most of the people. Business men who were making more money than ever before might stand it, but there were scores and hundreds whose means had not increased much or were fixed. On these fell a burden that could not be lightened and they were forced to economies that often amounted to privation. Hundreds had to abandon tea and coffee and use parched rye or wheat as a substitute, and to exist on as little as possible. This was one of the uncounted sacrifices of the war. The high prices of the last few years, though bad enough, bear no comparison. On November 29, 1862, Governor Morton sent a communication to Senators and Representatives in Congress urging increased pay for the soldiers on the ground that the cost of living had vastly increased and the price of labor as well. He embodied in this a comparison of prices in August, 1861, and November 21, 1862, showing an increased cost in percentage as follows: Brown muslins, 190; bleached muslins, 175; American prints, 95; blue checks, 100; hickory checks, 100; canton flannel, 150; drillings, 170; cassinets, 100; jeans, 100; boots, 33; shoes, 56; brown sugar, 62; Rio coffee, 150; tea, 50; rice, 25; molasses, 40; flour, 44; salt, 180; meal, 75; fish, 33; potatoes, 130; candles, 50; wood, 100.

"It will be entirely safe," said he, "to say that the cost of living on the most economical scale throughout the northern states has increased at least 75 per cent within the last fifteen months and prices are still advancing. Thus \$8.00 per month in August, 1861, would have been a better compensation and gone farther in maintaining a family than \$13.00 per month in November, 1862. Soldiers are paid in treasury notes at par and as these notes have depreciated thirty per cent, as shown by the price of gold, their pay from this fact alone is substantially reduced to \$9.00 per month". This appeal bore no fruit and the soldiers' pay was unchanged. Think what penury it meant to thousands of families whose bread-winnings earned so little, or perhaps were cut off entirely. We hear much

of late years of the fortitude of the Southern people under privation, but it seems to be unknown or forgotten that distress was widely spread in the North, in spite of more favorable conditions.

The October election had been carried by the Democrats, who claimed to stand for constitutional liberty, the freedom of opinion, of speech and of the press, which had been trodden under foot. In reality they were opposed to the war. The vote was a surprise, showing a majority of 9,391 with seven out of eleven Congressmen and both houses of the legislature by good majorities. The Democrats claimed that the election here was unfair and probably they were right, as any soldier who chose to could vote without questions. The total vote of this state was 246,163, a decrease of 25,980 over 1860. Counting out the natural increase of 20,000 this showed a decrease of about 45,000. The Republicans claimed frauds in numerous counties and probably they were right too, as there were extraordinary gains in some whose population had not increased and many had gone to the war. Only three counties increased Republican majorities, two on account of Democratic splits and Marion, but 57 counties gave a larger Democratic vote than in 1860. Undoubtedly there was a reaction against the war; the repeated assertions of "abolition war" had been confirmed to many by the announcement of speedy emancipation. Many people were not educated to the point of seeing its necessity as a war measure and were full of the old prejudices and dislike of the negro and the "Black Republicans", who now openly confessed to be hated abolitionists; they voted the old way. Even in the army there was considerable of this sentiment and it took time to correct it. It is likely, however, that many who voted the ticket had no idea that the party when once in power would proceed to the lengths that it did.

I close the year with an anecdote of Lincoln that seems to have been lost sight of: A gentleman after pouring out his vials of wrath upon a prominent officer was surprised to hear the President quietly remark: "Now you are just the man I have been looking for. I want you to give me your advice and tell me if you were in my place and had learned

all you've been telling and didn't believe a word of it, what would you do?"

The war during 1863 was a gigantic struggle marked by great battles with varying fortunes. McClellan was succeeded after Antietam by Burnside who lost the terrible battle of Fredericksburg in December. Grant's operations against Vicksburg that month were met by defeat and Rosecrans's battle of Stone River was practically a drawn one. Hooker succeeded Burnside and was whipped at Chancellorsville in May. Meade succeeded him, and Lee broke for the North to be whipped at Gettysburg in July. Grant kept at Vicksburg and captured it at the same time. Rosecrans moved to Chattanooga and lost the battle of Chickamauga. In November the disaster was retrieved by Lookout Mountain and Mission Ridge. On the whole the advantage was with the North, but Richmond's capture seemed as far off as ever. At home the war came nearer in a form of actual peril for a few days during the Morgan raid, days that were full of excitement and apprehension to the town.

The Legislature held its session during the winter and the majority tried to obstruct Governor Morton in every way that it could. Daily the opposition of that faction became more violent and pronounced, and while that is another story it is well to know what the *Scoutinel* said about President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation in January: "The policy of the party now in power is developed. It is the abolition of slavery. It is the subjugation of the slave states—the destruction of the white race, where slavery exists, by servile insurrections. It is to make one half the country a howling wilderness and to elevate to the status of citizenship a worthless and improvident race. The two races cannot live upon terms of equality. The attempt will result in the extermination of one of them. The Administration has deliberately chosen to invite such a contest and aid the negroes in the destruction of the white race. The present condition of public affairs is partly attributable to the folly, fanaticism and imbecility of the party in power. The sectional difficulties of the country would have been amicably adjusted, but the Republican leaders refused all overtures to that end. They preferred war to peace.

they chose war rather than union, and what is the result of their policy? An united South willing to make any sacrifice, warring to secure their independence, and a divided North. * * * If this act of usurpation passes unrebuked, then we may bid farewell to constitutional liberty. The constitutional guarantees of personal rights and personal liberty will not be worth the parchment upon which they are written."

Notable incidents are as follows: Caleb B. Smith was appointed Judge of the U. S. District Court. Emerson lectured to a small audience, subject not given. Butternuts were worn as jewelry and caused numerous outbursts. Real estate went higher. W. C. Holmes paid \$4,000 for the lot where Judge Martindale lived, 429 N. Meridian street. A room on W. Washington street, No. 9, where Bobbs-Merrill Co. are, sold for \$450 per foot, and the lot where Sommers's store is, 11-13 E. Washington street, went at the same price to Robert Browning. The Farmers Hotel, northeast corner of Illinois and Georgia streets, now the Stubbins Hotel, sold for \$14,500 in specie, gold being worth 160. No. 15 W. Washington street sold for \$9,050 to J. A. Heidlinger. In March gold dropped to 38 and for some time fluctuated between that and 58. There began to be much speculation in that article with a wide range of prices. The sale of arms was forbidden. Dr. Bullard declined to meet Dr. J. F. Johnston, the dentist, in consultation because he was a Secessionist and a subscriber to the *Scoutinel*. Crime was rife and liquor dealers were forbidden to sell to soldiers, but apparently did not obey. Laborers got \$1.50 a day and carpenters and masons \$2.50, and were scarce at that.

In two years the City Hospital, so called, though maintained by the Government, Dr. Kitchen in charge, had treated 6,114 cases, 847 of which were prisoners of war, 277 of whom died. At the city election in May the Democrats withdrew their ticket on the ground that the election would be unfair, and only 14 Democratic votes were cast for councilmen in nine wards. Revenue stamps were sold at a discount of 2 per cent on \$50, 3 per cent on \$100 and 4 per cent on \$500 worth. A full company of negroes was enlisted for the 54th Massachusetts Regiment.

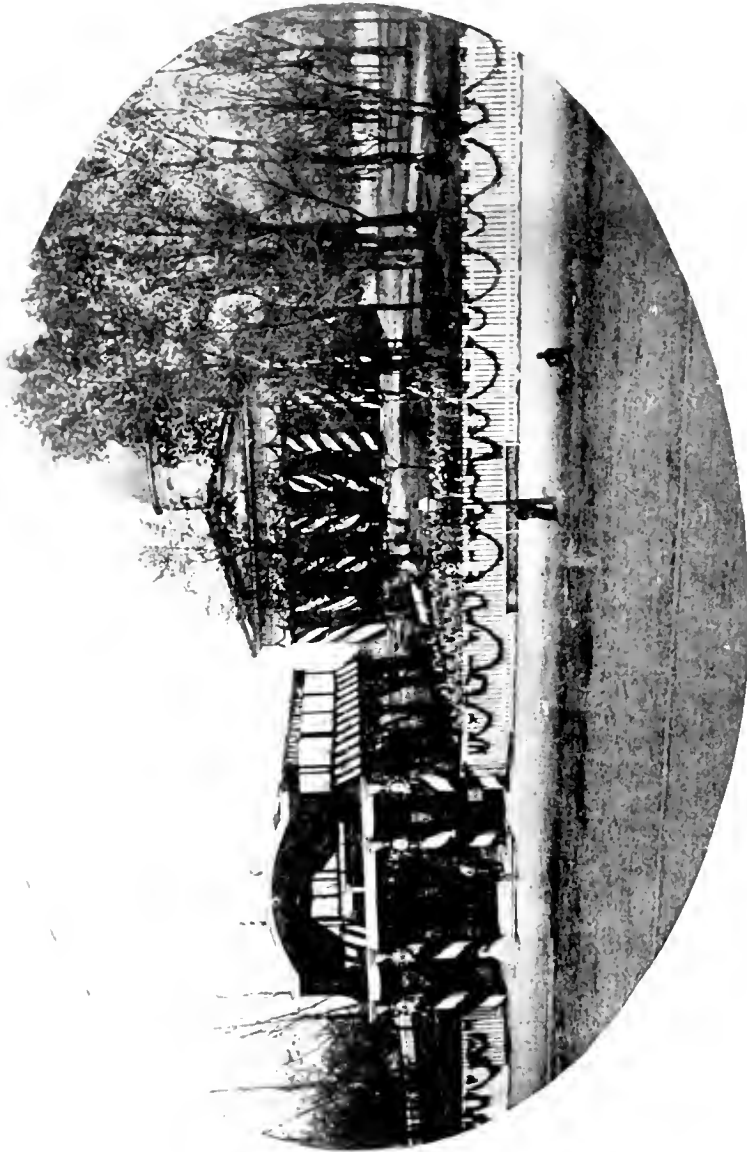
In May the famous battle of "Pogue's Run" occurred and 1,500 pistols were taken from delegates to a Democratic convention, by soldiers who searched the outgoing trains, in addition to which many were thrown into Pogue's Run, as the trains passed along it. W. S. Hubbard paid \$10,626 for four acres of ground on N. Meridian street, just above 11th street and running through to Illinois.

The first military execution took place on March 27th, Robert Gray being the victim. He was a Parke or Clay county school teacher who enlisted in the 71st and a few days later was captured at Richmond, Kentucky. Thinking he could escape military service he took the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy. General Carrington said he became a spy for them in Indiana, but the newspapers make no mention of that charge. He was convicted of treason and the sentence approved after several months delay. The execution took place in the rear of Burnside Barracks, between 18th and 19th streets. He was quite cool, and made a confession that he had acted wrongly through a desire to get out of the service.

On July 7th the town turned itself loose in rejoicing over Vicksburg and Gettysburg. There were fire works, bonfires and speeches. The next day word came that John Morgan had crossed the Ohio, heading for Indianapolis, and the scene shifted. His purpose was said to be the capture of the city, the release and arming of the rebel prisoners, the destruction of railroads, and the bringing of the horrors of war to the state. The excitement was indescribable. The bells rang alarms and a great crowd gathered at the Bates House. Governor Morton read the dispatches and urged the people to fill up companies in every ward, meeting places being designated. The next morning Governor Morton issued a proclamation asking business houses to close at 3 P. M., and calling on every able-bodied citizen to bring whatever arms he had and muster. Almost instantly the City Regiment was organized with one or more companies from every ward to the number of 12. Eight additional companies were also mustered in the city. Morgan moved more rapidly than the news about him and there was much ignorance and uncertainty. The City Regiment drilled on

University Square and the signaling for its assembling was the fire alarm bell. This rang several times but each time it was found the exigency was not great and the men were dismissed. The railroads and telegraph lines were taken possession of by the military and public use was excluded. Louisville sent \$1,500,000 of specie north for safety and the Indianapolis banks did the same with theirs. Morgan had crossed at Brandenburg, Kentucky, and moved north to Paoli, thence east through Salem and North Vernon, but his course was uncertain for several days during which time the armed populace of the state poured into Indianapolis to the extent of 60,000. By Monday the 13th more troops had arrived than could be used. All saloons were closed and business almost suspended. On Sunday afternoon the bell was sounded and in forty-five minutes all the troops in the city were in line. Five regiments slept in the State House yard that night. During this time many troops had been sent to the supposed field of action, but none came in contact with the enemy. None of the city companies left town, though twice they were marched to the trains and then ordered back. On the 14th it was announced with authority that Morgan had passed into Ohio and the raid was over so far as Indiana was concerned. Then came the natural revulsion of feeling and there was much joking over the events of the week; and as usual what was so threatening before was lightly spoken of. Even to this day some men will smile when they say they were veterans of the Morgan Raid, but no one who went through it would care to repeat the experience. An unusual accident took place on the 13th, when the 12th Michigan battery, then located here, was ordered away. As it came dashing down Indiana avenue from the camp, in the northwest part of the town, ammunition in a caisson exploded killing three soldiers, a boy and two horses, and breaking all the glass within some distance. Disorder almost ceased during the excitement, and be it remembered the saloons were closed.

That month Kingan & Co. located here and began building a mammoth packing house and flour mill. Dwellings were reported scarce and not a single business room to be had. The list of income-tax



(W. H. Bess Photo Company.)

STATE HOUSE, APRIL 30, 1865.
(Where Lincoln's body lay in state.)

payers for 1862 was published. Only two exceeded \$10,000—Calvin Fletcher and J. A. Crossland. In August gold fell to 26 and in September the first mention of a bath-room in a contemplated house was made. Agitation for street cars began. The Crown Hill Cemetery corporation was organized and bought Martin Williams' fruit and nursery farm. Fish and game were abundant and a wild turkey weighing 27 pounds was said to have been shot in the vicinity of Broad Ripple. The Young Men's Library Association was organized. On October 22, 2,000 prisoners were in Camp Morton. Judge Roache bought the fine Bishop Ames residence on North Pennsylvania street, now No. 1029, with four acres of ground, for \$20,000. In May a day of fasting and prayer was proclaimed by the President, and on August 6 a day of thanksgiving for the recent victories. Both were well observed.

Prices continued to soar. At the first of the year the newspapers had advanced their price to 15 cents a week. Paper had risen from 8 and 9 cents to 16 cents per pound, besides which an excise tax was put on advertisements. The *Journal* had prospered with other business. It was crowded with advertising so much that it had to enlarge twice, and its circulation grew so that it had to buy a faster press twice, in three years. The *Sentinel* shared little of the prosperity, such was the antagonism to it. Before the war ceased the prices of both papers was 25 cents per week, or double the original. The Ladies Fair in October netted \$7,000 from the raffling of various donated articles alone. Bishop Upfold, Episcopalian, condemned the use of flowers in churches, and declared that he would not visit or officiate in any church on Easter Sunday where a floral display was attempted.

The year 1864 opened with the cold New Years day, probably the coldest day on record the world over. The day before was warm and rainy, temperature above 60. By three o'clock the next morning it had dropped to 28 degrees by the then thermometers. A great social event, the house warming of John M. Lord's new residence on the southeast corner of North and Pennsylvania streets, took place on the 31st. Many of the guests were lightly clad and it is a

story to this day how they suffered in getting home. The suffering in the camps everywhere, north and south, was terrific and many persons were frozen to death. Gold closed December 31st at 52 and reached 75 in April. Wheat in New York was worth from \$1.44 to \$1.61 and corn \$1.30. The churches were reported as prospering. Protracted meetings were held in several with some additions. A daily prayer meeting was maintained at the Soldiers' Home under the auspices of the Indianapolis Branch of the U. S. Christian Association. The Scottish Rite of Masons was established. Judge Caleb B. Smith died. Butchers began to agitate for stock yards.

Military funerals were quite common and the circumstances of death were sometimes grievous beyond description. Adjutant Marshall Hayden was wounded at the attack on Vicksburg and captured in December, 1862. For months his parents lived in hope under the belief that he had been taken prisoner merely, when he had died in a few days. After that was known, his body could not be secured for months more and in February he was buried here, having been dead thirteen months. The town was becoming used to horrors. Every day corpses were transported through; the express companies left them on the pavements over night, and the Union Depot authorities refused to allow them to remain there more than an hour. Death was so common as to cause little comment. A Pennsylvania officer stopped over here and was found dead on the street, murdered. His father came soon to investigate and after a few days went away with no success, but complaining that he got no sympathy or aid and that the people seemed so inured to murder and death that they were indifferent. This was an exaggeration, but there was some foundation for it.

In February a draft for 500,000 men was ordered. The portions of regiments that had veteranized or reenlisted for three years more began to return on furlough and were publicly received and feasted. The Chamber of Commerce, or Merchants Exchange, was organized and gave daily market reports, an evidence of business progress. A great change was made in the theatre. What was known as the pit or parquet which was always oc-

occupied by men, was opened to ladies and called "orchestra chairs". These sold for fifty cents except about fifty that brought seventy-five cents. The general admission was raised to fifty cents. Many of the leading stars performed and the houses were packed nightly. A great union meeting was held February 22nd, with a parade of troops and speeches. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee being the star. Two arches were built on Washington street, one at Pennsylvania, the other at Illinois. Within these two squares there was a "scarlet fever" of flags. The *Journal* said the city never before "was so gallantly and profusely illustrated with our national colors". "At night," it goes on to say, "an illumination burst out along the streets that borrowed little splendor from the bonfires below. The *Journal* office was also brilliantly alight, and was probably the finest sight that any single building made. From floor to roof and from the roof to the upper lights of the tower it glittered with a splendor that might have recalled to travellers in Europe the great illumination of St. Peter's. In the lower windows blazed every admissible row of candles, while along the Circle street and Meridian street sides with their profuseness of window service, lights flamed and sparkled upon rows of Union flags that glowed almost as brilliantly as during the day in their new radiance." "At one time there were six bonfires going on Washington street." This showed a proper self appreciation, but as the lights were candles and probably not more than sixteen could be placed in a window, the modern sceptic will scoff at the brilliancy and be reminded of "Little Pedlington".

The street railroad system was begun that spring on a charter given to some New York people who associated some home people with them. The first line was built on Illinois street from the depot to Washington, thence to West, thence to the Military grounds and opened on the week of State and Sanitary Fairs in October. It was finished that year on North Illinois street to St. Clair. On May 3rd it was said that 1,400 pieces of real estate had changed hands since January 1st. John Morris sold his lot on the southwest corner of Meridian and Georgia streets, 96x205 feet, for \$200 per foot. The First Presbyterian

Church bought 125 feet of the Daniel Yandes home, at Pennsylvania and New York streets for \$22,000, and property across the street was valued at \$80 per foot—now held at \$1,250 or \$1,500. The Second Presbyterian Church on the Circle was offered for \$14,000. Joseph E. McDonald bought 32 ft. on North Pennsylvania street next Wood & Fondray's livery stable for \$375 per foot, and E. S. Alvord refused \$30,000 for his house and lot, on which the Newton Claypool block stands. Forty thousand dollars was offered for the old Athenaeum or Gymnasium building at the northwest corner of Meridian and Maryland streets. The First National Bank, opened in the December before, was the only incorporated one here except the Branch Bank of the State. House board was not less than \$5,00 per week. The retail grocers combined to sell for cash only, as wholesalers had agreed to credit no one. The school enumeration was 11,907, a gain in one year of 5,044. Baled hay was worth \$29.00 per ton and the government was paying \$156 for horses. Marion County had thus far spent \$120,300 for bounties and relief for soldiers. The Chamber of Commerce reported sales of goods in one year \$15,298,000, manufactures \$5,069,000, provisions \$776,524, total business \$23,026,524. It enumerated among the industries two woolen factories, one saw, one hub and spoke, two agricultural implements, seven flouring mills, six foundries and machine shops, two harness and two cooper shops, one rolling mill making 10,000 tons of rails, furniture, bakeries, confectioners, three railroad shops and packing houses. Elsewhere it was told, that there were 700 liquor sellers in the city.

The City Regiment had maintained an organization since the Morgan Raid. In April it was believed that the coming summer would end the war and Governor Morton proposed that certain states should furnish 100,000 men for one hundred days who would guard the transportation lines and release that many seasoned troops for active operations at the front, which was adopted and a call made. On April 26 the City Regiment was called to meet that afternoon to decide whether it should tender its services for that period. Few appeared, however. An enthusiastic war meeting was held at

Masonic Hall and every known influence to fill the call was brought to bear. Employers paid the salary of clerks who would go. Additional bounties were offered, young ladies volunteered to take the places of clerks while they were gone and in due time the regiment was filled, together with others from the state. Six and a half companies of the City Regiment were from Indianapolis, the remainder from adjoining counties. Probably this regiment was the most beloved of all that the town was interested in. The greatest pride and admiration was lavished on the 11th, for that was the first-born, next to that probably came the 70th and then the 79th, though the 26th and 33rd were highly esteemed. But the City or 132nd was the youngest born, the Benjamin, and the town's affection was lavished on it. Many of its members were really boys and many were older men, who were prominent and gave up much in order to help in the emergency. It was raised too by hard work, and the zeal and enthusiasm of the war seemed to culminate in the effort. It could not vie with the others in point of service for its life was short and its field narrow, but it did the work laid out for it, and who could do more? The *Journal* said that more people gathered to see it go than any other.

In May, with gold at 70, beef sirloin was worth 20 cts.; veal 15 or 20, mutton 15, pork 12 and 15, eggs 18, chickens \$3.00 and \$3.25 per dozen, potatoes \$1.50, butter 40 cts., canned tomatoes 25 cts., turnips 60 cts. and wood \$7.50 a cord—unheard of prices. On May 17th a meeting of ladies was held at Masonic Hall and addressed by Hon. Albert G. Porter who asserted that the country was being ruined by buying for gold \$500,000,000 worth of foreign products annually and reducing the value of greenbacks. A platform was adopted as follows: "To promote economy, to show our sympathy with the great hardships and sufferings of our brave soldiers and to aid the finances of the Government, we the undersigned ladies pledge ourselves not to purchase during the war any imported article of dress or house furnishing. We also pledge ourselves to lay aside during the war silk and other expensive dresses and mantillas, all laces, velvets and jewels, and appear as soon as practicable only in clothes

of American manufacture." The merchants were not pleased with this action and although some 800 or 1,000 signers were procured, exceptions began to be called for and the whole movement seems to have died a "bornim".

Gold soared that summer, getting way over 200, where it stayed until the fall elections and victories caused a reduction below that figure. Its highest price as noted here was 280. The University Square was improved by a public subscription of \$2,100. The first street car arrived in August "with cushioned seats affording ample room for sixteen passengers". A Sanitary fair was projected and later held successfully in conjunction with the State Fair. On June 1st Crown Hill Cemetery was dedicated, Judge Albert S. White being the orator. The first interment took place on the second—Mrs. Luey Ann Seaton, of Paducah, Kentucky.

As anticipated there was fearful fighting all along the line with Union gains. Politics warmed up, and just before the October election came the sensational and effective expose of the Sons of Liberty or Knights of the Golden Circle that had much to do with Democratic defeat, but which cannot be described here, though an interesting chapter in city history. On the 18th of October the *Sentinel* prophesied as follows: "If Mr. Lincoln is reelected the man is not now living who will see peace and prosperity in the Union. It is certain that future generations will never see that result if the radical policy prevails. It is hopeless of good." Within six months it welcomed the advent of peace. The theatre that fall introduced reserved seats, to be held until the end of the first act. Bandmann, Laura Keane, Lawrence Barrett and others played. A tabernacle for union meetings was built on the Washington street front of the Court House square. It was afterwards turned into an amusement hall and was not torn down until 1866. The assessments for the income tax were published officially in order to encourage informers. Bounty jumpers were paraded through the streets tied by ropes and preceded by a huge negro ringing a bell, and then sent to punishment. Live hogs were worth 14 cts. An era of oil speculation began that lasted a year or two and cost much money. Numerous

companies were formed to bore for oil in Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia, and Kentucky. D. M. Boyd sold 21 feet on the east side of Meridian just below Maryland street to Murphy and Holliday for \$347 per foot. Up to January 31st there had been 1,307 rebel prisoners buried in Greenlawn Cemetery.

The year should not close without reporting this from the *Journal*, though occurring in August. It was written in the style of Berry Sulgrove that pervaded the *Journal*, though scarcely by him. Col. James Blake's old bay horse and low seated old rockaway had been stolen; after recounting the incident it then says: "The miscreant who would steal Colonel Blake's buggy from the Circle fence while the Colonel is presiding over a Union meeting, would sneak into heaven and steal the supper of the Angel Gabriel". About New Years it was reputed that some friends had presented the good old man with a new vehicle.

The New Year 1865 opened with confident expectation that the war would soon end. Another draft was ordered and many citizens still living were among the chosen, but by great effort and expenditure of money the quota was filled. The last regiments, including the 156th, a half regiment, were raised for one year. The *Journal* declared that "Rebel prayers were a mockery to the Almighty". The Governor's "mansion" was sold for \$42,500. The era of combination among grocers, ice dealers, etc., began. An Opera House and Masonic Temple were projected; also water works, with a stand-pipe on Shortridge High School site—said to be the highest point in the city. Grant moved to the finish. Richmond fell on April 3rd. Lee surrendered on the 9th. The news was received at 11 P. M. but the town rose and as the expression was "whooped it up" all night. "Indianapolis never before was so thoroughly demented," said the *Journal*. Gold dropped from 191 to 144. Governor Morton appointed the 20th as a day of thanksgiving, but changed it to "a day of mourning, humiliation and prayer", when on the 15th news came of the assassination of President Lincoln. That day is described as "the most exciting one ever known in Indianapolis". The whole town was in mourning garb and all business suspended. Even the sun re-

fused to shine. But time forbids the recital of that awful and never-to-be-forgotten experience, followed by the protracted mourning and the funeral march from Washington to Springfield, during which the body of the martyred president rested in the State House for eighteen hours of the gloomiest Sunday ever known and was viewed by thousands of weeping mourners. That is a story to itself. It was the last of the five greatest days of the struggle: Lincoln's visit, the day Sumter fell, the opening of the Morgan Raid, the fall of Richmond and this one. May their like never be seen again.

The incidents of the closing up must be passed over lightly. Troops were soon discharged and sent home. All were publicly welcomed as they deserved, and while most came within a few months it was more than a year before the last Indiana soldiers were discharged. The great armies vanished into private life as easily as they came from it and all the apprehensions of trouble were groundless.

Indianapolis kept on her course of material progress that year. Prices continued high, building increased, rents were at unheard of figures, \$5,000 being paid for one single room by the First National Bank the southeast corner of Washington and Meridian streets. More banks and insurance companies were organized, railroads were projected, a steamboat built on the river, real estate boomed, and expansion was everywhere. In July there were 34 wholesale houses running with five more to open up as soon as buildings could be finished. The largest income tax payers were: Calvin Fletcher, \$31,043; S. A. Fletcher, \$30,960; Thos. H. Sharpe, \$27,847, and Oliver Tousey, \$28,530. Washington street property between Meridian and Illinois streets sold at \$800 per foot. The lot at the southeast corner of Meridian and Maryland, 25x130, was sold for \$400 per foot. In February, 1909, with a building on it, it brought \$60,000. Grant and Sherman visited the city and had rousing receptions. Baseball was started. The last rebel left Camp Morton June 12th. A public bath house was erected. On July 25, Sherman's wagon train twenty-eight miles long en route from Washington to Louisville passed through, and that fall witnessed the closing of the

Soldiers' Home, the Ladies' Home and all the canaps.

A crop of oats was cut from University Square, probably the only cereal ever raised there, having been sown as a cover for getting grass established there. A government military hospital was ordered, and the selection of a site developed great hostility from every locality suggested, but the close of the war caused the abandonment of the proposition, and gave wide-spread relief. In November the Blake orchard, a tract lying between Tennessee and Mississippi streets, extending from the alley below Walnut to St. Clair street, was sold at auction, realizing an average price of \$70 per foot, and attracting "the biggest crowd ever at a real estate sale in Indianapolis".

The cost of the war to the town may be fancied by a brief statement of some of the taxation. For the year ending June 30, 1865, the internal revenue tax on Marion County was \$517,742, the income tax \$161,861 on a total of \$2,618,007. In the year ending May 12th the city's income was \$597,831 of which about only \$170,000 was from taxes, licenses and fines, the rest was from loans and contributions to the draft fund. The expenses were \$854,391, a deficit of \$301,707 and \$775,000 went for the war fund. The estimated expenses for the next year were \$137,000. In addition to this the county had also incurred a war debt. The contribution of life can not be estimated, but it was large, many hundreds. Possibly as many as 4,000 men from this town went into the army first and last, and many never returned.

The war was over but its grim era closed upon a new Indianapolis. The quiet town with its simple life was gone forever and in its place was the bustling city with new ideas, new aspirations, new ways. Much more than half the population were new-comers. As it

had changed materially, it had changed in other respects. Its life was different. The war had brought sorrow to many households and broken up many. In four ordinary years there are likely to be many changes, but how much more in these four years of awful havoc and heart-breaking experience. Old friendships and social relations had been severed by death and by estrangement through differing opinions. The alteration in circumstances made a difference for many large fortunes had been made and many families had been impoverished or had gained nothing. There was more luxurious living and ostentation. The inevitable demoralization of war was to be reckoned with, and both morality and religion were affected. Hundreds of young men had become addicted to intemperance and the general moral tone had been lowered. Extravagance had increased in many things and was driving out the former simplicity. Change was over all.

"The old order changeth." That is the rule of life. Without the war Indianapolis would have changed at some time but it would have taken a generation for it instead of being hammered out in the white heat of the four years' conflict, and the slow transformation, almost imperceptible, would have been natural. But with all the changes something, yes much, was left. The impress of the early settlers could not be effaced. The influences that made for civic righteousness, for public spirit, for education, for cleanly living, for kindness, for general well being and progress, were not destroyed and they abide with us yet. However feeble their force has seemed at times, at others it has burst out in unrestrained volume, showing that it had not lost its power and that while material environment may alter, the spirit persists.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE COLORED BROTHER.

The negro was with Indianapolis from the beginning. General Tipton brought a negro boy with him when he came for selecting of the site of the capital, but his stay was only transient. When Alexander Ralston came here to live, he brought a colored housekeeper, Cheney Lively, who passed the rest of her life here and is remembered by old residents as "Aunt Cheney". Mr. Ralston left her some property; and some years after his death she married John Britton, a very reputable colored man, who kept a barber-shop, and accumulated some property. On June 19, 1825, two colored men, brothers, named Knight, were drowned in White River, at the mouth of Fall Creek.¹ This was the second instance of drowning in the river since the beginning of the settlement. The negroes came in with the other population, and the census of the town taken in 1827 showed 58 colored residents, 34 males, and 24 females. In 1835 the total colored population had reached 73, of whom 34 were males and 39 females; about one-half of all being adults.

The attitude to the negro was what it was generally in the free states at that time—one of tolerance to an inferior race. It is illustrated in the following advertisement, which appeared in the *Journal* of December 14, 1833: "A Card. Thomas Chubb (colored man), Barber and Hair Dresser. With all that humility that becomes gentlemen of colour, very respectfully tenders his services to the good people of Indianapolis. His Magnum Bonum and Ratlers are of the first grit, and his Cologne Water and perfumery of the very best quality. He is no politician, and the distinctions of party are entirely unknown in the grand flour-

ish of taking off a gentleman's beard. His shop is at the Washington Hall, where he will be extremely happy to administer to the comfort and gratification of all those gentlemen who may be incommoded by that troublesome appendage, a long beard. Gentlemen who from sickness are unable to call at his shop will be promptly waited on at their rooms, at any hour either day or night. In short, he does not ask a monopoly but only solicits a share of the public patronage."

There was a firm maintenance of the fact that Indiana was free soil, and a protection of negroes in the legal rights that this implied. The earliest case involving this subject arose in 1829. In the fall of that year Wm. Sewall, who had emigrated from Virginia, was passing through Indianapolis with four slaves—two women, Nelly and Mary, and two daughters of Nelly. They were detained for several days by high water, and, someone having told the women that they were free, they left Sewall and took refuge with one of the overseers of the poor. Sewall retook them, and on their behalf they were brought before Judge Bethuel P. Morris, on writ of habeas corpus. The evidence was conflicting as to whether Sewall intended to settle in Illinois or Missouri; but was unquestioned that he had left Virginia, and that he had voluntarily brought them into this state. They could not be said to have "escaped into" free territory. On this basis Judge Morris held that the negroes were free, filing a very elaborate opinion in support of his decision.² Decisions to the same effect had already been made in several of the southern states, and it had long been a principle of the common law in Eng-

¹*Journal and Gazette*, June 21, 1825.

²*Journal*, December 31, 1829.

land, where it had taken the poetical form—"A slave cannot breathe the air of England."

Of course the negro had no political rights, but there was one who exercised them for some time. This was Cader Carter, a quadroon, who passed himself off for a white man. But he was not content with voting, and took an active and aggressive part in street-corner and other debates. In 1836 he was a pronounced "Jackson" man and some of the Whigs who became acquainted with his secret, decided to put him out of business. They challenged his right to vote, and proved that he was within the prohibited degree of African blood, whereupon he voted no more. The first recorded manifestation of race hostility occurred in 1838, when some of the "chain gang" began annoying colored residents, and were resisted by a plucky negro, named Overall, with a shot gun. As related elsewhere, Overall instituted surety-of-peace proceedings against Daniel Burke, one of the leaders of the gang, and received protection of the law. Beyond this point of aiding the negro in securing protection from abuse, there was no apparent favor for him. Abolitionism was at a discount and anything like association on terms of equality was not considered by any one.

Yet there was a case of miscegenation here on January 1, 1840. A young lady had been brought here from the East to play the organ in the new Episcopal church, and her sister came with her. A few months later the sister married a light-colored mulatto, who had served in the family for some years. This caused much excitement, and a mob, led by Josiah Simcox, and composed mostly of young men and boys, surrounded their house and captured the groom. The bride was not badly used, but the groom was given a ride on a rail and warned to leave town, which he promptly did. Sulgrove says that the leader of the mob also left town and never ventured to return openly, though he did secretly. On February 12, 1840, in its account of the legislative proceedings, the *Journal* said: "Yesterday morning, Mr. Johnson presented the petition of Sophia Spears, the white female who recently, in this town, connected herself in marriage with a light mulatto man, praying a divorce. The petition was accompanied by another of the same import from a large number of the citizens of Indianapolis. Immediately after the

reading of the petitions, Mr. Johnson introduced a bill dissolving the bonds of matrimony between Sophia Spears and John N. Wilson, which was read three times and passed." It is notable, however, that it was not passed without opposition. The vote in the House was 61 for and 22 against the bill. There was also opposition in the Senate, but it passed on February 22, by a vote of 20 to 14.

There was another case of the kind ten years later, but the parties were not so prominent. On August 5, 1848, the *Locomotive* said: "A buck nigger, as black as the ace of spades, named Peter Tilman, tried to get several Justices of the Peace to marry him to Miss Parmelia Powell, a white girl, on last Wednesday. The license was procured by telling the clerk the girl had negro blood in her, but she is to every appearance as white as a lily. Peter is certainly a man of taste. We wish Miss Parmelia much joy of her conquest. Go it butes. The Doctor could not succeed in getting married here, and on Thursday he went to Boone County where he found more accommodating Justices. On his return he met a warm reception—eggs were plenty and the boys know how to throw them. He left for parts unknown yesterday morning."

It is probable that the claim of negro blood in the woman saved the couple from a worse fate, for the law was much more severe than in 1840. At that time the restriction on marriage was that it be "not prohibited by the law of God"; but on January 20, 1842, a law was passed prohibiting marriage between a white person and one having one-eighth or more of negro blood. It made any such marriage null and void, and provided a penalty of fine of \$1,000 to \$5,000, and imprisonment in the penitentiary from 1 to 10 years for the principals, and a fine of \$100 to \$1,000 for the adviser of such a marriage. By the revision of 1843 this was broadened by making such a marriage "absolutely void, without any decree of divorce, or other legal proceeding", and declaring the issue of such marriage illegitimate. This law was held to be in force by the Supreme Court in 1871, after the adoption of the fourteenth amendment. The court held that the United States had no jurisdiction of the subject of marriage within a state, and that such marriages were prohibited as violations of the laws of nature and of God. The Indiana court at

times seemed more deeply versed in the law of God than in the law of the land; as, for example, when it decided in favor of a debtor charged with fraudulently conveying his property to his wife, citing as authority only 1 Timothy, Ch. 5, v. 8: "But if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel."

It is possible that the Spears case may have caused a revulsion of feeling which, as well as the influx of a disorderly class of settlers, made the sentiment of the community more hostile to the negro. At any rate it showed very badly on July 4, 1845, when a negro was beaten to death by a mob, on a public street, under circumstances that would have disgraced any rowdy settlement in the country. The negro, John Tucker, was peaceably passing along Washington street, when Nicholas Wood who was half-drunk, struck him on the nose, making it bleed, and then dodged into a grocery, the negro remaining outside, and calling to Wood that if he wanted blood, to come out and he would get it. The evidence is quite fully reported in the *Sentinel* of August 13, 1845, and the occurrence is very fairly presented in the statement of Abraham Bird, which is as follows:

"The first I saw was Wood coming out of a grocery on the south side of Washington street. Wood made fun of the negro's nose because it was bleeding. The negro struck at Wood. Wood crossed over to a grocery and enquired for an axe handle, saying that he wanted to kill the damned negro. Wood picked up a board, and pursued the negro down the street. When he came near the negro, the negro picked up a brick and hit Wood on the head. A scuffle ensued; after which I saw Davis strike the negro on the back of the head with a brick or stone which Davis threw at him. It struck the negro, and the blow bent the negro forward. The back of the negro's head was towards Davis. The negro threw, and retreated towards the north, up Illinois. Saw the negro throw brickbats towards the crowd, but not until bricks had been thrown at the negro. The crowd still followed up the street. Davis threw a brickbat and hit the negro in the side. The negro then threw at Davis, hit him on the head, knocked him down. Several persons then threw at the negro, and

several cried 'Kill him'. Woods appeared with a stick following towards the negro. The negro told Woods not to strike, and Woods did not then strike. Davis was in advance of the crowd when he threw at the negro. Saw Ballinger standing near the signpost at Armstrong's, and crying out 'Kill the negro'. After the negro had knocked Davis down, Ballinger followed the negro and caught him by the collar, and taking a club in one hand struck at the negro, which blows the negro fended off. He then took the club in both hands and again struck the negro over the head, and knocked him down. The club was a common sized hand spike, about four feet long. About the time Davis was knocked down, Ballinger stepped up to some person having the club and said, 'Give me the stick; I'll soon fix him'. Was acquainted with the negro. His name was John Tucker. Wood then came to where the negro was lying, and struck him twice over the head or shoulders. Could not see for the crowd the precise place where he hit the negro. Some person then caught the stick of wood, and prevented further blows."

There was little or no conflict in the testimony except that Joseph Stretcher, who was first to get to Tucker after he fell, said that Davis also struck him with a brick after he was down, and others said they did not see this. There were half-a-dozen reputable citizens in the crowd trying to get them to desist, and urging the negro to get away. Even Dave Burkhart, the leader of "the chain gang" told him to go away or he would be killed, but he refused, saying that he was "a civil man" and "had insulted nobody". There was some testimony that others told him to stay and they would see that he had a fair fight, but it was very weak, and if true the support did not materialize.

There was no politics in it. On the 5th the *Sentinel* said: "On the afternoon of yesterday, the 4th, at about 3 o'clock, an affray occurred in this city between a negro and some whites, in which the negro was finally killed outright. The name of the negro is said to be John Tucker, about 15 years old, and previous to this incident he is said to have been of a quiet and inoffensive disposition. He was, we are told, formerly a slave in Kentucky, but many years ago honorably obtained freedom, and came to this vicinity. He had been em-

ployed on the farm of Postmaster Henderson for several years, up to the time of his death. He has left two children, a girl about 13, and a boy about 10 years old. On the complaint of two respectable citizens, Nicholas, or as commonly called Nick Woods, was arrested on the charge of having committed this fatal act. He was taken before Mayor Levy, but Wood being rather uproarious with liquor, and the excitement considerable, the Mayor very properly committed the accused until this (Saturday) morning. * * * The principal wounds received by the negro were apparently those on his head. There was a severe one,



"THE BABY" OF "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN."
(Louisa Magruder.)

perhaps the severest, over the right frontal region of the skull, probably made by a club; another on the back of the head; a large gash on the top of the front head a little to the left; a hole on the right cheek below the right corner of the eye, and the jaw bone fractured; a hole cut through the left ear and several smaller wounds.

"It was a horrible spectacle; doubly horrible that it should have occurred on the 4th of July, a day which of all others should be consecrated to purposes far different from a display of angry and vindictive passion and bru-

ality. All good men will reflect upon it with deep regret. * * * A more careful examination by physicians today proves that Tucker's skull was fractured the whole length. The blow which caused it would have felled an ox."

Naturally the town was horror stricken, and action was prompt. On July 29 the grand jury returned indictments against Nicholas Wood, Wm. Ballinger and Edward Davis for murder, and also for aiding in the commission of murder. Ballinger, who was a saloon-keeper, escaped before arrest and was never taken. Davis was put on trial first, but the prosecutor made the mistake of nolleing the indictment for "aiding" and tried him on the charge of murder, though it seems clear from the preserved evidence that he did not strike the fatal blow. He was acquitted on August 13. Wood was at once tried, and on August 16, the jury found him guilty of manslaughter; and the judge—Stephen Major—sentenced him to three years in the penitentiary. He afterwards served another term for larceny. On July 29, Wm. Watson; David Buckhart, and James M. Buckhart were also indicted for aiding in the commission of the murder, but were never tried. They were local "toughs", the Buckharts being leaders of "the chain gang", but they do not appear to have been guilty in this case. David Buckhart was indicted at this same term for gaming, and James M. for larceny. This affair had a sobering effect on the whole community, and, notwithstanding the general development of feeling on the negro question through political agitation, there is no record of any further serious mistreatment of negroes in Indianapolis before the Civil War.

And now was coming a great event in the history of the nation—the writing of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"—and in it Indianapolis had an interesting part. Mrs. Stowe says that after the publication of the book numerous towns claimed "Uncle Tom's", but that the character was a composite one, and that the "experiences" were largely drawn from the life of Josiah Henson. Her only acquaintance with Henson, however, was through the story of his life, which had been published years before, and the "experiences" were only suggestive, for Henson was not beaten to death, but escaped into Canada, and was a preacher there for many years. But there was an Uncle Tom in Indianapolis that she did know personally,

and so did nearly everybody in the place, for he was noted as an exemplary and religious man, and was generally respected. Henry Ward Beecher developed a great liking for him, and on at least one occasion referred to him in a sermon.

Uncle Tom Magruder had been a slave of Dr. Noble, in Virginia, prior to 1794. In that year the doctor moved to Kentucky, taking his slaves with him. In 1831, Governor Noble—a son of Dr. Noble—brought Tom and his wife Sarah to Indianapolis, and built a cabin for them at the northeast corner of Noble and Market streets, where they resided till their death. At the same time their daughter Louisa, who had been living at Lawrenceburg, was brought here to take care of the old couple. Uncle Tom was a Methodist, and after Roberts Chapel was built was a regular attendant there until the negroes had a church of their own. He was an enthusiastic worshipper—his “amens”, “hallelujahs” and “glories” being as frequent and fervent as those of any of the white brethren; and they had “shouting Methodists” in those days. His religion was not restricted to church, but was a characteristic of his daily life. It is the testimony of the Noble family that “Mrs. Stowe was a frequent visitor at Uncle Tom’s cabin, and wrote much of her book there”. The latter part of this is probably an exaggerated reference to her taking notes, which would naturally be reported by the unlearned darkies as writing a book.

In addition to this acquaintanceship, and the identity of name and character portrayed, there is a notable coincidence as to the family. In the fourth chapter of her book, Tom’s family is described as consisting of two boys, ~~Mose~~ and Pete, and the girl baby. Uncle Tom had but two children, Moses, and his younger sister Louisa, and they were middle-aged people when Mrs. Stowe knew them. But there was another male member of the family at the time, of about the same age as Moses, and his name was Peter. He had been a slave of Judge Isaac Dunn of Lawrenceburg until the decision of Polly’s case, in 1820, which put an end to slavery in Indiana.³ After that he continued to live voluntarily with his former master until all of his old negro friends in Lawrenceburg had

died or left the place, and he became very lonesome. Judge Dunn then made arrangements for him to come to Indianapolis and live with the Magruders, and he was living with them when Mrs. Stowe knew them. This makes the family identical with the one in the book, and the boys with the same names. Louisa had been married and had a daughter Martha—commonly called “Topsy”, but by no means so hopeless as Mrs. Stowe’s “Topsy”—who is still living. “Uncle Tom” died on February 22, 1857, and Louisa on September 7, 1900. Tom was buried in the Noble family



LAST HOME OF LOUISA AND HER DAUGHTER.

(454 Highland Ave.)

lot at Greenlawn, and Louisa in the Davidson family lot at Crown Hill. Louisa was 92 years of age at the time of her death, and had long been cared for by white friends, especially Mrs. George Frank Miller, who fulfilled her last request “to be buried with her folks”—i. e., the Noble-Davidson family. For a number of years after Uncle Tom’s death, Moses and Louisa lived in a log cabin on Wabash street, opposite the present Empire Theater—just back of the present Security Trust building—but after the war Mrs. Miller furnished Louisa a home at 454 Highland avenue, where she remained till her death.

At the time of Tom’s death, the *Journal* said: “On Sunday morning, an old negro, Thomas Magruder, better known in our boyish days as ‘Old Uncle Tom’, reputed to be about

³ *Indiana*, in *Am. Commonwealth Series*, p. 440, etc.

one hundred and ten years old, died in his cabin at the corner of Market and Noble streets. * * * He was buried yesterday morning. Thus has passed away one of the few for whom we have assurance, in a guileless life and an earnest faith, a rich reward is ready. If there was ever a Christian in the world, we believe 'Old Tom' was one. Indeed he had no distinguishing mark but his Christian virtues. There was nothing to describe him by to a stranger but his piety. In other men we note talents, education, judgment, memory, wit or fancy, but in 'Tom' the first characteristic noted would be piety, and there would be no other. * * *

"To those unacquainted with 'old Tom' the most interesting circumstance connected with him is the probability that he gave the name and the leading features of the character to Mrs. Stowe's celebrated hero. Of course no one knows that to be the case, but there are some circumstances which give it an air of probability. The coincidence of the character and the name are not much in themselves, but connected with the fact that Henry Ward Beecher, during his residence here, was a constant visitor of Uncle Tom's, well acquainted with his history, and a sincere admirer of his virtues, the coincidence becomes more suggestive. We have been told that Mrs. Stowe herself sometimes called to see the old man. 'Uncle Tom's cabin', too, was the name of his house among all his acquaintances, and was a familiar phrase here long before Mrs. Stowe immortalized it. At all events we know that it is the impression with all the friends of Mrs. Stowe and her brother, in this city, that 'Old Uncle Tom' was the original or at least the suggestion of the hero of the cabin."⁴

This was about the only feature of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" as to which the local papers did not differ, and they stood up for the claim when occasion demanded. A year later the *Citizen*, a new afternoon paper took up an item as to "the veritable Uncle Tom" appearing in a lecture at Boston, and said: "It is believed here that Thomas Magruder, an old negro who died in this city about a year ago was 'the veritable Uncle Tom'. The Beechers knew the old man, and it is altogether probable that Mrs. Stowe took from him and his rustic cabin—

which was so well known among observing citizens, but which has been torn down to give place to a more modern structure—the personification of her world-renowned 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'."⁵ If this opinion, so publicly and repeatedly expressed here, had not been well-founded, it is passing strange that none of the numerous friends and admirers of the Beechers in this city received any denial of it, which would necessarily have broken the uniform faith in the tradition.

While the public and the press were at the height of their discussion of the accuracy of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" as a presentation of slavery, there came an occurrence that created a more profound impression at Indianapolis than the book did. On June 20, 1853, John Freeman, a negro who had been living in Indianapolis for 9 years, had married here, and had four children, was arrested on affidavit of Pleasant Ellington, formerly of Kentucky but then of Missouri, charged with being a fugitive slave. He averred that Freeman had run away seventeen years before. There was no question that Ellington had lost a slave, named Sam, at that time. Freeman was a man of good character, and had acquired some property. There was a great deal of excitement for several days, during which John L. Ketcham, Lucian Barbour and John Coburn were employed to defend Freeman. After two or three brief adjournments to give counsel opportunity for investigation, Commissioner Sullivan adjourned the case for 60 days to permit Freeman to procure evidence, and public feeling then quieted down, though there remained an intense interest in the case. Concerning the progress of the case the traditional stories are quite conflicting, but the most detailed and accurate statement is the following contemporary one:

"At the request and by direction of John Freeman, Mr. Ketcham, one of his attorneys, went to Monroe, Walton County, Georgia, and ascertained that Freeman had truly stated that to be his former residence since 1831, up to 1844—that he had been free there at all times. He brought to Indianapolis Mr. Patillo, the postmaster in Monroe, who upon seeing Freeman in jail, recognized him in the most friendly and affecting manner. While Mr.

⁴*Journal*, February 24, 1857.

⁵The *Citizen*, April 5, 1858.

Patillo was in town. Ellington came with three men from Greenup County, Kentucky, who went into the jail against the remonstrance of Freeman's counsel, but under the direction of the United States Marshall, John L. Robinson,—stripped Freeman, looked at his scars and marks and swore to him as the slave of Ellington. The case seemed to be very dark.

"In the meantime, however, Mr. Coburn, another of Freeman's counsel, had been taking depositions in Greenup County, Kentucky, at Amanda Furnace, and there heard that Ellington's slave some years before, had sent his respects to his master by Dr. Adams, of Ohio. He learned that the Doctor's daughter lived in the county, and from her he found out his residence to be in Jackson, Ohio. He immediately went to see the Doctor, who stated that he had taken Sam's respects to his master—that he (Sam) then lived at Salem, Ohio, and passed by the name of William McConnell. That he had told his name in a public speech—his master's name to be Ellington—his residence Greenup County, Kentucky, opposite Hanging Rock—his history, his escape and capture at Millersport, Ohio, in the year 1835, in the canal. It was upon the occasion when Mr. Paul, of Wheeling, attempted to retake his slaves and failed, having been resisted by Sam (alias McConnell) and others.

"Mr. C. then went to Salem, where he found the Doctor's statement confirmed; found men who knew Sam's marks—his history since 1836, at Salem, and his account of his slavery and adventures on Big Sandy, at the Iron Furnaces, and the Hanging Rock Ferry. He found that McConnell answered the descriptions given of Sam in the depositions in Kentucky, which did not correspond with Freeman."

"He returned to Indianapolis and offered to bear Ellington's expense to Canada, to Sam's residence, where he had fled on the passage of the fugitive slave law. This Ellington refused to do. Mr. C. then went to Canada, found Sam, alias McConnell. He acknowledged his name—his master—told his history and Ellington's freely. Mr. C. then proceeded to Kentucky, and prevailed upon Henry A. Mead,

Esq., a relative of Ellington, a slaveholder, and a man of wealth, who now resides on the farm from which Sam escaped, to go with him to Canada. He also prevailed upon Captain James Nichols, a near neighbor, and the largest slaveholder in Greenup County, to accompany them. They are both gentlemen of the first character, and friends of Ellington. When they started they said it was impossible that Ellington could be mistaken in his man, but that they would go to Canada and see if the man pointed out was really Sam. They went together—when near Sam's house Mr. C. stayed behind in the woods, and let Messrs. Nichols and Mead go alone to the house. As they approached, a mutual recognition took place—they met as old friends—shook hands—conversed freely about Ellington and all their former acquaintances.

"Sam seemed very glad to see them. He showed them the scars on his person, a very large burn on the outside of his left leg below the knee, going down over the ankle—bites in the back over the shoulders, a mark on his left wrist, and another on the left elbow—his peculiarly small ears—his singular feet, the two longer toes being much longer than the others in proportion; and what were surer marks, their mutual recollections tallied. They went to Indianapolis, in their depositions stated the facts as above, and that they had not the shadow of a doubt as to the man in Canada (McConnell) being the genuine Sam.

"Liston, one of Ellington's counsel, became convinced by the statement that Freeman was not the slave, and upon Ellington's return on the following Saturday, advised him to abandon his claim. He brought with him his son to swear to Freeman, but before seeing him he first read the depositions of Messrs. Nichols and Mead, which prepared his mind for a proper inspection of Freeman. He said he did not believe Freeman was his father's slave. The case was then dismissed. Upon that day, and the following Monday, six Georgians came to testify in behalf of Freeman. They have all known him since 1831. Creed M. Jennings, his old guardian, came. Governor Howell Cobb would have come if telegraphed.

"All praise is due these gentlemen from Kentucky and Georgia for their magnanimous and manly conduct, and most nobly does their disinterested generosity contrast with the rapacity

"This fact makes the darkest feature of the case against his claimant and the witnesses who swore to his identity. See Smith's *Early Indiana Trials*, p. 278.

of Ellington. Ellington, as a ruse, pretended to desire to compromise with Freeman on Saturday, but ran away without having offered one cent. He was sued for ten thousand dollars, and notice served upon him. No honest and humane jury will deny Freeman a heavy verdict." ⁷ This dismissal of the case was on August 21, and on September 3 the *Locomotive* had stated that suit had been brought against Ellington for \$10,000, adding: "An unsuccessful attempt was made to compromise—the attorneys of Ellington offering either to pay \$1,500 as a full satisfaction, or else the expenses incurred by him in the suit, including reasonable lawyers' fees, \$2 a day for lost time, and a reasonable amount for damages. Freeman's counsel agreed to receive \$3,000." The *Sentinel* had made a similar statement on September 1, and on September 3, Messrs. Ketcham and Barbour published a card in the *Journal* saying: "No proposition to settle the matter at any sum, or on any terms was ever made by Mr. Ellington or his attorneys, or either of them. The nearest approach that was ever made to an offer to settle was this, made by Mr. Liston, when he dismissed his client's claim: 'If you will take \$1,500 in full of all demands I will advise Mr. Ellington to give it, but I want you to understand that I am not authorized by him to make any offer.' To which he replied: '\$1,500 will not more than cover the actual expenses Freeman has incurred not including anything for attorney's fees or compensation to himself for the outrage.'"

Freeman certainly had cause for action. For over sixty days he had been confined in the upper room of the old jail—the second one—on the east side of the courthouse square, alone except for a casual comrade or two at odd times. It was while he was a solitary inmate that George Lingenfelter was brought in intoxicated, on August 3 and fell through the trap, pulling the door down and crushing his skull.* It must have been an awful strain on the man, held there, with the uncertainty as to whether he should be carried away into slavery. His brightest days were when some of his old Southern friends came to his relief. On August 26, the *Journal* said: "Mr. Jennings, a

Southern gentleman who was formerly Freeman's guardian, came all the way from Georgia when he heard of the latter's bad situation, and was accompanied to the jail, like Mr. Patillo before him, by counsel and several of our citizens. Freeman was not informed that Mr. Jennings was in the city, or anything else in relation to the intended visit. The prisoner was shaking hands with the others when he observed the stranger; he rushed toward him, grasped his hand with emotion, fell on his knees, and exclaimed, 'God bless you Massa Jennings!' He then turned around and observed to the spectators that Massa Jennings knew he didn't lie, and that he was not a slave, or something to that effect. The spectators were strongly moved, and we are informed that Mr. Jennings could not repress the tears of feeling and sympathy."

To this account the *Journal* added: "The case will be tried next Monday, when everything will undoubtedly be weighed in the scale of justice and Freeman liberated if he is not a slave. The day is looked for with great interest." This was the most vigorous comment the *Journal* made during the whole affair; and this was the day before Ellington himself gave it up. It is amusing now to note how carefully the *Journal* avoided the subject, as did the *Sentinel* also; and in fact most of what is preserved about the case was by the *Locomotive*. But the editor of the *Journal* was doomed not to escape criticism. On August 29, a mass meeting was held at Masonic Hall to take action in regard to the Freeman case—though the nature of the action was not mentioned. The case was to have been heard that day, and a number of persons from over the state, who had not heard of the dismissal, had come to attend the hearing. Rev. S. T. Gillet presided, and five of the gentlemen who had come from the South to testify in Freeman's behalf, occupied seats on the stage. Geo. W. Julian, who had come over to hear the case, was called on for a speech, and made a hot attack of the fugitive slave law. He never minced matters, and was an outspoken abolitionist. This was getting away from the purpose of Freeman's counsel in calling the meeting, and John L. Ketcham replied, urging that "the law as construed by the courts was not liable to the objections made by Mr. Julian." Meanwhile John Coburn had come with

⁷*Locomotive*, September 24, 1853.

**Journal*, August 5, 1853.

some resolutions, and asked the editor of the *Journal* (John D. Defrees) to introduce them, as he felt that he should not himself on account of being of Freeman's counsel. He did so. The resolutions were not objectionable from any point of view. They simply declared that the meeting was "heartily rejoiced at the unconditional release of John Freeman from the claim of those who would have consigned a free man to the degradation and sorrow of slavery"; and accorded "much credit to the liberality and humanity of those gentlemen who have come from the South for the noble and generous purpose of seeing and knowing that justice should be awarded to one whom they believed to be entitled to the blessings of liberty." These were the only resolutions adopted, but the meeting was promptly denounced by the Democratic press as a free-soil, abolition Whig meeting, and the accounts grew until it was alleged that the meeting was "got up by George W. Julian, John D. Defrees & Co. for the purpose of making political capital"; and that it adopted "a resolution in favor of repealing the fugitive slave law"; and those participating were labeled "albinos", "white niggers", and "woolly-headed Whigs". This did little damage, however, beyond giving Mr. Defrees some trouble in explaining that he was neither a free-soiler nor an abolitionist.⁹

But there were others who spoke out vigorously. The *Indiana American* wrote a scathing article on Ellington and United States Marshal Robinson, and, among much else, said: "We see in this case the most remarkable instance on record of mistake in personal identity, or else stupendous perjury. Here comes Ellington and swears to his 'chattel'; then come others to testify to his identity; and yet after all he is no slave, but a bona fide free man. Now were Ellington and his co-swearers all this time mistaken? If so, what a lesson to courts on the difficulty of 'personal identity'. If not 'mistaken' then were they all the while practising deep perjury. And now, who pays all these costs? Who pays the loss of Freeman's time, the sacrifice of his business, and the destruction of its profits? * * * By the 'mistake' or perjury of the covetous wretch who sought to increase his ownership in groan-

ing humanity, has this man been stripped of his property. Has he a remedy? Does this 'glorious compromise' furnish any offset against a grievance so oppressive? Must this man—innocent and free—bear all this outrage and have no legal redress? Must he? Is this justice? Shall no legal justice be visited on the would-be man-stealer and the marshal who was his tool and co-oppressor?"¹⁰

Of course Freeman "had his remedy". He had the right to bring a suit for damages. He not only sued Ellington for \$10,000; but also sued United States Marshal John L. Robinson for \$3,000. The case against Ellington was tried, and resulted in a verdict and judgment for the plaintiff on May 9, 1854, for \$2,000 and costs. The judgment still stands on the Circuit Court Judgment Docket wholly unpaid. The case against Robinson went to the Supreme Court on the pleadings. Freeman's complaint charged that Robinson, as marshal, did "assault the plaintiff, and strip him naked, and expose his naked limbs and body to divers persons who were witness against the plaintiff, and thereby exposed the plaintiff to be carried into slavery for life by fraud and perjury"; also that from June 21 to September 1, Robinson, "by fraud, threats and duress illegally extorted from plaintiff the sum of three dollars a day during said time for the space of sixty days", i. e., charges for confinement in the jail for "safety". To this Robinson answered that the acts complained of were in the course of his duty as an officer; and also pleaded no jurisdiction, on the ground that his residence was in Rush County. The lower court sustained his contention, and the Supreme Court, on Freeman's appeal, affirmed the decision of the lower court on the point of jurisdiction. It held, however, that the stripping and exposure to hostile witnesses, and the extortion of money, were no part of Robinson's official duty, and were actionable.¹¹ This decision was handed down on December 21, 1855, and of course ended the case in Marion County. For some reason no action was brought in Rush County, and so ended Freeman's legal remedies.

His expenses had been heavy; and indeed, he was lucky in being able to meet the expenses

⁹*Journal*, September 6, 1853.

¹⁰*Journal*, September 22, 1853.

¹¹Freeman vs. Robinson, 7 Ind., 321.



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

THE OLD BACON HOME.
(Station on the Underground Railroad.)

of the investigation that saved him from slavery. As mentioned, he had some property, the most important piece being between three and four acres—the greater part of lot 4 of St. Clair's addition—lying between Meridian and Pennsylvania streets, south of the present St. Peter's and Paul's Cathedral. Here he lived, his cabin, part log and part frame, standing on the southwest corner of the tract, on the site of the residence now known as 1153 North Meridian street. On this tract he "made garden", but his chief business was keeping a restaurant, which was in the basement of the old "Bee Hive" building at the northwest corner of Meridian and Washington streets. On June 30, 1853, when it became necessary to supply "the sinews of war", he executed a deed of all his property to William S. Hubbard in trust, to secure the payment of "a note of \$1,600, signed by Henry P. Coburn and others" and to pay the "costs and expenses for which said Freeman may become liable in defending himself against the claim of Pleasant Ellington to the services of said Freeman as a fugitive from labour from the State of Kentucky."¹² As a mere financial proposition it would have been much cheaper for his trustee to have bought Ellington's claim, and have gone through the form of manumission.

But the thing that affected public sentiment was not so much what Freeman suffered as what he escaped. The Fugitive Slave law was the absorbing political question of the day, and in answer to all the defenses of its fairness and justice here stood this case of a man, unquestionably free, narrowly escaping from being carried into slavery under that law; and by a most remarkable combination of circumstances. It was out of the ordinary that the negro claimed should have had the means to make his defense. It was phenomenal that the real escaped slave should have been located in Canada, and identified beyond question. It was almost incomprehensible to the Northern mind that eight prominent Southern citizens, most of them slaveholders, and all disinterested, should have made long journeys here to testify in his behalf, and that two of them should have gone to Canada to satisfy themselves before testifying. This last of itself was a demonstration that the average Southerner was much more

reputable than he got credit for in the North; though it was only natural, for no honest man who considered it iniquitous to steal his slaves could countenance the stealing of a free man. But all that was obscured by the evident fact that some were not so scrupulous; for to the English and American mind it is not the probability but the possibility of wrong that raises resentment. The suspension of habeas corpus, without ample cause, would create tremendous excitement, not because of what would probably happen, but of what might happen.

Of this case Ignatius Brown says: "This case had no small influence on political matters afterwards, and made many earnest opponents of slavery among those who had been formerly indifferent on the subject."¹³ There is little reason to doubt this, for there was plain speech in regard to it. The Fort Wayne *Sentinel*, one of the leading Democratic papers of the state, referring to Freeman's suit against Ellington for \$10,000, said: "We hope he may recover the full amount. A more flagrant case of injustice we have never seen, and he is richly entitled to most exemplary damages. It appears to us that if in such cases the persons swearing to the identity of the accused, and seeking to consign a free man to slavery, were tried and punished for perjury, a wholesale lesson would be given, which might prevent much injustice to free persons of color.

"The fugitive slave law evidently needs some amendment, to give greater protection to free persons of color. As it now stands almost any of them might be dragged into slavery. If Freeman had not had money and friends he must inevitably have been taken off into bondage. Any poor man, without friends, would at once have been given up and taken away, and it was only by the most strenuous exertions that he was rescued. A law under which such injustice can be perpetrated, and which holds out such inducements to perjury, is imperfect, and must be either amended or repealed. The American people have an innate sense of justice which will not long allow such a law to disgrace our Statute books."¹⁴

The case unquestionably added to the mass of facts that intensified the feeling against slavery, and brought on the war by which it

¹² Town Lot Record 1, p. 95.

¹³ *Hist. Indianapolis*, p. 67.

¹⁴ Quoted in *Journal*, September 8, 1853.

was ended. If Freeman ever got any satisfaction from the affair at all, it was from the knowledge that he had been a martyr to the cause; but it was doubtful that he ever reached that viewpoint. Like most of the old Southern negroes, he had a deep-seated faith in the prowess of the South, and after the battle of Bull Run expressed to neighbors his apprehension the North might be conquered and the

belief that there was among the old citizens on account of the disappearance of negro fugitives in this direction. Siebert mentions that "the Central Indiana Route" was by way of Indianapolis, but gives no details or names of those connected with it.¹⁵ In reality two routes—from Columbus and Greensburg—converged here; and they were converging points for lines from Lawrenceburg, New Albany, Madison and Leavenworth. The station here was not in the city, though it will be before many years, but at the farm of Hiram Bacon, half-a-mile west of Malott Park station, on the road north from Hammond's Park. He was one of the early settlers in this vicinity, and a member of the original Presbyterian church. Later he practically built the Presbyterian church in Washington Township, long known as the Washington Church, and practically maintained it. For years it had no pastor but was supplied chiefly by Indianapolis preachers, who were lodged and entertained at Bacon's home. Beecher, Gurley, and other Indianapolis preachers, often occupied the pulpit.

Bacon's house stood—and still stands—on the east side of the road, about the center of his farm. The old barn stood on the west side, but it burned down about 1900. In the barn was an elevated wheat bin, the opening into which could be reached only by ladder, and which was usually covered on three sides by hay. This was the ordinary hiding place for the fugitives, but when it was filled with grain another large bin in the cider-house, or some other convenient place was used. Mr. Bacon's function was to convey the fugitives on to the Quaker settlement of Westfield, in Hamilton County, which was the next station north. His daughter, Mrs. George W. Sloan, informs me that these trips were always made in the night, and that the secret of his connection with the system was very carefully guarded.

The Civil War brought a rapid change in the colored population of Indianapolis. At the census of 1850, the total of negroes in the city was 405. In 1860 it had increased only to 498. The law against the immigration of free negroes remained on the statute books but from the beginning of the war it was a dead letter; and an escaped slave was a free negro in prac-



"UNDERGROUND RAILROAD" LINES IN INDIANA.
(As mapped by Lewis Falley of Lafayette.)

negroes all be put back in slavery. He sold what property he had, packed his effects in a wagon, and went to Canada to make sure of freedom. Later his family returned to this country. One of his sons lives in Chicago; and his aged widow lives with a daughter at Topeka, Kansas.

It is not generally known that there was a station of the "Underground Railroad" in this vicinity, though there was an extensive

¹⁵*The Underground Railroad*, p. 138.

tical construction. The "refugees" soon began coming this far north, and increased in number after the Emancipation Proclamation. In 1870 the negro population of Indianapolis had reached 2,931; and more than that had come here, many having found employment in the adjacent country. They were not unwelcome. There was a shortage of labor, especially of agricultural and unskilled labor. Work was plenty and wages good. Of course many came destitute, and the first organized measures for their relief at this point was by the Freedmen's Aid Society, of the Western Yearly Meeting of Friends. It had an office on Pennsylvania street, north of Washington, in a one-story building, north of Odd Fellows' Hall, where Jacob Willetts, and his son Penn, dispensed relief to the colored refugees. It was on petition of these Aid Societies, of which there were 18 in the country, that Congress established the Freedmen's Bureau in 1863. In reality the negro owes as great or greater debt than the Indian to the Quaker.

The question of using the negro as a soldier did not arise practically in Indiana until 1863. In his annual message of January of that year Governor Morton justified the emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln on the ground that the Confederates were making instrumentalities of war of their slaves by using them to build fortifications, transport baggage and supplies, and raise food for the subsistence of their armies. The anti-negro sentiment was still strong in Indiana. A number of officers had resigned on the ground that the object of the war was to free the negro and raise him to an equality with the white man; and the proposal to enlist him was opposed on the ground that if you put a musket in his hands you could not refuse to put the ballot there. Governor Morton was first of all desirous to crush the rebellion, and made application to raise colored troops to be credited on Indiana's quota, authority for which was granted by the War Department on November 30, 1863. Says Adjutant-General Terrell: "He had requested this authority not so much because our colored citizens were anxious to enter the service, as for the reason that the state had been and was overrun with recruiting agents representing other states, and he had found it necessary, to prevent the men from being culled away and credited else-

where, to issue an order (November 5th, 1863) warning all persons so engaged to desist from procuring substitutes or further enlistments, under penalty of being arrested and summarily punished. Orders for recruiting the colored regiment or battalion were promulgated on the 3d of December, and a camp of rendezvous established at Indianapolis, with William P. Fishback, Esq., as commandant. Six companies were raised, aggregating five hundred and eighteen enlisted men. The battalion was afterwards recruited up to a full regiment in Maryland, and was known as the "Twenty-eighth United States Colored."¹⁶ A number of colored men were enlisted from Indiana as substitutes, and in other states; and the number reported by the Provost Marshal General as raised in the state was 4,537, though only about 800 were credited on the Indiana quota.

The Twenty-eighth United States Colored made a very excellent record. Capt. Charles I. Russell, of the Eleventh United States Infantry, was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the battalion and left Indianapolis with it on April 24, 1864. After a brief stay in a camp of instruction at Alexandria, Virginia, it went to the front, and got into battle at White House, Virginia, on June 24. It went with Sheridan on his march through the Chickahominy Swamps; and in the summer and fall took part in the campaign against Petersburg. At the bloody battle of "the Crater" it lost nearly half its number in killed and wounded. New recruits were added, and four more companies were raised in Indiana, making it a full regiment. It lost heavily again at Hatcher's Run; and served later at City Point; in the operations against Richmond; and in Texas. It reached Indianapolis on its return on January 6, 1866, and was given a public reception at the Tabernacle on January 8, when Governor Baker and others spoke.

After the Civil War there was a good deal of bitterness in politics, and especially in connection with "reconstruction" and negro suffrage. Indiana did not take kindly to the latter. The state was counted as ratifying the fifteenth amendment, but the ratification was by Lieutenant-Governor Isaac P. Gray. The Democratic senators, at the special session of 1869, had resigned in a body, breaking a quorum, but

¹⁶*Report*, Vol. 1, p. 81.

when they returned to the senate chamber for their effects, the doors were locked, and Gray counted them "present but not voting". The next legislature was Democratic; and in 1812 Thos. A. Hendricks was elected Governor—the first Democratic governor in Indiana, or in the North, after the war. The race question became a leading one; and in the city campaign of 1815 the *Journal* undertook to offset the negro question by a savage onslaught on the Irish, who, it alleged, were being imported in quantities to vote the Democratic ticket. Especially for the week before the election on May 4, it was virulent in the extreme in its denunciation of "Irish tramps", "villainous-looking cattle", "Hibernian heifers", "Milesian bullocks", "Romish herds", and more for quantity.

On May 2, 1816, there was a special election for councilmen owing to a change in the law. The Democrats gerrymandered the city on the eve of the election, and the Republicans organized a "committee of safety" to prevent the awful frauds which they alleged the Democrats were about to perpetrate. The negroes anticipated trouble, and not averse to it, at least in their stronghold, the Fourth Ward. The *News*, which was independently supporting the Republican ticket with vigor, said "there was more or less disposition among them to assume the aggressive upon a mild provocation". Late in the afternoon about 100 of them started for the Sixth Ward—the Irish stronghold. The Democratic witnesses said they started to "clean out the Irish", and the Republicans claimed that some evil-minded Democrat started them by reporting in the Fourth that the Democrats were intimidating negro and other Republican voters. At any rate they went, and got as far south on Illinois streets as Pogue's Run. In front of the Woodburn-Sarven Wheel Works was a pile of square hickory sticks for making wagon spokes, to which they helped themselves. The alarm was soon out in the Sixth and the sons of Erin began to gather. The trouble is said to have begun by the effort of an officer to disarm a negro, and in a few minutes everybody was in. The negroes began to retreat up Illinois street, the Irish following, and incidentally appropriating the rest of the Wheel Company's spoke timber, which was very freely used in addition to bricks and

howlders. At South street revolvers began to be used.

The negroes were at the same disadvantage that Napoleon was in his retreat from Moscow. They were in the enemy's country, and the enemy increased in numbers constantly. It was simply a rout till the corner of Kentucky avenue was reached, where the negroes received reinforcements and made a stand. There was a pitched battle in which not less than a hundred shots were fired, and then the retreat was resumed, the pursuers following as far as Tennessee street, on Washington, where the chase was abandoned. But the crowd continued to gather at Illinois and Washington street as reports spread, and there was danger of still more serious trouble, especially as someone had started a report that the negroes were massing in Bucktown, preparatory to seeking revenge. But cooler heads were working for peace. Mayor Caven and Major Gordon spoke from the Bates House balcony urging quiet and order, and then repaired to the Yellow Bridge to give the same good advice to the negroes. They were followed at Illinois and Washington streets by Judge Buskirk and Prosecutor James Cropsey, who strongly urged quiet, and finally the crowds dispersed without further trouble. Nothing but bad marksmanship explains the small list of casualties. No one was killed outright, and the only man fatally wounded was Anthony Carter, a negro who was stabbed, and died early the next morning. Half-a-dozen negroes were wounded by bullets, and many more were badly beaten. No material casualties were reported from the other side. This was the worst riot that ever occurred in Indianapolis. There seemed a probability that it might be surpassed in the great railroad strike of the next year, but fortunately the strikers were persuaded to disperse, and no blood was shed.

On August 30, 1817, an interesting civil rights case occurred in Indianapolis. The Hyers Sisters Combination, a colored opera troupe, was here with an entertainment called "Out of Bondage". Their advance agent secured accommodations at the Grand Hotel, which was then in the hands of a receiver, Mr. Charles F. Hunt, appointed by Judge Holman of the Superior Court. The receiver insisted that the troupe should eat in the ordinary, and the troupe refused. After eating one or two

meals in the dining room; and after eating one or two picnic dinners which were brought in from a restaurant when the waiters refused to serve them, the doors were shut in their faces. Then Manager Myers had the receiver, and Captain Wightman, the owner, arrested under the civil rights law. They were taken before Commissioner John J. Hawes, who bound the defendants over to the Federal Court. The newspapers tried the case quite fully. Mr. Hunt was rather prominent in Republican politics, and Judge Holman was a Democrat, and there was a great effort by the papers to shift the responsibility, though most of the community were quietly laughing over the whole performance. Hunt said that "the advance agent of the company contracted for their entertainmen here, and when making the contract volunteered to Captain Wightman and myself the statement that the party was composed of educated ladies and gentlemen, who would not give us any trouble, and who would take their meals in the ordinary". The troupe got a large amount of advertising, and the case was settled in some way out of court, and never came to trial.

After the war the immigration of negroes to Indianapolis was as marked as during it. From 3,938 in 1870, the negro population of Marion County grew to 8,038 in 1880; 11,118 in 1890; and 17,536 in 1900. In 1900 there were 15,931 inside the city limits, and most of the remainder were in territory since annexed. It has repeatedly been charged that many negroes were imported here to vote, and there is little reason to doubt it. One significant fact in that connection is the large proportion of adult males, there being 5,200 in the city by the census of 1900. The poll books of both political parties for several years past have shown over 7,000 negro voters. For years the charges of importation fell lightly on Republican ears, and the average member of that party usually replied to this effect: "They are entitled to vote; and as they are not allowed to

vote in the South it is all right to bring them here to vote." In the later years there has been some change of sentiment in this respect, partly for social, and partly for political reasons. Many objectionable negroes have come here, especially since the southern states began driving out their undesirable classes. It is generally understood that the disreputable class, from the Jesse Coe class down to purse-snatchers, are mostly recent importations, and not of the older negro families of the city. Politically it has been found that the negro vote is almost as solid in primaries as in elections. Hence they have virtually held control for the last decade. The Republican candidates who secured the negro vote were generally nominated, and when elected were elected by the negro vote. Very few Republican candidates have received a majority of the white votes of the city since 1880.

In the line of thrift the negro has been hard to class locally. Many of them have shown a reasonable amount of industry, and a smaller number have shown a disposition to save their money and invest it in some permanent form. Some have been fairly prosperous.¹⁷ On the other hand there is a surprisingly large number who seem to live on the basis of "the lilies of the field". The most hopeful movement of the race locally has been their effort at concert in business development. There were formerly two business leagues of colored men here, but on January 24, 1906, under the lead of Dr. S. A. Furniss they consolidated and formed a branch of the National Negro Business League, of which Booker Washington is president.¹⁸ George P. Stewart was elected

¹⁷The *Press*, February 20, 1906.

¹⁸*News*, January 25, 1906.
president of the local organization, and still holds the office; and under his administration it is believed by its members to be doing a valuable work in stimulating a sound business sentiment among the colored people of the city.

CHAPTER XXIII.

RAILROAD DEVELOPMENT

The hard times of the later fifties put an end to railroad building in Indiana for a dozen years. The financial depression was national in character, affecting Indiana locally as little as any state in the Union, but it stopped the large loans necessary for railroad construction. Some of the projected lines were dropped altogether. The Toledo & Indianapolis Company was organized in February, 1854, its purpose being to construct 75 miles of road in a nearly direct line to Toledo, connecting with existing lines at that point. Surveys were made, but subscriptions were not, and in 1855 it was abandoned. A direct line to Evansville, the natural complement of the Toledo line, had been projected in 1849. It was not organized until 1853, and then considerable work was done on it till 1856, when the enterprise succumbed with a loss of nearly everything invested in it. If the projects for "Lakes to Gulf" navigation are realized, as now seems probable, it would not be surprising to see both of these lines constructed. The Cincinnati & Indianapolis Short Line Company was organized in 1853 to build a road between these terminals by way of Rushville, Laurel and Brookville. No very material results had been accomplished when it was given up in 1855. The C. H. & D. now covers part of its proposed line.

The Indianapolis & Vincennes road was proposed as early as 1836, talked of in 1850 and 1851, and finally organized in 1853, but that was as far as it then progressed. In 1865 an eastern company was organized by that distinguished Indianian, Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside, and work was actively pushed. It was completed to Indianapolis, 68 miles, in the spring of 1868, and leased for a time to the Cincinnati road, but soon went to independent

operation, and later passed into the control of the Pennsylvania. Indianapolis voted it a subscription of \$60,000. The Indiana & Illinois Central was organized February 15, 1853, to build a line to Decatur, Illinois, 160 miles. Contracts were let in July, 1853, for the whole line, at \$22,000 per mile, and work to the amount of \$500,000 was done, chiefly on the west end of the line, which was opened as far as Montezuma, Indiana, before hard times stopped the work and the lands of the company were sold to pay the contractors. It was reorganized in 1866, sold again under foreclosure in 1875, again reorganized, and finally completed to Indianapolis February 9, 1880. It is now organically part of the Cincinnati, Indianapolis & Western, which is a part of the C. H. & D. system, in the hands of a receiver, until the summer of 1908, when it was bought by the B. & O.

In 1866, Henry C. Lord, president of the Cincinnati road, unable to purchase the Lafayette road, started the construction of a rival line by way of Crawfordsville. The work was being pushed with some vigor when the Lafayette people concluded to sell, and the new project was abandoned by its originators. But the people along the line wanted the road, and the Indianapolis, Crawfordsville and Danville was reorganized and went on with the work. It was completed to Crawfordsville in the winter of 1868-9, and to Danville in 1870. By union of several small Illinois lines it connected to Peoria, making a continuous line of 212 miles. In 1879 this was consolidated under foreclosure as the Indianapolis, Bloomington & Western. In 1881 it consolidated with the Ohio, Indiana & Pacific Railway Co., and extended its line to Springfield, Ohio, this extension being completed in 1882. The whole

system was sold by a receiver in 1887, reorganized as the Ohio, Indiana & Western, sold again in 1890, and became part of the Big Four system. For a number of years the part east of Indianapolis was known as the Peoria and Eastern, and the part west as the Peoria and Western.

The "Junction road"—Indianapolis & Cincinnati Junction—from Indianapolis to Hamilton, Ohio, was begun in 1850, the work being done in sections by the Ohio & Indianapolis and Junction companies. In April, 1853, the two were consolidated, and the road was about half-way completed when the hard times of 1855-6 stopped it. The company was reorganized in 1866, and completed the road to Indianapolis in 1868; after which it was operated as the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Indianapolis. In 1902 this was consolidated with the Indianapolis, Decatur & Western as the Cincinnati, Indianapolis & Western, and is a part of the system of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Company's system. The Indianapolis & St. Louis line was built in 1869, as a competing line to the Vandalia, from Indianapolis to Terre Haute, 72 miles, where it connected with the old Terre Haute & Alton line to St. Louis. It was built very rapidly and very well, as the companies back of it had everything that could be asked in the way of experience, means and talent at their command. On June 27, 1889, it was consolidated in the Big Four system, and the Terre Haute & Alton was absorbed a year later. It is now controlled by the New York Central. It has been important from the start as a new line to the coal fields.

Though it did not get into Indianapolis until 1882, the Monon is one of the old roads of the state. It began as the New Albany & Salem road, which was chartered July 8, 1817, to build a line 35 miles in length between these two terminals. It was completed and opened January 13, 1850. By this time amendments had been secured to the charter authorizing the extension of the line to any point in the state. Work was begun on an extension to Michigan City in 1850, and the line was completed and opened July 1, 1854. The first 15 miles of the road were laid with strap rail, which was replaced with T rail in 1855-6. The name was changed to the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago Railroad October 24, 1859. The company

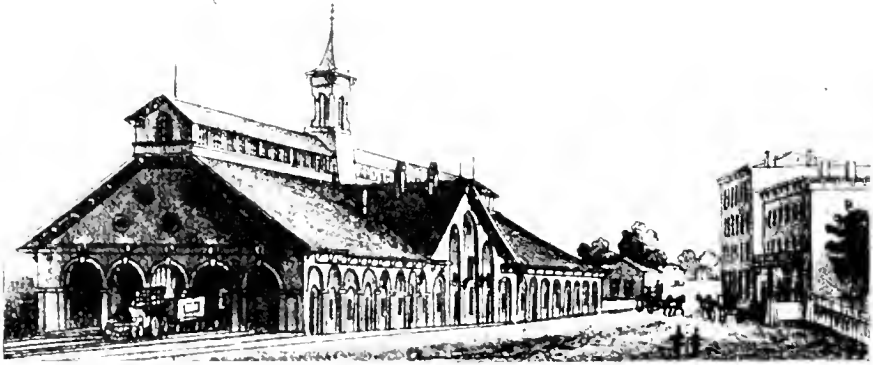
was reorganized under foreclosure in 1869, 1873, and 1881, and in the latter year consolidated with the Chicago and Indianapolis Air Line. The Air Line was the successor, through foreclosure reorganization, of the Indianapolis, Delphi & Chicago, which was organized in 1872 to build a narrow-gauge road from Indianapolis to Chicago. It had constructed 13 miles of road, from Rensselaer to Dyer, prior to the consolidation of 1881. After the consolidation the work was pushed rapidly. The track was broadened to standard gauge, and completed to Hammond in January, 1882. From this point it entered Chicago over the Chicago & Atlantic tracks till 1884, when it was extended to connect with the Chicago & Western Indiana, in which, and the Chicago Belt, it now owns a one-fifth interest. It was constructed to Howland's Station, just north of Indianapolis, in October, 1882, but had some difficulty about arrangements for entry to the city from that point. It finally made satisfactory terms with the Lake Erie & Western, and its first train, a local, came in over its tracks March 21, 1883,—the first through train in May. On account of getting involved in the guaranty of some Kentucky railroad bonds, the company was reorganized under foreclosure, in 1897, as the Chicago, Indianapolis & Louisville.

The last railroad built into Indianapolis was the Indianapolis Southern. It was incorporated September 15, 1899, to construct a road from Indianapolis to Sullivan, Indiana, about 100 miles, chiefly as a coal road, with a branch about 20 miles long from Stanford to Bloomfield. The road was originally a local enterprise, but was taken up by the Illinois Central, and a consolidation was made with the line from Edlingham, Illinois, to Switz City, Indiana, formerly known as the St. Louis, Indianapolis & Eastern, or Edlingham District of the Illinois Central. This consolidation was effective as of June 30, 1906, and the entire outstanding funded debt of the two lines (\$7,065,550) is held by the Illinois Central company. By its ordinance contract of April 11, 1902, this road is obligated to carry to Indianapolis "Indiana mined coal, wherever received by it; or coal delivered by other railway companies more than fifty miles from said city", at not over one-half cent per ton per mile. In addition to outside communication, there are

two strictly local railroads. The White River Railway Co., an organization of Kingan & Co., was authorized August 25, 1873, to lay tracks from Mississippi street (Senate avenue) to the river. Its half mile of track is little more than a switch, but stands as the property of an independent company. The other local company is The Belt Railroad and Stock Yards Company, the first one of the kind ever constructed.

Although Mayor Caven was the effective originator of the Belt Railroad, the idea was not a new one in his day. Indeed it had been figured on from the start. In the spring of 1849 the town was stirred up by a proposal of the Bellefontaine and Peru roads to lay a track through the central part of the town, along the

streets. At the meeting on the 3rd, Ovid Butler offered a resolution that the city allow the railroad companies to have a common track around the city on North, South, East and West streets, and that no tracks should be permitted within these limits. He argued for this at length, urging, among other things, that "the Depots would be located on or near these streets, and the cars from any road could traverse them at pleasure, thereby virtually making the depot for each road a common depot, as the business man would deliver and receive his goods at the depot nearest his house".¹ But fortunately the railroads did not desire this convenience, and so the matter was put off to a later and a better day.



UNION DEPOT AND AMERICAN HOTEL, 1854.

streets. This raised objection, and on March 3, 1849, a citizens' meeting was held at the court house "to discuss the propriety of admitting a track to be laid within the city proper". There was some clash of opinion, between property owners who wanted depots near their land and people who did not want railroads on streets near them; and the meeting finally agreed that the question should be left to the people along the streets proposed to be used, reserving to the council the right to remove the tracks at any time, and the railroads to keep the streets used in good repair. This position, which was adopted by the council, headed off the railroad companies, and on April 14, the *Locomotive* announced that the Peru and Bellefontaine roads had decided to run their line "through Noble's pasture", and connect with the Madison without disturbing any

With the increased business activities following the civil war, and the railroads then constructed, the desirability of a belt road increased. The Union tracks were congested by the interchange of through freight cars, and the passage of streets was badly blocked for pedestrians and vehicles. In 1870, Joel E. Richardson, a practical railroad man, proposed a belt line around the city, connecting the several lines, and the proposal was very generally favored, but the railroads preferred the existing inconvenience to the expense. Considerable interest was taken in the project, however, by property owners, and notably by Nicholas McCarty, as the representative of the McCarty heirs. Nicholas McCarty, Sr., had the good business judgment to secure a large tract of

¹*Locomotive*, March 10, 1849.

bottom-land west of the river, which, like all of the White River bottoms, was the finest of corn land; but the younger Nicholas saw that in his day, its location gave it a possible value for manufacturing or stock-yards purposes far in excess of its agricultural value. In 1869 McCarty visited Chicago and St. Louis, and investigated the stock-yards there. On his return he pointed out to Gen. Thos. Morris, then president of the I. & St. L., a tract of land on the west side, adjoining the Vandalia road, which would be desirable for stock yards, and Morris proposed to have a plat made showing how accessible it would be, but shortly afterwards he resigned his position to become receiver of the I. C. & L., and no further action was taken.

In 1870, Kingan & Co. established a small stock-yards on a tract of land near their pork-house, and public sales were held there for several years. Up to this time there had been no stock-yards where sales were made except those of the several railroads, and at them the sales were only occasional. The new yards only emphasized the desirability of something better, and in the business activity of the early seventies it was not a matter to escape action. On June 28, 1873, the Indianapolis Belt Railway Company was incorporated, with Thomas D. Kingan, A. L. Roache, John H. Farquhar, Elijah B. Martindale, Joel F. Richardson, Milton M. Landis, John Thomas, William Coughlen, and Henry C. Lord as directors; and on July 31, revised articles were filed by Thomas D. Kingan, H. C. Lord, John H. Farquhar, James C. Ferguson, and Franklin Landers. The stated purpose was to build a road from North Indianapolis to Brightwood, about twelve miles, connecting the several lines entering the city. Henry C. Lord was president of the company, and began work actively, with excellent prospects for success. At the same time the stock-yards project took on new life. The Board of Trade report for that year said: "For many years the establishing of stock yards, conveniently located adjacent to this city, for the accommodation of shippers of live stock, has been agitated among members of the Board of Trade. Committees have been appointed, able reports have been made, and much eloquence has been brought into use in setting forth the advantages accruing to the whole city by the convenient location of union stock-yards.

We are permitted to announce that an organization has been effected by the wealthiest and most enterprising of our citizens, with whom to undertake a project is to successfully complete it, and that soon we may invite dealers in live stock to proper yard accommodations here. This enterprise is necessarily more or less contingent upon the building of the Belt Railway, but as the circle road is certain to be built, we have no hesitancy in saying the establishing of Union Stock Yards is now a fixed fact." The same report says that the belt road "has progressed far enough to show a solid purpose and insure its early completion".

The company had in fact made material progress with its grade. President Lord had proposed to Nicholas McCarty that if the McCarty heirs would give the right of way from Oliver avenue to the river, free of charge, but subject to reversion, he might select the route to be taken from three routes submitted by Lord. The proposition was accepted and the line was located as now existing. The land was to revert if the road were not completed within a specified time; and McCarty inserted a provision that the work on the right of way, which was about 8,800 feet in length, covering some 20 acres, should begin at the west end, and be completed between Oliver avenue and the Vincennes road before beginning on the part between the road and the river. The object of this was to secure the grading for switch purposes in case the road should not be completed, and it proved prudent, for the panic stopped the work long before the grading was finished. It became impossible to raise money for construction; the men were paid off and all work was discontinued. Some months later Thomas D. Kingan undertook to push the road through, but after expending considerable money on the embankment grade west of the river, he gave it up. Nothing further was done by this company, and the right of way reverted to the donors. An effort at a stock yards without a belt road was then made. In 1875 the Exchange Stockyards and Manufacturing Company was organized, and bought of the McCarty heirs some three acres of land on the west side of the river at the old Vincennes crossing. Among the incorporators and directors were Thomas Patterson and Ezra Ollenman—the latter widely known as "Weary Ollenman", on account of a letter he wrote to Gov-

ernor Morton stating that he was weary of waiting for an appointment that had been promised him, which letter, by some strange chance, got into print. This yard was operated for some time and was finally bought by the Union Railroad Transfer and Stock Yards Company.

Meanwhile the original union stock yards and belt railroad project was only slumbering. Mr. Lord tried to revive it by infusing new blood, and on February 21, 1876, articles of association were filed by the Transfer and Belt Railway Company. It proposed the same line as the original Belt, and the directors were Charles W. West, L. L. Keek, B. L. Cunningham, John Morrison, H. C. Lord, Thos. D. Kingan, R. J. Bright, Stanley Matthews and J. M. Sinclair. This company, however, never got past the paper stage. That it would not was so soon apparent that in the spring of 1876, McCarty, Canada Holmes and others took the matter up with several railroad men, chiefly of the Pennsylvania, and particularly with Col. Horace Scott and M. A. Downing, who were connected with the Louisville stock yards. While these negotiations were in progress, with some prospect of success, it was learned that Mayor Caven was contemplating a message to the council advocating that the city undertake the work. He was induced to delay his message for a week, to see if it would not be undertaken independent of the city; but it was not, and on July 17, Mayor Caven delivered his message, and the matter became a public one. Opposition to city aid was manifest from the first, and by many of the best people of Indianapolis, who had been discouraged by the past experience of the city in railroad donations, and could see nothing in this but a public donation to a private enterprise.

The contest that developed was as earnest as any that ever occurred here, and was based wholly on divergent views as to the city's interest; but notwithstanding the warmth it attained, and some insinuations made at the time, it seems to have been singularly free from corruption and improper methods of any kind, on both sides. Nearly every day a meeting was held at an office on the southeast quarter of the circle by Mayor Caven, Canada Holmes, McCarty, and occasionally others, to consult and to push on the work. Solicitors were sent out to canvass the city and secure signatures

to a petition to the council, asking that the city loan its credit to the proposed belt company, to the extent of \$500,000. On August 29, 1876, the articles of incorporation of the Union Railroad Transfer and Stock Yards Company were filed, with J. C. Ferguson, John Thomas, W. C. Holmes, W. N. Jackson, E. F. Claypool, John F. Miller, M. A. Downing, Horace Scott, and W. R. McKee as directors. On August 30, the company submitted to the council its proposal, that the city put \$500,000 of its bonds in the hands of trustees; that \$450,000 of these be delivered to the company when it completed its stock yards and the belt track from Brightwood, on the Northeast, to the Terre Haute tracks on the West; that the remaining \$50,000 be delivered when the tracks were completed to North Indianapolis and connected with the Big Four there; that at each of these deliveries of bonds the company deposit with the trustees an equal amount of its bonds, to be held as security for the city, bearing the same rate of interest as the city bonds, but with interest payable thirty days earlier; and that the company obligate itself to begin work within thirty days, and complete it, if possible, in 1877.

On September 4, 1876, a supplemental proposal was made to give the city a first mortgage on the property as security, if it preferred. On September 18, a petition to the council was filed, signed by a majority of the resident freeholders of the city, asking that the city loan its credit to the company to the extent of \$500,000. But the opposition was active also, and had weight with the council. The question was to come to a vote on October 16, and the sentiment was so closely divided that when the friends of the measure "counted noses" in the afternoon, most of them thought they were defeated. There was one councilman, Albert Izor, as to whose position they were uncertain, and a representative was sent to sound him. He reported that Izor would support the measure, and he did. That night the original proposal was accepted by one majority, and an ordinance was passed ratifying the contract.

But the end was not yet. On submission of the matter to competent attorneys, an opinion was given that the bonds would not be valid without a confirming act of the legislature, and the contest was transferred to that field. The

legislative committee held its meetings at the Grand Hotel, and there were some warm discussions at some of the hearings on the bill. However, practically all of the meat packers, and most of the business men of the city favored the action, and McKeen and Scott had a good deal of influence with the legislature, so the bill was finally passed, notwithstanding the opposition of some of the Marion County members. In view of the opposition at the time, and of the direful predictions then made, it has been a matter of no little satisfaction to those who supported the measure that not only have the Belt Road and the Stock Yards proven great successes, and great benefits to the city, but also that the bonds were taken up at maturity by the company, and the city was never at a dollar of expense on account of them.

It is almost certain, however, that the city's action would not have been taken but for the depressing conditions that existed at the time. The panic of 1873 had struck Indianapolis with peculiar force because there had been a "boom" in real estate after the war which reached its climax at that time. It was not at all a senseless boom, as things were then going for property that was then considered "far out" by the conservative is now well "inside"; but it was a boom into whose seductive grasp nearly everybody had fallen. A man without a few lots on a speculative basis was an exception. Debt had been incurred freely, and when the demand for pay came on all sides the rigors of the panic were doubled. The natural shrinkage of values from the resumption of specie payments and the demonetization of silver was increased enormously by the large amount of real estate thrown on the market at forced sale. Men who had been land rich became land poor, and more of the old families that had grown up with the city were wrecked in that depression than at any other time in the city's history. Moreover hundreds of men were thrown out of employment, and as labor conditions were no better elsewhere, there was no relief in leaving Indianapolis. The very conditions that made it impossible for a private corporation to raise funds for this enterprise made it important that the city should lend its aid to give work to the unemployed. Moreover business was at low ebb, and the prospect of having several hundred thousand dollars spent here among people who

would necessarily spend it again at once, was something that appealed to every business man of the slightest intelligence. The industrial situation also largely explains the active interest of Mayor Caven.

Mayor Caven was deeply impressed with the importance of a coal road for Indianapolis, and also with the desirability of a belt road. His own story of the inception of the work, given in 1881, deserves preservation by the people of Indianapolis. He says: "One day in September, 1875, I walked around the old abandoned embankment west of White River, and from the Vandalia Road to the river I walked all the way through weeds higher than my head, pushing them aside with my hands. I took off my boots and waded White River not far from the present Belt Road bridge, and, as the water was deep, I got my clothes wet. Climbing over to the partially built abutment on the east bank to dry, I sat there for two hours considering the question of whether the great work of a road around this city could be put in motion. It would combine all the benefits sought, not only furnish work for our laboring population during the savage year of 1876, or at furthest 1877, but also relieve our streets. It would also bring here an immense cattle business and lay down a great taxable property. As I looked over that almost desert-looking river bottom, the outlook for moving in the matter to furnish bread to hungry people a year or two anyway was gloomy, but I then and there determined that this was the only project that could accomplish the result, and resolved to make the effort, and see what will and a good purpose could do. Having got somewhat dried out I put on my boots and started home, and commenced an investigation of the subject of bread riots, and what had made great cities. I examined a great deal of history on the subject of what had made other cities—location, natural advantages, accidents, minerals, manufactures, and what enterprise and capital had done, and then tried to apply these principles to the city of Indianapolis. What were our natural advantages, and how might capital and enterprise develop them; and what could be done to make Indianapolis a great city, and during the winter of 1875 I composed the Belt Road Message, and read it in council July 17, 1876."²

²*Sentinel*, May 18, 1881.

This message was a notable document. The demand for employment was already becoming urgent, and on June 1, 1876, Mayor Caven had called attention to the want and suffering in the city, and the fact that "a few bad men are advising violence and robbery."³ In his July message he pointed out the near location of the coal mines, and the importance of connection with them. He then took up the Belt Road proposition and urged its great value, and the propriety of the city's promoting the work. He said: "Supposing Indianapolis were surrounded by a navigable water, into which poured eleven navigable rivers, navigable to every county in the state, and to every state in the Union, to every fertile valley, to every hillside with its exhaustless mines, to every quarry of stone and forest of timber, and, in addition, this water was especially adapted for the location of innumerable manufactories, would it be deemed an improper expense for the city to improve such harbor? What that harbor would be to the city in the water, that road might be to us. The stock yards would come before the road was finished, and grain elevators would be built. Its peculiar advantages would invite the location of manufactories and these would furnish a demand and a market for fuel and farm products, thus building up state industries to aid us further in furnishing a market in turn for the manufactured wares. The Sullivan coal road would soon be built, perhaps finished first."⁴ Mayor Caven suggested the reference of the matter to a special committee, his own somewhat indefinite proposal being for a loan to build the road; but the Council at the time simply ordered the message printed for circulation. Mayor Caven's story of its effect continues as follows:

"It was published in Tuesday's morning papers, and on Thursday I was holding court and noticed two men sitting back among the audience for some time. After a while they came forward and asked if they could speak with me a few minutes. I suspended hearing a cause to hear what they had to say. One of them said he was president of the stock yards at Louisville and had read the Belt Road message and at once started for Indianapolis; as he re-

garded it the best location for stock yards in the country, and he wished to come here and engage in the business. I told them we wanted the enterprise very much, and asked them if they had the means to build, and they said they had not, but thought perhaps the city would aid them. I told them the city would not aid in money, but suggested the idea of the exchange of bonds, the plan which was adopted and carried out. One of these men was Horace Scott and the other Mr. Downing, the present Superintendent of the stock yards. A company was formed, and the necessary steps taken to carry out the enterprise, but met with great opposition. A number of times it was supposed to be defeated, but it finally triumphed over every obstacle and work was commenced. About the 1st of June, 1877, the work was stopped because the right of way could not be had by agreement through the land of the Beatty heirs south, and several hundred men were thrown out of employment."

The only financial aid by the city was the loan of its credit to the amount of \$500,000, through an issue of bonds, repayment being secured by Belt Road bonds; but this was all that was needed to secure the money, and the work was pushed forward vigorously. The stop was due to a difference of opinion as to the value of the land wanted for right of way, and John C. New, guardian of the heirs, very properly refused to let it go for less than he thought it was worth, without a decision by the court. Caven got an agreement of the parties that the work should go on, and the question of price be left to the court to decide later; also that the work should go on in the morning if men were on hand. This was important for the labor situation had become critical. On June 1, a delegation of 150 workmen had come to the council chamber and presented a petition for work, signed by 680 unemployed men. The newspapers were full of suggestions as to what should be done, and committees were appointed to consider the matter. On June 5, Hon. W. H. English and Mr. Sullivan addressed a workmen's meeting at the council chamber and urged patience and orderly conduct. Mr. English then made a donation of \$100 and Mr. Sullivan \$10 to relieve immediate needs. But this was only a drop in the bucket, and on the evening of June 6, some 100 or 500 men gathered at the State

³Council Proceedings, 1876, pp. 132-4.

⁴Council Proceedings, 1876-7, pp. 405-417.

House yard. "Threats of violence if assistance were not forthcoming at once were made, and after resolving to call upon the Governor in the morning it was determined to unite in a grand 'bread or blood' street parade in the afternoon, in which the wives and children of the unemployed workmen should participate. It was hoped in this way to bring the public to a realization of the dire exigencies of the case. The demonstration was to be regarded in the light of 'a last appeal.'"

About this time Caven appeared on the scene, armed with his agreements for work to be resumed on the Belt in the morning. He proceeded to address the meeting, telling the men he was there to talk reason to them, and if they were not ready for that they were unworthy of assistance. He told them that 100 men would be put to work in the morning, and that the force would be increased to 500 within a week or two. He then rebuked the disorderly element, and warned the men of the folly of any outbreak. Mayor Caven continues his account thus: "At the close I requested those who were willing to pledge themselves to preserve the peace, and obey my orders in putting down any disturbance, to hold up the right hand, and every hand went up. There were men there who, together with their families, had not tasted food for two days, and I told them they should not go to bed hungry that night; and invited the crowd to go with me; and we went first to Sampson's bakery, south from the State House. He happened to have a large quantity of bread on hand. I commenced handing out six loaves to each one as the hungry crowd passed by; and the supply was soon all gone. We then went to Taggart's on South Meridian street, but could not obtain admission; and from there to Bryce's bakery on South street, the hungry crowd following. Mr. Bryce was in bed, but got up when I told him what I wanted, and I directed the crowd to pass the door. Mr. Bryce handed me the loaves and I handed them to the men—giving six loaves to each, but as the pile became smaller we reduced the number to five and then to four and three, and then to two; and I invited those who only received two and three to wait, and if we could give them more we would; and they came again, and we gave them all the bread in the bakery and succeeded in supplying them all. As soon as I had paid Mr. Bryce

his bill I went out in the street, and where a few minutes before was that hungry crowd was as still as the grave, not a human being in sight. They had left for home as rapidly as supplied, and the only persons left were Mr. Dannis Greene and myself. At the State House I had told the men to go to the Beatty farm in the morning and they would find work. About 2 p. m. next day I went there, and about 300 men were at work, many of them the hungry men of the night before, and it seemed as if the Belt Road, for which we had so labored to furnish work to the hungry, had thus providentially come to the rescue to the very day, almost to the very hour, of our dire necessity. A day later, and doors would have been broken for food."

It certainly came in good time from several points of view, for the public relief agencies were almost swamped. Says Caven: "The Township Trustee paid out for groceries alone for the needy, for the first six months of 1877, \$20,886.30, an average of \$3,481.05 per month. The Belt got fairly to work in July, and for that month the Trustee paid out for groceries only \$51; and for the last six months of the year \$1,167 or about one-third of the average of any previous month; and the work saved the Township fund not less than \$200,000 that summer and fall." And it was a good thing for those who invested in it, as Caven well shows in defending his own motives, as follows: "The stock of the Belt Road was \$500,000, and the stockholders paid thirty cents on the dollar and received certificates of full paid-up stock. The company requested me to take some stock, and I could have had \$50,000 or \$60,000 by paying thirty cents on the dollar, just what the others paid, and could no doubt have made even better terms, as without my aid it must have failed, as the company well knew, and I could have borrowed the money to buy stock, giving the stock as collateral. I refused to take any stock under any circumstances, giving as my reason that what I was doing was placing a debt on the city of \$500,000 for the benefit of the city, and to give work to idle men. I could do this and bear all the censure I was receiving, and await the verdict of time and results; but could not for any benefit to myself, use my official influence to place a debt on the people who had trusted me. For 1879 and '80 the company paid cash

dividends of 10 per cent on the face of the stock, being equal to 33 1/3 per cent on the money actually paid in by the stockholders, and the stock has recently (1881) sold for \$150 cash. One gentlemen in the summer of 1877 paid \$15,000 for \$50,000, and has received in the last two years \$10,000 in dividends, and sold a short time ago for \$75,000 cash. Thomas A. Scott, of the Pennsylvania railroad, in the summer of 1877, took \$60,000 stock, for which he paid \$18,000 and has received in the last two years \$12,000 in dividends, and could sell today for \$90,000. Had I taken \$60,000 in 1877 at \$18,000 I could now have had out of it \$102,000 cash. I never received a cent from anybody of stock, money or anything else; but instead was at some expense.

On October 17, 1882, the Belt railroad proper was leased to the Indianapolis Union Railway Company for a term of 999 years from October 1, 1882. The lessor operates the stock yards, receiving an annual rental of \$45,000 a year for the road, while the lessee pays all taxes, pays or refunds the mortgage debt, and performs numerous services. The most important of these are to protect and stimulate the stock yards business; to deliver free of charge all live stock shipped to or from the stock yards by other railroads; to maintain reasonable charges to all live stock shippers—subject to arbitration; to pay 50 cents a deck to the lessor for every car of live stock loaded or unloaded, except hogs shipped under a special contract of November 8, 1877; to put in side tracks when needed; to do all switching free of charge; to deliver free of charge all merchandise, coal and other supplies consigned to lessor for its own use. It may be inferred that this is a very profitable lease, and it is not surprising that the State Tax Board has finally got the valuation of the Belt property up to \$1,500,000. Very urgent argument, on behalf of Marion County, has been made to the State Board of Tax Commissioners that both the Belt and the Union are worth much more than they are assessed for; perhaps the most forcible presentation being that of F. J. Van Vorhis on August 18, 1891, which was printed in pamphlet form, for circulation, by the County Commissioners.⁵ In 1883 a project was formed to build a line across, north of the city, from

Brightwood to North Indianapolis, and the Belt Railroad Company of Indianapolis was organized for this purpose May 14, 1883. It built only as far as the L. E. & W. tracks, and on September 4, 1883, was consolidated with the old Belt as a continuous line. On August 10, 1895, the McCarty heirs sold to the Farmers and Drivers Stock Yards Company 291 1/2 acres of land adjoining the old stock yards. This new company was formed as a rival of the old one, but after brief competition the two were consolidated, putting a total of 154 1/2 acres in the stock yards at present.

It seems strange that there should have been such decided opposition to a measure that resulted so well as the aid to the Belt road, but there was at the time a deep-seated conviction among the people of Indianapolis that railroad companies were not to be trusted, and that their promises would fail of performance. And there was also a feeling that Indianapolis had been mistreated and discriminated against—that it had been made a sort of way-station between Cincinnati and Chicago, and between Cleveland and St. Louis. Most of the roads of which it had originally been a terminus had been consolidated in a way to make Indianapolis a mere point on through lines. It had been expected that the companies would locate their principal shops here, but the only ones that did so were the Bellefontaine and the Cincinnati and after the consolidation of the former its main shops were located in Ohio. The old Cincinnati road located its shops here in 1853, southeast of the city. They were burned in 1855, but soon rebuilt, and kept here until 1865, when they were removed to Cincinnati. There was apparently a common understanding that there was some sort of agreement to locate shops here in some cases, for both Brown and Holloway make that statement as to the Vincennes road.⁶ If there was any such agreement it was not embodied in the laws or ordinances relating to the road. In addition to the city's grievances, it was felt that the state had fared badly. It had lost all it put in the Madison road, and Brown says: "The state held stock in the road valued at \$1,200,000, but was ultimately cheated out of it, receiving

⁵An Argument, etc., pp. 24-30, 39-41.

⁶*Brown's Indianapolis*, p. 55; *Holloway's Indianapolis*, p. 332.

scarcely anything for it." This is, perhaps, too harsh, but the state certainly realized nothing that the people had hoped for from the road.

The Union Railway Company, which is purely local, representing the most important terminal facilities of all the companies, is owned practically by the Pennsylvania and New York Central systems. It is maintained as a distinct organization, operating nearly

dimensions. All of the railroad lines entering the city receive and discharge passengers at this point, there being a total of nearly 200 passenger trains daily. The ability to change to any line under one roof, with no trouble or expense of transferring baggage, is a great accommodation to the traveling public. Freight business is done over the Belt as far as possible, over a million freight cars being handled on it annually. Much of this is through freight; and much of it business of the stock yards, whose shipments in 1907 included 378,876 cattle, 1,955,382 hogs, 72,674 sheep, and 24,816 horses. The accounts of the Belt Railroad and Stock Yard Company for that year showed, receipts \$266,056.39; interest on bonds \$60,000; dividend on preferred stock \$30,000; dividend on common stock \$60,000; extra dividend on common stock \$60,000; surplus \$56,056.39.

The most notable case of the state's failure to receive a contemplated benefit from the construction of a railroad was that of the Vandalia, or Terre Haute & Indianapolis Railroad Company, which was originally chartered on January 26, 1847 as the Terre Haute & Richmond Railroad Company, and allowed by an act in 1854 to abandon the portion of its proposed line east of Indianapolis. The charter was a very liberal one, providing among other things that the company might charge such tolls "as shall be for the interest of said company, and to change, lower or raise at pleasure". But by Section 23, immediately following this, it was provided, "that when the aggregate amount of dividends declared shall amount to the full sum invested and ten per centum per annum thereon, the legislature may so regulate the tolls and freights that not more than fifteen per centum per annum shall be divided on the capital employed, and the surplus profits, if any, after paying the expenses and receiving such proportion as may be necessary for future contingencies, shall be paid over to the treasurer of state for the use of the common schools". Presumably on account of the favorable terms of this charter, the company did not reorganize under the general law of 1852; and the condition above specified, which, on its face, looks like one that nobody could ever have expected to be reached, was actually reached—the company had made such profits that it returned all of the original investment, with ten per cent interest thereon, and was



NEW UNION DEPOT.

a mile (.92) of track of its own, and the Belt Road. It also owns and manages the Union Railway Passenger Station. This structure replaces the old Union Depot, but covers twice as much territory, or more. To make the needed extensions, the council on June 15, 1886, passed ordinances vacating McNabb and a part of Louisiana streets, and closing Illinois street and providing for a tunnel under it. The new building was erected in 1888, and is one of the finest stations in the country. It is a handsome brick structure, three stories high, with rain sheds adjoining, 300 x 650 feet in

⁷*Hist. Indianapolis*, p. 52.

making over 15 per cent per annum—by the year 1868.

The matter was brought before the legislature of 1867, which appointed a committee to investigate, and the state in its subsequent action against the company charged that the officials and employes of the company prevented this committee from getting any information in time for action. In 1869 the matter was again brought up and a special committee consisting of John R. Coffroth, Milton A. Osborn and George A. Buskirk was appointed to investigate the matter. The state charged that this committee and Senator J. Hughes were bribed by the company to make no report and prevent any legislative action, the sum of \$10,000 being paid for this purpose. The state further charged that the company by issuing stock dividends, buying and holding its own stock, investing in stock and securities, and other devices, made it falsely appear that the actual investment of the stockholders was \$1,988,150, whereas in fact it was only \$1,216,690.

In 1872 a quo warranto suit was brought by the prosecuting attorney of Putnam County to forfeit the charter of the company for failure to pay the state. The state was specially represented in the case by W. R. Harrison and Solomon Claypool. In 1874 the case was tried, on change of venue, in Owen County. After the jury had retired, Judge Hester recalled it in the middle of the night, in the absence of the attorneys, and discharged it for inability to agree. Pending further proceedings Attorney-General J. C. Denny made an agreement with the company and its attorneys to suspend the action and bring a suit in Marion County to recover the amount due the state. To this agreement is appended: "This agreement made by the attorney-general (with the concurrence of his associate counsel as we understand) we approve. October 5, 1874. Thomas A. Hendricks, Governor; Leonidas Sexton, Lieutenant-Governor." And yet it appears from the statement of Denny himself, and from the testimony in the later case, that Judge Claypool knew nothing of the agreement till after it was made, and denounced it bitterly.⁹ In the

Marion County case, a demurrer to the complaint was sustained on the ground that the legislature had not made or authorized a demand on the road, and this was sustained by the Supreme Court.¹⁰

For several years the matter rested without action, but the ghost would not down. After Samuel E. Morss came into control of the *Sentinel* he became familiar with the facts in the case, and gave considerable effort to securing the rights of the state, for which, under the court decisions, a demand was essential. In the session of 1889 a resolution was introduced in the House for this purpose.¹⁰ It passed, and also passed the Senate on March 9, but mysteriously disappeared from the files, and was never presented to the Secretary of State. In 1891 the matter came up again, and a bill for investigation and action passed the House and was referred to the Committee on Education in the Senate.¹¹ Action was withheld till the end of the session, and then a report was made making no recommendation as to the bill, followed by the passage of a harmless resolution for an investigation and report by the Attorney-General. One of the Senators on this committee, who joined in the action, had been elected on this special issue of enforcing the Vandalia claim, and secured his place on the committee by aid of the friends of the measure. He shortly afterwards left the county from which he had been elected and purchased a 500-acre farm elsewhere. Morss expressed his disgust in an editorial which concludes as follows: "Then a member of the committee proposed a concurrent resolution, instructing the Attorney-General to make an investigation of the matter and report the results to the next general assembly. The resolution passed the Senate unanimously, but care was taken to see that it never reached the House. The resolution amounted to nothing, of course, but it appears that the railway company was unwilling to allow it to be published with the session acts of 1891, and hence caused it to be withheld from the House. It was a dirty piece of business, but entirely in keeping with the methods which this railroad company

⁹64 *Indiana*, p. 297.

¹⁰House Concurrent Resolution No. 127.

¹¹House Bill No. 626; *Senate Journal*, p. 880.

⁹Report of Atty. Genl., November 6, 1874; Record in T. H. & L. vs. State of Indiana, pp. 625, 626.

has always employed in its dealings with the state. It is mortifying in the extreme to know that Democrats could be found to lend themselves to this sort of juggling with legislation in the interest of a railroad corporation.¹²

There was also another editorial, the same day, which said: "The Senate committee on education consisted of Senators Grimes, Fulk, McHugh, Chandler, Smith, Shockney and Gargan. An effort was made to secure a unanimous report from the committee in favor of indefinitely postponing the Cullop bill, but Senator Smith, to his great credit prevented such action. So 'indefinite postponement' was not recommended. * * * The company has carried its point by preventing the passage of the Cullop bill, which embodied the legislative demand without which no legal proceedings can be sustained. We congratulate the clever and popular Mr. Riley McKeen upon this fresh evidence that his railroad company is a bigger thing than the State of Indiana." In 1893 another bill was introduced which was referred to the railroad committee and died there.¹³

The *Sentinel* paid no attention to it. After several days a prominent member of the railroad lobby mentioned the matter to Mr. Mors, and asked if the *Sentinel* was not going to make a fight for investigation of the Vandalia claim. Mr. Mors replied, "No, I don't propose to shake the bushes for you fellows at this session". And so the matter dropped into an inactive state for several years longer, but public sentiment had been aroused, and it did not die out as the years passed.

In 1897, Attorney-General Ketcham, former partner of Judge Claypool, took the matter up, and, with the approval and aid of the press, an act was secured authorizing a demand on the company for the amount due the state on January 17, 1873, on which date it had abandoned its charter and organized under the general law. Demand was made and suit brought in the Superior Court of Marion County. On the hearing before, and report by, Master Commissioner Noble C. Butler, Judge Vinson Carter rendered judgment for the state for \$913,905.01 on October 27, 1900. The case was then taken to the Supreme Court of Indiana,

which affirmed the judgment in a very strong opinion by Chief Justice Hadley.¹⁴ The case then went to the Supreme Court of the United States on writ of error, and it reversed the decision, holding that the legislation of 1897 violated the constitution of the United States by impairing the obligation of a violated contract.¹⁵ The cause being remanded for further proceedings, Mr. Ketcham filed an amended complaint based in an outspoken way on the ground that the railroad company had produced the legislative situation by its corrupt action, and that it could not be permitted to take advantage of its own wrong. This, however, was not sustained, the courts holding that the decision of the United States Supreme Court concluded the matter. The court said that the charge of corrupt action by the company was "abundantly sufficient", but it involved corruption of the legislature, and the courts "have invariably declined to inquire into the motives which prompted the official acts of the legislature or executive, from constitutional considerations and on grounds of public policy."¹⁶

It would be presumptuous and interminable to discuss the law in this case, but it is the duty of the historian to note the verdict of posterity on judicial action. There were plainly two lines of reasoning that a court might follow, for the Supreme Court of Indiana followed one, and the Supreme Court of the United States followed another, diametrically opposite. The former gave to the public its long-deferred rights. The latter confirmed to the railroad corporation the money it had withheld from the school children of Indiana, in violation of its express contract, and by methods whose odor is imperishable. And yet there are federal judges, and others, who whine over the growing lack of respect of the masses for the courts, and especially for life-term courts, responsible only to their own conceptions of a just God. Ah, well! One can almost comprehend that distinguished jurist, Justice Jeffries, lamenting that his arduous efforts to support the King, and make treason odious, were not appreciated by the English people.

In reality Indianapolis had been liberal to railroads from the beginning. Its people sub-

¹²159 Ind., p. 138.

¹³191 F. S., 519.

¹⁴166 Ind., 580.

¹²*Sentinel*, March 10, 1891.

¹³House Bill 52; *House Journal*, p. 123.

scribed generously to the stock of the earliest roads, and lost most of it in subsequent foreclosure proceedings. After the Civil War they gave public aid. On May 21, 1866, there was presented to the city council the petition of 6,896 tax-payers, asking the issue of \$150,000 of bonds in aid of railroads. The state law provided for a petition of a majority of the resident freeholders, and the committee reported that here were three-fourths of them. Of this amount \$60,000 was to go to the Indianapolis & Vincennes, and \$45,000 each to the Indianapolis, Crawfordsville & Danville and Indiana & Illinois Central, when they should have built their roads forty miles from the city, provided this were done within three years. On December 29, 1866, another petition, with the requisite number of signers was presented for an issue of \$50,000 for the Junction road. Ordinances for both were passed, the former on May 28, 1866 and the latter on February 4, 1867. On December 28, 1868, the Vincennes and Junction roads having complied with the terms of the agreement, an ordinance was passed directing the issue of their bonds; a provision being added, however, as to the Junction road that it should locate, erect and maintain within two miles of the corporate limits of the city the "principal works or machine shops of said road", and carry "to Indianapolis timber, stone, lime and stone, coal or coke at a rate not exceeding ten cents per car load per mile."

There was another instance of this liberality that was having an effect on the public mind at the time the Belt Road project was up. In 1870, in March, the Board of Commissioners, on petition, submitted to the voters of Center Township the question of donating \$65,000 to the Indiana & Illinois Central, the condition being attached that it should within three years locate its machine shops in the township. Later the Board of Commissioners extended the time to June, 1874, but the shops were not built until 1880, and then by the Indianapolis Decatur & Springfield Company, the successor of the Indiana & Illinois Central; and when they were built, they were put just over the line in Wayne Township. Meanwhile the money had been raised by taxation, and was lying in the county treasury, everybody taking it for granted that the company had forfeited the donation. This was the situation in 1876, and

naturally the people were disgusted with it, and with railroad promises. The money was a white elephant. The township demanded it of the county, and the county at first agreed to turn it over, and did pay \$17,112.50. Then it reconsidered, and the township brought suit and recovered judgment for \$74,102.48. The case went to the Supreme Court which discovered that the time limit forfeiture had been removed by a change in the state law, and decided that the money belonged to neither the county nor the township, but to the railroad company.¹⁷ Then the railroad company brought suit, and the case went back to the Supreme Court twice.¹⁸ The fact that the shops were not in the township was raised, but in the original agreed statement of facts, when nobody was thinking of the railroad company, it had been erroneously stated that they were in the township, and the court held that this bound everybody forever after. In consequence the matter wound up, over twenty years after the donation had been voted, with a judgment against the county for \$85,000. Incidentally it may be noted that, long before this, the Supreme Court had decided that a stipulation for machine shops added to a donation for a railroad was wholly void, and also made void the donation;¹⁹ but both the court and the lawyers appear to have forgotten that interesting decision.

Aside from the C. H. & D. shops, at "Moorfield" near the Insane Hospital, the only shops established at this point have been put here voluntarily by the railroad companies. Some are of little importance. The Monon, L. E. & W., and Indianapolis Southern maintain small shops for what are called "running repairs" in connection with their round-houses. The Panhandle has extensive shops, for rebuilding and repairing cars and engines, east of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, in which about 700 men are employed. The Big Four system has done the most for the city in this line. It now has four shops here, that at Moorfield employing 110 men; the Shelby street, or Indianapolis, shops employing 140 men; the Brightwood shops employing 450 men; and the new Beech Grove shops employing 600 men. The

¹⁷105 Ind., p. 422.

¹⁸110 Ind., p. 579; 130 Ind., p. 89.

¹⁹Rwy. Co. vs. City of Attica, 56 Ind., 476.

Brightwood shops are for rebuilding and repairing cars. The Beech Grove shops are for rebuilding and repairing locomotives, and the building of locomotives is contemplated ultimately. But Indianapolis has these shops merely because the railroad companies found it

advantageous to themselves to put them here. Indianapolis undoubtedly owes much of her growth and prosperity to railroads, but those benefits are purely incidental. The city is under no obligations to any railroad company for any benefits intentionally conferred.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

In the Annual Report of the Public Schools for 1866, Dr. Thomas B. Elliott, then president of the Board of Trustees, gave an historical sketch of their origin, which was copied by Sulgrove,¹ and has served as history for nearly half a century. It reads as follows: "Private day schools of good reputation were established, so soon as the necessity for them arose, and several of these are still fresh in the recollections of our adult citizens. There was, however, no approach toward a system of free schools until the winter of 1846-7. During the legislative session of that winter, the first city charter, prepared by the late Hon. Oliver H. Smith, for the town of Indianapolis was introduced into the General Assembly. It would have passed without opposition, as a matter of course and courtesy, had not a radical member from this town, Mr. S. V. B. Noel, presented as an amendment Section 29, which provided that the City Council should be instructed to lay off the city into suitable districts, provide by ordinance for school buildings, and the appointment of teachers and superintendents; and, further, that the Council should be authorized to levy a tax for school purposes, of not exceeding one-eighth of one per centum of the assessment. The amendment met with vigorous and determined opposition from several influential members. The new motion, imported, it was feared, from the Atlantic seaboard, that the property of the community should educate its children, was denounced as an experiment and a heresy, unjust, unequitable, and worthy of its Puritan origin. The inexpediency of any taxation, except for roads and the support of government, including the General Assembly, was resolutely urged in opposition.

¹*Hist. Indianapolis*, p. 423.

"Certain rough, and, in a robust way, popular members from the unterrified districts, were earnest in condemning common schools on general principles. They and their fathers never had an education, and they had achieved legislative honors without such aid; likewise their children might attain the same dignity, if not spoiled by learning. Schooling led to extravagance and folly, law and ruin. A man could keep store, chop wood, physic, plow, plead, and preach without an education, and what more was needed? The fleetest, long-nosed, deep-rooting hogs, and most flexible hoop-poles spring spontaneously from the soil. Without the aid of science, Nature had enriched us with the fruitfulest powers of mud. The wilderness of Indiana had been subdued and teeming crops grew luxuriant over the graves of dead savages—all done by unlearned men. Besides it would be a precedent full of evil to set this young city, the seat of the state government, agoing with reckless expenditure foisted into its charter. It might react on the legislature, by the influence of example, and millions be squandered in internal improvements more mischievous than those they were then staggering under. For their part, sink or swim, etc., they were opposed to any such fanaticism. These arguments carried weight, and the amendment was in peril, when a prudent and useful member, who advocated all sides on vexed questions, moved to still further amend by providing that no tax should be levied unless so ordered by a majority of the inhabitants of the town, at the ensuing April election, when the ballots should be endorsed 'Free Schools' and 'No Free Schools'. This sealed the lips of a portion of the opposition. They wavered. If they voted against the amendment, they would deny the right and ability of the people to rule; if for

it, they would at least acquiesce in a flagrant, and, they fondly hoped, unconstitutional heresy. So they divided; and the charter as amended, became a law.

"An animated contest ensued in the town, and at the first charter election the school question became the overshadowing issue. The opposition was thin and noisy. The friends of free schools were quiet but resolute; but on the day of the election were by no means sanguine of the result. A citizen who was to a considerable degree a representative of the learning, jurisprudence and capital of the town, the late venerable and eminent Judge Blackford, was earnestly cheered as he openly voted a ballot endorsed 'Free Schools'. The cause of impartial education triumphed by an overwhelming majority."

Dr. Elliott evidently got his ideas from the reminiscences of someone who had been a partisan in the school controversy, and his account is an injustice, of the "Hoosier School-master" class, to that generation. There is no reason to doubt that Oliver H. Smith drew the bill, or that "Vance" Noel, who was their proprietor and publisher of the *Journal*, procured the insertion of the school section, but the latter was not by amendment. The charter bill was introduced in the House by the committee, to which were referred petitions for and against the advance to city government,² and went through the House without any amendment, by a vote of 48 to 27. The amendment referred to was made in the Senate, and is added as the last section of the bill. It was the recognition of the right of local self-government, which the bill already gave as to the adoption of the charter itself. Local taxation for schools had been the custom in Indiana for years, but always optional; and in the law of 1834, there was exemption from the local tax of any person "who does not, or does not wish to participate in the benefit of the school fund". It was the inadequate result of local taxation that the school reform of 1851 aimed to remedy, and the first open steps for that reform had been taken in 1846, by the beginning of the publication of *West's Common School Advocate* on October 1, and by the appearance on December 8 of the first "message" of Caleb Mills in the *Journal*. There was very great at-

tention paid to school matters by this legislature, but there were then numerous vexed questions that now seem very simple. There were at this session numerous petitions from Germans asking the teaching of their language in the schools. There were one or two from negroes, asking for some part of the public funds for their schools, which were then absolutely separate and wholly private. Strangest of all, a resolution was offered for a committee to inquire into the expediency of permitting female teachers to be employed in the public schools, if they passed as good examinations as men.³

The spirit of progress was awake, but the road for advance was not clearly defined. In his message at the opening of the session, Governor Whitecomb recommended "a careful revision of the entire school system", or at least an inquiry preliminary to it.⁴ On January 8, the House disposed of the matter by recommending "to the friends of education the holding of a State Common School Convention at Indianapolis on the fourth Wednesday of May next, for the purpose of consulting and devising the best course to be pursued to promote common school education in our state";⁵ and on January 26 it granted the use of the hall of the House for this purpose.⁶ This convention was duly held on May 25, 26, 27, with Judge Blackford as president, Rev. A. Wylie, Rev. D. Monfort, J. R. Edgerton, Prof. E. O. Hovey, and Charles Test as vice-presidents, and J. H. Taylor and N. Bolton as secretaries. The brains and progress of the state were in attendance. The committee on resolutions was composed of Ovid Butler, A. Kinney, Caleb Mills, John A. Matson, Samuel C. Wilson, Prof. S. H. Thompson, Rev. E. R. Ames, and Richard W. Thompson. They brought in sweeping resolutions, covering the reforms later adopted, and a committee composed of O. H. Smith, Calvin Fletcher and A. Kinney was appointed to prepare a law for submission to the next legislature. A committee composed of Rev. E. R. Ames, Jeremiah Sullivan, T. R. Cressy, R. W. Thompson, James H. Henry, Solomon C. Meredith and James Blake was

¹*House Journal*, p. 63.

²*Senate Journal*, p. 23.

³*House Journal*, p. 387.

⁴*House Journal*, p. 708.

² House Bill, No. 346.

appointed to draw up an address to the people of the state in the interest of free schools, which was duly done, and has become a part of the history of the state.⁷

Meanwhile the election had come on in Indianapolis on April 24, and if there had been any doubt as to public sentiment it was very thoroughly dispelled. All of the newspapers favored the school tax. Out of 500 votes cast for city officers under the new charter, there were 406 cast for free schools, and only 28 against; and the *Locomotive* averred that most of the opposition votes were indorsed, "No free sculs."⁸ The *Journal* bubbled over with pleasure at the result, and observed, "Give the citizens of our state a chance at the ballot box in this matter, and they will soon say whether they prefer to raise their children in the midst of ignorance or intelligence."⁹ The *Sentinel*, with the fitting modesty of an interested party, said, "The free school proposition passed by an almost unanimous vote. This we are particularly pleased with on account of our own 'herd' of little ones."¹⁰ The occasion for the general satisfaction will be better understood from a consideration of the school condition of Indianapolis, as presented by H. F. West, editor of the *Common School Advocate*, at the time: "There are eleven schools in this city. Four district schools, four subscription do, one County and two Female Seminaries. The three last are of high order, and may be numbered among the best, if not the best in our state. The others are far above the average of our district and subscription schools. Our object in this article is not to advertise the merits of our schools, but to present some facts for the consideration of our citizens. There are in this city 1,928 children between the ages of 5 and 21 years. In all the schools of our city there are less than 550 names upon the registers, and the average daily attendance is only 162. So we see that here at the Capital, a place so renowned for its intelligence, that out of 1,928 children we have 1,466 receiving no instruction at our schools. This tells a tale upon our zeal in the cause of education, and our well directed charities!"

⁷*Journal*, June 8, 1847.

⁸*Locomotive*, May 29, 1847.

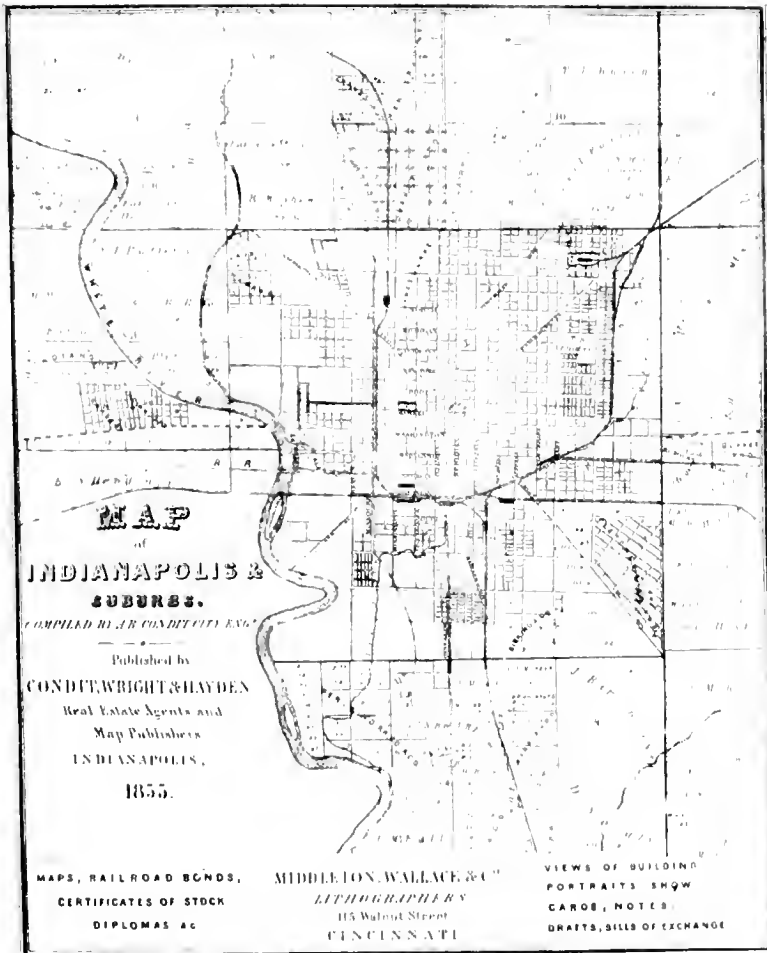
⁹*Journal*, May 4, 1847.

¹⁰*Sentinel*, April 28, 1847.

Many of our citizens feel deeply in regard to the deplorable condition of the schools of our state; while 50 per cent more of the entire number of the children in the state attend school, than there do from the city of Indianapolis."¹¹

The new law was promptly put in effect. Each ward was made a school district, under an independent trustee; teachers were employed, and schools were opened in rented houses. Donations of money and lots were asked for, and in December the council returned thanks to Thomas D. Gregg for a gift of \$100. Lots were bought in the seven wards in 1848-9 at from \$300 to \$500, and buildings were erected in five of the wards in 1851-2. They were plain, one-story brick buildings, arranged so that a second story could be added; those in the second, fourth and sixth wards had two rooms, and the others one. A two-story house was built in the seventh ward in 1857, and the houses in the first, second and fifth wards were made two stories in 1854-6. Unfortunately these expenses consumed most of the funds at first, and tuition had to be paid to compensate the teachers. The first tax levy, in 1847, produced \$1,981; that of 1848, \$2,385; that of 1849, \$2,851. In 1850 the income was \$6,160, of which \$5,938 was expended for lots and buildings in that and the ensuing year. As the city grew the product of the tax became larger, reaching \$20,239 in 1857. The system of independent trustees for the several wards continued until 1853, when the new state school law went into effect, and then the city council elected Henry P. Coburn, Calvin Fletcher and Henry F. West, trustees, the law conferring sole authority over the schools on this board. A code of rules was drawn up by Calvin Fletcher, and on April 25, 1853, the schools were opened for the first time on an actual free basis, with two male and twelve female teachers. The average attendance jumped from 340 in April to 500 in May, this first free session being for two months only. Until this time there was no common system of instruction or of text-books, but the new board requested the principals of the leading private schools to prepare a list of text-books and course of instruction, which were adopted and used thereafter. In August,

¹¹*Sentinel*, January 12, 1847.



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

MAP OF INDIANAPOLIS, 1855.

1853, the graded system was adopted, and a high school was opened on September 1, with E. P. Cole as principal and one assistant. It was held in the old seminary building, which had been repaired and refitted for the purpose; and it remained there until the closing of the schools in 1858.

From 1853 to February, 1855, the only supervision of the schools was by the trustees, who generously gave much of their time to the work. But the burden was too great, and at the request of the council elected Silas T. Bowen superintendent at a salary of \$400 per annum, requiring him to give most of his time to the duties of the office. Mr. Bowen was at that time junior member of the book and stationery firm of Stewart & Bowen—later Bowen & Merrill. He was a graduate of the Albany Normal school, then the leading institution of its kind in the country, and had come here to take a position in the McLean Female Seminary, where he taught for several years before going into business. Mr. Bowen achieved some improvement, but the work took too much of his time, and in March, 1856, the council appointed George B. Stone, who had succeeded E. P. Cole as principal of the high school, as superintendent at a salary of \$1,000, requiring him to give his entire time to the work. Mr. Stone was a New England man, thoroughly equipped for his office, and administered it effectively. He perfected the system in use, held teachers' meetings, and brought the schools to a state of efficiency that made them popular. In 1857 there were 35 teachers employed, mostly female, and the average attendance was 1,800. This was only about one-third of the enumeration, but it was more than there were good accommodations for, the seating capacity of the schools being only 1,210. Mr. Stone condemned the old seminary building, in which the high school had been carried on by W. B. Henkle, since 1856, as unfit and wanting in almost every particular, and recommended that a new one be erected adequate to the needs of the city.

But there was worse in store for the schools than inadequate buildings. The Supreme Court had held that the law of 1852, giving townships power to tax themselves, to maintain schools after the state school funds for tuition were exhausted, was unconstitutional. This

was in December, 1854,¹² and the legislature of 1855 undertook to help the situation by a law authorizing cities and towns to levy taxes in support of public schools, which might be paid to any existing schools performing public service, but such schools were "not to supersede the common schools." The cities and towns were proceeding under this act, when in January, 1858, Judge Perkins of the Supreme Court handed down a decision that this law was unconstitutional. The theory adopted by the Supreme Court was that the constitution, by its provision for "a general and uniform system of common schools", had established a Procrustean educational bed, to which every locality must be fitted; and every child in the state must have an equal opportunity for education, no less and no more.¹³ The decision practically meant, as the *Indiana School Journal* said: "The constitution of Indiana, or the interpretation of it by her highest judicial tribunal, forbids the people of any city or corporate place in the state to tax themselves to support free schools, till the whole of the state will also consent to tax itself for the same purpose."¹⁴

The people of Indianapolis realized that they were in a bad situation. The council was convened on January 26, to consider the situation, and recommended meetings in the several wards to raise money to continue the schools. The board of trustees, then composed of D. V. Culley, Gen. John Love, and D. S. Beatty, called meetings for the 29th, and submitted propositions to the people to take scholarships for one term, on the basis of \$4.50 for the high school, \$3.50 for the grammar schools, \$3 for the intermediate schools, and \$2 for the primary schools—it being estimated that at these rates the several grades of schools could be maintained, respectively, with 80, 50, 57 and 54 scholars each. On February 1, they reported the result to the council, showing that 1,105 scholarships had been taken, with a total aggregate of \$3,057. It was then decided to go ahead for the next term, at least, and the schools were reopened on February 2.

¹² *Greencastle Tp., etc. vs. Black* 5 Ind., p. 557.

¹³ *City of Lafayette vs. Jenners*—10 Ind., p. 70.

¹⁴ February, 1858, p. 68.

It was hoped that efforts to raise additional funds would be successful, but they were not, and on April 17 the schools closed for the year. Superintendent Stone was at once called to Minneapolis to take charge of the schools there, and went. On May 28 the teachers of the public schools met and adopted resolutions regretting his departure, and congratulating Minneapolis on her acquisition. In printing them, the *Journal* casually observed, "We have no hesitation in saying that we could very much better afford to lose all four of the Judges who assassinated the schools than the one faithful superintendent who made them the pride of the city and the state."¹⁵ And there were a number of other good teachers who left the state at that time, for as Mr. Henkle observed, they had been studying the constitution and had found, at least, one clause in their favor—"Art. 1, Sec. 36. Emigration from the state shall not be prohibited."¹⁶ The council turned the control of the buildings over to the trustees, and they encouraged their use for private schools. In June the *School Journal* said: "More than two-thirds of the children of this city are out of school at present, although each one of the ward houses is occupied by some of the former teachers. A great number of poor private schools have sprung up since the ruin of the public schools".

Says Dr. Elliott, speaking of this Supreme Court decision: "Then commenced the dark age of the public schools. The school houses were rented to such teachers as were willing or able, from limited patronage to pay a small pittance for their use. The state fund was only sufficient to keep the schools open one feeble 'free quarter' each year; and in 1859 even this was altogether omitted for want of money. During this gloomy period in the history of the schools, the public were largely indebted to D. V. Culley, Esq., who, as school trustee for a number of years, with his associates gathered reverently together all the debris of the ruined system, carefully assorted and economized all that was left, and the salvage of the old system, thus prudently preserved, became the strong foundation of the new. At length the legislature made provision for more efficient and prosperous schools,

and fuller taxation for their support." The free schools were not opened in 1859, but in 1860 and 1861 there were free terms of 18 weeks each. In these years James Green acted as director, or superintendent. In 1862-3 there was a term of 22 weeks with Prof. Geo. W. Hoss as superintendent. There were 29 teachers employed and 2,374 pupils enrolled. No attempt was made to reopen the high school during this period.

And now opened a new era. Dr. Elliott was not strong as a historian, but he was a good school trustee, and his banner achievement was getting Abraham C. Shortridge into the public schools. Mr. Shortridge had studied under A. R. Benton ten years earlier, and came at his call to teach in Northwestern Christian University. Elliott importuned him to accept the superintendency of the city schools, but in vain. Then Elliott had him elected, whether or no, and after several days prevailed on him to accept the position. The situation at the time was not encouraging. The total value of the school property in the city was \$88,500, and it did not afford accommodations for the school children. There were in all 22 rooms in the public school buildings, but by the use of halls and cloak rooms 29 teachers were given room to teach in 1863. The state school revenue increased, and in the spring of 1863 the trustees levied a tax of 15 cents on \$100 for buildings and other expenses excepting tuition. There were some enlargements and alterations of existing buildings; but in 1864 visits were made to other cities to inspect their school buildings, and the John Hancock school of Boston was taken as a model for two new three-story buildings that were put up in the Fourth and Ninth wards, in 1865-6, at a cost of about \$32,000 each. There was some protest over this movement towards luxury, but public sentiment sustained it, and the movement for adequate and convenient buildings has grown in force as the years progressed.

Superintendent Shortridge's first execution was in the line of grading the schools and organizing and drilling his teaching force. In this he was sadly handicapped by the fact that one week after he entered his office he was stricken with blindness, and weeks passed before he recovered partial sight. But he went right on with the work, and its effects were soon manifest in more efficient instruction.

¹⁵*Journal*, June 2, 1858.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, *School Journal*, 1858, p. 68.

On account of the small salaries paid he urged that female teachers be employed and the board agreed. The men on the force (there were only four) were dropped with the exception of Wm. A. Bell, who was made principal of the high school. Mr. Bell was educated at Antioch, under Horace Mann, and had several years' experience in teaching before he came here in 1863 to attend a teachers' meeting. Dr. Elliott met him and persuaded him to stay as principal of the Second ward school. The high school was opened in the old First ward school on September 1, 1864, with 28 pupils, but none of them were sufficiently advanced for actual high school work, and a year was devoted to bringing them up to that point. The actual high school work began in September, 1865, the first class graduating in 1869. Meanwhile the old Second Presbyterian Church (northwest corner of Market and Circle streets) was purchased by the school board, and remodeled. A floor was thrown across the church room, making a three-story building. The ground floor, or old Sunday school rooms, was occupied by part of the A grade. The second floor was occupied by the school offices and the second, third and fourth years of the high school, as they developed. The third floor was occupied by the first year pupils. The high school remained here until 1870, when the old Baptist Female Seminary property, at Michigan and Pennsylvania streets was purchased for \$41,000, and occupied after some enlargement. It was replaced in 1884 by the present south building of the present Shortridge High School at a cost of \$56,500, the north building being erected in 1904-5 at a cost of \$170,000, and the east wing in 1901-2 at a cost of \$26,000.

The system of three trustees elected by the council was continued from 1853 to 1861, when provision was made for a school board, elected by the people, of as many members as there were wards. In 1865, George W. Boss, then Superintendent of Public Instruction, was drafting a bill for the revision of the school law, and permitted his friend Mr. Shortridge to write and insert Section 5, which provides for trustees elected by the council. The number was left blank until filled by the word "three" on motion of Judge H. C. Newcomb, then a representative from Marion County, who was in charge of the bill. Shortridge desired

Dr. Elliott and Alexander Metzger on his board, but Metzger objected and said he would get a better man, in fulfillment of which he brought forward Clemens Vonnegut. The council was duly assembled, and the new board was made up of Dr. Thos. B. Elliott, Clemens Vonnegut and W. H. L. Noble. This board continued until 1869, when James C. Yolm and John R. Elder replaced Dr. Elliott and Mr. Vonnegut. The system was very satisfactory so far as the work of the commissioners was concerned, but it was hampered by the fact that as a part of the common school system the board was not independent. It could recommend taxes, but they must be levied by the city council, and it was not well informed as to school needs. It employed teachers but they had to be examined by the county examiner, an official appointed by the county commissioners, who was later, in the sixties, replaced by the county superintendent, elected by the trustees. The school work was also impaired by the lack of any public library facilities.

To remedy these and other evils, Mr. Shortridge devised a scheme of independent school government, and called a meeting of prominent friends of the schools to consider it. Those present were E. B. Martindale, John Caven, Addison L. Roache, Austin H. Brown, Simon Yandes, Thos. B. Elliott and H. G. Carey. Clemens Vonnegut and W. A. Bell were invited but could not attend. Mr. Shortridge submitted his statement of the situation, and his remedy. He proposed a board as large as the city council, elected at special elections where politics would not control, and vested with full powers of taxation and administration of the school law. After consideration all agreed to this and Mr. Shortridge, Judge Roache and Austin H. Brown were appointed to draw up the law. The law was written by Mr. Brown, approved by the other two, and reported to a meeting of the original counsellors and the members of the House of Representatives from Marion County, who were James H. Ruddle, Fielding Beeler, Edward King and Oliver M. Wilson. Messrs. Martindale and Caven were the senators, and all the delegation gave assurance of support for the measure, which was duly passed without much difficulty. It made at the time a board of nine members, there being then nine wards and nine councilmen. They were to be elected on

the second Monday in June, and divide by lot in three classes, for one, two and three year terms, one-third being elected annually thereafter. This law continued in effect for eighteen years, the elections being held on the second Saturday in June of each year. The law gave the board power "to levy all taxes for the support of the schools within such city including such taxes as may be required for paying teachers, in addition to the taxes now authorized to be levied by the General Assembly."¹⁷

It is impossible to distinguish this law in principle from the law which had been held unconstitutional in 1858, but there had been a change. The constitution was the same; the law was similar; but the judges were different, and so was public sentiment. There were efforts to amend the constitution so as to permit local taxation for tuition in 1861, 1863 and 1865, but they failed. In 1867 State Superintendent Hoss proposed "to consider heroic treatment—namely the reenactment of the law decided unconstitutional in 1855 and 1858". He urged that public sentiment had so changed that "no one would have the hardihood to bring suit against the law in the next ten years; and if suit should be brought, the court would, in all probability, hold the law constitutional."¹⁸ His judgment was correct. The legislature of 1867 passed the law,¹⁹ and was not questioned for eighteen years. It came to the Supreme Court then in the case of *Robinson vs. Schenck*,²⁰ and in a most elaborate opinion the court, by Judge Elliott, demonstrated that the makers of the constitution never had the slightest idea of prohibiting local taxation for tuition. So that ghost was permanently laid.

Owing to the difficulty of getting satisfactory teachers for the salaries that could be paid, Mr. Shortridge planned a city normal school which was opened March 1, 1867, under charge of Amanda P. Funnelle, a graduate of the Albany Normal School. It was continued under her and other teachers until 1885, when Miss Mary E. Nicholson became principal and remained in charge of it until June, 1909, when

she resigned. She was elected a member of the school board in the fall following. Mr. E. R. Ray has been principal of the Normal School since then. Writing of this school in 1908, Mr. Shortridge said: "Of the nine hundred and ninety young women who have already completed the training school course of study, practically all have been employed in the schools and it is safe to say nine hundred were residents of Indianapolis; and it may also be said that three-fourths of them would never have taught a day in this city but for this special training. * * * Last year there were 320 of them in the schools, of which twelve are in the list of supervising principals, eight are directors of practice, six are German teachers, and three are high school teachers. What was quite as important, they earned and spent their money in and about their own homes and thereby brought help in a thousand ways to dependent children, and often helpless fathers and mothers."²¹ Nothing just like this school was in existence anywhere when it was started, but its success soon caused similar schools to be started in Cincinnati, Evansville and Ft. Wayne; and other cities have since followed.

A problem confronting the school board after the Civil War was the colored population. In the report of 1866, Dr. Elliott said: "For reasons which cannot be consistently stated or explained by any who approve of taxation for the support of schools, the colored people of the state and city have, from the beginning to this time, been deprived of advantage from the school fund, or any privileges of the schools. * * * According to the late census of the city, taken last summer, there are 1,653 colored inhabitants. Of these nearly three hundred are attending private colored pay schools, conducted and supported by themselves, and to a very limited extent, if at all, dependent on the charities of the public. The large proportion of colored children attending pay schools is very creditable to this people, and indicates an earnest desire for improvement. The ratio of school attendance to the total colored population is almost without precedent. Their schools are sustained under great disadvantages—without the generous sympathy of the public generally, with very moderate funds, with buildings unsuited to school purposes, with

¹⁷ Acts, 1851, p. 20.

¹⁸ *Hist. of Education in Ind.*, p. 231.

¹⁹ Acts, 1867, p. 30.

²⁰ 102 Ind., p. 307.

²¹ *News*, April 1, 1908.

limited or no school apparatus, with uncomfortable school furniture, with insufficient textbooks, without classification, and with teachers unskilled in the art of imparting instruction. In our judgment, humanity, justice, and sound public policy demand that this class of our citizens shall receive the benefit of our common school system". At that time the state law provided that school taxes "shall not be levied and collected from negroes nor mulattoes, nor shall their children be included in any enumeration required by this act, nor entitled to the benefits thereof".²² The fixed policy of the state, and of nearly everybody in it, prior to the Civil War, was to keep negroes out of Indiana. Article eleven of the constitution of 1851 prohibited their coming into the state, made any contract with them void, and their employment a penal offense; and this was enforced even to holding a marriage contract void.²³ Colored children could not attend a public school even on the payment of tuition, if any white parent objected.²⁴

An effort to change the law failed in 1867, and again at the regular session of 1869; this second time it did not come up until the last night of the session, and a constitutional majority could not be had because part of the members were celebrating. Shortridge says: "A truthful description of what took place on this particular night would not look well in a newspaper."²⁵ At the special session the law passed, and was approved on May 13, 1869, putting negroes on the same footing as whites under the school law. Preparations were at once made for this accession to the school attendance. As the law required separate schools, old buildings were repaired and rooms rented. Colored teachers were employed so far as competent ones could be found, and white teachers for the rest of the force. Meetings were held in the summer for the instruction of parents as to the new condition, and in the fall the colored schools opened. Says Shortridge, "When the day came, the buildings were crowded early with a herd of rowdy and undisciplined blacks, and with a strong teaching force in number about equally divided between

the two races. Order was at once restored, and the work of classifying and grading was begun. Five years after they were first admitted to the schools, there were in attendance at both day and night schools over 800 colored pupils." This attendance has steadily increased, and in January, 1909, in addition to the Colored Orphan Asylum, to which the city assigns one teacher, there are eight school buildings devoted exclusively to colored children, as follows: No. 19 (Frederick Douglass School), No. 23 (Charles Sumner), No. 24 (McCoy), No. 26, No. 37, No. 40 (Robert Gould Shaw), No. 42, and No. 62. The enrollment in these eight schools is 2,330; and in addition there are about 50 colored pupils in other schools too far from any of the eight to attend them; 80 in Shortridge High School, and about the same number in the Manual Training High School.

Manual training was introduced in Indianapolis by the Germans in their Gewerbeschule, which was held in the German-English School building on East Maryland street. It was originated and supported by the Gewerbeschulverein, among whose members were D. A. Bohlen, the architect, H. Lauter, Otto Stechhan, Clemens Vonnegut, and other business men. The teachers were Bernard Vonnegut and Arthur Bohm, who taught descriptive geometry, architectural drawing, and design work; T. R. Bell, who taught machine draughting; and A. Lindenberg, who taught free hand and ornamental drawing and ornamental modeling. The school performed a valuable service in helping young workmen to higher service and fitting boys for intelligent work. Among its products was Ernest Werner, a poor boy, who was inspired by his schooling there with a desire for more education, became an architect, and later was assistant building-inspector of the city; from which position he went to West Point as superintendent of construction. The school had about 15 pupils but grew so that the quarters were inadequate and the teaching force also. The schulverein applied to the school board for an appropriation for the school, which could not legally be made, but the board assigned Wm. H. Bass as a teacher there for a year.

Then the school board decided to take up manual training, and opened a department in Shortridge High School, in charge of Mr.

²² School Law of March 5, 1855.

²³ 7 Ind., 389.

²⁴ 2 Ind., 332; 5 Ind., 211.

²⁵ *News*, April 4, 1908.

Bass, in 1888. It was continued there till 1892, and then removed to High School No. 2 (which was maintained at Virginia avenue and Huron street from 1884 to 1894), and after one year there, went back to Shortridge till 1894. Meanwhile the lack of money and room for the work had become apparent, and in 1891 an act of the legislature was obtained authorizing a tax of 5 cents on \$100 for the erection and maintenance of a manual training school. As it would be slow work waiting for money to come in, a scheme was devised of anticipating the revenue by notes, and the site was bought and building erected in that way, being opened in 1894, with Chas. E.

taking the schools out of ordinary party politics, but as the system developed, and the school funds became large, there grew up a system of public school politics, which was at bottom a contest of banks for the custody of the school funds, and which was as objectionable as party politics. It became a prominent feature of controversy in the nineties, and the *Sentinel* made a protracted fight for the payment of all interest on the school funds into the school treasury, as a remedy. In 1897 the matter of school-law reform was brought before the Commercial Club, at a dinner on February 28, when there was an address by President Andrew S. Draper, and re-



BEECHER'S CHURCH, 1893.
(As remodeled for High School.)

Emmerich as principal. He was the right man in the right place, and has been there ever since. The school was unlike any other in the country at the start. There were a number of persons interested in the movement who wanted to make it a trade school, but it was held to the plan of joint academic and manual training, and has become very popular. When started, people derided the idea that 600 pupils would be found who wanted that sort of education; the average attendance in 1907-8 was 1,399. The popularity of its work has caused an extension of most branches of it into the graded schools.

The school law of 1871 was effective for

marks by others. The board of directors decided to appoint a committee to investigate and suggest amendments, and the annual report of the club recites: "The President appointed as such committee Charles W. Smith, Chairman; President J. H. Smart, President A. S. Draper, S. O. Pickens, William Scott, J. P. Frenzel, George Merritt, F. H. Blackledge, A. H. Brown, J. B. Conner, Franklin Vonnegut and Charles Martindale. Presidents Draper and Smart did not meet with the committee. The committee reported that it did not think it wise to propose any legislation intended to change the character of the present Board of School Commissioners or

the manner of their election; that the floating debt of the Board should be funded, and a sinking fund provided; and that not to exceed \$60,000 annually for five years should be borrowed for the construction of new buildings. The report was concurred in and the bill submitted therewith was approved by the Board; a substitute bill embodying the so-called 'Cleveland plan' of school administration which was submitted by one of the directors, Mr. Dunn, being rejected. The committee was instructed to present its bill to the General Assembly which it has done."

The proposed bill did not become a law. The *Sentinel* kept up its fight for reform, and in 1898 all of the candidates for school commissioner opposed to it were defeated.²⁹ In 1897 a new factor in school affairs had come into existence. Thomas C. Day became impressed with the desirability of improvement in the school situation, especially of a closer touch between the teachers and the people, and organized the Citizens' Education Society. The society was first attracted to the neglect of many parents to give their children opportunity for education, and secured the enactment by the legislature of 1897 of a compulsory education law. It requires parents and guardians of children between the ages of 8 and 14 to send them for at least 12 consecutive weeks in each year to a public, private or parochial school. Children mentally or physically incapacitated are exempt, as also those who have completed the first eight years of work of the common schools. Children whose parents are unable to supply them with the necessary books and clothing are supplied by the school trustees or commissioners; and these also appoint truant officers to enforce attendance. The wide interest in this movement may be judged from the personnel of the executive committee of the society, which was composed of Thomas C. Day, Chairman, Hermann Lieber, Miss Nebraska E. Cropsey, Benjamin Harrison, J. K. Lilly, D. K. Goss, G. A. Schull, Edgar A. Brown, J. L. McMasters, Miss Margaret Hamilton, Mrs. Frances M. Brunton, Wm. A. Guthrie, Wm. Scott, B. C. Kelsey, treasurer, and Dr. R. O. McAlexander, secretary.

²⁹*Sentinel*, June 9-12, 1908.

In 1899 the society investigated the school law and decided that amendment was desirable. A committee was appointed to prepare a bill, composed of Thos. C. Day, Chairman, and Judge John E. Scott, Judge L. C. Walker, and Wm. A. Bell. Other organizations desired to unite in the work, and the committee was enlarged by adding Judge Frank E. Gavin, Henry W. Bennett and Albert E. Metzger from the Commercial Club, and Dr. P. H. Jameson, Charles S. Lewis and Judge Thomas L. Sullivan, from the Board of Trade. The bill was drawn up by Judge Gavin, and revised by the committee, and the 'Cleveland plan' which the Commercial Club had rejected, was made the basis of the bill. The bill became a law on March 4, 1899, and the new board created by it took office January 1, 1900. The law established a board of five members, elected by a general vote of the city, and not taken from any districts. They served four years, divided in two classes which are elected every second and fourth year. At the city election, October 10, 1899, Charles W. Moores, George W. Sloan, Andrew M. Sweeney, John H. Emrich and Henry C. Sickels were elected members of the board. Messrs. Moores, Sweeney and Sickels drew short terms, and were reelected in 1901 and again in 1905—Mr. Sloan died February 15, 1903, and Wm. M. Taylor was elected by the board to fill the vacancy. He and Mr. Emrich were reelected at the city elections of 1903 and 1907. At the election of 1909, Messrs. Moores, Sickels and Sweeney were replaced by Miss Mary E. Nicholson, Dr. Frank A. Morrison, and James P. McGowan.

The law makes the City Controller auditor of the board, and the City Treasurer its treasurer, thus taking from it any custody of its funds beyond their expenditure. It provides for a Superintendent of Schools, who has charge of all the school work proper, and a Business Director who has control of all business and financial administration. It provides also for a Librarian and Secretary, having the duties usually pertaining to those offices. The importance of an adequate business administration will be seen from the following statement of the administrative expenses of the board, exclusive of teachers' salaries, from July 1, 1900 to July 1, 1908:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| New buildings | \$953,048.95 |
| New sites and additional grounds... | 411,058.96 |
| Permanent improvements | 251,815.11 |
| Street improvements | 15,987.54 |
| Total | \$1,391,910.59 |

This was the small end of the expenditures, the teachers' salaries being \$411,696.87 in 1900-1, and \$687,885.71 in 1907-8, over \$1,000,000 in the eight years. The total expenditures in 1900-1 were \$796,721.97, the receipts \$862,242.42. The total expenditures in 1907-8 were \$1,317,813.68, the receipts \$1,229,513.27; there being a balance of \$278,631.76 over from the preceding year. Anyone ought to see the absurdity of carrying on such a business through a board of unsalaried trustees, with no business manager, who could give only their surplus time to the business. The only wonder is that school affairs were managed so well under the old system, for the business was large even then. In 1871-2 the total expenditures were \$149,112.51, and they steadily and necessarily increased to \$365,908.83 in 1891-2; the total expenditures for these 21 years being \$5,375,337.33. The explanation of it is the generous service given by some of the best business men of the city, especially Henry P. Cohn, Calvin Fletcher, H. F. West and D. V. Colley, in the period prior to 1871; James C. Yohn, John R. Elder, Clemens Vonnegut, Thos. B. Elliott, and Cyrus C. Hines, both before and after 1871; and Austin H. Brown, George Merritt, H. G. Carey, J. J. Bingham, Charles W. Smith, Wm. A. Bell, J. H. Greenstreet, J. B. Conner, and J. P. Frenzel after 1871. As to Mr. Frenzel it is only just to say, that notwithstanding the criticism of him in the heated period of the nineties (and the writer, as editorial writer of the *Sentinel* contributed a large share of it), no one can fairly study the school conditions of the long period of his service, from 1882 up, and not be impressed that his service was of very great value to the public in the financial management.

The truth is, that in the development of Indianapolis from a town to a city, and the development of public demand for the latest and best school accommodations, the school expenditures have grown out of proportion to

mere population. In the last eight years, during which the business management has been under the new system, the increase of expenditures has been 66 per cent, and the increase of enrollment has been only 49 per cent. But teachers are getting farrer pay, and children are getting better school accommodations. It would be impossible to get competent teachers now for the salaries that were paid in 1871-2; and the public would revolt against a return to the kind of school houses in use then, just as they would against a return to the kind of streets we had then. The standard of living has been raised, and it has probably been raised more in public affairs than in private affairs, on the average.

After the resignation of Mr. Shortridge in 1874, George P. Brown became Superintendent until 1879, when he resigned. He afterwards became known as one of the most distinguished educators of the country. He was followed by Horace Sumner Tarbell, who served acceptably till 1884. Mr. Tarbell and his daughter Martha have since been known as authors of school books. In 1884 Lewis Henry Jones became Superintendent, and served till 1891 when he left here to serve as Superintendent of the Cleveland schools; he served there until 1902, and then became president of the Michigan State Normal College, where he has since been. From 1895 to 1900 David K. Goss was Superintendent. He was a well-equipped and forceful man, but he was not popular in Indianapolis, and he had the misfortune to serve during a storm period, when he caught part of the blast. Mr. Goss died at Strasburg, Germany, where he was conducting a school for American boys, September 26, 1904.²⁷ In 1900 Calvin N. Kendall, the present Superintendent, came to Indianapolis after five years' service as Superintendent of the New Haven, Connecticut schools. Although Indianapolis has been extremely fortunate in the high grade of her school superintendents, the excellence of her schools is chiefly due to the devotion and self-sacrifice of the public school teachers, many of them Indianapolis women, who have simply built their lives into this great school fabric. It would require more than human power to list those deserving special praise, where practically all have done so nobly. They

²⁷*News*, September 27, 1904.

have their common monument in the school system they have helped to make. But all will concede that special credit is due to Miss Nebraska E. Cropsey, who as assistant superintendent is conceded to have largely made the primary departments of the schools what they are.

In January, 1909, there were 62 graded schools in Indianapolis, with 619 rooms. Shortridge High School has 70 rooms, and Manual Training High School over 80. To maintain the schools, in addition to the state tax, there is a local tax of 58 cents on \$100. Of this 5 cents is for buildings and grounds, 5 cents for manual training, 4 cents for City Library, 1 cent for teachers' pensions, and 1 cent for free kindergartens, though the kindergartens are not under the control of the School Board. There are 872 persons in the teaching force, including superintendents and supervisors. Of these 633 are teachers in the graded school—65 colored. These are the regular teachers, and there are also 40 special teachers, who visit various schools, including 16 manual training teachers, 5 sewing teachers, 6 cooking teachers, 4 music teachers, 5 art teachers, 3 physical training teachers, and 1 penmanship teacher. There are also 43 German teachers in the graded schools. Shortridge High School has 47 teachers and Manual Training High School 69. The remaining members of the teaching force are supervisors and superintendents.

The Indianapolis public schools have received many compliments,²⁸ and certainly none more frank and sincere than those of Dr. Jos. M. Rice, the editor of the *Forum*. He says:

²⁸*News*, March 8, 1905; December 18, 1905; *Star*, May 5, 1907.

"The Indianapolis schools, though upon a rather high level, and, in my opinion, among our best, are not perfect. A perfect school means a perfect teacher, a teacher who possesses a beautiful character, education, culture, and great professional strength. The Indianapolis teacher is not perfect. Her spirit is beautiful, but her professional strength, though it compares favorably with the strength of the best of our teachers, is not yet great. The first steps toward the ideal have been made. * * * When our teachers combine the beautiful spirit of the Indianapolis teachers with the technique of the German schoolmaster, America will have the best schools in the world. To exchange our spirit for the German's technique would, I think, be taking a backward step. We must not be content until we have both."²⁹ And in his summing up he adds: "Although Indianapolis was the twenty-third city that I visited in my tour, I discovered in the first class-room entered that the schools of that city had reached a higher stage of development than any that I had previously investigated. Before visiting the schools of Indianapolis, my attention had never been called to their excellence, and the first school that I saw was one to which I had been directed by the porter as being the most convenient to reach from the hotel. In nearly every city later visits served simply to confirm the judgment I had formed on investigating the first school."³⁰

²⁹*Forum*, Vol. 14, pp. 442-3.

³⁰*Forum*, Vol. 15, p. 516. These articles were published in book form in 1893, under the title, *The Public School System of the United States*.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE PAID FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The paid fire department of Indianapolis began operations on quite a modest scale. One ordinance of November 14, 1859, disbanded the volunteer companies and another provided for a paid department consisting of one steam and two hand engines and a hook and ladder company. The first company was to take The Conqueror and use the old Invincible house on North New Jersey street, with Charles Richmann as captain. The second was to take the Indiana (No. 1) and the house of the Westerns on West Washington street, with W. O. Sherwood as captain. The Hook and Ladder Company was to keep the apparatus in their house on the west end of the East Market Square, with W. W. Darnall as captain. The members of the companies were to serve only at fires, and to receive \$25 a year, except that two members of each of the engine companies were to remain at the houses all the time, and they were each to receive \$300 a year. The steam engine did not arrive until March, 1860, and it was then located at the house of the Westerns on West Washington street, and the Indiana was placed at the house of the Unions on South street. The new engine was a Lee & Larned rotary, which puffed and shook so tremendously that the timid expected it to go to pieces at any moment, but it was efficient and soon won public favor for the new system. In August, 1860, a third-class Latta was bought, which arrived in October and was located at the house of the Marions, at New York street and Massachusetts avenue. On October 22, 1860, a Seneca Falls engine was exhibited at the State Fair, before a committee of the council, in competition with other engines, and the council purchased it for \$3,500, turning in the old Union at \$600 in part pay. It was placed at the Union

house on South street, and these three engines, known as Nos. 1, 2, and 3, in the order of purchase, with the Hook and Ladder Company constituted the equipment for the next seven years. Frank Glazier was appointed engineer of No. 1, Charles Curtis of No. 2, and Daniel Glazier of No. 3.

Until the steam engines came, the old hand engines were hauled to fires by horses, and there manned by the members of the paid companies and such volunteers as were willing to aid. The latter were usually plentiful, for there was little of the bitterness of opposition to the change that appeared in some cities, and it was naturally hard for an old fireman not to lend a hand if he was present at a fire. The paid system went into effect with little friction, and within a year the war was absorbing everybody's attention, and the old fire company troubles had practically dropped out of sight. The first step of improvement after 1860 was the provision of a central alarm system. The council made arrangements to place a watch-tower on the Glenn's Block—on the old hotel site now occupied by the New York store—which was about the highest building in the city, of central location. Here Charles Rhodes was stationed with a field glass, during the hours of the night to look out for fires. When one was detected the alarm was given on a bell that was mounted on an open framework tower in the rear of the building. There were nine wards at the time, and the bell struck the number of the ward in which the fire appeared to be located, whereupon the firemen went in that direction and hunted it up as best they could. During the war the watchmen had instructions to keep special watch on Camp Morton, where the rebel prisoners were confined, and give an alarm if any trouble appeared.

It was one of the popular fancies of the time that if the prisoners escaped their first act would be to fire the city and destroy the fire apparatus, but fortunately this dire condition was never reached.

In 1867 a second Seneca Falls engine was bought and put in service in December, but no company was organized for it for several years. It replaced first No. 3, then No. 2, and then No. 1 while they were sent off for overhauling and repairs, and then was stored as an extra at the Massachusetts avenue house until 1872, when a readjustment was made, in connection with the new water works system. Steamer No. 1 was put at Indiana avenue and Michigan street, with G. M. Bishop as engineer. Steamer No. 2—the "William Henderson"—was put at Massachusetts avenue and Noble street, with Andrew O. Cherry as engineer. Steamer No. 3 was located on Virginia avenue between Huron and South, with John R. Bellis as engineer. Steamer No. 4—the "John Marsee"—was put at the corner of Illinois and Merrill streets, with Cicero Seibert as engineer. The Hook and Ladder Company, with a hose reel, was located at Massachusetts avenue and New York street; and three other hose reels were placed, one at the old North New Jersey house, one on Washington, west of Mississippi, and one on St. Joseph street between Meridian and Illinois. The coming of the waterworks, the first fifteen miles of mains being laid in the mile square in 1870, made a change in fire protection energies, for it was on the Holly system, and largely did away with the necessity for engines. The number of hose companies was increased until in 1874 there were ten of them in operation.

Prior to 1874 there had been only three fires in Indianapolis that would now be considered large, the Kingan pork house, Morrison's Opera House, and the Woodburn-Sarven Wheel Co. The Kingan fire occurred on May 22, 1865, and was one of the most spectacular fires ever seen here. The building was a new one, five stories high, and was full of pork and lard. The flames lighted up the country for miles and the heat was so intense that the firemen could hardly get in reach of the fire. But they kept at it and at least saved some of the stock in the cellar by flooding. The loss at this fire was about \$200,000, largely covered by

insurance. On January 11, 1870, the night of Gough's lecture, Morrison's Opera House, at the northeast corner of Maryland and Meridian streets, was burned. The fire started during the lecture, but the audience passed out without any accident. The fire spread to adjoining buildings, and caused a loss estimated at \$250,000, about four-fifths insured, making the most destructive fire known, to that date. The Woodburn-Sarven Wheel Company's plant was originally built in 1847 and enlarged by an addition on the west in 1866. The fire, on March 11, 1873, began in this addition which was filled with inflammable material, and which was higher than the old building. In an effort to get at the fire Chief Daniel Glazier led a party of hose men into the second story of the old building, and while there the fire wall of the addition fell, crashing through the roof, killing Glazier, and wounding several of the men. The money loss of this fire was not reported, but the death of the chief—the first death of an Indianapolis fireman in the performance of duty—overshadowed other considerations. The extent and fury of these fires was chiefly due to the contents of the buildings, but the city was coming to a period when its worst fires were due to light and cheap construction of high buildings. Until 1874 no fire ever crossed a street in Indianapolis, and it was generally supposed none ever would, on account of their width, but now it was demonstrated that high buildings of inflammable structure presented a situation differing from low buildings of solid construction.

On the evening of March 22, 1874 a fire started in an unfinished building known as Wright's Exchange Block, on the west side of Pennsylvania street north of Market. It was a four-story, iron-front building, nearly completed. The open studding and large quantities of lumber ready for placing made it a veritable furnace. The water company was slow in getting pressure, and the fire was so well started before any effective streams were had that the building was doomed. Burning brands were whirled up in the air and carried for more than a block. As the heat increased flames appeared in the Martindale block and the unfinished Sheets Hotel (now the New-Denison) across the street, and before the companies could get at them, both were fully in

flame. But by this time the water pressure had become satisfactory and the firemen managed to keep the fire within these limits. By midnight the buildings were smoking ruins—the walls still standing—and a loss of over \$200,000 had been incurred, not more than one-fourth insured. There was criticism of the fire department, partly political, of the water company, and of the fire apparatus. Undoubtedly the buildings on the east side of the street could have been saved if the department had abandoned the original fire and given its attention to them, but nobody dreamed of the fire crossing the street. It was unprecedented. A high wind from the west and a lack of water pressure when it was most needed, coupled with rotten hose and engines not in the best condition, were the principal factors in the result. It convinced everybody that it would not do to rely on the water works alone. Said the *News*: "Although it was claimed by the Holly Company that their system answered all the purposes of a fire department, experience has shown that it does nothing of the kind, and that we shall have to rely mainly upon engines. We need at least two more here, and better ones if possible than those now in use." This was the general sentiment, and three new engines were ordered, with a supply of new hose. Steamer No. 1 was placed at Indiana avenue near Michigan; Steamer No. 2, on Massachusetts avenue north of Walnut; Steamer No. 3, on Virginia avenue below South street; Steamer No. 4, at Russell avenue and Merrill street; Steamer No. 5—called "Snacks", in honor of Gid. B. Thompson of the *News*—on Sixth street (now Fifteenth) east of Tennessee; Steamer No. 6, the Thomas D. Kingan, was on Washington street west of West street; Steamer No. 7, at 26 E. Maryland. There was also a hose wagon stationed at each of the seven engine houses. The three remaining hose wagons were at 29 N. New Jersey street, 31 W. St. Joseph, and 125 East South street. One of the new engines was a Seneca Falls, one a Lee & Larned rotary, and one a Latta—the last named being held in special esteem by the firemen, as the old Latta had been also.

There were some fair sized fires in the next fourteen years, but nothing startling. Among the more notable were Elevator B. in June, 1875; the street car stables and Tousov &

Wiggins meat-storage house in 1876; the Academy of Music on January 27, 1877; the Centennial Block in the winter of 1878; Ferguson's pork house on February 7, 1881; the Hominy Mills, October 8, 1881; Fairley's Wheel Works, October 30, 1883; the street car barns, January 1, 1884; the Indianapolis Stove Co., on May 9, 1883; the Love Bros. cotton mill, December 27, 1884; the Evans Linsced Oil Mill, December 6, 1885; the Wasson fire, May 26, and Tucker & Dorsey fire, November 4, 1887. In 1888 came two fires that were fairly beyond the powers of the department, and it did well to confine them as it did. The first, long known as "the South Meridian Street Fire" occurred on the night of January 13. It was discovered in the dry goods house of D. P. Erwin & Co., on the east side of the street below Georgia, soon after 11 o'clock, and gained such headway that it could not be extinguished. The night was bitter cold, and at first the firemen were hardly able to handle the hose on that account. In spite of their efforts it took the wholesale grocery house of George W. Stout, on the north, and they would not have been able to save the dry goods house of Byram, Cornelius & Co., on the corner, if it had not been protected by a heavy fire wall—a defense which saved the building from another next-door fire some years later. From Stout's the fire jumped the street to an unfinished building, and thence spread to and consumed Pearson & Wetzell's queensware house, McKee & Branham's boot and shoe house, C. B. Cones & Co.'s overall factory, Tanner & Sullivan's tinners' supplies house, David Kahn's trunk house, and damaged some other establishments. After the fire was well started the cold of the night was forgotten. It was so hot on Meridian street that clothing was scorched, and some of the hose was so badly burned as to be unserviceable. The men could not get to windows on ladders on account of the heat, and there was not a ladder in the department that would reach to the roof of a four-story building. A hard night's work served only to hold the fire within these bounds.

On June 13, a fire started in Stone & Co.'s cabinet shop which formed the southeast corner of a group of factories, sheds and lumber piles on the block at the southeast corner of Clifford (now Tenth street) and Massachusetts avenues. The wind was from the

south, and the material was like tinder. It stopped only for lack of material after consuming Adams & Williamson's veneer works, and M. J. Osgood's lumber yard. The heat was so intense that the boots of the firemen who got in close to it "cracked and fell off their feet." While the whole force was fighting this fire, commonly known as "the Veneer Works Fire", an alarm came in from Deloss Root's foundry at the corner of Kentucky avenue and Sharpe street, and part of the force was sent there. Between the two the firemen had a night that will long be remembered.

But mere work, or even hardship becomes insignificant in comparison with the tragedy of the Bowen-Merrill fire on March 11, 1890. The fire began at 3 o'clock in the afternoon in their establishment which was then on the north side of Washington street on ground now covered by H. P. Wasson & Co. It soon became evident that to prevent the fire spreading to other buildings a determined fight would have to be made, and a party of firemen went to the roof, while others entered the windows. Without a moment's warning the floors from bottom to top of the building, and the roof fell in. In the face of this appalling disaster the remaining firemen redoubled their efforts and volunteers aided both in extinguishing the fire and in rescuing the victims. Twelve dead firemen were taken from the ruins: Thos. A. Black, John Burkhart, Andrew O. Cherry, George S. Falkner, Ulysses G. Glazier, Albert Huffman, David O. R. Lowry, Espy Stormer, Anthony Voltz, Wm. L. Jones, George W. Glenn and Henry D. Woodruff. There were also wounded: Thomas Barrett, Fred Bloomer, Geo. W. Diller, Wm. A. Hinesley, Charles Jenkins, Eb. R. Leach, Wm. C. Long, Albert Meurer, Wm. McGinnis, Samuel Neall, Samuel Null, Wm. C. Partee, Louis F. Rafert, Wm. Reasner, Webb Robinson and Wm. Talentire. Wm. McGinnis afterwards died of his injuries, and several of the others were permanently incapacitated for hard work. The tragedy sent a thrill of horror through the community, which quickly gave place to desire to help the living. On the next day, May 18, Mayor Sullivan issued the following:

"Proclamation:

"The discharge of their duty has brought death, sudden and terrible, to a large number

of our firemen. Many others are confined to their beds from injuries which will bring weeks of helpless suffering. These men have families dependent upon them. It is the duty and pleasure of our citizens to see to it that want is not added to the grief of those so bereaved. In order that there may be no delay in this matter, and that all generous givers may have an opportunity to contribute to the discharge of this most pressing obligation that has come upon us, I hereby appoint Geo. G. Tanner, Eli Lilly, Theodore P. Haughey, John W. Murphy, Caleb S. Denny, A. Kiefer and Michael O'Connor a committee to receive all funds donated, and to take charge of the disbursement of the same; and I request that the above-named gentlemen meet at the Mayor's office in the Court House, at 10:30 a. m., to-day.

"Thomas L. Sullivan, Mayor."

The committee met, elected Mayor Sullivan chairman, Theodore P. Haughey treasurer, and Caleb S. Denny secretary and went to work at once, the subscriptions the first day amounting to \$1,725. Everybody wanted to help. Collections were made not only in business houses and organizations of all sorts, but also by the children in the public schools and the Sunday schools. Soon contributions began coming in from the outside, especially from fire departments, not only in Indiana, but far outside. Louisville, Cincinnati, Dayton, Akron, Cleveland, Toledo, Chicago, Pittsburg, Atlanta, Brooklyn, and New York added generously to the fund; and from London came a check for \$1,000 from the representatives of the foreign insurance companies doing business in Indiana. By August 22, 1900, the fund was completed, with a total of \$52,443.49. The committee wisely distributed this fund on the basis of needs, instead of dividing it equally. They paid \$35,207.38 for annuities, providing \$15 a month for each of the nine widows and one dependent mother left by the casualty, \$5 a month for each of nineteen orphans and \$10 a month for each of three infant orphans till they reach the age of sixteen. Homes were bought for the widows of Glazier, Woodruff, Voltz and Glenn, who had none, and mortgages paid on the homes of Hoffman and Stormer. All funeral and medical bills were paid, and \$11,804.37 was paid out to



OLD FIRE ALARM TOWER.
(From an old cut.)

the families of the dead, and \$1,991.20 to the injured. The annuities were bought in the Equitable Life Assurance Company, the Indianapolis manager, D. B. Shidder contributing his commissions, which amounted to \$657.52.

In less than two years there came another fire horror with the greatest loss of life ever known here, but not to the fire department. This was the burning of the Surgical Institute, at the northeast corner of Georgia and Illinois streets. It was a veritable fire trap for sound people, let alone helpless cripples, including the upper portions of several old buildings connected by narrow and intricate passages, and insufficiently furnished with fire escapes. The alarm came a quarter of an hour before midnight on January 21, 1892. By the time the department reached the scene the building was filled with stifling smoke, but notwithstanding this, and the warning of the Bowen-Merrill fire, firemen and a number of outsiders who were early on the scene entered the building and succeeded in rescuing a number of the dazed and almost helpless patients. In spite of their efforts nineteen lives were lost in surroundings so appalling as to beggar description. This fire probably did more to awaken the community to the moral responsibility for dangerous buildings than all the rest of their experience. The Democratic coroner returned a verdict exonerating the owners of the Institute, and the *Sentinel* vigorously denounced his action and demanded his defeat for renomination, which duly resulted, notwithstanding the efforts of the local Democratic machine to save him.¹ Since then there has been a steady trend of sentiment in favor of fire protection by prevention that has borne good fruit, and though the enforcement of the law outside of mere construction of buildings is not perfect, it is an improvement on former conditions.

With the inauguration of government under the new city charter, in 1891, came an improvement in the fire department. In 1891 the Chief reported "six engines, three almost worthless", but in that year three new engines were bought, one first-class and two second-class; two of the old engines being given in exchange and one repaired. A new chemical

was bought, at a cost of \$3,500, a new hook and ladder truck, and two hose wagons. The city entered on 1892 with seven serviceable engines, three chemicals, three general purpose trucks, one aerial truck and eleven hose wagons. The one thing lacking, which was asked for and was not provided, was a water tower, and this request was repeated in 1893. The need of it was demonstrated in several fires that could not be reached by ordinary apparatus. There were several bad fires in 1895, involving heavy loss—the Corde fire, February 5; the Denison, February 7; Geo. W. Stout, February 10; Eastman, Schleicher & Lee, September 18, and Schull & Co., December 3—and the insurance companies raised insurance rates, with a broad intimation that they might be reduced if the fire department were improved. The justice of the demand was generally conceded, and the *Sentinel* made a special fight for a water tower. Two new engines were purchased, with two hose wagons and a Champion water tower, the latter being put in service May 30, 1896. The water tower had a disastrous experience, owing to the fact that nobody seemed to know how to handle it. It was designed to be backed up to a fire, so that the recoil of the tower would come lengthwise of the truck, but this required that the truck should set across the street, which blocked it. At the Denison house fire on January 29, 1897, it was undertaken to operate it sidewise, and the result was that when the pressure was put on, the recoil upset the truck and the tower was badly smashed. Chief Coots has obviated this trouble, by providing a pair of heavy iron braces, which are clamped on the tops of the wheels at one end, and securely spiked to the pavement at the other when the tower is in operation, thus making an upset impossible. The repaired tower is now a valuable feature of the fire-fighting equipment, and has rendered great service by getting a heavy stream of water to points which men could not approach on account of the heat. This fact is recognized by all who give attention to such matters, and has been demonstrated repeatedly; for example, at the Badger fire, on November 22, 1905, the water tower unquestionably prevented a disastrous conflagration.

In 1896 the worst fires were the Balke & Krauss fire on February 21; the Atkins fire on

¹*Sentinel*, January 23; February 23; April 9, 1892.

May 10; the Pearson & Wetzell on October 15; and the Laurie & Robson, on November 7. In that year two additional engines were purchased. There was then nothing serious until 1899, when the Stechhan Lounge factory burned on February 22; and the Atkins plant had another bad fire on December 29. In 1900 the bad fires were lumped in February and March, beginning with the disastrous Stout and Kiefer fire on February 1; and followed by the Clune mattress factory on February 17, the Star store, on March 11, Cones Overall factory on March 11, and Mussman's planing mill, on March 18. The year 1904 was signalized by two bad church fires, the First Baptist on January 3, and Meridian Street Methodist Church, on November 17, both being total losses. During this period there had been a steady improvement in fire equipment. In 1897 two new engines were bought; and in 1902 two more engines, three hose wagons, a combination truck and chemical, two general purpose trucks, one aerial truck, and one universal wagon nozzle. Nevertheless, the year 1905 witnessed the worst fire that Indianapolis ever had.

On the evening of February 19, a fire started in Fahnley & McCrea's wholesale millinery house on South Meridian street. It stood in a quarter of a square bounded by Meridian, Louisiana and McCrea streets, with an alley on the north, which was almost solidly built up, with a large amount of frame construction back from the street fronts. The Fahnley & McCrea establishment ran through from Meridian to McCrea street, with an L running south to Louisiana street between the Savoy Hotel and the Sherman House. The origin of the fire was a mystery and its rapidity of spread was phenomenal. It may have started from electric wires or from escaping gas. The firm had several machines for curling feathers that were heated by gas, conducted through rubber tubes. If the gas did not start the fire, there is no doubt that the tubes quickly burned, and the gas fed the flames. Nearly the whole department was on hand within fifteen minutes and the fire was so hot that the first water was thrown on buildings across the street to prevent its spread. In a very short time it was evident that the Fahnley & McCrea establishment and the buildings south of it were doomed. North of it was the drug house of

A. Kiefer & Co., which was considered fire-proof on account of heavy walls and an automatic sprinkler—the only one in the square. In some mysterious way the fire "jumped" this building, and started in the second floor of Griffiths Bros. millinery house, north of it. Possibly this was due to some effect of the fire on the electric wires, for another building farther north—Muellerschoen's saloon—took fire twice from electric wires during the conflagration, but was put out both times. Griffiths' was quickly a mass of flame. Kiefer's withstood the heat on both sides until the water supply of its automatic sprinkler was exhausted—more than half an hour. Then it took fire at the top, and soon the large water tank crashed down through the roof and floors. Fortunately, the basement was by this time pretty well flooded, and the fire did not reach the stocks of whisky, ammonia and nitro-glycerin that were stored there.

Meanwhile the fire had progressed to the north and taken the druggists' sundries and holiday goods house of the E. C. Dolmetsch Co., in the upper story of which was a quantity of fireworks. The explosions of these and the drugs in Kiefer's resembled cannonading, and the pyrotechnic effects were startling. The wind was blowing steadily from the south, and sparks and burning brands were carried for blocks. A chemical engine was detailed to patrol the streets of the business district and look for fires. A cupola elevator-shaft of the Grand Hotel, a block away, took fire, but luckily was soon discovered and extinguished with a loss of not over \$2,000. It is probable that what saved the city was the fact that there had been several recent snows, and roofs were not in condition to ignite readily. The department devoted its efforts to preventing the further spread of the fire, and by great exertion prevented its passing the alley at the north, or any of the streets, though buildings opposite were scorched and their windows cracked to pieces. Everybody conceded the good work of the department, and the spread of the fire was due to its peculiar character, and the lack of water pressure in its earlier stages. Since this fire the notable ones have been that of Brinkmeyer, Kuhn & Co., on June 20, 1905, and the Daniel Steward Drug House, on July 7, 1907. There have also been warnings in the three Presto-Lite fires on October 17,

1907; December 20, 1907; and June 6, 1908. The record of alarms and adjusted losses by years, as far back as available, is as follows:

| Year | Alarms | Losses | Year | Alarms | Losses |
|------|--------|-----------|------|--------|-----------|
| 1882 | 212 | \$ 52,160 | 1896 | 371 | 337,974 |
| 1883 | 214 | 110,579 | 1897 | 696 | 8231,510 |
| 1884 | 262 | 83,723 | 1898 | 704 | 171,298 |
| 1885 | 292 | 199,901 | 1899 | 957 | 207,394 |
| 1886 | | | 1900 | 1,052 | 695,244 |
| 1887 | 498 | 139,702 | 1901 | 1,099 | 225,872 |
| 1888 | 327 | 749,399 | 1902 | 1,098 | 297,448 |
| 1889 | 302 | 241,902 | 1903 | 1,109 | 286,798 |
| 1890 | 324 | 259,504 | 1904 | 1,092 | 480,029 |
| 1891 | 366 | 358,744 | 1905 | 1,148 | 1,013,012 |
| 1892 | 435 | 304,368 | 1906 | 1,293 | 370,886 |
| 1893 | 536 | 162,405 | 1907 | 1,171 | 181,756 |
| 1894 | 473 | 234,566 | 1908 | 1,411 | 633,418 |
| 1895 | 678 | 712,090 | 1909 | 1,326 | |

It is to be noted that these are the figures for the adjusted losses as taken from the official reports of the companies to the Auditor of State—down to 1894 by the Fire Department, and since that date by the Indianapolis Fire Inspection Bureau. There is no record of uninsured losses. The year 1905 is the only one in the history of the city in which the losses exceeded the insurance premium payments for the year from the city. In that year the premium payments were \$1,000,058. The loss for the year is due to the great fire of February 19, on South Meridian street, the aggregate loss in which was \$825,000.

The fire force of Indianapolis, on January 1, 1909, consisted of 264 men, of whom 23 were substitutes and 241 regular employes, with an annual pay roll of \$227,000 to which is added \$45,000 for current expenses. The equipment consists of eleven engines in active use and one held in reserve. Three of these are Metropolitan; five Ahrens; one Continental; one La France; one Nott, and one Clapp & Jones. Five are first class—two extra; three second-class, and four third-class. There are twenty-six hose wagons in active service and one in reserve. Five of these are furnished with the Glazier turret nozzle and two with the Maltese cross. There are three chemical engines in active service, and one in reserve. The city has one water tower, a Champion,

which is also furnished with a deck nozzle. There are nine hook and ladder trucks in active use and one in reserve, of which two are aerials, and three combination chemicals. There are sixty-eight portable Babcock extinguishers, each hose wagon and ladder truck being equipped with two of them, except the five wagons that have the Glazier wagon nozzles. The city is chiefly dependent on the water-works system for fire protection, and there are 2,371 fire hydrants scattered through the city. There are also 177 fire cisterns scattered through the city, located chiefly in neighborhoods where large fires are possible. Ninety of these are connected with the water mains, so that they can be replenished while the engines draw from them. They are usually filled from the water mains unless convenient to the canal or river. Two of these cisterns are of only 300 barrels capacity, but they run from that up to 2,000 barrels, the average being 800 to 1,000 barrels. The custom now is to make new cisterns of about 500 barrels capacity, and connect with the water mains.

The old watch tower system was the only source of fire alarms until 1868, when, in February, the city put in an automatic electric alarm system, at a cost of \$6,000. This was gradually extended as the city grew, and continued in use until 1901. It was very satisfactory except in rare cases when two alarms were sent in at the same time, in which case it confused them, and indicated nothing. This system repeated the alarm by sounding the box number, five times. On March 4, 1901, a contract was made with the Gamewell Company for a new equipment, including a complete exchange, for \$62,500. It called for 120 new boxes, and the remodeling of 104 old ones. This equipment is now in use, the number of boxes being increased from time to time until now there are in all 289 boxes. Of these 160 are fitted with the "Smith glass front"; i. e., they have the key in the box under a glass cover which is to be broken in case it is desired to send in an alarm. For the others the keys are kept in the most convenient neighboring houses. It is astonishing how many people are unable to send in a fire alarm, and in their excitement fail to notice the directions which are printed in large letters in the box. There have been repeated cases where people thought they had sent in the alarm by

opening the door of the box, without pulling down the hook. The new signals are non-interfering, i. e., if a second signal is sent in while one is still coming, the second is held back until the first is completed. A second alarm is sent in by sounding two strokes, with the box number. A second two strokes with the box number, is the third alarm. The city is divided into districts, and only the companies in a district run to a first alarm from that district. Additional ones come at the second and third alarms, and three successive two-strokes call out the reserve. At a second alarm the assistant chief goes to headquarters and takes charge of the reserve force, which is directed by telephone, and is brought from the suburbs to more central houses, where it will be available for the protection of larger territory in case of another fire.

In addition to the electric alarm system, the watch tower system has been maintained, but in April, 1882, the tower of the Court House was secured as a place for observation instead of the old one. The first watchman there was on duty only at night, but his work was found so valuable that a day watch was instituted, with three shifts of eight hours each. The watchmen are supplied with strong field-glasses with which they scan the city, and usually locate fires and send in the alarm before it is sent in from a box. Repeatedly the firemen have appeared on premises to fight a fire before the inmates knew there was one. The private watchman at the Van Camp Packing House was on duty when the fire occurred there, but admitted that he did not know of it till the tower man sent in the alarm. On one occasion the attention of the tower man was called to a bright light issuing from a partly curtained window on the fourth floor of a block on Delaware street, north of Washington. Closer inspection revealed some men pouring metal into molds. He telephoned his suspicion of counterfeiters to police headquarters, but a raid was not made promptly, and when the police arrived the birds had flown; but they left ample evidences of their nefarious work.

In addition to the fire signals, the alarm gongs strike 12 strokes at noon, and one at 7 p. m. It is an interesting fact that the department horses learn to distinguish these from alarms. They usually give evidence of

anticipation as the noon hour approaches, and when the gong sounds run out with none of the excitement displayed when an alarm comes in. They are hitched, and after standing quietly for five minutes are returned to their stalls. When an alarm comes they are all alive. The harness is hung above the places where they stand for hitching. At the first tap of the bell the doors of their stalls open automatically; they hasten to their places; the harness drops on their back; the men snap their collars, and the lines to the bits; the driver mounts his seat; the doors swing open, and away they go in less than twenty seconds. The training makes the horses almost as much firemen as the men. There are now 121 horses in the department. They are purchased at about five years old and are given close care from the first. Large horses are used for the engines and trucks, some weighing as much as 1,600 pounds, but for the hose wagons and lighter work 1,300 pounds is near the maximum.

As stated, Joseph W. Davis was made Chief Fire Engineer at the organization of the paid department, and he continued in office until 1863, when Charles Richmann succeeded him. Richmann served until 1867, when George W. Buchanan took the office for a year, giving place to Richmann again in 1868. Richmann then held till 1870, when Daniel Glazier was elected, and after his death on March 11, 1873, Richmann was again made chief until 1874. In that year the Democrats elected the city council, and, the office being then a political one, Michael G. Fitchey was made chief. Two years later the political whirligig put W. O. Sherwood in his place. Sherwood held for two years, and was followed by John G. Pendergast, the first chief who had not seen service in either volunteer or paid department. However, he made a very good chief, and held the position for four years, when he was succeeded by Joseph Webster. Webster served from 1882 to 1888, and after an interim of two years in which Frank E. Daugherty was chief, he was recalled in 1891. On the adoption of the new charter the head of the department became known as Chief of the Fire Force, and Webster was installed in this office on March 6, 1891. He continued until November 18, 1896, when Thomas F. Barrett took his place, under the administration of Mayor Taggart. There were



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

FIRE DEPARTMENT HEADQUARTERS.

charges that the change was political, but Mayor Taggart insisted that it was essential to the discipline of the department, and it was generally conceded.² Barrett held the office until November 14, 1901, when he was succeeded by Charles E. Coots, the present efficient chief. Under the charter the department is required to be non-partisan, or rather bi-partisan, the men being equally divided between the Republican and Democratic parties.

The Bowen-Merrill fire disaster was largely the cause of a public sentiment for a firemen's pension fund, and the legislature of 1891 passed a law taxing foreign insurance companies one per cent on gross receipts in Indiana for the benefit of paid fire departments. This law was contested, and held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, but before the decision one assessment had been paid, and it was allowed to remain in the Indianapolis fund, the amount being \$1,335.15. The first board of trustees of the fund organized on June 1, 1891, composed of Sterling R. Holt, W. A. Sullivan and R. F. Cattersen, then members of the Board of Safety, and Thomas Barrett, William Tobin, William Hinesley, and Ek. Leach of the fire force. Voluntary subscriptions and a fireman's ball, brought the fund up to \$3,553.59 on January 1, 1892, and it has been growing steadily ever since. In 1896 a tax of one-half cent on \$100 on city property was added, and has since been levied.

The proceeds, aside from benefits paid, have been invested in interest bearing bonds. On January 1, 1909, the fund was composed of cash \$3,256.57 and bonds \$81,295.88, a total of \$84,552.45. At that date there were 62 beneficiaries, widows, orphans and disabled and retired firemen, who were receiving \$1,556 monthly in benefits from this fund.

There has been a steady growth in the recognition of the fact that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" in fire protection, though the city is still neglecting precautions that are called for by prudence. In 1901 a quite elaborate and rigid building ordinance was adopted, with general approval. It fixed the fire limits, loosely speaking, between St. Clair street on the north, McCarty street on the south; Shelby street and the tracks on the east, and Blake street and the river on the west. Within these limits no new frame structures were to be allowed. Four months later, however, this requirement was quietly changed, and on October 18, 1904, an ordinance was passed permitting frame dwellings outside of the mile square. In a general way the provisions for building inspection are fairly good, and are pretty well enforced. Not so much can be said about the requirements for the removal of rubbish, and combustible and explosive materials. In this, however, there comes aid from the inspection bureau maintained by the insurance companies, for it promptly raises insurance rates on risks pronounced dangerous.

²*News*, November 16, 1896.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A POLITICAL EPOCH.

There was never a political event that caused a greater sensation in Indianapolis than the tally-sheet forgeries in November, 1886; not that political fraud, even of so aggravated a character as that, had been unknown, but because of the boldness of the performance and the still more unusual determination that was shown to punish it. The truth is that Indiana had been reduced to a pitiable condition of political corruption by the fact that it was "a pivotal state," and both the great parties had been exhausting the resources of political depravity to carry it. In May, 1886, just six months before this event, Wm. P. Fishback delivered "A Plea for Honest Elections" before the students of Indiana University in which he dealt very plainly with the situation. It caused much comment then and afterwards, but, as was well known by everybody connected intimately with politics, it did not exaggerate the evil in the slightest. He referred to the campaign of 1876, when a dispatch, from the Democratic National Chairman, Mr. Barnum, was intercepted, authorizing the purchase of "seven more mules" on account of the Democratic National Committee; and added: "While the mule business was active, the telegraph wires were kept warm with messages from Republicans in the East to Republicans in Indianapolis concerning certain mythical Indian agents, which agents, whatever else they may have done, replenished the Republican exchequer."

He then passed to the campaign of 1880, when Chairman Barnum, of the Democratic National Committee, and Chairman Dorsey, of the Republican National Committee, came to Indiana in person to supervise "the or-

ganization of the state," and spent "something over a half million dollars" in the effort. They were business partners outside of politics, Barnum being president and Dorsey secretary of the Bull-Domingo Mining Company, and were familiar with underground workings. Says Fishback: "What was Mr. Barnum, the representative of the great Democratic Reform party, what was Mr. Dorsey, representing the party of reminiscences and great moral ideas, doing in Indiana, with their money bags? * * * Let us not blink matters, but speak the truth. We know to a moral certainty that these gentlemen, Barnum and Dorsey, were the custodians and distributors of large sums of money, which were used, and intended to be used, to promote illegal voting, the bribery of electors, and other election frauds. And it is a matter of indifference whether the money used was the 'crisp, uncut bank bills fresh from the treasury' described by Mr. English, or the greasy, ragged currency contributed by the hungry office-seekers of the Democratic party. No reputable Democrat or Republican pretends that these vast sums of money were necessary to be used, or were in fact used, for the purposes of legitimate political warfare. It was an organized assault upon the right of suffrage, countenanced, I am sorry to believe, if not approved, by party leaders of both parties, who, in the midst of excitement, connived at transactions from which, in quieter times, an honorable man instinctively recoils. From Barnum and Dorsey, down through the whole gamut of lesser scoundrels, to the poor devil who sat on the fence till five minutes before six o'clock p. m., and then sold his vote for a dollar or a drink of whisky—all who were

engaged in the disgraceful business deserved the penitentiary.

"If Nathaniel Hawthorne's magic bugle were to summon into line—clothed in proper raiment of horizontal stripes—all the rascals who bribed voters, or who took bribes for their votes, who corrupted election officers, or falsified election returns, who swore in illegal votes, who colonized voters, who voted twice, or voted double tickets, who tampered with ballots after they were cast, who consorted with or encouraged repeaters and ballot-box stuffers, or who were accessory to their escape from the just penalties of the violated law, it would be, I fear, a large procession, in which we should see both parties represented, and in which we might discover men of good repute, as the phrase goes, and some who have had and now have official preferment mainly because they had earned a place in that procession." This is a somewhat repulsive picture, but it has the essential features of a photograph.

The year 1886 was an "off year"—no presidential election—and the elections of that year were managed by local talent, educated in this school. The Democratic Chairman of Marion County was Sim Coy. He was a real chairman—an undisputed boss—and to understand the events of the year it is necessary to understand Sim Coy, who was one of the most unique characters known to Indianapolis. He was commonly reputed to be the natural son of a rather prominent man, of more than average mental ability, and had the lack of moral training incident to such a condition. In his book, "The Great Conspiracy," which is well worth reading by every student of social science, will be found more pungent philosophic and even moral observations than in the productions of the average Indiana author; and among them nothing more striking than this comment on a convict acquaintance in the penitentiary: "I ask myself if the law does not deal harshly many times with those who go astray. What do any of us know of the temptations that must beset such a man, and how can any of us gauge or understand the influences that drive him into the tribe of Ishmael? Is there, after all, a Fate that marks out the path each human soul must travel and out

of which no human power or mortal will can turn him?"¹

Do not mistake this for an apology for himself. Sim Coy was not an apologist, and it is not probable that he ever contemplated himself for a moment as a criminal. He derived his moral standard from his observation of the doings of his fellow men, and consequently it was not high; but he had a moral standard, and he lived up to it with a firmness that might put many men of better opportunities to the blush. For example, he says: "I was never addicted to drinking to an extent calculated to alarm either myself or my friends; but from the time I became closely identified with political matters I have never permitted a drop of intoxicating liquor to pass my lips. This may seem strange to many of my readers who know of my connection with the liquor business. But as I have said in the introductory pages of this book, I generally had a policy to guide me, and always hewed to the line. My reasons for not drinking intoxicating liquors may be summed up as follows: In the various official positions I have held, I necessarily came in contact with men of various avocations and callings, and I doubt if it is an overestimate to say that there have been occasions when, during a day, I have been invited to drink a hundred times. To have complied with such requests would have soon and inevitably reduced me to a physical wreck. Had I accepted of one invitation, I could not have declined others without giving offense, and I therefore refused all. I belong to that class of men who concede to others the right to act as their judgment dictates, as long as they keep within the bounds of decency, and do not interfere with the rights of others. A person may be a glutton, and by over-eating make himself the victim of ills scarcely less repulsive than those which result from drinking; and hence my motto is: Be temperate in all things, in order to be healthy and lead a successful life."²

Coy entered the employ of the Shaw Carriage Works in 1866, as an apprentice in the painter's trade, at the age of fifteen. At the age of twenty-four he left it and went into

¹*The Great Conspiracy*, p. 188.

²*The Great Conspiracy*, p. 250.

the saloon business, in partnership with T. C. Redding, superintendent of the Shaw plant, remaining in it through the rest of his life. He says: "A man ought always to be ready to give a reason for his choice of callings. Some say selling liquor is disreputable; if that is true, the laws of Indiana are disreputable, and consequently, the men who made the laws are disreputable. If the man who sells liquor is disreputable, the man who makes liquor must also be dishonorable, and the man who drinks liquor belongs to the same class. There is no way that I know of for the people of the state, their representatives the law-makers, the men who distill and brew, make wine and cider, those who sell—wholesale and retail, and the men who drink, to escape the same verdict, unless the court that tries the case is so warped and prejudiced, so mean and contemptible, as to punish a foe and let a friend escape."³

Coy went into politics early, and was a member of the Democratic County Committee at twenty-one. In 1881 he was nominated for the city council from the Eighteenth ward, then normally over 200 Republican. He was elected and repeatedly re-elected, in spite of all efforts to defeat him. The reason was that he looked after the interests of his constituents. No matter whether the city had a Republican or a Democratic administration, no ward fared better than the Eighteenth in the care of streets and other public work. Moreover he was wise. He says: "There are many men who ruin themselves politically by making promises which they find themselves unable to fulfill; while others make promises which they never intend to comply with; in either case such men ruin themselves and injure their party. A man should never make a promise to one of his constituents, no matter how humble he may be, unless he intends to faithfully carry it out, and my experience is there are few men who can hold the party workers in line who violate their pledges. The political field is no place for a timid man, and the person who is thin-skinned had better never enter the arena of politics." To these extracts I would add an observation he once made to me: "Never make a political enemy if you can

help it. You will have all you can take care of without trying. If I hear of a man that is sore on me, I always look around and see if I can do him a favor, and get him right."

My knowledge of the man leads me to pronounce these extracts frank and truthful expressions of his real views, polished grammatically and rhetorically by some friendly hand. And they give the key to his character. He had no scruples about political crookedness. That was a part of "the game," as played by nine-tenths of those in it; and the man who did not take any kind of political advantage when he had opportunity was not only a "chump," but was not "playing the game." Coy differed from most of the others in his frankness. He did not think it was worth lying about. And frankness was more common then. It was not unusual to hear a party worker offer as the supreme proof of his party loyalty that he had "risked the penitentiary" for his party. And there was a fellowship between the rascals of opposite parties, outside of politics. They hunted together between times, and they helped each other out in case of little troubles like indictments. Usually after a warm campaign there were several arrests, and sometimes indictments, but there was always an "exchange of prisoners," except in one case where a colored man was by some mischance convicted and punished for violating the election law. But with his loose ideas in this respect and others, Sim Coy was straight in some things. It was universally conceded that if he were given money to "buy a crowd," he either accomplished the result or returned the money. If he said he would do a thing you could count on him. His most supreme contempt was for the man "who wouldn't stay bought when he was bought."

In the election of 1884 the Democrats for the first time in thirty years elected a majority of the county commissioners, and this board, composed of Albert Sahn and W. O. Reveal, Democrats, and W. R. Clinton, Republican, instituted a reform in the conduct of the county business that was highly satisfactory to tax-payers generally. In 1886 there was a hotly contested campaign, and it was apparent from the informal returns that the Democrats had elected all the county officers except the judge of the criminal court

³*The Great Conspiracy*, p. 10.

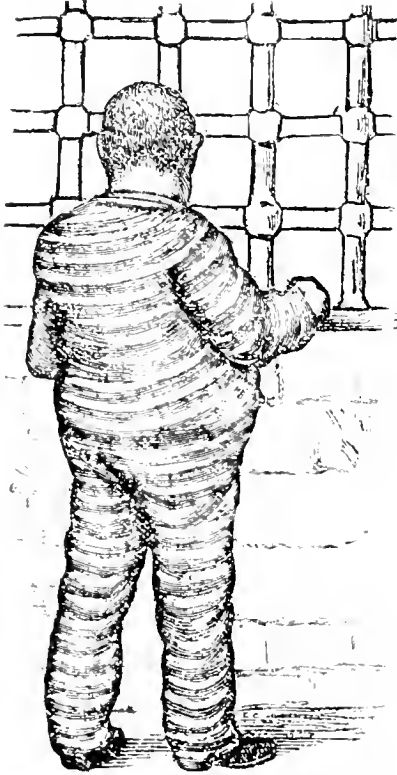
and the coroner. That year the Democrats had the appointment of the election inspectors, the election board in each precinct being composed of the inspector with one judge and one clerk from each of the two leading parties. The canvassing board was composed of the inspectors from all the precincts, a judge acting in the absence of the inspector. Each election board was required to make out two poll books and two tally sheets, certified by the members. One of these was required to be securely sealed in a bag and returned to the clerk's office by the inspector, not later than the succeeding Thursday. The other set of papers, commonly called "the outside papers," was to be taken by the inspector, or, if he could not serve, by one of the judges "selected by the board of judges," and brought to the canvassing board on the succeeding Thursday for the canvass of the votes. Considerable excitement was caused by a circular letter sent out by General Carnahan, the Republican chairman, on the night before the election, instructing the Republican judges to demand the custody of "the outside papers." They had no right to them, but in six cases they succeeded in getting possession. The Democrats naturally assumed that this was a scheme to get control of the canvassing board, and promptly took steps to head it off, which were successful.

The canvassing board met on November 4, and was organized by the Democrats, W. F. A. Bernhamer, an inspector of the Twenty-second ward, being elected chairman. The canvass proceeded with the usual minor squabbling until the Second precinct of the Thirteenth ward, Allen Hisey inspector, was reached. The tally-sheet showed 16 votes less for Irwin, the Republican candidate for criminal judge, than the informal returns, and the tally-sheet showed that 16 votes had been erased and a like number added to the vote of Albert F. Ayers, the Democratic candidate. Protests were made, and a demand that the duplicate returns in the clerk's office be sent for, but this was ruled out of order, on the ground that the canvass had to be made from "the outside papers." As the count proceeded, similar changes were found, and some in which acids had evidently been used to remove the original figures, in the Second precinct of the Fourth ward, John

Counsellman inspector; First precinct of the Seventeenth ward, Andrew Oehler inspector; Second precinct of the Eighteenth ward, John Edwards inspector; First precinct of the Twenty-third ward, Lorenz Schmidt inspector; Third precinct of the Thirteenth ward, Stephen Mattler inspector; precinct 6 (Belmont) Center township, Joel H. Baker inspector. The total of the changes was enough to elect Albert F. Ayers criminal judge, and Frank A. Morrison coroner. As the canvass proceeded the excitement grew more intense, and the protests more vehement. Mr. Lorenz Schmidt, Democratic inspector of the First precinct of the Twenty-third ward, joined in the protest and demand for the duplicate papers, saying that the returns from his precinct had been changed while out of his hands, but no heed was paid, and, early on Friday morning the returns were made up and certified as shown by the mutilated tally-sheets.

There was a general rise of temperature in the local political atmosphere on that November 5. In the afternoon the Democrats held a meeting at the Supreme Court room, and appointed a committee of safety, to prevent the Republicans from stealing the next legislature; and the action was timely. In the evening a citizens' meeting was held in Superior Court room No. 2, to consider the more pressing tally-sheet frauds. It appointed a sub-committee composed of Gen. John Coburn, Geo. B. Wright and W. P. Fishback, Republicans, and William Henderson and A. B. Condrutt, Democrats, to name a committee of one hundred, who should take the matter in charge. The list of appointees was announced on November 8, nearly one-half of them being at least nominal Democrats, but not all of whom served. But more to the point, Judge W. A. Woods, of the U. S. District Court, called in the grand jury on the afternoon of November 5, and instructed them to investigate the violation of law "at an election at which a representative in congress is to be voted for." On November 8 this was followed by a subpoena to County Clerk McLain to appear before the grand jury and to bring with him all the ballots, poll-books, tally-sheets and other election papers involved, which were thenceforth placed in custody of the federal court.

This step raised high hopes among the friends of prosecution, and on November 8, 1886, the *Journal* published its "When I am done I am did" cartoon of Coy, which was probably the most humorous effort of its long existence. These words had been used by Coy in response to a request for an interview on an election in which his side had



"WHEN I AM DONE I AM DID."

(Journal cartoon of November 8, 1886.)

been beaten, indicating that he had no time for post mortem contests. But the federal grand jury after three weeks' investigation of the case, reported on December 4 that the evidence did not warrant an indictment; whereupon Judge Woods reprimanded and discharged them. On December 7 Dr. Theodore A. Wagner, the Republican candidate for coroner, filed an information before U. S. Commissioner Van Buren, charging election frauds by Simeon Coy, Wm. F. A. Bernhauer, Henry Spaan and John H. Counsel-

man. The parties gave bond and the examination began December 14. On December 18 Samuel E. Perkins was subpoenaed to testify, but refused to do so. The matter was brought before Judge Woods, who ruled that he must testify. On December 21 he again refused, and was committed to jail for three months for contempt. On December 24 a petition for a writ of habeas corpus was made to Judge Woods, who refused it. Appeal was then taken to Judge Gresham, of the Circuit Court, who on February 28, 1887, decided that Perkins was not in contempt because the United States courts had no jurisdiction of the case.

The active prosecution of the cases was by Col. Eli F. Ritter, who had been employed by the Committee of One Hundred. The U. S. District Attorney was David Turpie, and he gave Ritter full swing, tendering assistance if desired; and saying that "in case of violation of the law he knew no politics; a criminal was a criminal." On March 9, 1887, the Committee of One Hundred had another meeting and decided to go on with the cases in the state courts. On December 1, 1886, Wm. Irvin had brought suit against Albert F. Ayers, for possession of the office of criminal judge, before Judge D. W. Howe of the Superior Court. A recount was agreed on and it resulted in the election of Irvin for judge, and Wagner for coroner, by small majorities. Judge Irvin was on the bench at the March term, 1887, and Major James L. Mitchell, the Democratic prosecuting attorney, gave Mr. Ritter the same opportunity for pushing the cases that Judge Turpie had. The grand jury examined the case through the March term, but found no indictment.

But now came a change. Perkins became alarmed, and on March 29 entered into a written agreement with the prosecution that he would testify that he altered the tally-sheets from the Second precinct of the Thirtieth ward, at the request of Coy; and Major Mitchell and Mr. Ritter agreed that if he did so he should not be prosecuted. The reason of this change was that Allen Hisey, inspector in Perkins' precinct, had testified to the grand jury that he let Perkins have his returns and that they were in good order at the time but mutilated when they were returned. Ritter, who considered Perkins

simply a tool, got permission to offer him immunity if he would talk, and confronted him with Hisey's testimony and the apparent fact that he was getting into the position of a scapegoat; also suggesting that they did not want him, but Coy. After consultation with friends, especially with his relative, Oscar B. Hord, Perkins agreed to testify. The agreement was put in writing, and is correctly given by Coy in his book.⁴ It sets out the evidence to be given, and that evidence implicates no one but Coy. The county grand jury met again on April 4, and took up the case. This time Perkins testified that he altered the tally-sheet for the Second precinct of the Thirteenth ward (Hisey's precinct) at Coy's request, and that this was all he knew about the matter. The grand jury returned no indictment, and the same experience was had with the grand juries in May, June and July, each of which examined the case under special instructions.

Meanwhile another change of base occurred. Judge Woods had learned that Justice Harlan did not agree with Judge Gresham on the question of jurisdiction, and on May 3, 1887, another federal grand jury was impaneled and instructed by Judge Woods to take up the tally-sheet cases. Perkins was now in worse shape than ever, for he had incriminated himself hopelessly, and he had no promise of immunity from the federal authorities. The prosecution had some suspicion that the county grand juries had been "fixed," but it was also evident that Perkins' testimony was not convincing. It was simply incredible that he should know as much as he testified to, and not know more. An arrangement was made with the federal authorities for nominal punishment practical immunity - he was fined \$50 - if he would tell the full story. He went before the federal grand jury and there enlarged his testimony to incriminate nine others besides himself and Coy. At this time he also testified that he altered the tally-sheet for the Third precinct of the Thirteenth ward. On May 20, 1887, indictments were returned against Simeon Coy, William F. A. Bernhamer, John E. Sullivan, John H. Counselman, Geo. W. Budd, Stephen Mattler, Charles N. Metcalf, John L. Reardon,

Henry N. Spaan, Albert T. Beck and Samuel E. Perkins. They all gave bond, but on July 7 Coy surrendered and went to jail so that a writ of habeas corpus could be asked of Judge Gresham. Justice Gresham referred the matter to Justice Harlan, of the Supreme Court, who refused the application, and whose ruling was subsequently confirmed by the Supreme Court.⁵

The case came on for hearing July 19, 1887, and after a trial lasting over a week the jury disagreed, standing, it was said, eight for acquittal and four for conviction. The prosecution obtained new indictments, and on January 16, 1888, the cases were called off Coy, Bernhamer, Mattler and Spaan. Spaan asked for a separate trial, which was granted. The trial of the other three was taken up, and it was simply a question whether the jury would accept the testimony of Perkins, and the lawyers for the defense had little room to do more than revile him. A bystander was asked what sort of speech John W. Kern, of the defense, had made, and replied: "Oh, it was great. He called Perkins everything I ever heard of except an ornithorhynchus." On January 28 the jury returned a verdict of guilty as to Coy and Bernhamer, and not guilty as to Mattler. On February 3 Coy was fined \$100 and sentenced to 18 months in the penitentiary, and Bernhamer was sentenced to one year in the penitentiary and fined \$1,000. On May 1, 1888, Sullivan, Reardon, Counselman, Metcalf and Budd were brought to trial. A verdict of not guilty was returned as to Reardon, Counselman and Metcalf, and a disagreement as to Sullivan and Budd. The cases against them, Beck and Spaan were afterwards nolle or dismissed. An effort was made to expel Coy from the City Council after conviction, but failed for want of a two-thirds majority, the body dividing politically, fifteen Republicans for expulsion and nine Democrats against. At the end of his term, June 1, 1889, he returned to Indianapolis and resumed his seat as councilman; and on October 8, 1889, was re-elected to the council by an increased majority.

This result was partly due to sympathy for Coy. I think no one of any intelligence

⁴*The Great Conspiracy*, p. 41.

⁵In re Coy, 127 U. S. Sup. Ct. p. 731.

doubted that he was guilty, but there were many who felt that his offense was one that had been common without punishment, and there was, as usual, a widespread aversion to punishing a man on the testimony of an accomplice. The offense itself was the most glaring piece of political idiocy that was ever known in this region—in fact, it was not really political. The only office that was wanted was that of criminal judge, and Perkins furnished the key to the desire for that in his statement that "Coy said there was \$500 in it to the liquor league, and we might as well have it." The other changes were merely incidental, and in part as a cover to the main purpose. Dr. Morris declined to accept his commission as coroner when it was issued, and never served. Coy was never unmindful of the liquor interest. The audacity of the performance was obviously due to the knowledge that a Democratic clerk had been elected, who would have charge of the election papers, and the assumption that they would readily disappear, as embarrassing papers had disappeared before. In fact, it seemed to be assumed all along that any Democrat would be pleased to aid in stealing an office, or assisting those who did, and this is the one almost incomprehensible thing about it all, in view of Coy's well-known maxim that "the fewer fellows you have in these politics the better." An experienced Democratic politician who was jocularly asked if he were mixed up in the affair, dryly answered, "No; and if I should have occasion to change any election returns I would not call a town meeting to do it."

But there was another potent cause of Coy's election wholly independent of his merits, and that was the revulsion of feeling caused by the Dudley case. The campaign of 1888 was unusually warm, even for Indiana, for Benjamin Harrison was the Republican candidate, and local feeling was at its highest pitch. On October 31 the *Sentinel* published a fac-simile of the celebrated Dudley letter, dated New York, October 24. It was a letter of instruction to Republican managers in Indiana and in part was the usual style of campaign instruction. The significant portion was as follows:

"I hope you have kept the copies of the lists sent me. Such information is very val-

uable and can be used to great advantage. It has enabled me to demonstrate to friends that with proper assistance Indiana is surely Republican for Governor and President, and has resulted as I hoped it would, in securing for Indiana the aid necessary. Your committee will certainly receive from Chairman Huston the assistance necessary to hold our floaters and doubtful voters, and gain enough of the other kind to give Harrison and Morton 10,000 plurality. * * * 4th. Divide the floaters into blocks of fives, and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away and that all vote our ticket. 5th. Make a personal appeal to your best business men to pledge themselves to devote the entire day, November 6, to work at the polls, i. e. to be present at the polls with tickets. They will be astonished to see how utterly dumfounded the ordinary Democratic election bummer will be and how quickly he will disappear. The result will fully justify the sacrifice of time and comfort, and will be a source of satisfaction afterwards to those who help in this way. Lay great stress on this last matter. It will pay. There will be no doubt of your receiving the necessary assistance through the National, State and County Committees—only see that it is husbanded and made to produce results."

The publication of the letter caused a tremendous sensation, but the Republicans promptly rallied to offset its effects. The letter had been telegraphed to New York, and appeared on the same day in the *Sun* and the *Times*; but some Eastern ass, evidently recalling the effect of "ruin, Romanism and rebellion" in 1884, had struck out the words "the ordinary Democratic election bummer" in the passage quoted above, and substituted for them the words "the naturalized Democratic voter." The change was obviously made with the idea of incensing foreign-born voters, and has nothing to do with the corruption scheme of the letter, but it enabled Dudley to say: "The alleged letter, as published here in the *Sun* and *Times*, is a case of forgery." On being asked what he meant by this he replied, "I mean to say that they attribute to me words I never used." Asked to point out these words he underscored "the naturalized Democratic voters," and added:

Executive Committee.
 Chairman,
 Secretary,
 Treasurer,
 Correspondence,
 Finance,
 Printing,
 Stationery,
 Postage,
 Traveling Expenses,
 Miscellaneous Expenses,
 Contingent Expenses,
 Printing and Stationery,
 Postage,
 Traveling Expenses,
 Miscellaneous Expenses,
 Contingent Expenses.

HEADQUARTERS,
 Republican National Committee,
 51 FIFTH AVENUE,
 New York.

New York, Oct. 24th, 1888.

Dear Sir..

I hope you have kept copies of the lists sent me. Such information is very valuable and can be used to great advantage. It has enabled me to demonstrate to friends here that with proper assistance Indiana is surely Republican for Governor and President, and has resulted, as I hoped it would, in securing for Indiana the aid necessary. Your Committee will certainly receive from Chairman Huston the assistance necessary to hold our floaters and doubtful voters, and gain enough of the other kind to give Harrison and Morton 10,000 plurality. New York is now safe beyond peradventure for the Republican Presidential ticket; Connecticut likewise. In short every Northern State, except possibly New Jersey, though we still hope to carry that State. Harrison's majority in the Electoral College will not be less than 100. Make our friends in each precinct wake up to the fact that only boodle and fraudulent votes and false counting of returns can beat us in the State. Write each of our precinct correspondents, 1st, To find out who has Democratic boodle, and steer the Democratic workers to them, and make them pay big prices for their own men. 2nd, Soon the election officers closely, and make sure to have no man on the Board whose integrity is even questionable, and insist on Republicans watching every movement of the election officers. 3rd, See that our workers know every voter entitled to a vote, and let no one else even offer to vote. 4th, Divide the floaters into blocks of five, and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away and that all vote our ticket. 5th, Make a personal appeal to your best business men to pledge themselves to devote the entire day, Nov. 8th, to work at the polls, i.e. to be present at the polls with tickets. They will be astonished to see how utterly dumbled the ordinary Democratic election bumper will be and how quickly he will disappear. The result will fully justify the sacrifice of time and comfort, and will be a source of satisfaction afterwards to those who help in this way. Lay great stress on this last matter. It will pay.

There will be no doubt of your receiving the necessary assistance through the National, State and County Committees, —only see that it is husbanded and made to produce results. I rely on you to advise your precinct correspondents, and urge them to unremitting and constant efforts from now till the polls close, and the result is announced officially. We will fight for a fair election here if necessary. The Rebel crew can't steal this election from us as they did in 1884, without someone getting hurt. Let every Republican do his whole duty and the country will pass into Republican hands, never to leave it, I trust. Thanking you again for your efforts to assist me in my work, I remain

Yours Sincerely,

W. W. Dudley

Please wire me result in principal precincts and county.

THE DUDLEY LETTER.

(Reduce 1 one-half.)

"Understand me now; I don't say I wrote any such letter, or that any letter of instruction has been written from these headquarters, but if the words 'average Democratic bumper' had appeared in the place of those I have underscored I should not have found fault, for otherwise I think the letter is a strong one." The local Republican papers used the simple statement of Dudley that the letter as published in New York was a forgery and fought out the last week of the campaign on that basis. The *Journal* also developed a counter-irritant in an alleged Democratic scheme to carry the election by voting double ballots, and, on the whole, it is doubtful that any material number of voters were affected by the exposure.

When Mr. Dudley first saw the publication of the letter he said: "Somebody has been robbing the mails;" and he was quite right. The letter was in fact "held out" by a postal clerk whose attention was attracted to a number of similar envelopes going through the mails. There were two slight typographical errors in the *Scout*'s publication of it on October 31, which were promptly corrected. The *Scout* also tried to meet Dudley's statement as to the New York publication by offering him \$1,000 to come to Indianapolis and swear that the letter as published in the *Scout* was a forgery, which offer was of course ignored; but it was repeated at intervals for months. On November 13 the federal grand jury met, and Judge Woods, of the District Court, charged it especially in regard to the reported election frauds, the following passage referring to the Dudley letter, in connection with Sec. 5511, U. S. Revised Statutes:

"Considerable question has been raised since the last election as to whether an attempt to bribe a voter constitutes an offense. I instruct you that it does not under this statute. The latter clause of the section does make it an offense to bribe a voter, and also makes an offense to counsel, aid or assist in bribing a voter, or in committing any other offense named in the section, but an unsuccessful attempt to bribe a voter is not an offense, under this statute. The last clause of the section contains the word 'attempt,' but in order to understand the value of the word as there used, it is necessary as I interpret

the clause, to insert or supply the word 'to' before the word attempt. So that the clause will read in this use, 'aids, counsels, procures or advises any such voter, person, or officer to do any,' etc., or 'to omit to do' any duty, etc., or 'to attempt to' do so; and, so read, the clause makes it an offense to advise another to commit any of the offenses named in this section. So that while it is not a crime to make the attempt, it is a crime to advise anyone to make it: If A attempts to bribe B, that is no offense under this statute; but if A advises B to attempt to bribe C, then the one giving this advice is an offender, and there is some wisdom in that provision."⁶

The *Journal* report was taken by a shorthand man. It did not use the charge in full, but printed the passage above, in quotation marks. Mr. Leon Bailey, the assistant district attorney, then had full copies made by the stenographer, and verified, for future use. The passage above is the same in both except some slight verbal changes, not affecting the sense, such as a stenographer might naturally make in translating his notes at different times. And here a word as to attorneys. When the tally-sheet cases arose, David Turpie was district attorney, having been appointed August 2, 1886, for a term of four years. Being elected to the national senate in 1887 he resigned, and on March 5, 1887, Judge Woods appointed John G. McNutt, the assistant district attorney, to fill his place till an appointment was made. On March 22, Emory B. Sellers, of Monticello, was commissioned for the vacancy, and on January 23, 1888, he was again commissioned for four years. He served through the prosecution of the tally-sheet cases, and then resigned. All of the preliminary work of the prosecution of these cases was done by Col. Eli F. Ritter, who was employed by the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred. He felt that the prosecution at the trial should be conducted by a Democratic lawyer, and on January 10, 1888, Judge Solomon Claypool was appointed assistant district attorney by Attorney-General Garland for that purpose. On November 23, 1888, Judge Claypool was specially appointed to aid in the defense of U. S. Marshal Hawkins in certain civil cases

⁶*Journal*, Nov. 14, 1888.

brought on account of arrests in the election of 1888; and on December 15, 1888, he was specially appointed to prosecute the cases against Dudley and others, growing out of that election. On January 11, 1889, Mr. Sellers having resigned, Judge Harlan appointed Judge Claypool district attorney, and he remained until his resignation on March 10, 1889. On March 13, 1889, Smiley N. Chambers was appointed district attorney, and John B. Cockrum assistant.

The Dudley investigation dragged. It was delayed by adjournments of the grand jury, and impeded by the unexpected resignation of Mr. Sellers, which was announced here on December 13. On December 17 the nomination of Leon Bailey for the place was sent to the senate, but it was "held up," and meanwhile the point was raised that indictments signed by Bailey would not be valid until his nomination was confirmed by the Senate. Also, it was suggested that Judge Harlan had the right of appointment ad interim, and the interim would last until the Senate chose to confirm somebody. Under these circumstances, by agreement of all concerned, Bailey's name was withdrawn by the president on January 3, 1889, and Judge Claypool's sent in.⁷ As the Senate was slow about confirmation Judge Harlan appointed Claypool to the vacancy on January 11. It is noteworthy that at this time Judges Harlan and Woods had come to an agreement as to a new construction of the law.

On January 15 Judge Woods summoned the grand jury for supplemental instruction. Just before their adjournment for the holidays they had asked for instruction as to whether they should indict for advice to bribe if they could not learn the name of the person to whom the advice was given. Under the cover of an answer to this Judge Woods delivered a long argument to the effect that the law made it an offense to "aid, counsel, procure or advise" bribery, and as one could not "aid" or "procure" bribery if no bribery were committed it must be that one could not "counsel" or "advise" bribery unless bribery was actually committed. It concluded with the words: "But in any case besides the mere fact of the advice or counsel, it must be

shown that the crime contemplated was committed, or an attempt made to commit it. It results of course that the mere sending by one to another of a letter or document containing advice to bribe a voter or setting forth a scheme for such bribery, however bold and reprehensible, is not indictable. There must be shown in addition an attempt by the receiver of the letter, or of some other instigated by him to execute the scheme, by bribing or attempting to bribe some voter in respect to the election of congressmen, or in such a way as to effect such election."

This change of front, which made the indictment of Dudley impossible, though even with it the grand jury voted 10 to 6 for indictment,⁸ roused a storm of indignation. That night Morss wrote a leader for the *Sentinel* that was a classic in indictment and ex-coriation. Judge Claypool said there was not another man in Indiana that could have done it, and he was right. It was really remarkable that a man without legal training should have taken a position in such a case that never needed to be changed or amended, and did it while in passion, at that. It concluded with these words: "Weighing our words carefully, and fully prepared to accept all the consequences, we pronounce the course of Judge Woods in this matter a monstrous abuse of his judicial opportunities and a flagrant, scandalous, dishonorable and utterly unprecedented perversion of the machinery of justice to the purposes of knavery, and we believe that it should lead to his impeachment instead of, as it probably will, to his promotion to the supreme bench of the United States, as soon as it is in the power of Benjamin Harrison to reward him in this manner for dragging his judicial robes in the filth of Dudleyism."⁹

Indeed, if ever a man was "scourged with a whip of scorpions," William A. Woods was that man. Morss did not give him any rest for months. Every effort of the *News* and *Journal* to defend him was promptly answered, and usually by parallel columns showing their statements to be false. The parallel column never had so extensive a use in Indiana as in this case, and the *Sentinel* was

⁷*Sentinel*, Feb. 16, 1889.

⁸*Sentinel*, January 16, 1889.

⁹*Sentinel*, January 4, 1889.

not alone. The whole Democratic press and independent press of the country united in the condemnation. It was rather risky for lawyers to criticise the court, but several of them spoke out emphatically. Senator McDonald condemned the second instruction as erroneous, but disclaimed any reflection on the motives of Judge Woods. Judge Claypool was indignant, and condemned the instruction,¹⁰ but went on with his work until March 10, when he resigned in disgust, charging that his efforts to secure the punishment of Dudley and other offenders were being thwarted by Woods.¹¹ When Chambers came in as district attorney the work of clearing the docket of nearly two hundred indictments for election frauds that had been returned was begun in earnest. On March 28 Judge Woods quashed the indictments in twenty-five cases on the ground that they did not charge that a congressman was voted for illegally, though he had held in the Coy cases and others that it was necessary only that the offense be committed "at an election at which a congressman was voted for." This change practically disposed of most of the cases, and they went off the docket in batches on the 29th, 30th and April 1st and 2nd.

By this time Claypool was furious, and he had cause to be, for the action of Judge Woods placed him in the attitude of being "confided." As a Democrat he had gone into the tally-sheet cases in good faith, and prosecuted them to a finish in spite of criticism from his own party. And Woods had co-operated, to such an extent that Claypool said: "Wood's rulings were so outrageously biased in the Coy-Bernhamer cases that I often protested with him, though at the same time I was representing the government."¹² His interest in conviction was shown not only in court but out, and frequently he would call at Claypool's house two or three evenings in a week, during the trial, and talk over plans for the prosecution. But when the defendants were Republicans all this was changed, and all of Claypool's earnest work for indicting Dudley was brought to naught

by the second instruction, while the indictments secured were tossed out of court. On April 4, Claypool gave a long interview to the *Scintill* in which he condemned the action of Judge Woods throughout, showed that the forms of indictment quashed had been used for years in this court, and demanded that the grand jury be recalled to amend them to conform to the new ruling, as had been done in the Coy cases.

In fact, the propriety of this last suggestion was so obvious that everybody saw it, and on March 30 the *News*, which had stood by Woods as long as it could, in comment on the alleged defect in the indictments, said: "Grant it for argument. Why doesn't the court remedy the defect? It is retorted that it is not the court's business to remedy such defects. The court made it its business in the Coy case. Every avenue of approach was tried and every defect of process corrected to reach Coy; but when scores of Republicans are indicted an alleged 'defect' opens the door for their escape. These men were indicted by a mixed jury of Republicans and Democrats. That jury thought the evidence of their guilt sufficient to hold them; but now they go; the court does nothing; the Government attorney declares he will do nothing. This thing is a shame, an outrage, a disgrace, and public opinion should rebuke it and see that the nerveless hands of justice are strengthened." But nothing was done, and the docket was practically cleared and kept clear without the trouble of trials.

It is possible that I am not fitted to discuss the merits of this affair historically, for I was in the melee at the time and the action of Judge Woods seemed to me the most shameful abuse of judicial power I had ever known. It was widely discussed in the press at the time and later, and able lawyers gave their views concerning it. It went into Congress. On December 11, 1889, Dudley made his first visit to Indianapolis after the election of 1888. A warrant was sworn out for his arrest before U. S. Commissioner Van Buren, but according to his statement further proceedings were stopped by direction of District Attorney Chambers. Senator Voorhees introduced a resolution of inquiry in the Senate concerning this and made an exhaustive

¹⁰*Scintill*, January 16, February 16, 1889.

¹¹*Scintill*, March 11, 1889.

¹²*Scintill*, March 11, 1889.

speech covering the entire subject.¹³ Finally, stung by the extensive criticism of his course, Judge Woods prepared a defense of himself, which appeared in the *Journal* of September 22, 1890, and later in pamphlet. It was kept very secret before publication, but the *Scout* got wind of it, and on September 20 announced the forthcoming publication in a "telegram from Washington," which declared that it was "to be nominally a defense of his own action, but is to be written on so broad a plan that it will relieve the Colonel from any criminal or moral responsibility for his famous 'blocks-of-five' letter;" and that the object was to aid in carrying out a scheme of vote-buying in the then pending election. This defense, to which was appended Judge Woods' correspondence with Judges Harlan and Niblack, and Senator McDonald, but not his correspondence with Judges Gresham and Claypool, called forth renewed discussion, in which Morss added another masterpiece on September 25, in a two-column parallel on the editorial page of the *Scout*, giving the conflicting statements of Woods at various times, with no comment but the heading: "Oh what a tangled web we weave, when first we practice to deceive."

I leave the discussion of the merits of the case where the above mentioned arguments and statements put it, but a few words of explanation may aid those who care to investigate it further. The common defense of the two instructions in the Dudley case, and the one used by Judge Woods, is that the first instruction was merely "a statement of the law" and the second was "an interpretation." The quotation from it above, however, is plainly "interpretation," and was plainly so intended, for it was introduced by the statement: "I will now instruct you fully upon the word 'attempt' as it is used in this clause, in order that you may understand its force in relation to the specifications made regarding 'counseling' to bribe and actual bribery;" and it is followed by the words: "I think, gentlemen, that those statutes I have interpreted cover all the charges that have been brought against anybody or that are likely to be brought against anybody."

In his third letter to Senator McDonald, February 8, 1889, Judge Woods announces that he had by that time reached the conclusion that the Dudley letter was not necessarily corrupt, in these words: "I shall not attempt to extenuate the offense of the writer of the Dudley letter, but I have carefully re-read the copy in the *Scout* and do not find in it the expression you use, 'to buy up the floating vote in blocks of five,' or any expression which a judge could say clearly and necessarily means that voters should be bribed." All that Senator McDonald quoted as from the Dudley letter was "in blocks of five." The rest was his own, and was the universal interpretation of Dudley's letter. If there were any doubt as to its meaning, it would be cleared by the Whittaker letter calling for the "lists of voters," to which Dudley refers in his letter--both are published with Judge Woods' defense--in which he says: "Make the doubtful list as small as possible, and mark everyone who has to have money as a 'float.' Those who have to be bought are not 'doubtful,' but are 'floats.' Look closely after every one. Let no one escape."

Judge Woods and his defenders at times intimate or charge that the *Scout* report of the first instruction was not accurate. As above shown it is practically identical with the *Journal* report made at the time. It is also practically identical with the instruction as furnished by Judge Woods himself to the *Chicago Legal News*, of February 2, 1889. And in the letter of Judge Woods to Senator McDonald of January 27, 1889, he says: "In respect to this question of inconsistency I will only add that while the report which the *Scout* contains is not full and accurate, in respect to the main points in dispute, it is in substantial accord with what I intended to say, and am quite sure I did say, and I am willing to have it so treated." This leaves the only questions in the Dudley case whether the two instructions can be reconciled, and if not, which is right. The first instruction was given after considerable investigation and consultation. Judge Harlan concurred in it, and Senator McDonald, who had been asked for an opinion by Judge Woods, gave a written opinion in accordance with the first instruction, in which his partner, John M. Butler, concurred. All of these gentlemen

¹³*Scout*, January 18, 1890.

regarded the two instructions as in conflict. Judge Harlan, who concurred in both, says in his letter to Woods, of September 12, 1890, that his further investigation of the question resulted in "an entire change of opinion;" that his first opinion "was wrong;" and that he had at the time advised Judge Woods "of my change of opinion and of the reasons for such change." Senator McDonald, in his letter to the *Journal* of September 23, 1890, says of the two instructions: "I cannot reconcile them, and must leave the task to one more apt in casuistry than I am."

As to the "defective indictments," the form had not only long been in use in the federal court, but Judge Woods had expressly decided that it was not necessary that the offenses specified should affect the vote for congressman, both in the *McBosley*, or *Orange County*, cases,¹⁴ and in the *Coy* case; and in the latter had been sustained by Judge Harlan and by the Supreme Court.¹⁵ The quashing of the indictments was the "last straw" with Claypool, and it resulted in a stormy interview in Judge Woods' chambers, in consequence of which Woods threatened to proceed against Claypool for contempt of court. No proceedings were instituted, but a rather savage correspondence ensued, which did not get into print. Claypool's view of the whole proceeding will be seen from the following extract from his letter to Woods of August 27, 1889:

"Finally, you ask in your 'notes,' 'Do you think the court ought to have helped obtain an indictment on false grounds, as he believed?' First, I answer such grounds would not have been false. Second, if false and believed to be so by you in the beginning, you have proved your willingness to allow an indictment on false grounds. There may be some difference in morals between a court 'helping' and 'allowing'—between helping and allowing wrong—but the difference is not striking to me. This, however, may result from a dullness of my moral sense, in your opinion, as at one place you pronounce views expressed by me not good morals.

"In a letter to Justice Harlan written Jan-

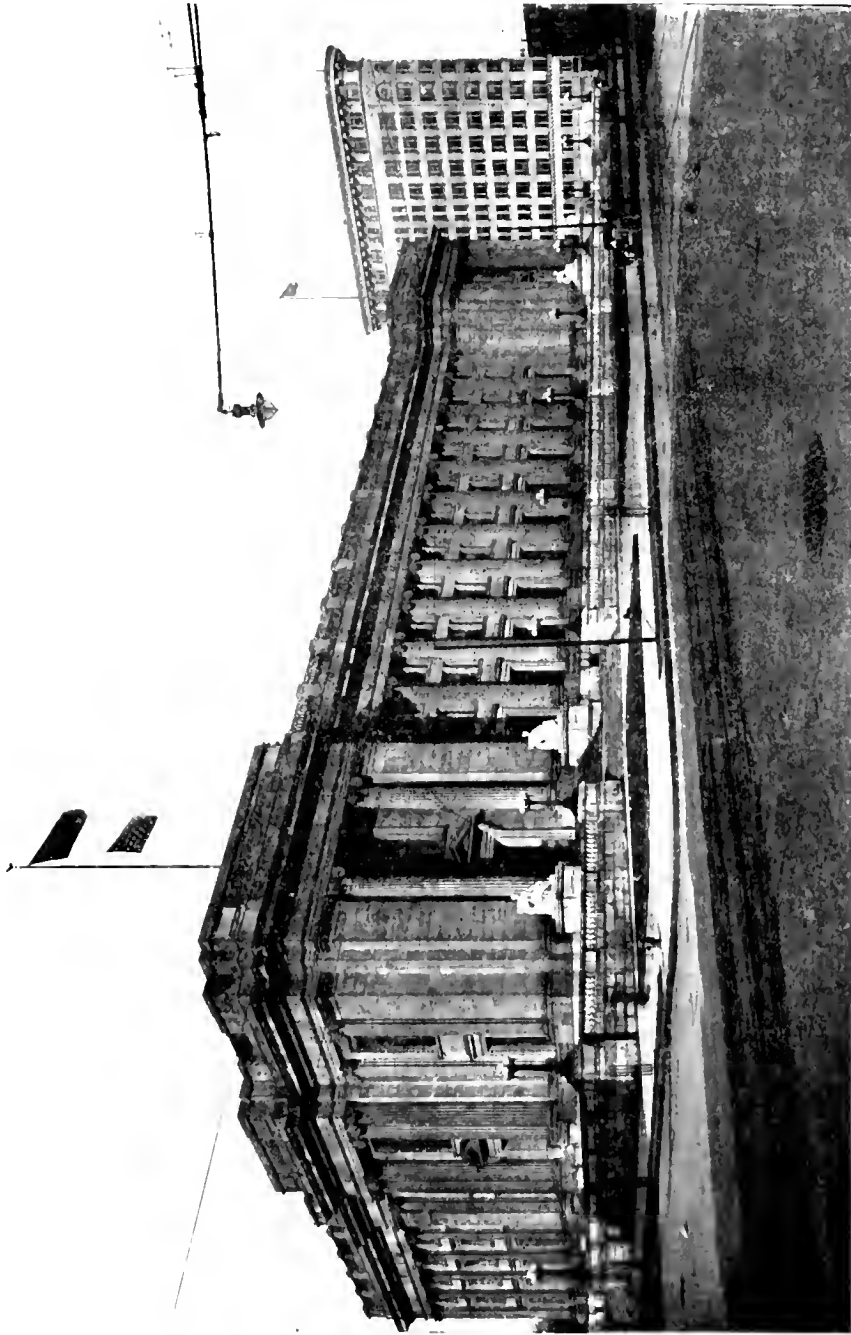
uary 26, 1889, about six weeks after your first instructions, you use this language, 'I avoided the point involved in your second proposition in my original charge to the grand jury, being willing to give the district attorney lee way to obtain an indictment if he could, and if raised to decide these questions only upon argument'. You were giving 'lee way.' This 'lee way' is good. Before the grand jury came together the first time there was a pretty general impression, as I understood—such was my own impression until after I came to look into the evidence—that the 'so-called Dudley letter' could not be proved to be the letter of Dudley. If the jury had come and gone through their investigations without asking 'that question,'¹⁶ and returned no indictment against Dudley, the public mind would have settled down upon the conviction that the 'so-called Dudley letter' was a forgery. Such result from 'lee way' to some persons for some reasons would have been delightful. When 'that question' came 'lee way' got away. Then six weeks after your first instructions you began to correspond with Harlan, and labored with him, and on such citations as you made to him finally induced him to reluctantly change his views. Under the circumstances then existing, conceding that you had doubts about the views which I understood to be expressed in your first instructions, if the 'lee way' had continued longer and an indictment had been obtained there would have been no moral wrong in it, as the conduct of the person indicted involved so much moral tergiteude. Had this been done the questions could, as you suggested in your letter to Harlan, have been discussed on motion to quash. Believing this I have the right to say so without being considered in contempt of court.

"Your correspondence with Justice Harlan demonstrates how reluctant you were to follow the first expressed opinion of Harlan, which was in accord with your first instructions as understood by everybody, and supported by the opinion of a lawyer as distinguished for ability and honesty as ex-Senator McDonald. To have followed the opinion of

¹⁴*Federal Reporter*, Vol. 29, p. 897.

¹⁵31 *Federal Reporter*, p. 794; 127 *U. S. Supreme Ct.*, p. 731.

¹⁶i.e. the question whether they could indict without knowing the person to whom the letter was sent.



FEDERAL BUILDING

Justice Harlan might have, to say the least, lead to an indictment against Dudley. When it came to quashing indictments after a form long in use in your own court you could follow the opinion of a judge not your superior in position and whose ruling you were not bound to follow. So this matter seems to me: 'Hesitancy to follow the opinion of a superior in the one case and willingness to follow the opinion of one not your superior in the other case.' When 'that question' came from the jury you began to labor with the Justice, then six weeks after your first instructions, on such presentation and citation of authorities as you made, Justice Harlan gave his reluctant assent to your views. The prosecution had no chance to make a presentation of the other side of the question. Justice Harlan's 'reluctant assent' to your views was in a sense the result of an *ex parte* presentation. Under other circumstances he might not have given even a reluctant assent. Mr. McDonald made a most complete and unanswerable review of the authorities cited by you.

"I care nothing about your letter to Judge Gresham calling him to your assistance after you had quashed the numerous indictments; to me this seems curious, to say the least. If he had been called sooner, and come in answer to the call, I have an impression the outcome would have been different. Whatever may be said of him, he has views of his own and follows them, and under the same circumstances he would not have labored so much with Justice Harlan. If Dudley wrote that letter, so much caution lest he might have been indicted illegally for that act I think strikes the average mind as undue caution in a wrong direction, and especially so in view of the fact that there was no other probable way of getting a legal question involving so much of public interest before the courts, and in view of the further fact that if you were wrong the guilty would go unpunished."

The guilty went unpunished so far as the courts were concerned, though they did not escape the tribunal of public sentiment; but a more important result came of it all in the movement for honest elections in Indiana. In the campaign of 1888 I had been in charge of the literary work of the State Central Com-

mittee, and at its close Mr. Morss, being called away from the city for a week or so, asked me to take editorial charge of the *Sentinel* during his absence. I had long been disgusted with corruption in politics, and the knowledge that the state had been bought by the Republicans roused a determination to try for reform. Out of the wreck the Democrats had saved nothing but the legislature, thanks to an effective gerrymander, and this presented the chance for reform. I had a smattering knowledge of the Australian ballot system, and after search the only man I could find in Indianapolis who was competent to write intelligently about it was Lafayette P. Custer, a telegraph operator, and prominent figure in labor circles. He prepared an article which I printed on November 19, with editorial indorsement, and so the movement was formally launched. Readers were invited to send in suggestions, and did so very freely. When Morss returned he took an earnest interest in the movement, and printed columns of correspondence and comment on the proposed reform, the strong tendency of which kept on developing for the Australian system.

Meanwhile work had begun on a practical form for the proposed legislation. The first meeting to consider it was at Morss' residence, those present being Governor Gray, John R. Wilson, Morss and myself. We agreed on a plan for an Australian ballot law, based on the New York law but modified to meet our established customs as far as possible; and also on provision for small precincts. The latter was urged by Senator McDonald, who had been unable to attend the meeting but favored the movement. He thought that as near an approach to the old English "hundred" as possible was the best precaution against election frauds, as it came nearest insuring mutual acquaintance of the voters and knowledge of each other's legal status. I was appointed clerk, and directed to prepare a tentative form for the law, which was considered and modified from time to time, the numbers called into the consideration being gradually increased until at last thirty or forty were present, including a number of members of the legislature. Several of the newcomers made valuable suggestions, notably Mr. W. A. Pickens, who added the "de-

vice" system, by which an illiterate voter could vote a straight ticket, in place of the Belgian color system of distinguishing the several tickets on the ballot, which had been originally adopted. The bill was put in the hands of Senator James M. Andrews for introduction, because his name came first on the roll, and went through as Senate Bill No. 1. Its management was in charge of Senator James M. Barrett, and it was a very clever piece of work. Most of the members had come with some scheme of election reform, and the only way to bring them into harmony was to let them convince themselves. The bill was discussed and amended for nearly a month in the Senate, and then the amendments were repealed and the bill passed almost as introduced.

In addition to the Australian ballot law, a very important bribery act was passed by this legislature. It was an entirely original measure devised by Judge McCabe, later of the Supreme Court. It made the purchase of votes penal, but not the sale, and also gave the seller a right of action against the buyer for \$300, as also the person who furnished the money. After judgment the defendants went to jail until the judgment was paid, just as in a bastardy case. It was effective, and the elections of 1890, 1892 and 1894 were the cleanest that had been known in Indiana for years. In 1897 a Republican legislature destroyed the effect of the law by a law punishing the seller of his vote by a fine of \$500, imprisonment from 1 to 5 years, and disfranchisement. Not satisfied with this, the legislature of 1899 repealed the law of 1889, and made the vote seller punishable by disfranchisement, with a reward of \$100 for his conviction. The Supreme Court held that the vote buyer could not recover this reward, and of course usually no one else would be able to convict. Under this legislation the vote buyer was immune to punishment, and so continued until 1905, when the same penalty was provided for both buyer and seller. This of course ended prosecutions by either, and in consequence of this legislation vote buying is now almost as common as it was in 1886; and that was the object of the legislation. The Australian ballot law insures more orderly elections, and prevents to a large ex-

tent the intimidation of voters, but it does not prevent vote buying.

These remedial measures of 1889 received almost unanimous support from the Democratic members, but there was considerable opposition at first. I recall in particular one old representative who wanted no change—who wanted it "so that he could take a floater back of the school-house and mark his ticket for him." But on January 16, 1889, the day on which the *Sentinel* first published the Australian ballot law, it also published the second instruction of Judge Woods in the Dudley case. On January 17 the *Sentinel* made its first editorial plea for election reform in which it was put flatly on the ground that the Democratic party could not compete with the Republican party in rascality—its only hope was to be honest and insist on honesty. There was no assumption of superior virtue in this. The reason offered was that, "The moneyed power of the country is arrayed on the side of the Republican party. In every national campaign it has a corruption fund of untold millions at its disposal." And this was the argument that convinced hesitating Democratic legislators, when to it was added the consideration that this must be so as long as the Democratic party maintained its opposition to a protective tariff and to trusts; and also the consideration that the Republicans had the federal courts, whose disposition to punish Democratic scoundrels and release Republican scoundrels had been demonstrated.

The argument won then, but it is astounding how difficult it has been for Democrats to keep it in practical remembrance since. It is so simple in its logic that it is almost mathematical. And it was not new in 1889. It had been realized by thinking men long before. Seven years earlier Hon. Wm. H. English had pointed it out in telling how the Republicans had bought the state in 1880, although he frankly admitted that, "More money was used by the Democrats in the Indiana campaign of 1880 than was ever used in any previous campaign;" and "My own judgment is that it was largely in excess of what was needed, and five times more than I should recommend the Democrats to raise in any campaign hereafter." He said: "The idea that we could compete with the Repub-

leans either in raising money or using it for corrupt purposes, was an utter absurdity. * * * The Democratic party, to succeed, must stand on the eternal principles of right, and if they should in future contests endeavor to carry elections by the corrupt use of money or other rascalities, they will deserve to be beaten. * * * We had not the influence and salaries of a hundred thousand federal officers to help us in that October fight; nor Star Route and treasury thieves to pour corruption funds into our borders, and chuckle with the beneficiaries over the beautiful supply of 'soap'; nor a great system of banks, nor great manufactories nor moneyed corporations to look to for aid; nor cart-loads of crisp and unworn greenbacks apparently fresh from the treasury of the United States, the history of which may yet startle the country if the subject is ever properly investigated. Even if there had been no principle involved, successful competition with the Republicans in money and corrupt practices was absurd and impossible."¹⁷

There is nothing in this peculiar to the Democratic party. It is necessarily true of any party, in any country, that opposes a privileged plutocracy. The direct cause of the principle's being recognized and acted on in 1889 was the Dudley affair, to which the election reform legislation of that year is a monument. That the improved conditions of the next few years have not lasted is primarily due to Republican assaults on that legislation, but scarcely less to Democratic failure to keep always at the front the standard of honest elections. If Indiana could return to the bribery law of 1889, and add to it a constitutional provision for the registration of all present voters, with future admission to registration based on an educational qualification, and all suffrage conditioned on payment of taxes, it might again be in position to boast of advancement in political honesty and political sanity. At present it has no room for boasting.

¹⁷ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, February 9, 1882; Fishback's "Plan for Honest Elections," p. 9.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CITY CHARTER.

Out of the mud of Indianapolis streets grew its present city charter. The level surface and rich soil, which had induced the location of the capital at this point, were desirable for agricultural purposes, but they were serious drawbacks in the drainage and street construction of a city. It is difficult even for those who lived here at the time to realize now the wretched condition of the streets up to 1891. As a general rule the business streets were paved with "bowlders" or cobble-stones, presenting an uneven surface over which vehicles rattled and jolted, with interstices in which rain and sprinkling water stood until splashed out by wheels. The only improvement of other streets was grading and graveling. In wet weather they were muddy, and in dry weather people could realize the force of the old minstrel joke that "dust is nothin' but mud wid de juice squeezed out." There had been only two or three attempts at substantial paving, and they had not been very encouraging. In the spring of 1870, on petition of two-thirds of the resident property-owners, the council ordered Delaware street paved with "Nicholson block pavement," from Washington to St. Clair streets. It was a sand foundation, covered with pine boards, on which pine blocks were set. The work was done by John Anderson & Company, of Chicago, at a cost of \$52,639.22.¹

It was a perfect dream to Indianapolis people while it lasted, and there were numerous proposals for other pavements of the same kind, but the city authorities concluded to give the first one a test before paving ex-

tensively, and the only other improvement of the boom times of the early seventies was the continuation of the Delaware street improvement from St. Clair to Tinker (Sixteenth street), in 1873. It was just as well that they proceeded slowly, for the improvement soon went to pieces, and on May 29, 1876, Andrew Wallace, one of the Delaware street property-owners, petitioned the council, reciting how a good gravel and bowlder street had been torn up, and an "experimental improvement" forced on the property-owners, and asking the council "to take up those rotten blocks and place our street in as good condition as it was when you removed it."² The city attorney however, advised that this could be done only at the expense of the property-owners. The panic of 1873 put an end to street improvements for some years, but the need of passable streets was a pressing one, and the Meridian street people next desired improvement. After two years of wrangling about it, Meridian street was paved, in 1882, with cedar blocks, from New York to Seventh (Sixteenth) street. This, too, was not lasting, and it was repaired by the city in 1887, on the urgent recommendation of Mayor Denny;³ and again in 1891, by the first Board of Public Works under the new charter.

The next experiment was on Washington street, in 1888, from Mississippi (Senate avenue), to Alabama. The property-owners there did not want a block pavement, and there was a contest between advocates of asphalt and a patented material called Vulcanite. The *Journal* warmly espoused the

¹Council Proceedings, 1869-70, pp. 833, 879; and 1870-71, p. 512.

²Council Proceedings, p. 127.

³Council Proceedings, p. 231.

Vulcanite cause, and a Republican council adopted it. There were some insinuations of interested motives at the time, and more, a few weeks later, when the contract was assigned by the National Vulcanite Company to the Indianapolis Paving Company—a new corporation. The cost of the pavement was \$74,488.68, of which the Street Railway Company was assessed with \$15,363.28.⁴ It did not pay it, however, the Supreme Court holding that it was under no obligation to pay for new paving.⁵

This pavement was very satisfactory in cold weather, but in warm weather it attained a chewing-gum consistency that caused it to be popularly known as "the Yucatan pavement." The chief value of these experiments was in educating intelligent people to the importance of some adequate authority to take charge of public improvements. At that time the work of investigation and supervision was done by a "board of public improvements"—a committee of three elected by the Common Council,—and all final action was by the Council and Board of Aldermen. The opportunity for obstruction was so great that practically nothing was done, except on a compromise basis, in case any serious objection was made to any proposed improvement. And when improvements were made, there was a general feeling that the public was not getting what it was entitled to, or what it might have under a more rational method of procedure.

The matter was brought before the legislature of 1889, and it passed a bill establishing a "Board of Public Works and Affairs," in Indianapolis ("cities of fifty thousand or more inhabitants"), which was an excellent measure, objectionable in only one respect. It provided that the members of the first board should be elected by the General Assembly, and their successors should be appointed by the Mayor. The General Assembly was Democratic, and the Mayor a Republican. On this account the bill was vetoed by Governor Hovey, but it was passed over his veto.⁶

At the same session a bill was passed, providing for a "Board of Metropolitan Police and Fire Department," of the same character, which was likewise vetoed, and passed over the veto.⁷ Members of these boards were duly elected, and presented their bonds, which Mayor Denny declined to approve. Mandamus proceedings were then instituted in the Superior Court, and the three judges, in banc, held both acts unconstitutional. The cases were then appealed to the Supreme Court, which likewise held both laws unconstitutional, Judge Mitchell alone dissenting.⁸ This left matters, at the close of 1889, where they were at the beginning, except that universal attention had been drawn to the subject, and the need of better control of public works was universally recognized. Its importance was also much increased by what is known as "the Barrett law," which was passed at the session of 1889.

The Barrett law is rightly named, for it was wholly original with Senator James M. Barrett, of Allen County, and it has seldom fallen to the lot of man to originate a measure of more profound effect. Shortly before the session of 1889, Mr. Henry Williams, a prominent citizen of Ft. Wayne, casually suggested to Mr. Barrett the propriety of a law giving property-owners time in which to pay for street assessments. The idea appealed to Mr. Barrett, and he endeavored to find some precedent or model for such legislation. Being unable to find anything of the sort in the statutes of any state he devised the simple but ingenious plan of a bond issue covering the assessment liens, which should be met at maturity by the payment of the assessments in installments with 6 per cent. interest. He prepared the original act of 1889 unaided, brought it here, and got it passed, in addition to much other valuable legislative work, notable among which was engineering the Australian ballot law through the Senate. The law of 1889 was practically a compilation of existing laws as to ordering improvements and assessing benefits, the essential new feature being the

⁴Council Proceedings, p. 342; *News*, December 18, 1888.

⁵Supply Co., vs. Street Railway Co., 128 Ind., p. 525.

⁶Acts 1889, pp. 247-254.

⁷Acts 1889, pp. 222-230.

⁸State ex rel. Jameson vs. Denny, 118 Ind., p. 382; State ex rel. Holt vs. Denny, 118 Ind., p. 449.

right given the property-owner to call for 10 years' credit, followed by the issue of bonds and the procedure in relation thereto. It is sometimes called "a loan of the city's credit," but it is not. It is virtually a mortgage by the city of the property on which credit is desired, and all the city loans is its supervision of the bond issues and collection of the money. The debt is not a city debt, but is secured by the lien on the property of the individuals affected. It has become common to call all subsequent laws containing this principle "Barrett laws," and it should perhaps be borne in mind that Mr. Barrett had nothing to do with any of them but the first, as some of them have added other provisions for which he might not care to be held responsible.

This law—this privilege of paying for public improvements in installments, has not only had an enormous effect in promoting public improvements in Indiana cities and towns, but also has been copied widely in other states. It came to the aid of Indianapolis at the most opportune moment, when she was just entering on her era of public improvement, and reconciled hundreds of men to the policy of public improvement on an extensive scale—a scale that would have created intolerable burdens if the expense had been obliged to be met in full on the completion of the work, as it was before. It not only forwarded the adoption of the policy, but it unquestionably made it possible for many people to pay for improvements who could not have done so on the old basis. In the city of Indianapolis, up to January 1, 1909, there were issued a total of \$5,546,061.89 of these bonds; and of that total \$3,696,916.86 had been redeemed, leaving outstanding \$1,849,145.03. This, of course, does not show the entire amount of street and sewer expenditure from 1890, but it shows approximately the extent to which property-owners would have been embarrassed if they had been required to meet their assessments at once, and in full.

There was another influence that was most potent in turning public attention to the need of improved streets. The public service corporations of Indianapolis had never been prompt in putting streets in repair. This had been the subject of numerous complaints,

as, for example, on March 21, 1881, when, on motion of an irate councilman, the City Marshal was "directed to notify the Water Works Company to at once pull up cordwood and rails on South Meridian street, and to fill up chuck holes made by them with good gravel or cinders."⁹ But in 1890 the condition of the streets was appalling on account of the race of the two natural gas companies to get in their mains. They had torn up a majority of the streets of the city, and filled the excavations without settling the earth. In consequence there were miniature mountain ranges along most of the streets, cutting off drainage and impeding passage. There were hundreds of citizens who could not bring a vehicle to the curb in front of their residences. As the companies failed to put the streets in order, the city began to do it, and send the bills to the companies. A report to the council showed that the Indianapolis Company had paid one of these bills of over \$300, while the Consumers' Trust had refused to pay one of over \$1,000.¹⁰ The City Attorney was instructed to sue, but public sentiment was with the Consumers' Trust, and this was treated as an attempt to embarrass it financially, and nothing was finally done. In the meantime the streets remained in their torn-up condition until permanently improved.

Early in 1890 the Commercial Club was organized, the chief attraction to most of its members being the improvement of the streets. On February 27, "in view of the proposed rebuilding of over a thousand squares of streets," it adopted its plan for a paving exposition which was held that summer. Interest in the matter was general. The newspapers were discussing it and people were talking about it. On March 3, on motion of J. F. Wildman, the Board of Trade adopted a resolution, "that a committee of three be appointed from the Board of Trade (the president of the board to be chairman) and request that a like committee be appointed from the Commercial Club, and also that the Mayor of the city, the president of the Board of Aldermen, and the chairman of the Finance Committee of the City Council be

⁹*Council Proceedings*, p. 980.

¹⁰*Council Proceedings*, 1890, pp. 71, 75.

requested to serve as members of said committee. It shall be the duty of these joint committees to organize as one, and fully investigate and carefully prepare a bill to be presented at the next meeting of the General Assembly, for establishing a Board of Public Works for this city, and such other bills on such other subjects as the interest of the city may demand; and use all proper efforts to have the same become laws."¹¹ In addition to the president (Mr. Geo. G. Tanner) Jas. A. Wildman and S. T. Bowen were appointed members of this committee.

On March 10 the Commercial Club held a large meeting at the Board of Trade Hall, which had been tendered for the club's use till it got a home. The announced subject was "The City Charter: What Is It; What Ought It to Be!" The discussion was led by Dr. Henry Jameson, who advocated reform legislation, and offered this resolution: "Resolved, That we recommend to the board of directors the appointment of a committee to consider the matter of revising the laws governing the city, the formulation of new laws believed to be needed, and the embodiment of the same in a bill covering the entire subject of city government. The report of the committee shall be presented to the club in regular session, through the board of directors, for final consideration and action." This resolution is broader than it was in its original form, and was made so at the suggestion of, and with the assistance of A. L. Mason, who urged that when the committee came to examine the ground it would probably find it necessary to prepare a new charter. After discussion, all favorable to the movement, in which numerous evils were pointed out and remedies suggested, this resolution was adopted. Another resolution was introduced by Charles B. Fletcher, reciting that "Whereas, the community has awakened to the deplorable condition of our streets" and "Whereas the sewerage of the city is very limited," a committee of three should be appointed to devise means for obtaining the preparation of a comprehensive sewer system by reliable engineering talent, so that the sewers could be constructed before the streets were improved. This was referred to the

directors, in regular course, and later adopted.¹²

On March 11 the directors of the Commercial Club met. "A communication from the Board of Trade reporting the appointment of a committee to secure the enactment of a bill establishing a Board of Public Works in Indianapolis and asking the appointment of a like committee by the Commercial Club, the two to work together, was read. The president was authorized to appoint, in accordance with the resolution of March 10th at a meeting of the club, a committee of three to consider the matter of revising the laws governing the city, this committee to act with the Board of Trade committee on Public Works, in accordance with the provisions of the resolution reported."¹³ The president appointed Augustus L. Mason, Samuel E. Morss, and Granville S. Wright as members of this committee. They were all outspoken advocates of thorough revision. Mr. Mason had urged that practically a new charter was needed; and Mr. Wright had spoken for radical changes, at the meeting of March 10, and especially for a centralization of power in the mayor.¹⁴ The members of the city government who had been invited to join in the committee work—the mayor, Thomas L. Sullivan; the president of the Board of Aldermen, Isaac J. Thahnan; and the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Council, William Wesley Woollen—all accepted. The joint committee of nine members, thus formed, met promptly, and almost at the start resolved to undertake the draft of an entirely new charter. George G. Tanner was made chairman, and A. L. Mason secretary of the committee, and it proceeded at once to utilize the ten months that intervened before the next session of the legislature. On March 15 the Board of Trade held a public meeting to discuss "Our Municipal Affairs. Is there a Necessity for a New City Charter?" The affirmative was ably presented by the City Attorney, W. L. Taylor and others, and a resolution indorsing revision was adopted.¹⁵

¹²*Journal*, March 11, 1890.

¹³*Commercial Club Minutes*, p. 62.

¹⁴*Journal*, March 11, 1890.

¹⁵*Journal*, March 16, 1890.

¹¹*Minutes*, p. 189; *Journal*, March 4, 1890.

No committee ever did more systematic, rational and conscientious work than this joint committee to which the reform had been referred. After it had resolved to undertake the draft of an entirely new charter the next question considered was the general plan of the new charter. S. E. Morss called attention to a publication by the Johns Hopkins University, showing the working of the Bullitt Law in the City of Philadelphia, in which the mayor was authorized to appoint a Board of Public Works and some other officers. Augustus L. Mason called attention to the recent charter of Brooklyn, New York, constructed on the so-called federal plan with a division of the city government into legislative, executive, and judicial branches, the mayor being the sole head of the executive branch, with power to appoint subordinates. After careful consideration it was resolved to adopt the ideas of the Bullitt Law and of the Brooklyn charter, as a general plan to which the committee should work. It was recognized that the real problem would be to adapt the general theory to the particular necessities of Indianapolis, having in mind the institutions to which our people had been accustomed. For the ensuing ten months several meetings a week were held in the evening, either of the whole committee or of sub-committees, at the office of Mr. Mason, 90½ East Market street.

The introduction to the law, the part relating to the legislative branch of the city government and the part relating to the executive branch, were drafted by Mr. Mason. The sources of material were, in the main, the old laws governing the city of Indianapolis, the new Brooklyn charter, the Bullitt Law of Philadelphia, and the somewhat old-fashioned but the very carefully drawn charter of the City of Chicago. When the rough draft of any part was written it was submitted line by line to a sub-committee and carefully considered, modified or approved. The sub-committee charged with the preparation of that portion of the charter regulating the legislative branch of the city government, had George G. Tanner for chairman; the sub-committee charged with preparation of that portion of the charter regulating the executive branch of the city government, had for its chairman Thomas L. Sullivan. Later it

was presented to the committee of the whole, which met at regular intervals, and again gone over line by line. The part of the charter relating to the judicial branch of city government was drafted by Thomas L. Sullivan and Granville Wright.

Every member of the committee contributed important ideas and assisted in the phrasing of the law. Mr. Tanner, showing great precision in the use of words, in pointing out ambiguities and in testing proposed provisions, by the common working of business and public affairs as transacted from day to day, gave particular attention to the powers of the city council. Mr. Woollen and Mr. Thalman were extremely valuable in shaping those parts of the bill touching city finance, the making of appropriations, the issue and sale of bonds, the making of street improvements, and the granting of franchises to public corporations.

In the work of the committee, Mr. Morss and Mayor Sullivan kept in touch with the views of the Democratic organization in the city and carried on diplomatic negotiations so as to avoid obstruction when the charter should go before the legislature. Colonel Wildman, Mr. Thalman and Mr. Wright kept in touch with the Republican organization for a like purpose. Mr. Bowen acted as a committee on style and polished off many rough places in the English of the document. Mr. Tanner furnished that kind of enthusiasm and untiring energy, as chairman of the committee, which kept the committee constantly at work and tolerated no unnecessary delay and no carelessness on the part of any member. Through the hot nights of the summer of 1890 the committee met with tireless regularity and this without stimulants, for when late in the evening they left the hot little office on East Market street they would repair to the drug store in the Haleyon block at Delaware and New York streets and refresh with soft drinks only.

The great central feature of the charter revision was the entire separation of the executive, legislative and judicial functions, all administrative functions being transferred to the executive department. This meant a great concentration of power in the mayor, and with the power was placed the full responsibility which should accompany

power. There are many fine points in the charter which even to this day the public is not familiar with. For instance, usually where the mayor or some other executive officer has the veto power, the failure of such an officer to sign a bill within a certain limited time, permits such a bill or ordinance to become a law by the lapse of time without his signature. In the city charter this is all changed, and the shoe, as it were, is put on the other foot. The mayor is compelled to take his full share of responsibility in every ordinance that is passed, by signing every ordinance which he approves. In case, within the limit named in the charter, he does not sign an ordinance, his failure to sign constitutes a veto. Thus it is incumbent upon the mayor to thoroughly study every ordinance that is passed, and to take his full responsibility for all laws. The mayor is really made the key-stone to the arch. It was the desire of the gentlemen who drafted the city charter to fix the responsibility upon some one for every act, and the mayor is the responsible head, and it is important therefore under our city charter that the people should select the very best material in electing a mayor. The mayor appoints the various boards, the Board of Public Works, the Board of Public Safety and the Board of Health, and the City Engineer, and in order not to have a lot of political dickering, and to avoid tying the hands of the mayor and place him in the attitude of making deals with the City Council, his appointments do not have to be approved by the City Council, and he is at liberty to at any time remove any one of his appointees; and in order that he may do no injustice to a person so removed, it is only incumbent upon him, when he does remove a person, that he state his reason for so removing his appointee. Thus if a person removed considered himself aggrieved, the fact that the mayor is compelled to state his reason gives the person so removed an opportunity to come before the people and give his side of the case, if there is a difference of opinion.

During the preparation of the charter the committee prudently allowed the public to know some of the ideas which were being considered. The plan giving the mayor power to appoint and discharge his subordinates was much debated in private conversation,

in the public press, and elsewhere. Even the debating class at the Y. M. C. A. argued the question and later it was submitted to some classes in the public schools for essays by the pupils. It was argued against the provision that such a concentration of power was undemocratic and un-American, and would result in a dangerous political machine. It was urged in favor of the provision that a concentration of executive power in the hands of the mayor was necessary for efficient administration and followed the plan of the federal government, as laid down in the Constitution and Laws of the United States. It was pointed out that the proposed charter instead of unduly concentrating power, really divided it by separating the legislative and executive branches of the government instead of vesting the whole in the Common Council as had been previously done. The whole nature of the office of mayor was to be changed. Instead of being merely presiding officer of the Council and Judge of the Police Court, the mayor was to be strictly the head of the executive branch of the government. This provision met with general approval. The power to be given the controller to recommend appropriations and tax levies to the Council, with the provision that the Council might reduce but could never increase the same, was regarded with general favor. A section occurring in the introduction to the charter prohibiting city officials from having any interest in contracts with the city, and the provision authorizing the mayor to revoke saloon licenses for cause, elicited much approval. Much embarrassment was occasioned by the problem of changing from the old to the new form of government. Certain officials holding office under the Council felt that the mayor, who under the new charter had the power of appointment, would deprive them of office. This difficulty was smoothed over by securing their positions to them for the terms for which they were appointed.

On January 5, 1891, the Board of Trade's portion of the committee reported to it, and on January 6 the Commercial Club's representatives did the same, the two reports being practically identical. They state that the committee first decided "that it was necessary to undertake a revision of all the laws governing the City of Indianapolis, except



(W. H. Buss Photo Company.)

BIRDSEYE VIEW—EAST FROM SOLDIERS' MONUMENT—1907.

those in relation to the public schools, to embody the revision in one uniform code or charter drafted in accordance with the most approved modern notions of municipal government. A sub-committee was appointed to prepare a general outline of the work. * * * One member of the committee was at an early date designated to prepare a draft of the new charter, upon each topic in its proper order, which draft would be gone over line by line by the sub-committee rewritten and reconsidered as often as necessary, and afterwards presented to the whole committee, by whom the entire document was twice revised line by line and twice rewritten." In the course of the work they examined and digested "all of the magazine articles, some three hundred in number, which have appeared in this country on the subject in the last twenty years. Next we sent for, read and considered a number of volumes, by writers of eminence, which have appeared, embracing exhaustive histories of the charters of the great cities of this country, with the progressive changes, and the results of their workings, from the earliest colonial times to the present day." To this was added an examination of the best American and foreign city charters.

The next work was to classify and index "all of the statutes now in force governing the City of Indianapolis." This work "developed the fact that the present powers of the city are exceedingly defective; that many ordinances which have been passed are undoubtedly invalid for want of corporate power; and that in many particulars the present statutes are imperfect, loosely drawn, conflicting, and in many instances wholly inoperative." With this preparation the committee had prepared the new charter, which was submitted in printed form. The proposed charter had already been submitted to the Marion County delegation and to the press. The thanks of both organizations were extended to the members of the committee for their public-spirited and faithful labors; and these labors were also justly made the subject of complimentary comment in the annual reports next following. In this comment may be noted the statement of President Lilly in his annual address of February 9, 1891: "The general committee further honored the Commercial Club by placing the

construction of the charter in the hands of Mr. Mason, a trust bringing with it a duty so great that it took months of constant labor to bring the mass of ideas into legal form."¹⁶

The work of preparing the charter was slow, but it was sure as compared with the work of passing it, for there were obstacles of various sorts. Perhaps the most serious one was that the charter had been prepared on an absolutely non-partisan basis, and was now offered to a Democratic legislature for passage, it being a certainty that there was a percentage of Democrats who had conscientious scruples against a failure to take a partisan advantage when opportunity offered. Secondly, all of the public service corporations—street railway, gas and water companies—were against it, though they did not venture on an open fight. Third, some of the large owners of real estate looked with apprehension on the great power lodged in the Board of Public Works, coupled with the prevalent sentiment for extensive and expensive street improvements. The most influential of this class was Wm. H. English, who was always conservative, and whose conservatism had been a blessing to all Indiana municipalities by securing the 2 per cent debt limit. Mr. English had extensive influence with the legislature, and had been for years a very close personal and political friend of Dr. W. C. Thompson, the leading senator from Marion County. Mr. English made no secret of his opposition, and it was well known that when he went into a legislative fight he went in to win.

It being evident to the initiated that they had a fight on their hands, the directors of the Commercial Club, on December 9, 1890, authorized the president to appoint "a committee of twenty-one members or more, to co-operate with the members of the General Assembly representing Indianapolis in urging the enactment of bills in the interest of the city." President Lilly thereupon appointed a committee of twenty-five of the most influential members of the club, with John P. Frenzel as chairman. The joint committee which prepared the charter co-operated with this committee, and all the friends of the charter ranged themselves under its leader-

¹⁶*Minutes Commercial Club*, p. 158.

ship. It began operations by taking a hand in the organization of the House of Representatives, and secured its candidate for speaker, Hon. Mason J. Niblack, and its candidate for chairman of the Committee on Affairs of the City of Indianapolis, Hon. J. E. McCullough. These precautions were timely for the Senate delegation Dr. W. C. Thompson and Henry Hudson of Marion, and Daniel Foley of Marion, Shelby and Hancock, were against the charter; and all three opposed it till a test vote in the Senate showed that it would pass that body; and then Hudson and Foley voted for it.

The measure was introduced on January 9 by Representative McCullough, as House Bill No. 44, and referred to the Committee on Affairs of the City of Indianapolis. On January 22 a "hearing" was had by the House Committee, with the Senate Committee invited but not attending. Representative McCullough presided, and the discussion was opened by W. P. Fishback, who spoke briefly in favor of the charter. W. H. English, of the opposition, was called on next, but declined to speak, saying that there had not been sufficient notice, nor sufficient opportunity to examine the charter. J. P. Frenzel replied, calling attention to the fact that the charter bill had been published in full in the *Sentinel* of December 28, and full synopses in the other papers. Gen. John Coburn next spoke against the bill, urging that it created "an absolute monarchy," and was antagonistic to "local self-government." While he was speaking, Mr. Fishback, who sat next to me, whispered, "Just wait and see Gus skin him;" and sure enough, when he sat down Augustus L. Mason was called out, and he certainly did flay General Coburn, amid laughter and applause; and his victim could retaliate only by declaring that Mr. Mason's assault was "beneath contempt." The truth is that in this discussion, which was all mapped out beforehand on both sides, the defenders of the charter had the immense advantage of knowing their ground, while the assailants did not, and consequently fell into errors that were readily exposed. The charter people had gone over their work so thoroughly that they knew every argument for and against every provision in the bill, and

were like an entrenched army resisting the attack of a poorly armed mob.

There were about a dozen speakers, it being evident that the charter people were meeting attacks systematically—a Democrat replying to a Democratic objector, and a Republican to a Republican. Geo. Tanner, S. E. Morss and Isaac Thalman, of the committee that framed the bill, were heard; also Otto Stechhan, H. H. Hanna, C. W. Fairbanks, Father O'Donaghue, A. B. Gates, Charles Martindale, Judge A. C. Ayres and a few others spoke, all favoring the bill or suggesting minor amendments. I had attended the meeting as an "innocent bystander," with no intention of taking part, but, being called upon, I stated frankly that while favoring the measure in general there were two things that I thought should be changed. The bill as introduced provided for a council of 25 members and a board of aldermen of 5 members, both bodies elective from districts made by themselves. In view of the possibility of gerrymandering I urged that the board of aldermen should be elected on the general ticket, by the whole city. The other point was that the board of works was given unrestricted power in the matter of street improvement, and I urged that if a decided majority of the property-owners on a street did not want a proposed improvement they should have the right of remonstrance.¹⁷ After the meeting Mr. Morss told me he would like to do away with the board of aldermen altogether if it were not for the liability of a council gerrymander. In fact, the abolition of the board of aldermen had been extensively favored, and it was formally discussed at a meeting of the Commercial Club on January 12, but the club voted to retain it, on the theory that a check on legislation was desirable. I suggested that this could be avoided by electing enough councilmen-at-large to offset any possible gerrymander advantage. He at once indorsed this idea, and it was put into the bill by general consent.

I may add here that at this time I was State Librarian, and was also writing extensively for the *Sentinel*, as well as keeping an eye on legislative movements for its benefit.

¹⁷ The *Journal* of January 23, 1891, has the best account of the meeting.

I had notified Mr. Morss several times that certain people whom he trusted in connection with legislation were betraying him, but he doubted the accuracy of my information. On January 26 I informed him that a private meeting had been arranged for that night, at Representative McCullough's office, of the opponents of the charter with the Marion County delegation, giving him the names of some of his friends who would be present, and their purpose. They had adopted the plan of letting the charter go through but of amending it by making the board of public works elective, from three districts, one of which was to be the city north of Ohio street, and the other two south, divided by a north and south line. It was supposed that this would insure two Democratic members, and the board of works was considered the one important thing in the whole system. This was the first opportunity that had been given for a body blow, and Morss at once prepared a scorching editorial denouncing the proposal. It was held until reporters brought in word that the meeting was actually in progress, and of who were present. Part of their names were published but a few were withheld and advised with privately.

The opponents got very little satisfaction at the meeting, especially from Mr. McCullough, who notified them that he would oppose any such amendment. They were simply overwhelmed when they read the *Scimitar* in the morning, and found their private meeting thoroughly ventilated. They imagined it had been given away by some of the delegation, but in fact the editorial was written before the meeting was held. And it produced effects besides carrying consternation into their camp. Up to that time the support of the *News* had been very perfunctory. That afternoon it reproduced the *Scimitar's* editorial in full, with hearty indorsement, and said: "The thing to do is to pass the charter. We had in mind suggestions for some amendments to the charter. But we waive these in the face of the greater necessities of the situation. As a whole we believe the scheme to be the soundest and best that has ever been devised, and an imperative requisite for the good career and fair progress of Indianapolis. We do not think it is perfect, and do not claim that it is. But its imperfections,

we believe, are of the surface, the root of the matter sound, and its deep and pure planting right now requisite for the healthy growth of this city. We can test it by experience for two years. Then in what things time shall show that it needs amendment, can come to the next legislature for such amendment. The thing now to do, and to do now, is to pass the charter as it stands." In addition to bringing more allies into active service, the exposure put an end to the double-dealing with the *Scimitar*, and left the friends of the charter with an open field, and their enemies all in front of them.

On February 6 the bill was reported with recommendation for extensive but not serious amendments, all of which had been agreed to by the friends of the charter.¹⁸ The most important was the striking out of the board of aldermen and making the council of 21 members, of whom 6 were to be elected at large, and 15 from districts. Another amendment gave the right of remonstrance against a street improvement by two-thirds of the property-owners, in which case the improvement stopped unless the council ordered it by a two-thirds vote. The city tax-limit was reduced from \$1 to \$.90 by another amendment. Others reduced certain salaries, but left the power with the council to raise them to their original figure. The other amendments were formal or technical, there being none that altered the real principles of the original. The report was joined in by all the Marion County members, McCullough, Curtis, Mack, Thienes, Matthews and McCloskey, all Democrats. The three outside members, Hess, Wells and Guthrie, all Republicans, made a minority report recommending the passage of the bill as originally introduced, and continued to play politics by voting against the bill on its passage. It passed the House easily on February 16, by a vote of 65 to 13.¹⁹

The Senate was the danger point. The bill being a local matter, with the three local Senators against it, and they all Democrats, in a Democratic Senate, it is obvious that there was a tremendous obstacle to be overcome in mere "senatorial courtesy." Moreover it en-

¹⁸*House Journal*, pp. 570-581.

¹⁹*House Journal*, p. 684.

countered in the Senate probably the only man in the General Assembly who opposed it as a matter of disinterested principle, and that was Frank B. Burke. Burke was a brilliant genius, but somewhat erratic in his brilliancy. He was so devoted to abstract principles that it disqualified him for really important legislative work, in which abstract principles, in their logical extremes, have usually to be abandoned, for the simple reason that human beings do not live on a logical basis. It has been said that all really great legislation is the product of compromise. It is so only so far as the compromise is in the line of adapting it to actual human conditions, as against theories. But when Burke once set his head he knew no compromise. These qualities had given him in 1889 the distinction of being the only Democrat in the General Assembly who voted against the Australian Ballot Law. On this occasion his *bet noir* was the provision of section 60, authorizing the board of public works to purchase or erect and operate water-works, electric-light works, etc., pursuant to an ordinance. He felt that true Democratic principles called for a vote of the people on such important matters. Getting into the opposition, he became by reason of his ability the leader of the opposition in the Senate. The friends of the charter were shut out of home champions for their measure, but they found two able and influential ones in Rufus Magee, of Cass, and Timothy E. Howard, of St. Joseph and Starke.

The opposition had their troubles also. They could not flatly refuse any charter revision, and so they were forced to show by amendments what they thought would be desirable in a charter. The report submitted by the committee on February 28 was so evidently framed for the purpose of holding together a discordant opposition that it was fairly ludicrous, and it no doubt had the effect of bringing intelligent outside support to the bill. The *Sentinel* said: "We are charitable enough to believe and to say that these gentlemen (the majority of the committee) have simply been imposed upon. The report is not their production. It was not written by either of them. Two, at least, of these gentlemen have to-day only the vaguest idea of what their report contains, and could

not explain, to save their immortal souls, in what respect their recommendations differ from the bill as passed by the House of Representatives. They have lent their names to a document of the nature of which they have no intelligent conception. Incredible as it may appear, the Senate committee on the affairs of the City of Indianapolis, to which this bill was referred, has never held a meeting to consider it. This committee consists of Senators Kerth and Griffith, Democrats, and Senators Yaryan and Hubbell, Republicans, in addition to the three Marion County senators. The bill has never been before this committee. The report which is presented in its name should therefore carry no weight with the Senate."²⁰

The minority report, signed by Yaryan and Hubbell, recommended the passage of the bill with two unimportant amendments. The majority report, without restoring the board of aldermen, proposed a council of 25 members, all elected from districts. It made the appointing power of the mayor subject to confirmation by the council, and prohibited the removal of an appointee without the consent of two-thirds of the council. It prohibited the erection or purchase of water-works, electric-light works, etc., except by a new council, after six months' public notice of the action contemplated. It gave the majority of property owners, "residing in such city," on the line of any proposed street improvement, the right to prevent it, even if the council as well as the board of works favored it. But its choicest feature was the amendment of the section establishing the health board, which it made, "The Department of Health, Plumbing and Charity;" and this it put "under the control of one health commissioner and one inspector of plumbing and house drainage, who shall be appointed by the mayor," giving them autocratic powers which might well make the other departments green with envy.²¹ The obvious purpose of this was to hold Senator Hudson, who was a plumber, and who rode this hobby of compulsory plumbing for years. He got an ordinance for it through the council once, but Mayor Taggart's attention was called to the fact that

²⁰*Sentinel*, March 2, 1891.

²¹*State Journal*, pp. 925-933.

it would cost the citizens about \$2,000,000 to put it into effect, and he vetoed it.

But with all their advantage of reason, the Friends of the charter were very blue. They had been unable to hold a single Democrat on the Senate committee, and they knew that there were some Republicans who thought it would be good politics to have the bill defeated in a Democratic Senate. Some of them thought it would be advisable to compromise to some extent on the confirmation of appointments, and remonstrance against street improvements. Right there the spinal column of John P. Frenzel became an important factor. He refused to consider any compromise, said he would resign from the committee if it was done—said the bill could be put through, and they would put it through as it was or lose it altogether. The bill had been made a special order for Monday, March 2, at 3 o'clock. At that time Senator Hudson moved to adopt the majority report, and Senator Magee to substitute the minority report. Senator Burke then moved to suspend the reading of the report and consider the bill by sections, which carried. Magee at once met this play for delay by moving that when the Senate adjourned it be to 7:35, for an evening session. After motions to table, postpone and adjourn had been lost, Burke threw down the gauntlet with a motion to remain in session until the adoption or rejection of the minority report, which carried without division. Magee then demanded the previous question on the motion to substitute the minority report, which was seconded by the Senate; and the minority report was then substituted by a vote of 29 to 18. Senator Howard at once moved to suspend the rules, consider the amendments engrossed, and the bill read by sections, and put on its passage; and demanded the previous question. The Senate seconded the demand, and adopted the motion by the same vote of 29 to 18. Having now put it beyond amendment, the Senate adjourned on motion of Senator Howard.

On the following morning a motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill without reading failed for want of a constitutional majority, the vote being 27 to 20. Burke then offered the amendment that had been included in the majority report for holding back the

erection or purchase of water-works, etc., until after an election in which it was an issue; but this was ruled out of order, and the bill was read and put on its passage. The first business of the afternoon was to pass it, which was done by 42 votes, the only negatives being Burke, Ewing (of Decatur and Shelby), and Thompson, of Marion. Burke then filed a protest reciting that there had been bad faith in shutting off amendments; that his amendment of the power of the board of public works would have been adopted if submitted; and that the power vested in the board of public works "if exercised in a careless or negligent way, or abused, will result in absolute financial ruin to the interest and people of such city."²² The enrolled act was filed with the Governor on March 6, and signed by him the same day. In connection with Senator Burke's protest, it may be worth while to remember that the power lodged in city officials by the charter is very large, and that the welfare of the city depends chiefly on the character of the officials selected. Some of the people who pooh-poohed Burke's apprehensions have recently been much concerned over an analogous exercise of power in the erection of a city hall, and are now awake to the fact that we have a representative government in which the powers are delegated to officials, and delegated beyond recall. If this is not borne in mind on election days, there might easily come a time when Burke's protest would be vindicated.

There has not been a session of the legislature since 1894 in which there has not been some amendment of the city charter, but none of them can be considered as affecting the fundamental principles on which it is based, unless it be the legislation in regard to parks. By the original charter, parks were put under control of the Board of Public Works; but in 1895 the Department of Public Parks was created, and all park affairs were put into its custody, it being one of the executive departments of the city government. There was nothing in this inconsistent with the theory of the original charter, for the new department was one of like powers with the other departments. The law of

²²*Senate Journal*, p. 968.

1909, however, makes a large increase of the powers of the board of park commissioners, and establishes a fixed revenue by requiring the council to levy "a tax of not less than five cents nor more than nine cents on each one hundred dollars of taxable property," for the department and also giving to it all revenues derived from the parks. The board can also establish parks and boulevards, assessing benefits and damages to pay for the same; but the amount of this is limited to \$200,000 in any one year, and to \$1,250,000 within ten years. This power is in addition to assessments for street, sewer and other improvements on boulevards or in parks, which are the same as those of the Board of Public Works elsewhere. In addition, by the act of 1909, the council may, on recommendation of the park board, by ordinance divide the city into park districts, and the property in each district is made assessable by the park board for benefits of the boulevard and parkway improvements constructed in such district; and this has been done. Under this law the Department of Public Parks is almost independent of the city government or any part of it, although appointed by the mayor. It is an approximation to power without responsibility that will be watched with much interest by students of economics and governmental science.

Other amendments have been usually of matters of detail as to salaries of offices, modes of assessment for public improvements, annexation of territory, pensions for firemen and policemen, elections, depositories of funds, etc. In 1905 there was a general revision of the charter, which was included in the "municipal corporations" law,² Indianapolis falling under the division of "cities of the first class." In this there was no material change of the charter. The same year a very important law for the elevation of railroad tracks was enacted. This was prepared by City Attorney Henry Warrum, and under it the work of track elevation is now under headway. In 1903 a law was passed establishing a Juvenile Court in Marion County, which is practically a city institution³ and modifies the judicial department of the city government. On the whole, the city charter as it now exists may be considered the natural development and perfection of the "Federal plan" of city government, which was instituted in 1891, and the general satisfaction with the system is a tribute to the good judgment of those who originated it.

² Acts 1905, p. 219.

³ Acts of 1903, p. 516.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PUBLIC UTILITIES.

The most friendly chronicler could not call early Indianapolis progressive in the matter of public utilities. Before the coming of the railroads it moved along on a very quiet country town basis, and after their coming it was slow to take on city airs. The first problem confronted was that of public lighting, of which there had been none of any kind before the fifties. Gas had been in use in eastern cities for a number of years. Baltimore began experimenting with it in 1816, and was the first American city that adopted it for street lighting. By 1825 most of the large eastern cities had followed suit, but there was no inducement for its adoption in smaller places, except in private plants. Its first trial in Indiana was at Lawrenceburg, in the winter of 1826-7, and it was soon after used for lighting the Methodist Church in that place.¹ The first use of gas for lighting in Indianapolis was in the Masonic building which was completed in 1850-1, and the first street lamps were two in front of it supplied from its plant.

On February 12, 1851, the Indianapolis Gas Light and Coke Company was incorporated by the legislature with the "privilege of supplying the City of Indianapolis and its inhabitants with gas for the purpose of affording light for the term of twenty years;" but it was to secure the consent of the city to the use of streets, and the legislative grant was not to be exclusive. The incorporators named were C. Cox, Wm. Hanaman, Alfred Harrison, A. W. Morris and N. B. Palmer; but the originator and chief promoter was John J. Lockwood. The capital was \$20,000, with permission to increase

to \$50,000, but to be used exclusively in lighting work. On May 3 the council gave the company the exclusive right of furnishing gas for 15 years, prescribing the conditions of use of streets, and stipulating that gas should be furnished for street lamps at the price then prevailing in Cincinnati. Stock books were opened on March 6, and on March 26 the company organized, with D. V. Culley as president, W. W. Wright secretary and H. V. Barringer superintendent. In July the company bought a lot on Pennsylvania street south of Pogue's Run, and built a retort-house and gas-holder in the fall. Mains were laid on Washington and Pennsylvania streets and gas was first furnished for consumption on January 10, 1852. It was an occasion of public interest. W. W. Roberts, druggist, advertised as a special attraction that evening his "gas light sign" which all were invited to see at 6 p. m.—"admittance free, children half price."

With the prospective coming of the company the question of street lighting came up. The council decided that the city could not undertake the expense without additional revenues, and referred to the voters at a special election on September 13, 1851, the question of a tax of 8 cents on \$100 for street lighting. At the same time they submitted the question of a tax of 1 cent for a town clock. There was not much discussion of the clock question, but that of the gas question was quite warm. Everybody favored gas, but many urged that the merchants and churches in the central part of the city, which alone was proposed to be lighted, should pay for their own lights just as they paid for their sidewalks. The *Journal* urged the tax, and pointed out that while the municipal tax

¹*Journal*, September 18, 1887.

in Indianapolis was only 32½ cents on \$100, that of Cincinnati was over \$1; Lafayette 65 cents; Madison 50 cents, New Albany 64 cents, and Lawrenceburg 50 cents. The opponents replied that this was no occasion for lamentation. Although 943 votes were cast for mayor at the spring election, only 401 were cast at this election; and they were 137 for the gas tax, and 264 against; 251 for the clock tax, and 150 against.

The result called forth sarcastic comment from other towns, especially Madison, which was figuring as a rival of Indianapolis, and which had just voted for street lighting. The Madison papers gleefully announced that her streets would be lighted by gas within a month, and wanted to know when Indianapolis and New Albany would follow her lead. The taunt brought no result. The first street lights were erected on Washington street between Meridian and Pennsylvania in the fall of 1853, and the expense was borne by the property-owners on the block. The first contract with the city for street lamps was in December, 1854, and parts of Washington and adjoining streets were lighted in 1855, from which time there was a gradual increase. In May, 1860, there were 8½ miles of street lighted, with 265 lamps. For several years after the start the company was not a success, owing largely to defective construction and machinery and an inexperienced superintendent. The works were remodeled and Christopher Brown was made superintendent, after which matters improved. In 1863 the company constructed on Delaware street a new gas-holder of 300,000 cubic feet capacity, at a cost of about \$120,000; and was then producing about 175,000 cubic feet daily.

When the company's charter expired in 1866 it proposed to furnish gas at \$3.48 per 1,000 feet to both city and private consumers, and clean and light the street lamps for \$5.48 each per year—it had been charging \$4.50 per 1,000 feet; \$20 per year for each lamp; and \$8.44 for lighting and cleaning. It also claimed the right of supplying private consumers five years longer under its legislative charter. The council refused the proposal, and made a counter proposal of \$3 per 1,000 feet for private consumers and \$28.80 for street lamps. This was not accepted; nor

was a farther proposal by the city for a partnership arrangement. In the spring of 1867, while the matter was unsettled, a rival company, the Citizens' Gas Light and Coke Co., was formed by R. B. Catherwood & Co, and offered a \$3 rate, the city to contest the monopoly claim of the other company. The Indianapolis Company then offered a \$3 rate, and after some dickering was rechartered from March 4, 1867, for 20 years. The company put in meters free of charge, but it was soon found that the city was paying more for gas than before. The office of gas inspector was then created, and George H. Fleming appointed to it, and furnished with an \$800 set of instruments. The council also ordered that streets lamps should be used only at corners, and should be shut off at midnight, and by these measures the annual expense was reduced from about \$40,000 to about \$20,000.

This charter was not exclusive, and on April 3, 1876, a charter was given to "Robert Dickson and his associates" to install gas works and mains and furnish gas at not over \$2 per 1,000 feet. The moving spirit in this enterprise was that incarnation of energy, John R. Pearson, and the gas to be supplied was "water gas." The works were completed, the necessary ten miles of mains laid, and the furnishing of gas began on September 1, 1877. The receiver of the new company was located at Pratt street and the canal. On November 15, 1877, there was a terrific explosion that wrecked the receiver and put the company out of business for some time. In the meantime the Indianapolis company had taken steps to meet competition by giving notice that after November 1 its charge for gas would not exceed \$2 per 1,000 feet, and "on all streets where the Citizens' Gas Light and Coke Company have mains a discount of \$1 per 1,000 feet will be allowed." The charter of the Citizens' Company expressly prohibited its sale to the Indianapolis company under penalty of forfeiture, but on December 22, Frost & Son, of Philadelphia, who financed the new plant, sold the control of the stock to R. J. Bright, and the company was reorganized with E. F. Claypool as

²*News*, October 30, 1877.

president.³ It was maintained as a separate company, but it was an open secret that the real owners were the owners of the Indianapolis company. Mr. Pearson was retained as superintendent, and he testified in a judicial hearing that the average cost of making gas at the new plant had averaged from 46½ cents to 60 cents per 1,000 feet.

There was no material change in the gas situation until the discovery of natural gas brought about a revolution. Natural gas was first found in Indiana at Eaton, in 1876, by parties boring for coal with a diamond drill. Its value was not known, and the well was abandoned until after the discoveries at Findlay, Ohio, beginning in 1884. A large well was then sunk and a good flow obtained. In 1886 gas was struck at Kokomo, and that city began to be supplied. The subject attracted attention at Indianapolis, and requests for natural gas franchises were made in March and April, 1886. No definite action was taken until the spring of 1887. Meanwhile a special committee visited Pittsburg, and May 16, 1887, made a very full report on the precautions and restrictions that should be required in an ordinance for the use of the streets. By this time an organization, understood to be the Standard Oil Company, had representatives in the city trying to get a franchise ordinance with rates that were very high, and various companies were proposed, including a citizens' company for which a public meeting was held.⁴ Also the Indianapolis Natural Gas Company was formed, which was controlled by the artificial gas company. All forces joined hands to read off the Standard Oil scheme, and on May 23 an ordinance was passed by the council fixing rates at about one-fifth those proposed by the Standard Company.⁵ This was adopted by the Board of Aldermen on June 27, and the Standard Company then disappeared from the field, in appearance at least.

Then matters dragged. Natural gas was being found daily, and getting closer to Indianapolis, but it was not here. People grew impatient. In September Major C. T. Doxey of Anderson appeared on the scene and of-

fered to bring in unlimited gas if he could get proper support. His proposal was to take three-years' contracts at ordinance rates, or five-years' contracts, payable in advance, which should entitle the subscriber to paid-up gas perpetually, or as long as it lasted.⁶ Everybody was interested and he was given much aid in getting subscribers, but on October 14 he withdrew from the field, complaining that he had only 1,200 subscribers, but at the same time giving several other explanations that did not exactly consist.⁷ Following this came the announcement on October 17 of active preparations to do something by the Indianapolis Natural Gas Company, but that it would want a small increase in the rates it had helped to make to keep the Standard Oil Company out. Then came a storm of remonstrance, with charges that Doxey had been bought off and that the Standard Oil Co., the Guffey syndicate (large gas operators), and the Indianapolis company were in alliance. On October 22 came the announcement of the Indianapolis company's demand for an increase of 50 per cent in domestic rates and an exclusive franchise for five years.

But by this time a way of escape had been found. The experience of the past few weeks had convinced everybody that the great need was for some form of a citizens' company that could not be sold out, and such a plan was brought forward by Alfred M. Potts, a young attorney. It was a company in which the voting of the stock was irrevocably fixed in a board of self-perpetuating trustees, while its earning power was restricted to 8 per cent interest and the repayment of the face value of the stock. When this repayment was made the trust remained, for the public benefit, to furnish gas at cost. It was more than a solution of the existing problem; it was a solution of the problem of controlling all public utilities, with all of the advantages of municipal ownership and none of its disadvantages. It was at once met by claims that it was unsound and impracticable, but the ablest lawyers in the city pronounced it perfectly sound. On the morning of October 29 a committee appointed by the Board of Trade

³*Journal*, December 25, 1877.

⁴*News*, May 14, 19, 1887.

⁵*News*, June 7, 1887.

⁶*News*, September 15, 1887.

⁷*News*, October 15, 1887.

met at the Grand Hotel and adopted articles of incorporation of the Consumers' Gas Trust, on the plan of Mr. Potts, which were formally indorsed by a committee of lawyers, composed of William Wallace, John M. Butler, W. P. Fishback, Ferdinand Winter and W. H. H. Miller. The committee also named as trustees Gen. T. A. Morris, John W. Murphy, John M. Butler, Henry Schmill and Albert G. Porter, and authorized them to appoint the first board of directors. The meeting then started business by subscribing 706 shares of stock—\$35,300.

On November 1 the trustees selected as directors Judge Robert N. Lamb, Frederick Fahmley, Edward Claypool, John H. Holliday, Julius F. Pratt, John P. Frenzel, Thomas Davis, Eli Lilly, and Henry Coburn. On November 2 the directors announced the election of R. N. Lamb, president; Henry Coburn, vice-president; E. F. Claypool, treasurer; and A. F. Potts secretary. The articles of association were filed on November 2. Organization was begun at once for subscriptions to the \$500,000 of stock which had been fixed as necessary for a start, and volunteer solicitors appeared on every hand. It was a whirlwind of enthusiasm. Meetings were held in all the wards, and numerous extra ones. By November 5 the subscription had passed \$250,000; on November 11 it was \$410,000; on November 19 the half million was made up and \$7,000 to spare. Subsequently \$105,000 more of stock was issued, in the early days of construction, to meet expenses. On November 23 the Consumers' Trust accepted the provisions of the ordinance without qualification—it had already announced that it would furnish gas to manufacturers at 6 cents per 1,000 feet instead of 7 cents, the ordinance rate. It was a great triumph, and there was general rejoicing, not only over the immediate result but over the realization of everybody that the people had the power of self-protection if they would exert it.

Two small companies had already accepted the ordinance—the Capital City on October 22, and the Broad Ripple on October 24—but they were not expected to furnish the general public with the gas that would be called for. The Trust had an enormous task before it—to secure the necessary supply of gas, and

establish pipe lines to the city limits before beginning work inside the city. The Indianapolis Company, doubting its rival's ability to do this, held off till February 20, 1888, before it accepted the ordinance. Then began a race for establishment of lines and patronage. The Indianapolis company had an immense advantage in the fact that it had already nearly 15 miles of available mains in duplicate, which it had control of through the Citizens' Gas Company, and proposed to use for natural gas. The contest for patronage waxed warm. The Trust and its supporters urged that it had been the means of securing the adoption of the ordinance rates, and the people should stand by it. An effort was made to buy the Indianapolis companies' interests, but it was claimed that it failed because the company wanted reimbursement of the expense of getting Doxey and others out of the way.* The *Scout* and *News* advocated public support of the Trust. The Indianapolis company claimed that it had been unfairly treated, and announced a cut of 30 per cent below ordinance rates.† The result was that the patronage was pretty evenly divided. Gas began to be supplied in the fall of 1888.

The management of the Trust very wisely devoted its efforts to extending its service and assuring the supply of gas rather than paying subscribers, and it paid no interest dividend for four years, when, on January 1, 1893, a stock dividend covering interest to that date was made, bringing the total of stock to \$789,000. In 1890 the receipts from the sale of gas were \$375,857.38, but all this went back into the plant, except running expenses, and the total investment by the end of 1890 was \$1,267,111.17. The company then had 225 miles of mains and 94 gas wells in operation. It was supplying 10,679 consumers with 30,369 fires and 21,411 lights.‡ The supply of gas gradually decreased. New territory had to be acquired, and pumping stations had to be erected, and the total investment was over \$2,500,000; but the earnings of the Trust paid all of this, with 8 per cent interest on the stock and all but 5 per

**Scout*, May 12, 1888.

†*Journal*, May 12, 1888.

‡*News*, February 6, 1891.

cent of the stock itself. It was a great success in every way. It has been estimated, and reasonably, that it saved the people of the city \$1,000,000 a year,¹¹ and in addition to that it gave them a clean and convenient fuel whose final loss was a cause of universal regret.

One weak spot in the plan developed later. There was no explicit provision as to what should become of the property in case of the failure of natural gas. It was quite generally anticipated that the supply would be temporary, but people wanted the fuel then, and hundreds subscribed with no expectation of getting the money back, but only of getting cheap gas. As time passed, and no interest was paid, many sold their stock to buyers who took it as a mere interest investment. Some of it sold as low as \$8.75 a share (\$25) and large amounts at \$10 a share. After payments began it advanced to par and higher. As the gas began to fail there were suspicions that the lack of supply was the fault of the companies, and in 1899 suit was brought to compel the Indianapolis company to drill more wells and comply with ordinance requirements. This dragged along in the courts till May 31, 1904, when the Supreme Court dismissed it, taking judicial notice that the supply had failed, and the relief asked was impossible.¹² Meanwhile the gas had stopped. Early in 1902 the theory was advanced that waste was the cause of failure of supply, and on April 7, both companies joined in a request for provision for the use of meters with gas at 25 cents per 1,000 feet. Before any definite action was taken on this, the Indianapolis company gave notice that it would discontinue the supply of gas on September 30, and relinquish the use of the streets for that purpose. On August 20, the Manufacturers' Company gave notice that it would suspend on September 1.

The city applied for an injunction against the Indianapolis company, and the hopelessness of the situation was pretty fully developed in the hearing.¹³ The Trust maintained

a feeble supply in the winter of 1902-3, but at a loss to itself. It was evident that the end was at hand; but what was to become of the Trust's property? It had not only its pipe lines but large land holdings in the oil region, the whole being then valued at about a million dollars. The majority of the directors desired to use the plant for supplying artificial gas, and so resolved in November, 1903. But meanwhile the Eureka Investment Company had been organized to get control of the stock and wind up the company, on the theory that the property belonged to the stockholders. The competition for control of the stock became so warm that some of it "sold for 2,000," i. e. a share, which was all paid out but \$1.25, brought its face value of \$25. On February 19, 1904, Byron C. Quinby brought suit in the federal court to enjoin the proposed action of the directors, and on April 11, 1905, it was decided that the Trust had no power to make artificial gas, and must be wound up; and that the property belonged to the stockholders.¹⁴

This decision brought consternation to the advocates of cheap gas till City Engineer Jeup pointed out a mode of escape at one of their meetings at the Commercial Club. The natural gas contracts contained a provision that the city might purchase the plant on six months' notice, and an artificial gas company might obtain this right from the city. This plan was promptly adopted. On May 17, 1905, the Board of Works gave the necessary six months' notice of intention to purchase. On August 25 Alfred F. Potts, Lorenz Schmidt and Frank D. Stalnaker as representatives of the proposed gas company, were given a franchise contract for the use of the streets to furnish artificial gas at 60 cents per 1,000 feet. The same night it was ratified by a special session of the council. As soon as the enemy learned what was in contemplation, Quinby brought ancillary proceedings in the federal court to enjoin the city's action, and Judge Baker held the city's purchase option void.¹⁵ An appeal was taken, but it was not decided until February 6, 1906; and this was a serious complication.

¹¹A. F. Potts, in *Am. Review of Reviews*, November, 1899.

¹²State ex rel. vs. Indianapolis Natural Gas Co., 163 Ind. p. 48.

¹³*News*, October 9-11, 1902.

¹⁴137 Federal Reporter, p. 882.

¹⁵Quinby vs. Gas Co., 140 Fed. Reporter, p. 362.

because the city administration changed on January 1, 1906, and the cheap gas advocates were fearful that the new administration would be hostile to them. This was avoided by a contract, on December 11, 1905, that the city would deliver its option if Judge Baker's decision were overruled, for which the fulfillment of which Messrs. Potts, Stalnaker and Smith made a payment of \$25; and this agreement became commonly known as "the option on the option".

The Circuit Court of Appeals reversed Judge Baker's decision¹⁴ and on February 11, 1906, the trustees named asked for the transfer of the option, but were refused on the ground that Quinby might get a rehearing. On April 10 a petition for rehearing was overruled; and on April 27 the request for transfer of the option was renewed. It was refused on the ground that Quinby might appeal. On May 4, Potts, Stalnaker and Schmidt sent an open letter to the Mayor, setting out all the details of the affair, and asking an answer by May 8. No answer was received, and on May 25, 1906, they brought action for specific performance.¹⁵ The case was never tried, but was disposed of by Judge Carter's overruling the city's demurrer to the complaint, which did not occur until January 26, 1907. Then Mayor Bookwalter announced that he would deliver the option under certain "safeguards", the chief of which was that the company should agree to "proceed with expedition". The company promptly agreed, and the option was delivered on January 30, 1907. All this time the company was trying to complete its stock subscription, which was necessary in order to pay for the lines of the Consumers' Trust. These were appraised at \$409,061 on May 1, 1907, and on May 8 a contract was made for their delivery by November 1, 1907. By the terms of the stock subscription the mains were to be obtained by November 1, or the subscriptions to be void. In spite of all obstacles the company raised the necessary amount and paid for the mains on October 31, 1907, receiving a bill of sale of the Trust's property within the city.¹⁶

¹⁴144 Federal Reporter, p. 640.

¹⁵Citizens' Gas Co. vs. City of Indianapolis, No. 71,524, Superior Court.

¹⁶*News*, October 31, 1907.

The company purchased 22 acres of land on the Belt and Big Four railroads, north of Prospect street, and proceeded at once to erect a water gas plant, in order to comply with its franchise requirement of beginning to supply gas within 18 months after acquiring the Trust's mains. It turned on the first gas on March 31, 1909, a month inside of the time limit. It also erected another water gas plant of equal capacity—1,000,000 cubic feet a day—and in these, with the modern improvements, it has been able to put gas in the holder at less than 30 cents per 1,000 feet. But this was not the ultimate aim. The directors had in view a coke plant, in which gas should in fact be a by-product; and the company proceeded to erect two batteries of coke ovens, 25 ovens in each, with a total capacity of 2,500,000 cubic feet of gas per day. The first production of coke was drawn on November 19, 1909, and the coke gas began to be used the next day in conjunction with water gas. The water gas plants were shut down in two weeks and are held in reserve for emergencies, as the ovens supply more gas than needed at present. The company has about 5,500 consumers, the number increasing daily as rapidly as meters can be advantageously installed. It has 136 miles of mains, and about 9,000 connection pipes not yet put in use. The gas furnished is well above contract requirements in both heat and light. It is produced practically without cost—the other products paying the expenses.

This is an interesting result, especially in view of the confident assertions of the opposition that gas could not be profitably sold for 60 cents per 1,000. And the entire benefit is for the public. Those who have invested in the stock receive their money back, with ten per cent interest, and when that is done the entire plant becomes the property of the city. The franchise is for twenty-five years, and if at the end of that period the stock is not fully paid out the city can pay the remainder due on the stock and take the plant. It is therefore to the advantage of every citizen to take gas of this company, and promote the payment of its stock, for when that is done gas can be furnished at cost, or near cost. The franchise of the company cannot be transferred

without the consent of the city; and one member of the board of five trustees is appointed by the mayor. A vacancy on this board is filled by the board, except in the case of the mayor's appointee, who is replaced by another appointment by the mayor. The present officers of the company are Franklin Vonnegut, President; A. F. Potts, Vice President; Lorenz Schmidt, Treasurer, and J. D. Forrest, Secretary. The trustees are Thomas L. Sullivan, Thomas H. Spann, W. D. Cooper, Henry Kahn, and Lucius B. Swift. The mayor's appointee is Judge Thomas L. Sullivan.

In August, 1897, an ordinance was passed fixing the maximum price of artificial gas at 75 cents per 1,000 feet. The Indianapolis company resisted this in the courts, claiming that gas could not be supplied here at that rate. In 1889 the Board of Public Works appointed John J. Appel and Henry Wetzel, experts, to examine the company's books as to the cost of production, and they reported that they showed the company's contention to be true. A compromise contract was then made on June 28, 1899, by which the rate was made \$1 per 1,000 feet on a total consumption less than 300,000,000 cubic feet; 95 cents from that to 350,000,000; and 90 cents on more than 350,000,000. There were woful predictions of the results of such cutting, but not enough consideration of the increase of patronage following a decrease of rates. The company reached the 90 cent rate in 1902, and under it the consumption, in cubic feet, increased as follows: 1903, 379,659,300; 1904, 544,352,550; 1905, 668,828,000; 1906, 775,512,000; 1907, 897,326,000; 1908, 946,561,700. In 1902, in anticipation of the failure of natural gas, the company purchased 26½ acres of land in the northwestern part of the city, and erected a combined coal and water gas plant.

In February, 1890, the Indianapolis owners of the Indianapolis Gaslight and Coke Co., the Indianapolis Natural Gas Co., and the Electric Lighting, Gas Heating and Illuminating Co., which had succeeded the old Citizens' Company on the judicial sale of its property in 1880—sold their stock to a New York syndicate, commonly known as the Dietrich's syndicate. It was understood that the selling price was \$2,000,000. The prop-

erties were reorganized as the Indianapolis Gas Company, with \$2,750,000 of bonds—\$250,000 not then issued—and \$2,000,000 of stock. The stock paid 12 per cent dividends and sold at \$1.50 for most of the next dozen years, and the company was also able to erect the handsome Majestic Building, at a cost of about \$400,000. The capitalization was changed later to \$4,250,000 of bonds (outstanding) and \$2,000,000 of stock. These facts helped to illuminate the public mind, and the demand for cheaper gas grew more insistent. The solemn assurances that 60-cent gas was impossible, when the Citizens' Gas Company was proposed, fell on deaf ears. On January 14, 1907, Senator Linton A. Cox, of Marion County, introduced a bill in the legislature providing that no future gas contract in Indianapolis should permit a rate of over 50 cents per 1,000 feet; and that when any company's service franchise expired it should remove its mains or furnish gas at that price. All efforts to defeat it failed, and on March 4, 1907, it became a law.

The franchise of the Indianapolis Gas Company, under its ten years' contract, expired on July 5, 1909. It waited till the last moment and then asked an injunction in the federal court to stop the state and city officers from enforcing the 60-cent law. It claimed a perpetual franchise under the old Citizens' contract, and this was warmly attacked as void—the franchise having been sold under a mechanic's lien.¹⁹ Judge Anderson decided only that the company had no ground for injunction, as it had had ample time to test the validity of the law. The Indianapolis Company then decided to submit to the inevitable, and as its fiscal month ran from the 20th to the 20th, it announced that its bills from June 20, 1909, would be at 60 cents per 1,000, and from that time forward all gas consumers in Indianapolis had sixty-cent gas.

The fighting over the gas question had some effect in hastening the introduction of electric lights. Early in 1881, shortly after Charles F. Brush had made Cleveland famous by his electric lights, representatives of the Cleveland company came to Indianapolis and put ex-Mayor Caven at the head of an

¹⁹*News*, July 3 and 5, 1909.

effort to introduce the system here. On June 20 Mr. Caven presented to the council proposals for lighting the streets with Brush arc lights, on towers, varying from seven towers, of 16,000 candle power each, for \$42,000, up to ten towers for \$60,000, which was a little less than the city was then paying for gas; and which Mr. Caven said would make Indianapolis "the most splendidly illuminated city in the world, and at the least cost". At that time the gas company had influence with the council, and the electric street-lighting proposition did not do well; but after some effort an ordinance was passed which allowed the Indianapolis Brush Electric Light and Power company to put poles, masts or towers in the streets to demonstrate the practical lighting power of the system. The Board of Aldermen carefully amended even this ordinance by providing for a future tax on the company, and the ordinance finally became effective on November 16, 1881.²⁰ It gave a five years' franchise, which was extended on March 14, 1887, for five years more; and allowed the company to furnish electric light and power to citizens.

Mr. Caven was given a free hand in the management of the company, and he put up five towers to show the capacity of the system. One of these was in the center of the Governors Circle, and the other four were at the inner ends of the four main avenues—the corners of Illinois and Pennsylvania with Washington, and of the same streets with Ohio. These were skeleton structures made of iron piping, under the Adams patent; and by them Indianapolis was initiated in electric lighting, and introduced to the "electric light bug". The next step in electric lighting was the advent of the Jenney company which formed a local organization with A. H. Nordyke and Brainard Rorison at the head. It wanted a place to show its work, and on August 31, 1885, entered into a contract with the town of West Indianapolis to establish a plant there and light the town with 18 lamps of 2,000 candle power each, for the sum of \$2,800 annually. Twelve of the lamps were to be put on three towers—four to each—and the balance to be located as found desirable. In 1888 Daniel W. Mar-

mon and Chas. C. Perry organized the Marmon-Perry Light Co. and began furnishing incandescent lights on a purely commercial basis. The public wanted electric light, and, fortunately, the opposing interests were strong enough to force a good contract for the city. The electric lighting ordinance of November 19, 1888, required underground wires in the original mile square, construction under supervision of the city engineer, and payment of 2½ per cent of gross receipts to the city till January 1, 1896—after which 5 per cent.

The Marmon-Perry Company bought the Jenney plant in 1887; the franchise of the Marion County Hot Water Heating Co. in 1901; and the Brush Company in 1902. In 1902 they consolidated the two lighting companies as the Indianapolis Light and Power Company, and in 1904 the Hot Water Heating Co. was merged with this, making Indianapolis Light and Heat Company. Before the consolidation in 1892, on April 22, a contract ordinance was adopted by which the Brush Company was to furnish the city with 750 arc lights of 2,000 candle power, at \$85 each per year on "moonlight schedule", or \$95 on "all night schedule". The wires were to go underground in the mile square, and the company to pay the same percentage to the city on incandescent lighting as the other company. This contract was for 10 years, and was assigned to the Light and Power Company in May. The contract of February 26, 1904, is very elaborate, covering all the safeguards of preceding ordinances and agreements; and is for 10 years from April 1, 1905. The rates for the city are \$74 for arc lamps, and \$35 for incandescent lamps of 50 candle power, on all night schedule; and for private consumers not over 10 cents per 1,000 watts for incandescent lighting. The payment to the city is 5 per cent of gross receipts, which in 1908 was \$27,488.04.

The company has two power stations, one on Kentucky avenue of 10,000 horse power capacity, and one on Mill street of 15,000 horse power capacity. For use in emergency it has a storage battery on Bird street of 3,000 horse power; and is putting in another on Wabash street of 4,000 horse power. The one in use is the third largest in the world.

²⁰*Council Proceedings*, pp. 233, 744, 825.

being surpassed only by those at Chicago and New York City. The company maintains over 1,800 arc lights for the street lighting and 450,000 incandescent lights for commercial and domestic lighting. Its underground wires in the central part of the city are carried through tile conduits, the largest mains having 48 ducts, through which separate wires or cables pass. This was the first company in the world to use the 1,000,000 circular mill cable—nearly 2 inches in diameter—for underground transmission. It is claimed that Indianapolis has the best lighted streets in the country, and that it has the largest consumption of electricity per capita. The stock of the company is owned in the city, and most of its bonds.

The Home Heating and Lighting Company was given a franchise by ordinance of October 5, 1900, and established its plant at the corner of Sixteenth and Alabama streets. In 1905 it was succeeded by the People's Light and Heat Co., which operates the same property. It had originally \$50,000 of stock, but this was later increased to \$1,000,000. Its special purpose was to supply hot water heating and electric lighting to residences, and its actual operations have been confined to the region between Tenth and Twenty-second streets, from College avenue to Illinois streets. Its plant has six boilers, with a total of 1,912 horse power. The company has a twenty-five year franchise, under the general provisions fixing the maximum charge for heating at 20 cents per square foot of radiating surface, and for lighting at 10 cents per 1,000 watts. It pays the city 5 per cent of gross receipts, which, in 1908, was \$4,397.36.

The Merchants' Heat and Light Company has a twenty-five year franchise from September 1, 1903, granted on July 29, 1902. Its maximum rates for steam are 30 cents and for hot water 17 cents, per square foot of radiating surface; for electricity 10 cents per 1,000 watts. The company was originated by members of the Merchants' Association to take the place of natural gas, on its failure, but has extended far beyond its original purpose, until now the total replacement value is estimated at \$1,002,140, exclusive of franchise, and the investment of a million more is planned. The company has two power

stations, one at New Jersey and Pearl streets, with rated 4,200 horse power; and one on Geisendorff street, from Market to Washington, with 5,000 horse power. It is said to be the largest heating plant in the world. Its franchise covers the entire city, but its operations have all been south of North street, from White River to East street. It has gone as far south as Louisiana street with heat, and to the Belt road with light. Its franchise payment, of 5 per cent, of gross receipts in 1908, was \$8,621.34. There are several small heating and lighting plants operating under the general ordinance regulations, but not on a commercial basis. All of the franchises of a public character contain provision for purchase of plant by the city at the expiration of the franchise.

The first consideration of water works for Indianapolis was in the winter of 1859-60, and was no doubt brought up by the change from a volunteer fire department to a paid department which had just taken place. Daniel Marsh, an engineer of Rochester, N. Y., was employed by the Canal Company to investigate and report on the situation at Indianapolis, and made a report on December 24, 1859, which was submitted to the city council, and referred to a select committee of which Eric Locke was chairman. The committee reported it back with a request that the city papers publish it, and the *Journal* did so on February 29, 1860. Mr. Marsh's conclusion was that the most feasible plan for a supply of 1,000,000 gallons per day was to take the water from the canal, four miles above the city, "where no contamination of the water can be apprehended from the approach thitherward of the population or the improvements of the city". From there it was to be pumped to a reservoir on Crown Hill, with "two or three acres of water surface and fifteen feet in depth". The pumping machinery was to be run by "two overshot wheels, worked by water from the canal; and the distribution from the reservoir was to be made by gravity pressure, through a 14-inch main to the city. He estimated that the system, with 150,000 feet of mains from 3 to 14 inches in diameter, would cost \$255,000 if iron pipe were used, or \$146,000 if wooden pipes were used. The probable income was figured at \$31,515, of

which \$3,000 was from the state, \$4,800 from railroads, and \$7,000 from the city.

This called forth a communication from Ryland T. Brown, who said there were three possibilities for water supply, cisterns, an aqueduct, and artesian wells. The first two would not supply pure or cold water. A deep artesian well would probably cost \$3,000, and the water would be brackish and impregnated with sulphur; a well through the hard pan clay to second water level would cost \$150 to \$200, and would give good, cool water which might rise to the surface or higher.²¹ As a result of these opinions, and the general discussion, an artesian well was started at the insane asylum. At 72 feet it struck a flint bowlder, and was abandoned, although there were predictions that inside 200 feet "water may confidently be expected to rise to a height even above the roof of the asylum building".²² Brown says that, "In April a Mr. Bell of Rochester, New York, submitted plans for water works to the council", but I find no contemporary mention of this, unless it be in the council minutes of April 7, that "sundry documents" were presented and referred to the committee on water works. At any rate nothing further was done at the time.

On July 15, 1864, a committee of owners of the canal made a proposal to organize a company and furnish the city with water by the newly invented Holly process of direct pressure, but slight consideration was given to it. On August 15, 1864, Mayor Caven revived the artesian well idea, expressing little hope for its success, but recommending an appropriation of \$1,000 to try it, on the ground that, "As a matter of curiosity, combined with some probabilities of usefulness, the experiment is worth the trial, and the public mind will not be at rest until it is attempted".²³ He was quite right about the "public mind", but no further experiment was tried until the beginning of August, 1868, when a well was started on the south side of Vermont street, at the northwest corner of University square. It was under direc-

tion of the fire department, and a man with the suggestive name of Keno was employed to manage the work. An appropriation of \$600 was made; and on September 14 the Chief Fire Engineer reported that \$640.66 had been expended, and the unpaid bills were \$303.61. The well was then 66 feet 6 inches deep. Another appropriation was made; and on November 9 the chief reported the money expended, the well 92 feet deep, and Keno "quit and left the city, leaving the sand pump fast in the bottom of the well". On December 7, the Committee on Fire Department reported faith that an artesian supply could be had in fifteen or twenty feet more; and on December 14, Keno offered to get the sand pump out for \$50 and continue the well at \$13.60 per foot to rock. But the city fathers were satisfied to quit, and the well was abandoned. In 1889 the Water Works company struck a reservoir of fresh water at a depth of 210 feet—128 feet in limestone—on their ground north of Fall Creek, the water rising to two feet above low water level of the river, but with additional wells it became necessary to pump the water to the surface. This was done by a compressed air pressure known as "the Pohle air-lift system", which is still in use. The company has 33 of these wells, with a capacity of 16,000,000 gallons per day.

There have been a number of "salt water wells" struck in later borings for natural gas, but in most of these cases the wells were dry at first, producing natural gas, then oil, and finally salt water. This was notably the case north of the city, about Broad Ripple. At Brightwood salt water was struck at 1,181 feet, and at Irvington at 990 feet.²⁴ About 1897 E. B. Martindale sank a well at the New Denison hotel, and at about 1,200 feet struck a vein of water heavily impregnated with salts and sulphuretted hydrogen. This was used for bathing for several years but is now plugged up. In 1899 a well was sunk at Mount Jackson and at a depth of 1,541 feet a strong vein of mineral water was struck which rose to within 150 feet of the surface. Its medicinal

²¹*Journal*, March 3, 1860.

²²*Sentinel*, April 12; *Locomotive*, April 28, 1860.

²³Council Proceedings, p. 80.

²⁴Water Resources of Indiana and Ohio, in 18th Rept. U. S. Geol. Survey, p. 489; 11th Rept. U. S. Geol. Survey, p. 700.

qualities have caused a flourishing sanatorium to be located there, and the water is bottled and shipped to some extent.²⁵ Several shallower wells, with water of differing qualities have since been sunk at the same place.

On October 2, 1865, Mayor Caven again brought up the subject of water works, suggesting a gravity system, with a reservoir on Crown Hill. As the state law authorizing a city franchise for water works required that the council should first declare the erection of water works expedient, and their erection by the city inexpedient, he recommended such a resolution, which was adopted on October 9. On May 21, 1866, Mayor Caven again presented the subject, with a communication from James B. Cunningham, a civil engineer, who had been figuring on a gravity system with a reservoir on Crown Hill, but nothing came of this. On October 15, 1866, R. B. Catherwood proposed to construct water works if granted a liberal charter; and a resolution was at once adopted that any proposition would receive prompt consideration, and Mr. Catherwood would be given the preference, other things being equal. On October 22 an ordinance was introduced, and after some amendment was passed on November 3. The company accepted on November 5. The company laid about 50 feet of pipe on North street within a year, to save its charter, but nothing was done by it thereafter.

In the fall of 1869 the Water Works Company of Indianapolis was incorporated by James O. Woodruff, of Rochester, N. Y., the founder of Woodruff Place. Associated with him were Wm. Braden, George Stiltz, W. M. Wiles, J. A. Comingore, Geo. F. McGinniss, Thomas A. Hendricks, James E. Mooney and Albert G. Porter, of Indianapolis. Mr. Woodruff was the first president, but resigned within a year on account of the pressure of other business, and was succeeded by John R. Elder. The company was granted a franchise on November 15, 1869,²⁶ which was repealed and replaced by a more favorable one on January 3, 1870, to construct and operate water works in the city, on the

Holly system. It was to lay 5 miles of pipes within fifteen months, and 15 miles within twenty-seven months or forfeit its rights. On June 1, 1871, water began to be supplied to consumers, from two large wells sunk near the river, below Washington street. Engines and machinery had been installed to pump 6,000,000 gallons a day. By the end of 1871, about 20 miles of mains had been laid. The private demand for water was not large, however. By January 1, 1873, the company had expended \$400,000 and had only 784 private consumers. The company also had trouble with the canal, of which it was the owner. In the spring of 1873, all its stockholders were indicted for maintaining a nuisance in "the lower arm of the canal"—i. e., along Missouri street south of Market. The company maintained that the city permitted this to be made a sewer by the people, as well as draining gutters into it. A compromise dismissal was made. The company sold this lower arm. A sewer was laid in it from Market to Louisiana streets, and it was soon filled up as far as Merrill street.

The company's charter calls for fire pressure, to be actually furnished when needed, for "throwing eight streams at once, one hundred feet vertically through one inch nozzle". At the "Sheets hotel fire", on March 22, 1874, the first really great fire of the city, it was claimed that this was not done; but there were also claims that this was due to the bursting of rotten hose, attaching two lines of hose to one plug, and other mismanagement. The special committee of the council on water works reported on March 27 in favor of the city constructing water works of its own on the gravity system, with a reservoir on Crown Hill, and it was decided to submit this to a vote of the people. The council also decided to buy three more engines, and adopted more stringent fire regulations.²⁷ The proposal for the city to construct its own water works, at an estimated cost of \$1,000,000, was submitted at the city election on May 5, 1874, and was defeated by the decisive vote of 2,142 for, and 6,800 against.

The fire caused a general improvement, however. The company put its pumping ma-

²⁵Indiana Geological Rept., 1901-2, p. 78.

²⁶Printed in full in *Journal*, November 20,

²⁷*Journal*, March 28, 1874.



(W. H. Bass Photo Company)

INTERIOR OF A FILTER BED.
(Workmen Cleaning the Sand.)

chinery in better order and added a new engine of 6,000,000 gallons capacity, doubling the power of the plant. It also proposed to lay 20 miles additional of mains by the end of 1875 if the city would take 365 additional hydrants at the regular rate of \$50 (the contract called for only one hydrant to 1,000 feet) and to this the council agreed on June 15, 1874. But the company did not thrive, for its private patronage was not large. All sorts of efforts were made to persuade the public that the well water supply was dangerous, but the average citizen thought it was better than the water works water, and it was. The "wells" did not supply the water needed, and a gallery was built out into the river, into which the water came through a "filter" that was a humbug, and which washed away periodically. The company also used canal water when necessary. The facts became so notorious that in 1881 the company decided to get its supply from a gallery and filter north of Fall Creek, and this project was warmly condemned by the Board of Health.²⁸ However, the plan was carried out. Meanwhile the company had failed to meet its financial engagements, and had been put into the hands of a receiver. It was sold by order of court, on April 23, 1881, and was bought by the Indianapolis Water Company, which had just been organized under the act of 1881.

The new company did not make any greater effort to supply "pure, filtered and wholesome water", as required by its contract, than the old one. In 1888 the company aroused the wrath of Councilman Darnell, and he secured the appointment of an investigating committee, which reported that water was taken directly from both river and canal. Affidavits of witnesses were filed in support of the report and also showing a pollution of water that would make a prohibitionist use whisky instead of it.²⁹ The company sat up and took notice, and in 1889 began construction of a new pumping station north of Fall Creek. In 1891-2 it began sinking deep wells, from which water was obtained free from surface contamination though somewhat harder than common well

or river water. But these were not sufficient for the necessary supply, and after the strawboard works at Noblesville began dumping its refuse into the river, the water company was forced to divulge its source of supply by bringing suit to enjoin its pollution of the river. It showed very conclusively the noxious effects of the strawboard refuse; that it killed the fish, made the water undrinkable for animals and "caused the crawfish to crawl out on the rocks" for relief. An injunction was granted, and there was little trouble from the strawboard plant thereafter, except in 1897, when the company's "reservoir" broke and loosed its whole accumulation of filth on the country below. A citation for contempt, and notification that another accident of the kind would close the plant, made the reservoir more secure.

After exhausting other possibilities, and after much hammering by the press—especially the *Sentinel*—the company took up the only feasible mode of complying with its contract to furnish "potable" water, as it had been expressed in the contract of August 19, 1901. In 1896 it employed Allen Hazen, of New York, and Prof. E. G. Smith, of Beloit, to examine the situation and advise a solution. They advised sand filtration; but some years were consumed in experiment and preparation before it was undertaken. The company had already bought some 250 acres about its upper plant, to protect from contamination. In 1900 it bought the land at Schofield's mill on Fall Creek, with the dam and water rights. In 1902 it began the construction of its filter beds on the west bank of the canal, south of the aqueduct over Fall Creek. In these the water is taken from the canal—the purest stream supply that now reaches Indianapolis—through a brick and concrete intake house at the lower end of "Wide Cut". It passes to the laboratory building, where a solution of lime water is added, and then through a deflecting chamber, where a solution of iron is added, into the sedimentation basin. This holds about 30,000,000 gallons, and is cut by walls into passages through which the water travels several times the length of the basin before it emerges through the screens. The iron and lime form a flocculent precipitate, which slowly settles, carrying down suspended solid

²⁸*Council Proceedings, 1881*, p. 366.

²⁹*Council Proceedings, 1888*, pp. 624-8.

matter. The screens take out all floating matter, and through them the water passes to the filter beds. There are six of these, built of reinforced concrete, and each 100x350 in surface. In these the water passes through a thick bed of carefully graded sand and gravel to drain pipes beneath, reproducing nature's filtration of spring water, except that when the top layer of sand becomes clogged it is scraped off and replaced. This process, by practical demonstration, removes not only all suspended solid matter but also 98 per cent. of all bacteria, harmful and harmless, making absolute "potable water". The capacity of the filter beds is 16,000,000 to 18,000,000 gallons per day.

From them the water passes to the pure water reservoir, holding 5,000,000 gallons, or through a gravity conduit to a concrete distributing well at Riverside station, whence it is pumped through the city mains. The pumping station, a very handsome building of its kind, was built in 1897-8 and in 1898 a pumping engine with a capacity of 20,000,000 gallons in 24 hours was installed. In 1901 another engine, with a capacity of 30,000,000 gallons daily was installed. These, with the earlier 12,000,000 gallon engine make a capacity of 62,000,000 gallons at the Riverside station and at the lower station are 3 pumps of 5,000,000 gallons capacity, and one of 6,000,000, making a total capacity of 83,000,000. The water is subject to daily examinations by the city and state boards of health, as well as by the company, and has been found satisfactory since the filter system was adopted. The company is also exercising commendable foresight in the conservation of the future water supply of the city; and in this it deserves and receives the aid of the city and the public.

There is a possible aid to the domestic water supply by instituting a separate system of high pressure mains for fire purposes, through the business section of the city. This will no doubt be done as demands for agreed fire protection increase, and the company realizes the extravagance of flushing streets and putting out fires with filtered water. At present the company has 312 miles of mains, 23,050 private consumers, and 2,545 city hydrants. Its liabilities are \$482,000 of 6 per cent bonds; \$2,318,000 of 5 per cent

bonds; \$1,000,000 of 4½ per cent bonds; and \$500,000 of common stock. Its income from operation is about \$600,000, of which about \$115,000 is from the city under the contract of August 19, 1901. The contract of 1901 was substantially a continuance of the contract of 1870, with some additional concessions of free use of water to the city, and an agreement of the city to take and pay for one hydrant for every 500 feet of mains instead of 1,000 feet, as formerly. This contract, by its terms, expired on December 31, 1908. On November 4, 1908, an extension of the contract was made to December 31, 1918, with some additional concessions of free water. The amount of free water to which the city is entitled for fountains, street flushing, markets, sewers, latrines and city buildings is estimated at 2,000,000 gallons per day. By a supplemental agreement the company added 46 modern hydrants without removing the old ones, which were left for use for flushing and sprinkling wagons; while the city discontinued the use of the fire hydrants for these purposes.

Under the closer administrative supervision of the new charter government the quality of the water service of the city has steadily improved, and the company has profited by it, as is shown by the number of private consumers. The company has gained the confidence of the public to such an extent that few persons hesitate to drink its water, and those who do are influenced by past prejudice which has not given way to later assurance. The works of the company, and its foresight for water supply, are reassuring to the citizen who takes forethought for the welfare of the city. So far as the company can go it has gone, with the exception of the separate high-pressure fire line before-mentioned. Its plea for purification of streams is wise, and should meet the cordial support of the people. There is nothing more absurd if not criminal than the American system of making open sewers of our streams, and the effects of it necessarily grow worse as population increases. It can be but a few years until it is absolutely prohibited in Indiana, as it has already been in some other places.

The earliest known suggestion for a street railway in Indianapolis was made by the

Locomotive on February 5, 1859. It thought a line on Washington street, from White River to the Deaf and Dumb Asylum would pay, and that "If this was done, a person could live in the neighborhood of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum and go and return to his meals as easily and as quick as if he now lived on North Street". This wild dream fell on deaf ears, but in 1860, when the State Fair was moved from Military Park to where Morton Place now is, there was considerable discussion of a street railroad to the grounds. The pressing need of it was avoided by laying railroad tracks from the Peru road to the northeast corner of the fair grounds. The accommodations were inadequate, however, although hundreds of visitors camped in the open grounds adjoining, and caused a renewed call for a street railroad before the next fair.³⁰ The *Locomotive* proposed a line up Meridian street to Tinker (Sixteenth), thence east to Delaware, and up it to the fair grounds. It urged that it would pay, as the railroad "took in for fare \$2,300", and "the hacks and wagons, conveying passengers, made \$8,000".³¹ This problem dropped out of sight, however, for in April, 1861, the military took possession of the grounds and converted them into Camp Morton, and there were no more fairs held there until after the close of the war.

On June 5, 1863, the Indianapolis Street Railroad company was incorporated under the general law, with General Thomas A. Morris as president, Wm. G. Wiley secretary, and Wm. O. Rockwood treasurer. On August 24 they asked a charter from the council, and submitted an ordinance based on their terms. While this was pending a rival company was formed by R. B. Catherwood of New York, with John A. Bridgland of Richmond president and Catherwood with Wm. H. Morrison, E. B. Martindale, Wm. Wallace, John C. New and J. A. Cressland, of Indianapolis, as directors. There was a warm contest, in which the financial responsibility of this, the Citizens' Company, was questioned. On December 7 the Citizens' Company filed its bond for \$100,000 to build and operate 3 miles of track by July 4, 1864; 2 miles additional by July 4, 1865;

and 2 miles additional by July 4, 1866, if granted the franchise. The council prepared an ordinance covering these proposals and granted the franchise to the Indianapolis company. On December 28 the Indianapolis company declined to accept it, and Catherwood telegraphed that he would accept it. On January 18, 1864, the Citizens' Company was given an exclusive franchise for 30 years. In 1866 the control of the stock was bought by W. H. English and E. S. Alvord, who held it for ten years, the actual management being directed by Mr. English, who induced his father, Elisha G. English, to leave his Scott County farm and take active charge of the road, as Vice President.

In 1877 the road was sold to the Johnsons, of Louisville—it was understood that Mr. Dupont of Louisville was the actual investor—and Thos. L. Johnson, later congressman and mayor of Cleveland, became superintendent of the lines. Tom Johnson was a genius in mechanics and mathematics. He had invented a steel rail and several street car devices, including an automatic fare box. He made numerous improvements in the system as to its earning capacity, and in some respects as to quality of service. The abolition of conductors, and requirement that passengers put their fare in the box, was very unpopular, especially when the company required drivers to stop the car and hold it until everybody paid. In 1878, the Indianapolis Street Railway Company, Charles E. Dark, secretary, asked for a franchise for "a system of railways centering at the Circle, with waiting room and general office at that point".³² It was before the council for several months, but meanwhile the Citizens' Company had given satisfactory evidence of intention to extend its lines as ordered by the council, and the opposition ordinance was stricken from the files on September 22, 1879. On April 7, 1880, the franchise of the Citizens' Company was extended seven years, to enable it to negotiate 20-year bonds for improvement purposes, and to refund its indebtedness. In the spring of 1883 an effort was made by the Metropolitan Railway Company to obtain a franchise, and there was

³⁰*Sentinel*, October 19, 1860.

³¹*Locomotive*, October 27, 1860.

³²*Council Proceedings*, p. 499.

so much dissatisfaction with the system of the Citizens' Company that there seemed some promise of success; but the Citizens' Company promised to be good—to abandon "bob-tail cars", put on conductors, give universal transfers, replace T rails with flat rails, build a line to Crown Hill, and allow other companies to use their tracks under certain conditions. The Metropolitan ordinance was amended so that its advocates refused to accept it, and on July 2, 1883, was stricken from the files.

On March 28, 1888, the Johnsons sold the road to parties represented by John C. Shaffer, who became its superintendent. By this time the value of the road had grown enormously and was soon to grow more. On February 1, 1886, Chas. F. Bidwell had asked for a franchise for an electric road, but no action was taken on the request. On June 20, 1887, a franchise was granted to Colonel W. W. Dudley and others for a cable road—on July 2, 1888, amended to an electric road—and at the same session of the council a special committee report was made that the Citizens' Company had violated its charter in at least eight particulars, and thereby forfeited the same. Nothing was done under this franchise beyond laying a little track that was never used. The Citizens' Company anticipated it on part of its proposed line, and obtained an injunction from the Superior Court to prevent interference. The case went to the Supreme Court, which held that no company could be given an exclusive franchise, but that, when two conflicting franchises were granted, the company first occupying a street was entitled to its possession.³³ In the meantime the main cable company which controlled the Indianapolis company had become bankrupt, and the whole matter was dropped.

The demand for rapid transit grew more insistent. In his message of January 2, 1888, Mayor Denny pronounced a continuation of mule power "eternal and disgraceful". It was also becoming a matter of importance to the company. On December 18, 1889, the council passed an ordinance permitting the Citizens' company to use electricity as well

as animals for motor power—the company to "place iron poles between their double tracks, and suspend the wires from an arm on the said poles". This requirement continued until 1893, when permission was given for poles at the sides of the street. The ordinance, to be valid, was to be accepted within 60 days; work to commence within 90 days; and 5 miles of track to be electrified in 1890. This was complied with, and no more; and the company renewed its efforts to get an extension of franchise. On May 21, 1888, Mr. Shaffer had made a modest proposal to electrify the lines on condition of receiving a 99-year franchise; the city to receive from \$10 to \$25 a car, annually, on a rising scale, for the use of the streets. This was promptly hooted out of consideration. On May 5, 1890, an effort was made to get an extension to 1926, on condition of the company's giving rapid transit, and paying 2 per cent of its receipts after 1901.³⁴ This was indorsed by the Commercial Club and opposed by the labor organizations, which were beginning to demand cheaper fares. It was stricken from the files May 19, and another ordinance introduced making an extension to 1917. This was also defeated.

The situation became chaotic. There was a growing realization of the value of the franchise, but a growing difference of opinion as to the form of compensation, some urging cheap fares only, and also a growing doubt as to the legal rights involved. The *Scout* made an especially vigorous demand for full compensation. The Shaffer, or Chicago syndicate, had sold out to the McKee & Verner, or Pittsburg syndicate for \$3,250,000. The new syndicate issued a prospectus for \$4,000,000 of bonds and \$5,000,000 of stock, showing a prospective 6 per cent. on stock, based on net annual earnings of \$522,000. The *Scout* captured and published this prospectus on January 5, 1893, and the excitement grew intense. On March 31, City Attorney Jones gave the mayor an opinion that the "seven years' extension" of the Citizens' Company's franchise, made in 1880, was invalid, and that the franchise ended on January 18, 1894. The Board of Public

³³Indianapolis Cable St. R. R. Co. vs. Citizens' St. R. R. Co., 127 Ind., p. 369.

³⁴*News*, May 6, 1890.

Works at once prepared a form of franchise for bids, which was published on April 8, with the announcement that bids would be received till April 19. The bidding was to be on the compensation to the city, all other conditions being fixed. The franchise was for 30 years, divided into six equal periods, and a minimum bid was required of 2½ per cent of gross receipts for the first period; 5 per cent, for the second; 6 per cent, for the third; and 7 per cent, for the remainder. A deposit, or forfeit, of \$25,000 was to be made with each bid.

No bid was received until the afternoon of April 19. The Citizens' Company apparently thought none would be made, and sent in a communication pronouncing the plan impracticable. But a local organization was formed, represented by Judge Byron K. Elliott, and deposited its \$25,000, and bid 7½ per cent over the minimum amount of receipts required—i. e., 10 per cent for the first five years, and so on, to 14½ per cent for the last 15 years. Everybody was dazed by the result, and before the Citizens' Company got its bearings, a contract was made on April 24, and ratified by a special meeting of the council on April 25. The contract carefully safeguarded the interests of the city, providing for supervision by the Board of Public Works, 6 fares for a quarter with universal transfers, and for the company's paying between its tracks and 18 inches on each side. The efforts of the City Company to lay tracks were obstructed, and litigation followed in the U. S. courts. Judge Woods of the Circuit court held that the Citizens' Company had a perpetual franchise, and enjoined the City Company from interfering with its possession. On appeal, the U. S. Supreme Court held that the Citizens' Company certainly had a franchise till January 18, 1901, and declined to decide the question of perpetual franchise.³⁵ This was in 1897.

The legislature of 1897, on the theory that the decision of Judge Woods might stand, passed what was called "the New act", to abolish perpetual franchises in cities of 100,000 inhabitants³⁶ and also the "three-cent

fare law" making 3 cents the maximum fare on street railways in cities of 100,000 inhabitants. The Central Trust Company of New York, trustee for the bondholders of the Citizens' Company brought suit in the federal court to enjoin the enforcement of the three-cent fare law, and Judge Showalter of Chicago was called here to hear the case. He held the law unconstitutional as "special legislation", Indianapolis being the only city of 100,000 population in the state. This applied equally to the New act. A little later the Supreme Court of Indiana held the three-cent fare act valid;³⁷ and Judge Showalter was asked to dissolve his injunction on the ground that the construction of a state's laws and constitution by its own courts is binding on the U. S. courts. He declined to do so, and on appeal the Circuit Court of Appeals held that it had no power to review his decision. The City Attorney then brought suit against both companies to quiet the title of the city to its streets after January 18, 1901. This was heard by Judge Neal of Hamilton County, who decided for the city, holding the contract with the City Company void, and the New act valid. Both companies appealed to the Supreme Court, which decided the City company's contract valid, and also the New act, on December 16, 1898.³⁸ The personnel of the court changed soon after, and a rehearing was granted, but had not been held when the legislature of 1899 met.

The situation was further complicated by a variety of additional franchises belonging to the Citizens' Company. It had secured fifty-year franchises from all the suburban towns that had subsequently been annexed to the city. It had obtained perpetual franchises from the county in a number of roads that had later become city streets. In this situation the McKee and Verner syndicate sold to a Philadelphia syndicate, the Dolan-Morgan, and Hugh J. McGowan was sent

³⁵ *Navin vs. the City*, 151 Ind., p. 139.

³⁶ *City Ry. Co. vs. Citizens' St. R. R. Co.*, et al. *Northeastern Reporter*, 52, p. 157. This decision is not in the Supreme Court reports, as a rehearing was granted but never had, the controversy being settled by the legislation and merger of interests.

³⁵ *City Ry. Co. vs. Citizens' St. R. R. Co.*, 166 U. S., p. 557.

³⁶ *Acts 1897*, p. 154

here to straighten the tangle. He succeeded in getting control of the City Company, and then applied to the legislature of 1899 for an act, which was adopted, authorizing the city to enter into a contract with any company that could procure and surrender all outstanding franchises. The city could grant a franchise for not over 34 years, with single fares not over 5 cents, and tickets at six for 25 cents, or twenty-five for \$1. Under this law a franchise for 34 years was granted on April 6, 1899, running to April 6, 1933. It contains the statutory provisions and also provides that the company shall pave between its tracks and 18 inches each side; that it shall expend not less than \$1,000,000 for repairs and improvements; that it shall pay the city in cash \$30,000 a year for the first 27 years of the contract, and \$50,000 thereafter; that it surrender all franchises outstanding, and that all its rights in the streets cease absolutely at the end of its franchise period.

This franchise was probably the best in the country at the time of its adoption. The annual payment to the city should have been larger, but considering the confused situation that was cleared up, the agreement for termination of all franchises, and the improvement made in the service, the settlement was not a bad one. The company has not satisfactorily lived up to its paying agreement, or its agreement for cross-town lines, but that is largely the fault of the Board of Public Works, which should see that it does. Under the contract, the city reserves the right to purchase the plant at actual value; not including franchise values, before the expiration of the contract. There is also provision for use of the tracks by interurban cars.

This last provision was more important than had been realized, for at the time of the contract there was no interurban reaching the city except the Broad Ripple line, on which cars had been running since September, 1894; and that was more properly a suburban than an interurban line. But interurbans were on the way. The first Indianapolis man who saw what was in electric lines was Henry L. Smith, who organized the Indianapolis, Greenwood & Franklin Company in 1895, and did the grading to Greenwood. Noah Clodfelter of Crawfordsville started

the work in the gas belt about the same time. Both were forced to close out by the financial stress of the presidential campaign of 1896, but the work went on. The Indianapolis, Greenwood & Franklin was completed and opened to Greenwood on January 1, 1900, the first interurban into Indianapolis. The Indianapolis & Eastern was opened to Dublin on June 17, 1900; the road to Martinsville, August 2, 1902; to Shelbyville, September 12, 1902; to Plainfield, September 15, 1902; to Lafayette, October 9, 1903; to Rushville, July, 1905; to Danville, September 1, 1906; to Crawfordsville, July 4, 1907.

On August 11, 1902, the city granted a franchise to the Indianapolis Traction and Terminal Company, by which it was permitted to acquire the Indianapolis Street Railway property, which it did in December, 1902. The Traction and Terminal Company agreed to build a commodious terminal station, permit the use of tracks to any interurban, pave between its tracks and 18 inches outside, charge the same fares in the city as the street railway company and make reasonable extension of lines as required. This has resulted in a great development of the business, though a majority of the original lines have been consolidated in the Union Traction Company and the Terre Haute, Indianapolis & Eastern Company. In 1900 there were but two lines into Indianapolis; in 1909 there were twelve lines, operated by six companies. In 1900, a total of 377,761 passengers arrived or departed; in 1909 there were 4,979,371. In 1902 there were 533 freight car trips on all the lines into the city; in 1909 there were 8,596. The effect of the development of interurban lines has been a practical revolution both in suburban residence and in suburban business with the city.

The telephone made its first appearance in Indianapolis late in 1877, and as a private enterprise. On October 1 of that year Cobb & Branham asked permission of the council to erect telephone wires from their office at Market and Delaware to their coal yards on Christian avenue and on South Delaware street. This was at once granted, and on October 15 like permission was given to Omer Tousey & Co. for a line from their office on Georgia street to their soap works on Morris street; and also to J. C. Ferguson & Co. for a line from the Chamber of Commerce to

their pork-house on White River. This development caused the *News* to observe: "This is to be a city of telephones as well as of a Belt railroad. The council granted the right of construction to two applicants last night, connecting their up-town offices with their factories."³⁹ Several others followed, and in December, 1878, E. W. Gleason and others, organized as the Indiana District Telephone Company, and asked permission to erect poles and wires in the streets. This was refused,⁴⁰ but the Fire Department wanted the houses connected, and on January 20, 1879, Chief Pendergast reported that it would cost \$251 to install the plant, and \$176 a year for rent of the instruments.

After considerable negotiation a compromise was reached by which, under ordinance of February 17, 1879, the Gleason Company was given the right to hang its wires on the fire-alarm telegraph poles, provided it would keep them in repair, and would furnish the city free of charge twenty-two telephones for the fire houses, with additional phones if new houses were established. The new company then proceeded to business, the chief parties in it being the brothers E. T. and James Gilliland, who also established the Indianapolis Telephone Co., and manufactured telephones. Their factory was on the L. C. & L. road south of English avenue. The company's "exchange" was in the Vance block, since reconstructed as the Indiana Trust building, and it did not reach 100 subscribers. It used the Bell phone. Meanwhile the Western Union Telegraph Co., which had control of "the Gray printer" and other patents, started an opposition exchange, which ran for about a year, when the Gillilands wanted to sell the exchange business on account of the great development of their factory business. The Telephone Exchange Company of Indianapolis was organized on January 2, 1880. This continued for a year, and was then sold to the Central Union (Bell) Telephone Co., or rather to the syndicate which organized the Central Union in 1883.

The business moved along quietly until 1886. The service was poor; the patronage not large; the charges high. The legislature of 1885 passed a law making the maximum

charge for telephones \$3 per month. The company at Indianapolis resisted and went to the Supreme Court, which sustained the law in two cases, in February and March, 1886.⁴¹ The company then gave notice that it would terminate all contracts by June 30. Other companies then made proposals for service, especially "the Citizens' Co-operative Telephone Co.," of which ex-Mayor Cayen was president, which had the "Wallace" phone, that was claimed not to infringe the Bell patent; and it was given a franchise. It tried to buy the Central Union's poles and wires but without success.⁴² Meanwhile, on April 7, 1886, the Council had repealed the Gleason franchise; and on April 16 ordered the company to remove its poles and wires within two weeks, or the street commissioner would remove them. Nothing was done, and on May 24 numerous citizens petitioned that this order be revoked, which petition was granted. On September 20 the Citizens' Co-operative Co. reported that it could do nothing on account of the streets being occupied by the poles and wires of the Central Union, and asked that they be removed.⁴³ This was refused, but on September 28, the Citizens' Co-operative was given permission to erect poles and wires in the mile square. The new company did not get to work, and on March 28, 1887, the Central Union was given permission to maintain its plant and erect new poles and wires.⁴⁴ The situation dragged on without anything being done until February 27, 1889, when the legislature repealed the law,⁴⁵ and the company proceeded with no legislative restriction on prices.

The multiplication of overhead wires became dangerous to life and a serious obstacle to the fire department, and the city government determined to remove them. On August 24, 1896, a new contract with the Central Union was approved, by which it was to put all its wires underground in the mile square, provide efficient service, and pay the city \$6,000 a year for the use of the streets.

⁴¹*Hockett vs. the State*, 105 Ind., p. 250; *Central Union Tel. Co. vs. Bradbury*, 106 Ind., p. 1.

⁴²*Council Proceedings*, 1886, p. 513.

⁴³*Council Proceedings*, p. 814.

⁴⁴*Council Proceedings*, 1887, pp. 152, 168.

⁴⁵*Icts.*, p. 49.

³⁹*News*, October 16, 1877.

⁴⁰*Council Proceedings*, p. 646.

The company then seemed to be thoroughly entrenched, but its arbitrary methods brought it trouble. It charged \$72 a year for business phones; and it refused connections absolutely to outside independent companies, which had sprung up in numerous towns in the state. In 1898 the New Telephone Company was organized with the special view of giving outside independent companies entrance to the city. The chief members were A. H. Nordyke, Simon P. Sheerin and Harry B. Gates. On May 20, 1898, it was given a franchise for 25 years in the streets, with right to the city, or a new company to which it granted a franchise, to take the property at appraised value at the end of the franchise period. It was to put its wires underground, and pay the city \$6,000 a year, as the other company. It was also to furnish business phones at \$40 per year, and residence phones at \$24. In April, 1904, this franchise was transferred to the Indianapolis Telephone Co. with the consent of the city.

Of course the Central Union—or "old company," as it is commonly called—met these rates, but it was claimed to be a losing business for both, especially as patronage increased; for it appears to be established that with telephone companies the greater the patronage, the greater the expense of service per capita. In 1908 the Indianapolis Company applied for a raise in rates, claiming that it could not do business under its franchise. There was a great deal of opposition, but the company invited investigation by the Board of Trade and Commercial Club; and their committees, after examining its books, recommended an increase. Accordingly, in March, 1909, the Indianapolis Company was given a franchise running 30 years from July 1, 1908, with a rate of \$51 for business phones and \$30 for residence phones. The latter privilege, however, has not been used, the company retaining the old \$24 rate. The company also agreed to a readjustment of rates every 5 years, and bound itself to expend at once \$500,000 in improvement of its service. It may be mentioned here that both companies have found it advantageous to put wires underground in many cases, especially heavy wires, and both have voluntarily done so outside of the mile square, to the extent of perhaps 5 miles each.

On July 1, 1903, the Central Union Com-

pany, whose territory under a Bell license covered parts of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, moved its general headquarters from Chicago to Indianapolis. In 1907 it built its fine eight-story, fire-proof office and main exchange building at Meridian and New York streets. It has also four fire-proof exchange stations: "North," built in 1902 at Twenty-second and Pierson avenue; "Woodruff," on Rural street, and "Prospect," on Prospect street, both built in 1907, and "Irvington," built in 1909. Soon after it was organized, the new company bought the stone-front Vajen residence, at 230 North Meridian street, and rearranged it for offices and exchange. In 1903 it built an addition to the front of it, reaching to the street line. This company also has four branch exchanges, one called "North," at Twenty-second and Talbott avenue; "South," on Prospect near Virginia avenue; "North Indianapolis," at Clifton and Eugene; and "East," now in construction on Beville avenue near Michigan.

The enormous advance in electrical discovery has produced movements for control of local companies which leave the present status of the Indianapolis companies somewhat doubtful, though they are apparently independent of each other. Sec. 11 of the new company's franchise of 1898 is very explicit in provisions against any combination of any kind with a competing company, even calling for forfeiture if the control of one-third of its stock is acquired by such company. The most important discovery, in its effects on control, was that telephone wires could be used for telegraph purposes without interfering with their use for telephoning. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company, which controlled the Bell patents, the fundamental ones of which have expired, bought the Western Union Telegraph Company; and it is understood that the Postal Telegraph Company has large control of the independent lines—just how much the public is not advised. It appears to be a contest for control of the wires of the country, taking chances on the possibilities of wireless telegraphy, and the possible future of the telepost. The franchise of 1909 permits combination with a competing company, by consent of the Board of Public Works, if the competing company accepts the terms of that franchise.

CHAPTER XXIX.

BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT.

The business of Indianapolis has always been closely related to transportation facilities, on account of natural conditions. In the earliest stage there was little of it except supplying the needs of the settlers, and getting to a market such products as could be transported at any profit with the very limited facilities of the time. Heavy staples could be sent out advantageously only in the spring by flatboat, and that was the chief form of export except for live stock, which was driven on foot to points on the Ohio River. It is notable that trade was on a basis of barter, to a very large extent, and that the commodities received on a cash basis were those most readily transported, or that competed with imports difficult of transportation. Of these, furs were the most important. The only commercial advertisement in the first number of the *Western Censor*, March 7, 1823, is Robert Siddill's announcement of "Dry Goods, Queensware, Hardware & Groceries; consisting of Calicoes, Plaids, Irish Linen, Steam Loom and Power Loom Shirtings, Flag Handkerchiefs, etc., Knives, Spoons, Butts, Hinges, Screws, Nails, etc., Tea, Coffee, Loaf Sugar, Tobacco, Segars, Pepper, Allspice, Nutmegs, etc." It concludes with "N. B. CASH given for FURS and HIDES of every description". This was characteristic of advertisements generally; and the fur trade did not fall off for many years. Indianapolis became a center for it for a large part of the state, and for some distance beyond its borders. On February 18, 1860, the *Journal* stated that "one house here, that of Samuel Wilmot, has already paid out this season over \$15,000, and is now buying furs at the rate of \$2,000 to \$3,000 per week".

Coumtry sugar was always equivalent to cash on account of the expense and difficulty

of bringing sugar in. Ginseng had a special market value for a number of years. There was comparatively little money in circulation, and what there was of specie was silver until some time after the California gold discoveries. There were no banks of any kind until the internal improvement period opened, and people who had money carried it when necessary, and stowed it away about their houses when not in active demand. There is no record of any bank at Indianapolis until the State Bank of Indiana was organized in 1834. On November 11, 1834, an election for directors of the Indianapolis Branch Bank was held, resulting in the choice of Samuel Henderson, Harvey Bates, Benj. I. Blythe, David Williams, Alexander W. Russell, John Wilkins, Homer Brooks and James Blake. The directors for this branch chosen by the state were Samuel Herriott, Alexander Worth and John Given. The board elected Hervey Bates president, and Bethuel F. Morris cashier. On November 19, Governor Noble issued his proclamation stating that the State Bank and Branches are duly organized and are authorized to "commence the operation of banking"; and they commenced on November 20. In 1843 Calvin Fletcher succeeded Mr. Bates as president; and in 1845 Thos. H. Sharpe, who for ten years had been teller of the bank, succeeded Mr. Morris as cashier. These two officers remained till the expiration of the bank's charter.

This was the principal bank through the early period. It was kept in a building belonging to Mr. Bates, at Washington and Pennsylvania until 1840, when it moved into the building erected for it on the point between Virginia avenue and Pennsylvania street, now occupied by the Indiana National Bank.

The advent of the workmen on the National Road and the Central Canal caused a business revolution in the city. Money was plentiful, trade active, everybody busy. The Indianapolis Insurance Co., which had full banking powers, was chartered on February 8, 1836, did a considerable banking business until 1840, when it suspended active operations in both insurance and banking. It operated as a savings bank, paying 6 per cent interest on deposits of four months or more.¹ It was reorganized in 1852 by J. D. Defrees, Gen. Morris and others and continued business for six years, when it again suspended. In 1865 it was again revived and resumed banking business only, with a nominal capital of \$500,000. In 1867 it bought and occupied the old Branch Bank building at Virginia avenue and Pennsylvania street, and in 1875 its name was changed to the Bank of Commerce. In 1838, John Wood, who was interested with Underhill in the foundry business, began a banking and brokerage business, but failed in 1841, leaving numerous "shimplaster" notes as mementoes of his enterprise. E. S. Alvord & Co. did a banking business from 1839 to 1843, and discontinued because times had become dull. In 1839 S. A. Fletcher, Sr., opened an exchange and banking office in a small frame building, No. 8, East Washington street, with a capital of \$3,000. In December, 1852, he removed to the site of the present Fletcher National Bank, which is the direct successor of the business, and the oldest of the banking houses of the city. It has been controlled by three successive Stoughton Fletchers, S. A. Sr., S. J. and S. A. Jr., a portion of the time with partners, notably Francis M. Churchman from 1861 to 1891. It was operated as a private bank until 1898, when it was changed to a national on account of the greater advantages given by the federal law. Here also may be mentioned the bank of J. Woolley & Co., which did business at Indianapolis on a considerable scale from 1853 to September 15, 1857, when it went under in the big panic. It paid 6 per cent interest on demand deposits, and 9 per cent on time deposits for a year. Also premium on specie. Its assets were about half its liabilities when it failed.

¹*Democrat*, May 15, 1837; *Journal*, May 12, 1838.

There was no lack of money or facilities for exchange after the starting of the State Bank. It was forced to suspend specie payments in the panic of 1837 to avoid the drainage of specie away from the state, there being a general suspension elsewhere. But this caused no trouble. On May 19, 1837, all the merchants of the town—42 firms—met and agreed to receive the State Bank's notes at par; and the action was practically approved by the Governor; and the legislature adopted the principle of its committee report that, although the bank had forfeited its charter, it was inexpedient to enforce the forfeiture. The bank officials were active in promoting national resumption, and the bank resumed on August 13, 1838, without difficulty. In fact, the suspension was not absolute, as customers in special cases were supplied with specie. There was another suspension from November, 1839, to June 15, 1842; but again without business disturbance.² The bank was successful from the start in every respect. Its dividends the first year were only 3 per cent., but they soon reached 10 and 12 per cent. In 1838 the Indianapolis branch reported \$391,582 of loans; \$65,180 of individual deposits; \$341,055 of notes in circulation; and \$38,500 in eastern banks, for exchange purposes. It may be noted that the real motive of the second suspension was that loans were largely on land security, and while perfectly good were not convertible.

The manufactures of the early period were necessarily restricted to home consumption, and of course did not cover that in many lines. In February, 1827, the *Journal*, which was a stalwart advocate of Henry Clay and home manufactures, called attention to the alarming fact that there had been \$10,000 worth of goods imported in the past year; and called loudly for steam engines. That remarkable effort to overcome natural conditions—the steam mill—was then in motion and there is no room for question that the idea that the blessed tariff would make everybody rich was largely responsible for that disastrous venture. It provided facilities for manufacture far beyond any possible consumption of the town or the vicinity, with no available outside mar-

²The best history of the bank is by Wm. F. Harding, in *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 1, p. 1.

ket, and its failure was predestined. Aside from the saw and grist mills, tanneries and distillery the early manufactures were on an individual basis, with no material employment of labor—carpenters, blacksmiths, cabinet makers, hat-ters, potters, shoemakers, and the like. The first development from this began in 1835. In that year Robert Enderhill and John Wood started their foundry at Pennsylvania and Vermont streets, where, in addition to ploughs, andirons, skillets and castings of all kinds, they made "cast iron fire places by the use of which the annual expense of patching up backs and jams will be saved."² This was a profitable venture and the business was conducted at that point until 1852, when it was removed to South Pennsylvania street. In 1838 Mr. Enderhill introduced steam power in the foundry, and it was thereafter commonly known as "the steam foundry". In the year 1835 was established a tobacco factory on Kentucky avenue by Scudder & Hannaman, which grew to such importance that when the sweat house burned in September, 1838, the loss was about \$10,000. They made heavy black plug tobacco and cigars almost as heavy—they were of soaked tobacco then called "melec"—together with twist and a little fine-cut. The business was continued, with vicissitudes, till about 1845, and tobacco manufacture then dropped out until renewed by Geo. F. Meyer in July, 1850.

There was an effort at making linseed oil, begun in 1834 by John S. Barnes and Williamson Maxwell, and sold to Scudder & Hannaman who continued it for several years, and then quit on finding that the hydraulic mills with which they were competing could squeeze more oil out of their "cake" than they had got originally. There was also a small brewery established in that year by John L. Young; and a beginning of pork-packing by James Bradley and others, who purchased slaughtered hogs of farmers, and cured and shipped the meat; but this enterprise did not prove profitable and it was soon dropped. With the coming of the canal there was a boom in manufacture. The mill sites were leased on June 11, 1838, and a woolen mill, a cotton mill, an oil mill, two grist mills, two saw mills and two paper mills were built soon after. The Sheets paper mill was a financial success, and

may be accounted the beginning of a permanent industry. Nicholas McCarty began the cultivation and manufacture of hemp in 1838, but the venture was abandoned after four or five years. In general, there was a heavy depression of manufacture and trade after the collapse of the internal improvement project that continued until the coming of the Madison railroad in 1847.

With the coming of the railroads manufacture and trade both improved. In 1847 the Geisendorffs repaired the old steam mill and began woolen manufactures, removing to a building on the canal in 1852. In 1848 the Morris grist mill was built on South Pennsylvania street—burned in 1851; the Taylor, Watson & Co. foundry was built south of Pogue's Run, and afterwards developed into the Hasselman & Vinton plant, and later the Eagle Machine Works; also the Crawford & Osgood peg and last factory, which after passing through various changes developed into the Woodburn-Sarven Wheel Co. J. R. Osgood of this firm was always on the lookout for new openings, and frequently found them. On August 27, 1853, the *Locomotive* had an account of the factory, in which barrel making had been added, with a machine for making staves. It said: "He turns out about 120 perfect flour barrels a day, or 700 a week, and can't keep up with the demand at that. All strangers should visit this factory, below the Union Depot, on Illinois street, as it is a great curiosity to see them make pegs and lasts."

In 1849 came Kortpeter's saw mill; Blake & Gentle's planing mill, the first in the city; Merritt & Coughlen's woolen mill. In 1850 came Sloan & Ingersoll's furniture and chair factory; and Field & Day's. In 1851 J. K. and Deloss Root started a little stove foundry on South Pennsylvania street, of which the Indianapolis Stove Co. is a lineal descendant. And so they kept on until in 1860, Marion County, chiefly in Indianapolis, had 100 manufacturing establishments, with a total capital of \$779,865, using \$559,635 worth of materials and with a product of \$1,090,010. They were employing 743 persons, and paying \$229,312 in annual wages. It does not look like a great deal now, but it was a great advance over 1850. Of course it will be kept in mind that in census statistics every shop is a manufactory.

²*Journal*, July 31, 1835.

and at that time there were many more independent mechanics, with their own shops, in proportion, than there are now.

With the railroads also came the practical beginning of wholesale trade, though there had been a little in some lines at an earlier date, usually in connection with retail trade. The first exclusively wholesale boot and shoe house was that of E. C. Mayhew & Co. (Mayhew and James M. Ray) which was established in 1855. There had been some wholesaling of books and stationery, which increased quickly. In 1853, the last year of West & Co. before their sale to Stewart & Bowen, their aggregate sales reached \$30,000. In dry goods the development was not so rapid, because most store-keepers preferred to buy at Cincinnati. The first one was established here in 1847 by J. Little & Co. and was destroyed by fire on May 11, 1848. There were several efforts at wholesale houses in the fifties, but the only exclusively wholesale house here in 1860 was that of J. A. Crossland, and the aggregate sales of dry goods and notions in that year were less than \$200,000. One of the earliest lines of wholesale business was drugs, but of course there was a certain amount of wholesaling in all lines, there being no strict demarcation between wholesale and retail, and none as to special lines of goods. The first distinctive drug store was that of Dunlap & McDougal in 1831, who advertised sales at both wholesale and retail; and also introduced the first soda fountain—the soda water was advertised not as a luxury, but as "contributing to health, and the prevention of fevers, liver complaints, and diseases common to the hot months".⁴ The wholesale business was extended by Wm. Haunaman, who opened in the spring of 1832. Wines and liquors were handled largely by the drug stores then. The first exclusive wholesale liquor house was that of Patrick Kirland, in 1846; and its successor, Kirland & Ryan, was the first to send out traveling salesmen, in 1859. In 1860 the wholesale liquor trade was estimated at about \$100,000.

Confectionery was advertised at wholesale and retail in 1837 by B. F. Evans, who not only kept "Candies, Cordials, Cakes of all kinds, Raisins, Fruits of all kinds, choice Tobacco, Spanish, common and Melee cigars,

Western Reserve cheese, Nuts of all kinds, Toys, etc.", but was prepared to furnish parties with "cakes, ice cream, etc., at short notice".⁵ There was, however, no material wholesale business in this line until begun by Daggett & Co. in 1856. In 1870 the capital invested in the manufacture of confectionery in Indianapolis was only \$40,975, and the product \$115,692. The wholesale trade in groceries probably went back as far as anyone desired to buy at wholesale. In the first city directory, of 1855, there were 14 firms that advertised as wholesale or wholesale and retail dealers in groceries. The trade, however, was not large. In 1860 it was estimated at less than \$100,000. In 1870 the sales were reported \$6,433,150.

But the greatest impulse of the railroads was in the export of domestic staples. With wheat jumping from 40 to 90 cents a bushel, and other farm products in proportion there was an incentive to get busy. Pork packing, as has been mentioned, was begun unsuccessfully by James Bradley and others in 1835. In 1841, John H. Wright—the first "cash store" man, who had come here from Richmond some time before, revived the packing business with his father-in-law, Jeremiah Mansur, and brother-in-law William Mansur. Wright bought slaughtered hogs at his store, "half cash and half goods", and they were cured and packed in Van Blicicun's old blacksmith shop building, at the northeast corner of Meridian and Maryland streets. These parties also packed quite extensively at Broad Ripple, and all of their export product was shipped down the river in the spring freshets. With the coming of the railroad they added slaughtering to the business, and Isaiah Mansur joined the firm. They built a packing-house southwest of the Madison depot, and a slaughter-house at the west end of the National Road bridge, hauling the dead hogs across. Benjamin I. Blythe and Edwin Hodderly also began slaughtering and packing in 1847, and continued for several years. Their plant was quite extensive for the time, employing 50 hands, and with capacity for slaughtering from 500 to 600 hogs per day.⁶ Israel McTaggart was associated with them for a time, and in 1852 formed a partnership with

⁴*Journal*, July 2, 1831.

⁵*Journal*, June 10, 1837.

⁶*Locomotive*, December 23, 1848.

David Macy for a separate business. The Mansurs divided in 1854, William and Isaiah forming one firm, and Frank and Jeremiah joining J. C. Ferguson in another. Tweed & Gulick began packing about that time, and Col. Allen May in 1855, but neither lasted long.

The flatboat trade, prior to the railroads, is not easily estimated, but it was considerable for the time. The boats were made 40 to 50 feet long, 10 to 12 feet wide, and 5 to 7 feet deep; covered in except a little space at one end for the cabin. They had big steering sweeps at both ends, and sometimes on the sides. A pilot was taken as far as the Ohio, if one could be had, and "Old Beth (Bartholomew) Bridges" was the most sought of these. Farm produce of all kinds was shipped, but usually—and prudently—products that would not be damaged by water. Baled hay was an important export, and was the cause of the several hay presses about the town, the most important of which was in a building west of the State House, on Market street and the canal. One year Mr. H. Jones (of Coburn & Jones) and Cadwallader Ramsey sent a cargo of chickens to New Orleans by flatboat. The navigation was rather hazardous, so far as the safety of the cargo was concerned, but after passing the Waverly dam the mariners felt comparatively safe.

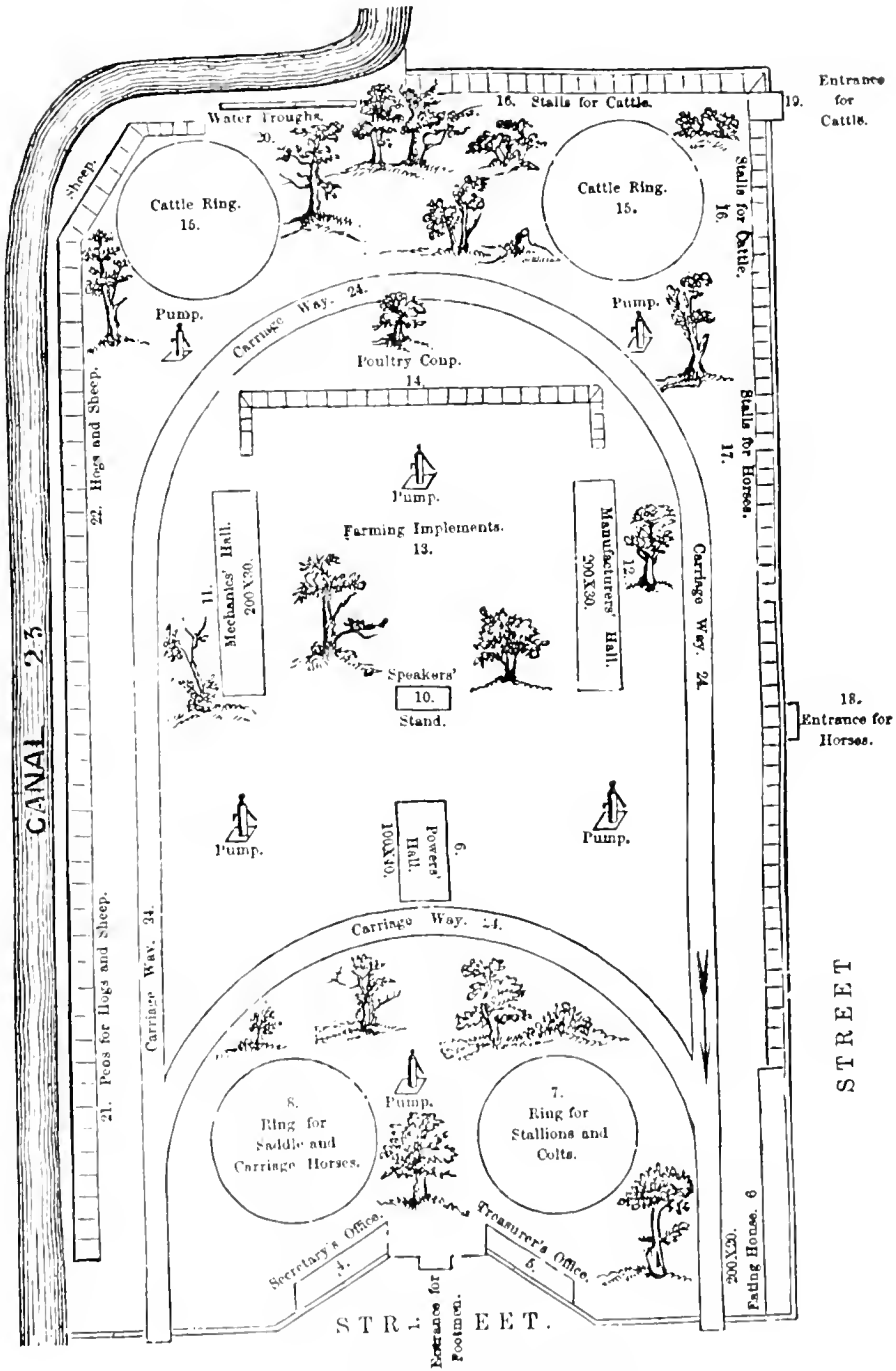
Closely following the railroad came the telegraph. The legislature passed an act for the incorporation of telegraph companies on February 11, 1848, and on the 26th Henry O'Reilly advertised for subscriptions to build a line from here to Dayton, Ohio. It was finished, and the first dispatches sent over it on May 12. The first published dispatches, of a purely personal character, appeared in the *Sentinel* of May 18, and it was long before there was any telegraphic news report of any consequence. But in June, 1848, a merchants' exchange was formed for the reception of dispatches and the transaction of business. C. W. Cady was secretary and K. Homburgh, treasurer; but it soon failed for lack of money, there being no practical business value in it at the time. In August, 1853 a meeting was called at College Hall to revive it, and after discussion it was decided to organize a board of trade. A committee, consisting of Nicholas McCarty, John D. Defrees, Ignatius Brown, Richard J. Gatling, Austin H. Brown and J. T. Cox, was

appointed to prepare a constitution, a circular and map showing the advantages of the city, and to solicit funds. The work of the committee was adopted on September 24, and the board was formally organized. There were 35 managers elected, who chose as officers, Douglas Magnire, president; Wm. Robson, vice-president; J. L. Ketcham, secretary; R. B. Duncan, treasurer; A. F. Morrison, R. J. Gatling, J. B. Dillon, J. D. Defrees and J. W. Ray, executive committee.⁷ The work of the organization was quite active for more than a year, and then it grew slack. In 1856 it was revived and Mr. Brown states that it "did much good" for the next two years in circulating information and securing the location of business here, especially the rolling mill. The rolling mill was built by R. A. Douglass & Co. in the summer of 1857; a railroad track to it was laid on Tennessee street; and it began work October 29. It got into a precarious financial situation in 1858, and was sold to a new company, with J. M. Lord as president, which operated successfully for over ten years.

In 1857 the conclusion was reached that more wholesale houses were needed. A meeting of citizens and business men was held at the Council Chamber on July 29 to consider the matter. A committee was appointed, with Dr. T. B. Elliott at its head, which reported on July 31. It stated that while there were 81 houses, in 19 lines, and 39 manufactories, in 21 lines, which sold at wholesale, there was only one exclusively wholesale house in the place. It recommended cooperation with the Board of Trade in circulating information and securing the location of wholesale houses and manufactories.⁸ The establishment of a wholesale dry goods house by Blake, Wright & Co. was a result of this movement, but the house was short lived. The board suspended operations for lack of funds, after a strenuous life of two years. In 1864 the Chamber of Commerce was formed, with T. B. Elliott as president and Jehial Barnard as secretary, and did a little business agitation—enough at least to stimulate the organization of a Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, in 1868. In 1870 the Board of Trade was organized, and has practically continued since then, though the present body is a

⁷*Locomotive*, September 24, 1853.

⁸*Locomotive*, August 8, 1857.



FIRST STATE FAIR GROUNDS.

reorganization made in 1882. On February 1, 1871, a state convention of boards of trade was held at the "chamber of commerce"—old Sentinel building, southwest corner of Circle and Meridian streets and resolutions for remedial legislation were adopted, including one to prohibit the seining and netting of fish.

In 1873 the question of better quarters became important and various proposals were made. The one finally accepted was by Henry C. Wilson and others to form a company and erect a building especially for trade purposes. This was accepted on March 23, 1874; and a company was formed, called the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce. The building was erected at the southeast corner of Maryland and Capitol avenue, and was formally occupied on December 15, 1874. This building, sometimes called the Chamber of Commerce, and sometimes the Board of Trade, was occupied until 1907, when the present building was occupied. The new building and furnishing cost \$300,000, of which \$50,000 came from the sale of the old building and the remainder from the issue of stock.

An important stimulant of trade in the earlier period was the State Fair. The State Board of Agriculture was chartered by the legislature on February 14, 1851, and organized May 27, with Governor Wright as president, John B. Dillon, secretary, and R. Mayhew, treasurer. The first fair was held October 19-25, 1852 on what is now Military Park, and some ground just west of it. Its most striking features were the lack of accommodations and the superabundance of side-shows. But it drew crowds, and there were demands from other cities for its benefits; so it was held at Lafayette in 1853, and at Madison in 1854. Both of these were financial failures, so the fair was brought back to Indianapolis from 1855 to 1858 inclusive. In 1859 New Albany was given a trial, but the receipts dropped about one-third. In 1860 the fair was held here, but the managers decided on a change of place, and secured 36 acres north of the city, then known as "the Otis Grove", now "Morton Place", and the fair was held there. In 1861 there was no fair, on account of the war. In 1862-3-4 it was held at Military Park in connection with the Sanitary Fair, the regular grounds having been appropriated for Camp Morton. In 1865 it was held at Fort Wayne,

and again at a financial loss. In 1866 it was at Indianapolis, and in 1867 at Terre Haute. This was its last venture outside of Indianapolis, and the only one that was not a financial failure. Those at Indianapolis were all successes in a money way except that of 1860, when the expenses incident to new grounds were unusually heavy.

In 1872 the exposition fever struck the city. In October, 1872 a proposal for a joint fair and exposition, lasting 30 days, was brought before the State Board of Agriculture by representatives of Indianapolis interests, and on January 8, 1873 an agreement was made by which individuals resident in Indianapolis guaranteed the success of a joint fair and exposition to the extent of \$100,000, and the State Board accepted the proposition.⁹ A two-story brick building, 308 x 150, was erected on the south side of the grounds—now Nineteenth street—then Exposition avenue. The fair and exposition were opened with much ceremony on September 10, and continued to October 10, with such success that the debt left over was only \$90,000.¹⁰ Expositions were held with considerable vigor in 1874-5-6 and then the thing drifted back to the old one-week State Fair basis. The panic had killed the enterprise, and left a legacy of debt that was a cause of heart-burnings and recriminations for years afterwards.¹¹ A number of Indianapolis people not satisfied with the racing facilities got up the Southern Driving Park Association, which made the State Board indignant, and was a failure itself with only one meeting. Its property was unloaded on the city for a park, and in the course of time was reached by the city's growth and made available as Garfield Park. The fairs were continued at the Camp Morton grounds and then removed to the present grounds, northeast of the city. The most notable movement at this point, in connection with the city, was the building of the colosseum, which was completed in 1908 in time for the saengerfest, July 17-19. It is a handsome and substantial auditorium with a capacity for 12,000 people.

The pork-packing industry was always an important one to Indianapolis, but it took on

⁹ Agricultural Report, 1873, p. 43.

¹⁰ Agricultural Report, 1873, p. 340.

¹¹ Agricultural Report, 1883, p. 38.

new importance in 1863 from the construction here of the Kingan Bros. plant, at that time the largest pork-house in the world. It was 187 x 115 feet in extent with five stories and a basement, furnished with all the latest appliances, including a steam rendering plant, and had a capacity for handling 3,000 hogs per day.¹² It was opened for business on November 16, 1863, and from that time was the leading packing establishment of the city. In 1873, to accommodate its growing business the firm bought the large pork-house of J. C. Ferguson, on the south side of the E. & St. L. tracks, and connected it with their own by a tunnel. In 1875 the firm of Kingan & Co., of Indianapolis, then a partnership, amalgamated with J. & J. Sinclair & Co., of Belfast, Ireland, to form the present limited corporation of Kingan & Co. The stay of this establishment is the more notable because just after the close of its packing season of 1864-5, on May 22, 1865, its plant was destroyed by fire, with a large part of the season's pack, involving a loss of \$210,000. The disaster, however, only caused a renewal of the business on a more extended scale. The house was rebuilt—two stories lower—and business was resumed in the next season.

This house was the place of the beginning of a great industrial revolution—the summer packing of pork. Among the superior employes of the house was George W. Stockman, a native Hoosier, of an old Lawrenceburg family. In 1868 he commenced experimenting on the artificial cooling of meats, and was backed by the firm. His first apparatus was based on two simple physical facts, (1) cold air is heavier than warm air, and will fall when mixed with it; (2) an object will cool more rapidly in a current of air than in the same air at rest. In the top story of the building Stockman placed a vat, perhaps 10 x 15 and 2 or 3 feet deep. In this were metal pipes, running down at one end, across the bottom and opening at the other end; alternating with similar pipes running in the opposite direction. This vat was filled with ice and salt. The air in the pipes cooled, and flowed out with a strong current. There was an opening, with gratings, from this room to one on the floor below, where there was a similar vat; and so on to the base-

ment. There the now freezing air was blown on the meat by a rotary blower, and a temperature of 31 degrees Fahrenheit was maintained. I inspected this plant one hot day in July, and the room where the dressed hogs hung looked like a limestone cave with its coating of frost, and stalactites of white ice hanging from the rafters. Oppressive as the heat was outside, it was a relief to get out of that atmosphere.

The invention was utilized at once. The Board of Trade report of January, 1872 says that Kingan & Co. "have made extensive and expensive preparations for prosecuting their business through the summer months, so that to the fattened porker there can be no postponement of the death penalty 'on account of the weather'." This firm packed and shipped the product of 69,000 hogs which were killed between March and November of last year. These meats were ice-cured. Their ice-cured meats are equal to the product of their winter slaughtering." In 1873 the "summer pack" reached 260,000. This system was followed for a number of years by the Kingans and was also adopted by J. C. Ferguson,¹³ but it was supplanted by the ammonia cooling processes. Stockman was also a pioneer in these, and took out a number of patents.¹⁴ He was the originator of summer packing, and it has been the lot of few men to do anything of so great importance. Men often speak of the far-reaching effects of the Gatling gun, which was invented at Indianapolis, but here was something even more important. Before it, pork could be packed only in freezing weather. The season usually lasted only two or three months and was often broken by warm days. A warm winter was a public calamity. Moreover pork could be fattened cheaper in summer, and a constant market did away with much of the control by speculative buyers. If Indianapolis wants to put up a monument to a citizen who did more for the world than all her professional men and statesmen put together, she has the subject in George W. Stockman.

The coming of the Belt Railroad and the Union Stock Yards in 1877 and 1878, which are considered in the chapter on Railroad De-

¹²*News*, July 13, 1878.

¹³ Drawings and Specifications of Pats., Nos. 260,060; 264,113; 275,869; 304,811; 304,812.

¹⁴*Journal*, November 11, 1863.

velopment, added a great deal to the meat packing industry of Indianapolis, and the yearly pack of hogs now averages over a million and a half. Since 1891 a majority of the hogs slaughtered here have been summer packed. The development of the industry of meat-packing and slaughtering has been steady and notable. In 1870 the capital invested was \$1,251,000, and the value of the product was \$2,261,750. In 1880 the capital invested was \$1,618,000, and the product was \$9,014,122. In 1900 the capital invested was \$3,640,096, and the product was \$18,382,679. It should be noted that these are the figures of the United States census, and those for 1870 are for Marion County, but they did not differ greatly from those for the city alone. The figures for 1880 and 1900 are for the city only. The relative increase of product to capital is, of course, due to the increase of materials used, which in meat packing make the chief value of the product.

The advance in other commercial and manufacturing features has been of the same general character though a little less in per centage on the average. The census returns for the city separately begin in 1880. In that year Indianapolis had 688 manufacturing establishments; in 1890, 1,189; in 1900, 1,910. In 1880 the capital invested in manufacture was \$10,049,500; in 1890, \$15,266,685; in 1900, \$36,828,114. In 1880 the value of the manufactured product was \$27,453,089; in 1890, \$36,426,974; in 1900, \$68,607,579. In 1880 the number of wage earners employed was 10,000; in 1890, 16,027; in 1900, 25,511. In 1880 the wages paid were \$3,917,114; in 1890, \$7,060,056; in 1900, \$10,882,911. Perhaps as good a gauge of the commerce of the city as there is for the last forty years is the receipt and forwarding of loaded freight cars, which is recorded thus: 1873, 375,916; 1883, 797,930; 1893, 903,667; 1903, 1,191,019. The freight movement reached a high point in 1907, with 1,311,664 cars, and dropped in 1908 to 1,116,867 cars.

It is notable that while there has been a quite steady growth in the total of manufactures there has been a variation in different lines. The steadiest growth has been in the manufacture of domestic materials, as, for example, flour and grist products. In 1860 the capital invested in these in Marion County was \$83,100 and the product \$198,590. In 1870

the capital was \$514,000 and the product \$2,207,153. In 1880 the capital had dropped to \$462,000 (partly due to decrease of assessment) and the product to \$1,655,517 (partly due to fall of price). In 1890 the capital was \$548,618 and the product \$3,265,804. In 1900 the capital was \$1,042,105 and the product \$3,820,373. On the other hand some manufactures of domestic materials have fallen off on account of decrease of supply of materials or change of material. The invested capital in cooperage in 1870 was \$31,925 and the product \$150,785. In 1880 the capital had increased to \$277,700 and the product to \$1,107,582. In 1890 the capital had dropped to \$115,840 and the product to \$361,745. In 1900 the capital was \$43,553 and the product \$131,432, or less than it was in 1870. In a few cases there has been only a temporary demand for products, as in the case of bicycles and tricycles. These are listed separately only in one census report, that of 1900; and in that year the capital invested in their manufacture in Indianapolis was \$1,076,867 and the product was \$880,969. Probably a similar development will be shown in automobiles in 1910—possibly a start, at least, in airships.

The banking facilities kept pace with the development of business. When the State Bank of Indiana wound up at the expiration of its charter, on January 1, 1857, it was succeeded by the Bank of the State of Indiana, which had been chartered in 1855 to begin business at that time. It was modeled on the same plan as the State Bank except that the state was not directly interested. It was a splendid banking institution, well managed, and met most of the needs of the state at the time. It weathered the panic of 1857 without suspending specie payments, which gave it a high reputation everywhere. It maintained specie payments after the United States had suspended and gone on a legal tender basis, until the Superior Court decided that it was entitled to pay in legal tender under its charter. But it received a hard blow when the national tax on bank circulation was fixed under the act of March 3, 1865, at 10 per cent per annum on all but national banks. There was, of course, nothing to do but to withdraw the bank's circulation. Preparation had been made for this by securing from the legislature the act of December 20, 1865, authorizing the retirement.

of the circulation and withdrawal of securities—a bit of foresight possibly due to Hugh McCulloch's position as Secretary of the Treasury. But it may be noted that the Bank of the State was always managed with prudence and foresight. Hugh McCulloch had been its president from the organization. As soon as the Supreme Court decided that the bank could redeem its notes in greenbacks, he had all of its legal circulation put out, and what was not in use was converted into gold, which was then at less than 2 per cent premium. When he resigned as president, in April, 1863, the bank was holding \$3,300,000 of gold, on a capital of \$3,000,000¹⁵. And there were others. When Mr. McCulloch, in 1861, called the attention of the Indianapolis Branch Bank to the fact that the treasury notes of that year were receivable for import duties, and therefore would probably be at a premium over legal tenders, and should be kept separate, he was surprised and delighted to find that the teller, young "Tom" Malott, as Volney T. Malott was then familiarly known, had already inaugurated this policy, and had some \$30,000 of treasury notes laid aside.

The national banking law, which was originally passed on February 25, 1863, though better known under its revised form of June 3, 1864, was not received with great favor by financial men, especially in the East, and did not get into full swing till measures were taken to drive other banks of issue out of business. One of the first in Indianapolis to see the advantages offered by the law was Wm. H. English, who, with ten associates, organized the First National Bank of Indianapolis on May 11, 1863, being No. 55 of the country. It was reorganized later as No. 2,556. Its original capital was \$150,000, which was later increased to \$1,000,000. For eighteen months it was the only national bank here, and then the advantages of the system were generally recognized, and others followed, the Citizens National on November 28, 1861; the Indianapolis National on December 15, 1861; the Fourth National on January 23, 1865—consolidated with the Citizens National in December, 1865; the Merchants National on January 17, 1865; and the Indiana National on March 11, 1865.

As an illustration of the change of sentiment concerning national banks it may be noted that while Hugh McCulloch, as president of the Bank of the State of Indiana went to Washington in 1862 to oppose the national banking law, in his report of December 4, 1865, as Secretary of the Treasury, he says: "The establishment of the national banking system is one of the great compensations of the war." The Indiana National was the practical successor of the Indianapolis Branch Bank, taking over its business as far as possible, and George Tousey who had been the president of the Indianapolis Branch since 1857, resigned in June, 1866, to become president of the Indiana National. The Bank of the State was wound up in 1867. When these national banks were organized, United States 5 and 6 per cent bonds could be bought at par in greenbacks, and of course their subsequent change made a handsome profit to the banks.

At the close of the year 1872, the banks of Indianapolis were reported as follows:

| | Capital. | Surplus. | Deposits. |
|----------------------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|
| First National..... | \$1,000,000 | \$140,000 | \$ 462,294.95 |
| Indianapolis National.... | 500,000 | 100,000 | 301,196.41 |
| Indiana National..... | 500,000 | 110,000 | 329,322.34 |
| Citizens National.... | 500,000 | 94,000 | 314,656.53 |
| Meridian National.... | 300,000 | 4,748 | 79,207.98 |
| Merchants National.... | 200,000 | 13,500 | 100,299.72 |
| Indiana Banking Co.... | 200,000 | ..... | 774,399.90 |
| Woollen, Webb & Co.... | 99,633 | ..... | 471,039.90 |
| Fletcher's Bank..... | ..... | ..... | 643,541.90 |
| A. & J. C. S. Harrison.... | 39,612 | ..... | 120,281.30 |
| Mansur's Bank..... | 41,554 | ..... | ..... |
| Fletcher & Sharpe.... | ..... | ..... | 689,681.70 |
| Indpls. Insurance Co.... | ..... | ..... | 217,133.75 |
| Ritzingers Bank..... | 37,983 | ..... | 278,994.98 |
| Indpls. Savings Bank.... | ..... | ..... | 93,127.69 |
| State Savings Bank.... | ..... | ..... | 49,000.00 |
| Totals..... | \$3,498,883 | \$471,248 | \$5,980,997.16 |

Of these banks but three are in existence in 1909, the Indiana National, the Merchants National, and Fletcher's, which has become a national. The first intimation of any trouble in local banks came when Jay Cooke failed on September 18, 1873 and started the great panic in Wall street. It reached Indianapolis on September 25, when Woollen, Webb & Co. closed their doors, but it did not last long. There were runs on Ritzinger's and the Indianapolis Savings Bank for two or three days. Woollen, Webb & Co. was a comparatively new firm, having been organized in March, 1870. They resumed after a few months and continued until May 31, 1882, when they closed permanently, and on June 1, 1882, assigned to Franklin Landers.

¹⁵*Men and Measures of Half a Century*, p. 138.

The two savings banks were the next to go. They had been organized in 1872 and got into business just in time to find people consuming their savings instead of increasing them. They struggled along till 1878, when, in January, the State Savings went into the hands of a receiver. The Indianapolis kept on till December and then closed. The State Savings Bank paid out practically in full, and the Indianapolis about 90 per cent. The years 1878-9 witnessed the extreme point of the financial and industrial depression of the seventies, but the effects continued for some time after. Some of the banks had got loaded down with real estate from taking mortgage note collateral, and real estate went far below a normal price during the depression and was kept down by the large amounts put on the market at forced sale. Banking business grew less profitable. All business was dull and the demand for money for anything but paying debts was light. Moreover the public mind was apprehensive and suspicious, and bankers had to keep their loans in to the safety limit at their peril. But there were also special causes of mismanagement, dishonesty or bad banking in some cases.

The first bank to go in the eighties was the Central, which closed on April 8, 1882. It was originally organized in 1874 as a private bank under the name of Ridenour, Cones & Co., and the original owners sold in the same year to James A. Wildman and R. F. Kennedy, who reorganized it as the Central Bank. The immediate cause of its downfall was the disappearance, on March 27, of Arthur Mueller, who had been teller for seven years. It was at first announced that all was right but an overdraft of \$2,250, but it was soon discovered that Mueller had been speculating at Chicago, and was short over \$35,000. The owners assigned everything they had to Judge R. N. Lamb, for the benefit of creditors, on April 11. On April 25 the assignee estimated the assets at \$59,167.81, and thought the bank would pay out 50 cents on the dollar. It paid out ninety cents. On May 31, 1882, Woollen, Webb & Co. closed as mentioned, and assigned on June 1 to Franklin Landers. There was nothing crooked in their failure; they simply never recovered from the panic of 1873. It was now confidently asserted that "the weak banks had been weeded out," and that the future was assured.

On August 9, 1883 the First National and the Indiana Banking Co. suspended. The First National was reorganized immediately by Wm. H. English, W. C. Depauw and others who formed a syndicate, took charge of the bank and reopened it on August 10. On August 13 the Indiana Banking Co. published a statement that its situation was due to the purchase of a controlling interest in the First National in February, 1878; that it had paid \$165 for the stock, which was far above its value; that it had surrendered half its stock in the syndicate arrangement, in order to let the First National proceed; that it had lost \$300,000 in the transaction, and could not in justice to its creditors resume business. John Landers was appointed receiver for the bank, but there was a great deal of complaint about his lack of experience, and finally, after much contention and two or three attempted changes, J. C. S. Harrison was selected as a satisfactory experienced man, on October 8, and general quiet was restored for a few minutes. The question of responsibility for the purchase of the First National stock, however, went into the courts for very protracted litigation, which seems to have reached a termination in 1909, as a jury finally agreed on a verdict against the Indiana Banking Co.

On July 15, 1884, came the suspension of Fletcher & Sharpe like a thunder-bolt from a clear sky. It was one of the old banks, organized in January, 1857, and was a partnership of families supposed to be wealthy, and who believed themselves wealthy. William Wallace was appointed receiver, and on the 16th announced that the bank would pay out. On August 24 he reported the assets \$1,301,009 and the liabilities \$1,912,801.78, outside of the estate of S. A. Fletcher, Jr., who had become a partner in the firm as a matter of accommodation. It ultimately paid 80 cents on the dollar, of which about 37 cents came from the bank's assets, and 43 cents from S. A. Fletcher, Jr. The main trouble with the bank was overloading with real estate and overvaluing the real estate. The failure caused runs on the Indianapolis National, Ritzinger's and Fletcher & Churchman's banks, which were supposed to have close connection with the failed bank, but they passed through the ordeal without trouble. On July 18, however, came the totally unexpected in the suspension of the private

banking house of A. & J. C. S. Harrison, which had been established in May, 1854, and was regarded as a Gibraltar.

The immediate cause of the Harrison failure was that J. C. S. had gone to New York and undertaken to teach Wall street a few points in speculation. He left most of the bank behind him when he came back. It was a disastrous failure, the ultimate payment being only nominal. In addition to the bank, J. C. S. Harrison was charged with \$95,118.40 as receiver for the Indiana Banking Co., and Judge Taylor ordered this paid over forthwith. It was settled on September 13. Harrison paying a third with money raised by his wife, and his bond-men making up the other two-thirds. The only depositor who saved anything material from Harrison's bank was Anthony Wiegand, the florist. He took judgment at once, and levied on two carriages claimed by Mrs. Harrison. He defeated a suit brought by her for their recovery, and another brought by the receiver, and secured the greater part of his claim.

The next surprise came on February 1, 1886, when Ritzinger's Bank made an assignment to Geo. B. Yandes for its creditors. This bank had been established by J. B. Ritzinger, March 26, 1868, and was continued by his sons, F. L. and A. W. Ritzinger. It had weathered several seasons of trial but the struggles had left some wounds. The immediate cause of trouble, however, was undue backing of Simon Bunte in a liquor speculation. Bunte was a young fellow who inherited a fortune and undertook to increase it in the wholesale liquor business. He thought he understood the business, but in fact had never got past the drinking department of it. He lost all he had, and crippled the bank so badly that it had to quit. The failure was worse than had been anticipated, the bank paying out only about 48 cents on the dollar.

On May 8, 1886, W. H. English withdrew from the management of the First National, and E. F. Claypool was made president in his place. Following this there was persistent talk about the bank, and on October 22 the management felt called on to make a public statement of the bank's condition. This was accompanied by a statement from Mr. English to the effect that when he took charge of the bank in 1883 he had no interest in it, but

was acting solely from regard to the public welfare. Finding after two years and a half of laborious effort that his motives were misconstrued, and he misrepresented, he decided to withdraw from a thankless task. On November 11, 1886, the directors decided to go into voluntary liquidation, and the bank was wound up. There was no loss to any of the depositors, though there was to the stockholders.

After this there was a period of quiet until the panic of 1893. It struck on July 25, with the closing of the Indianapolis National and the Bank of Commerce. The latter was only a suspension, caused by inability to realize on assets or secure assistance from other banks on account of the situation at the Indianapolis National. In 1877 the Bank of Commerce had got in a rather embarrassing condition by heavy backing of the Indianapolis Water Company.¹⁹ The bank had been formed under the charter of the old Indianapolis Insurance Company, and continued its banking business, with Wm. Henderson as president. In 1877 a reorganization was made and John H. Stewart was made president. Soon after W. C. Depauw began buying the stock, and became practically the owner of the bank. After his death his son Charles Depauw came to Indianapolis, and sank a large amount of money in the Premier Steel Works, trying to manufacture steel by the "open hearth process". This institution had failed shortly before the troubles of 1893 came on, and had caused considerable withdrawal from the Bank of Commerce, whose business had not been large for some time. Its assets were largely tied up in real estate—it owned its building at Virginia avenue and Pennsylvania, where the Indiana National now stands. Its managers had arranged for a loan of 20,000, which would have tided them over, but when the condition of the Indianapolis National was learned on the evening of July 21, by a conference of bankers that had been called, they decided that they could not extend help to the Bank of Commerce. It accordingly closed, and resumed some two months later. It ran on then for over a year, paid all its depositors in full, and wound up by an

¹⁹ See President Henderson's statement, *Herald*, April 27, 1878.

assignment to Andrew J. McIntosh, on June 18, 1895, because its business was killed.

The Indianapolis National was a bad failure. It was caused by heavy backing of a half-dozen manufacturing concerns, in most of which Theodore P. Haughey, the president of the bank, or some of his family were interested. It was made memorable as the only bank failure in Indianapolis for which anybody was punished. Indictments were returned against Theodore P. Haughey, president of the bank; R. B. E. Pierce, a director; E. E. Rexford, cashier; Schuyler Haughey, son of Theodore P. Haughey and president of the Indianapolis Glue Company, to which large loans were made; and Francis A. Coffin, Percival B. Coffin and Albert S. Reed, of the Indianapolis Cabinet Works, which was also a heavy borrower. Theodore P. Haughey was disposed of first by a plea of guilty, and he was sent to the prison North for 6 years from April 9, 1894. The Coffins and Reed were tried in May, 1894, and all three were convicted, Francis being sentenced for 10 years and Percival for 5 years. They appealed to the Supreme Court, which reversed the judgment.¹⁷ They were tried again September 9 to October 3, 1895, and Percival was acquitted, and Frank sentenced for 8 years at the prison North. The case was again appealed to the Supreme Court, which affirmed the judgment.¹⁸ Schuyler Haughey was not tried till October 15-20, 1895, and was then acquitted. The case against Pierce was nolle on June 19, 1895, and that against Rexford on October 22, 1895. The judgment against Reed was suspended, and he went free.

There was a good deal of sympathy for Frank Coffin. He had borrowed more than the 10 per cent limit allowed by law, but so had dozens of the best business men in the city, and of all other cities. But what he was convicted of was conspiring with, and aiding and abetting Haughey to violate the national banking law for the purpose of defrauding the bank. No person of any intelligence believed that either of them had any intent to defraud the bank. Coffin had a big scheme for selling the Cabinet Works in England, and would have succeeded, and come out rich, but for the

panic of 1893. Haughey was backing him on his prospects. What they were guilty of was a technical violation of the law with bad judgment as to results. If there had been only this one case of the kind there would have been as much sympathy for Haughey as for Coffin. As it was, there was widespread attention attracted by the fact that this was the first case under the national banking law in which a customer, outside the counter, had been treated as "aiding and abetting" the banker in the violation of the law by borrowing in excess of the limit imposed on the bank.

In passing, two events in connection with these cases may be noted. After the first trial began on April 10, 1894, it was interrupted for several days by the accidental shooting of A. C. Harris, principal attorney for the Coffins, on April 17, at the office of Miller, Winter & Elam, while trying to prevent Wm. M. Copeland from shooting Wm. H. Bruning. This had no connection with the case on trial, except that Mr. Harris was painfully wounded, and put out of commission for several days. On April 25 the trial was again stopped by the defendants reporting that a juror named Armstrong had offered to hang the jury for \$5,000. This necessitated calling a new jury, and beginning over. Armstrong was sent to the penitentiary for his offense. The affairs of the Indianapolis National were settled by Edward Hawkins as receiver, and it paid out 61 cents on the dollar to depositors, after assessing stockholders par value on their shares. This was rather a shock to popular faith in national bank examination, as the bank had been reported on a week before it closed, on July 17, 1893, as in good condition, and "out of \$1,548,999 in loans and discounts the probable loss on bad debts was estimated by the examiners at only \$478.73."¹⁹

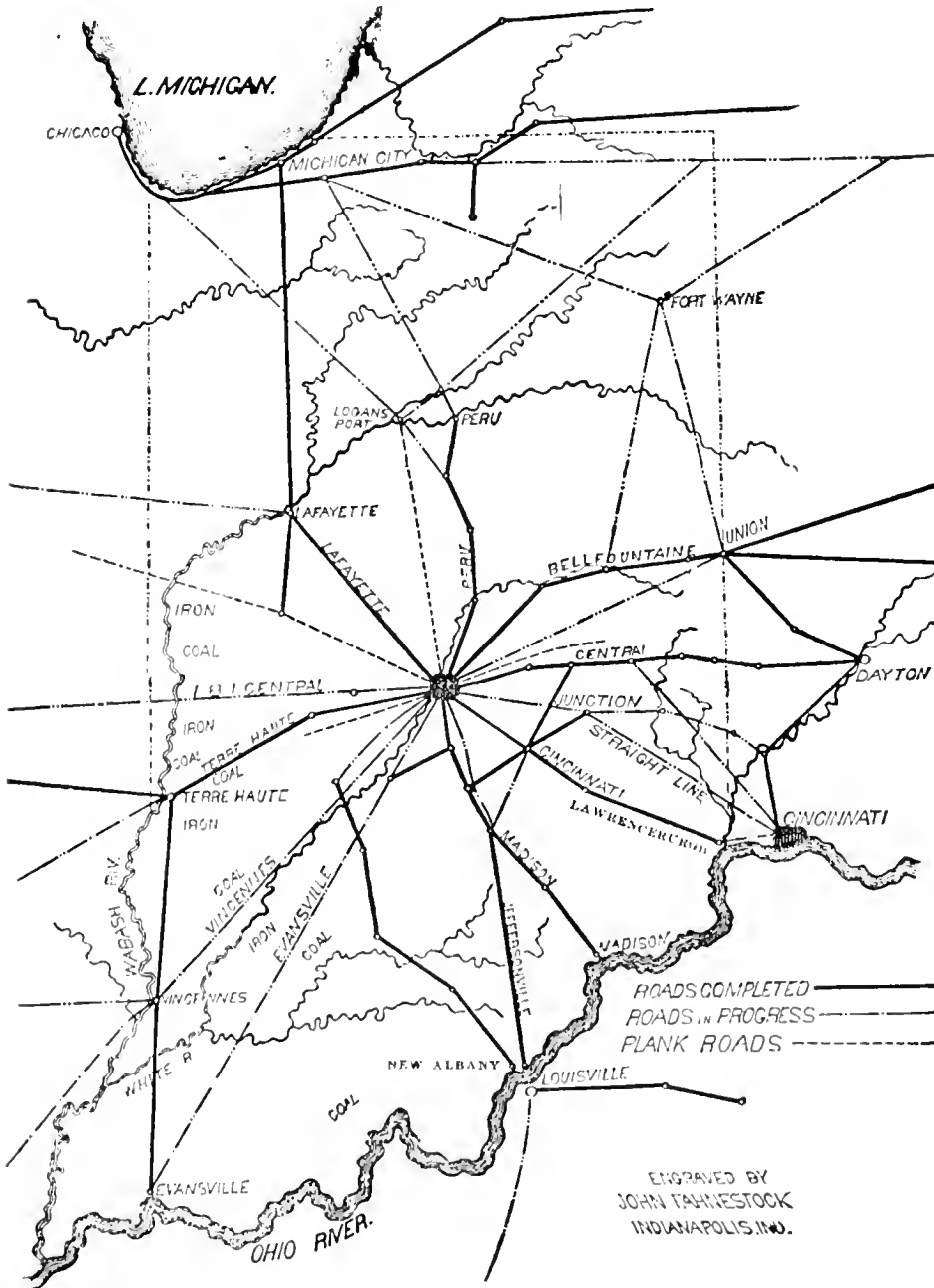
This was the last bank failure in Indianapolis until the Richcreek affair in 1907, if that fiasco could be dignified as a bank failure. Seth M. Richcreek appeared in Indianapolis in 1892, and opened a law office, but soon devoted his attention to buying street assessment liens. He had left his country home when a boy, and had just reappeared after an absence of 25 years, no one knew where. He made a large amount of money in

¹⁷Coffin vs. U. S., 156 F. S., p. 432.

¹⁸Coffin vs. U. S., 162 F. S., p. 664.

¹⁹*News*, July 25, 1893.

MAP OF INDIANAPOLIS AND HER RAILROAD CONNECTIONS.



BOARD OF TRADE MAP, 1853.

a short time by bringing suits on assessment liens and forcing payment of attorneys' fees on compromise settlement. He then developed into a sort of broker, and in March, 1904, started The Richcreek Bank. In 1907 he dazzled the community by announcements of a new bank building. He leased the Phoenix block, at Market and Delaware streets, for 99 years, agreeing to pay \$5,000 a year rental for two years, \$6,500 for one year, and an addition of \$150 a year for the next 96 years; also to erect a block costing not less than \$100,000, covering this property and 40 feet adjoining on Delaware street that already belonged to him. He contracted for the steel work for the building, to cost \$32,000.

Meanwhile nobody ever knew what was in his bank. The law of 1905 governing private banks required reports but did not authorize examination. Under it he reported on May 23, 1907, assets of \$657,315.37 in addition to \$300,000 of deposits. By September 30 he got his assets down to \$512,459.59, and at that time claimed deposits of \$354,969.20. In the spring of 1907 the legislature amended the law by a provision for examination of private banks, but by the terms of the act it did not go into effect until December 1, 1907. About a month before that date an application was made by Indianapolis creditors for a receiver for the bank, which was defeated. On November 25 another application was made by the Ford Motor Co., of Detroit which had sent \$7,200 in drafts to the bank for collection, and had received no remittance although the drafts were collected. This was held off till November 30, on account of Richcreek's absence from the city, and then the Central Trust Co. was made receiver. On December 17 this receivership was suspended by the appointment of H. J. Milligan as receiver in an involuntary bankruptcy proceeding. The estate paid out about 15 cents. Richcreek never came back, and opinions varied widely as to whether he took much money with him. There have been reports that he was in South Africa, but there are knowing ones who insist he is in this country. Wherever he may be, the sympathy of Indianapolis goes out to that place.

On March 4, 1893, was approved a law for the organization and regulation of Loan, Trust and Safe Deposit Companies, which has added largely to the banking capital and bank-

ing facilities of the city. The object of the law is to enable corporations to transact business of a fiduciary character out of the line of ordinary commercial banking, and to deal with real estate collaterals and securities. Later there was a call for institutions to act as savings banks, and in 1901 a law was passed authorizing these companies to do so under the same provisions as savings banks, in the law of 1875, which allow the requirement of notice for withdrawal of deposits, varying from one week to 90 days with the size of the deposit; and allowing the Auditor of State to extend the time if necessary. These institutions seem to have solved the ancient and difficult problem of utilizing land values as a basis of credit in a safe way. The original effort to secure the passage of such a law was made in the legislature of 1891, by Judge J. E. Iglehart, of Evansville, John P. Frenzel and John H. Holliday, but the legislators shied at the word "trust" and refused to pass it. Two years of education sufficed to overcome this prejudice, and with additional aid from persons interested in the proposed Indiana Trust Company, notably John R. Wilson, the law was passed.

The first company organized under it was The Indiana Trust Company, on April 4, 1893, with John P. Frenzel as president; and closely following was the Union Trust Company on June 9, 1893, with John H. Holliday as president. On December 12, 1895, the Marion Trust Company was organized, with F. A. Maus as president; on December 11, 1899 the Central Trust Company, with Chas. E. Coffin as president. Following these have come the Security Trust Company, on April 22, 1900, with A. C. Daily as president; the Citizens Trust Company, on April 6, 1903, with Winfield Miller as president; the Farmers Trust, on June 28, 1905, with Charles N. Williams as president; the German-American Trust Company, on July 10, 1906, with Albert E. Metzger as president, and the Fidelity Trust Company, which began business on June 3, 1909, with William M. Fogarty as president. No trust company in Indianapolis has failed, but one was compelled to close by the Auditor of State on discovering that its capital was paid in notes instead of cash. This was the Commercial Loan and Trust Company, organized on June 26, 1902. All the others organized in Indianapolis are still in prosperous existence

except the Citizens Trust Company, which was sold to the Union Trust Company in the fall of 1908 at a premium on its stock value, and absorbed by it.

The laws of Indiana have been so perfected in their provision for state supervision of banks, that there remains very slight opportunity for any fraudulent concern. Under the private banking law of 1905 no person or firm can engage in private banking without a certificate of authority from the Auditor of State. The only private bank now in Indianapolis is the Mercantile Banking Company, authorized on June 1, 1907. The state banking law of 1873 with its amendments affords a safe and favorable basis for banking and the Indianapolis institutions operating under it are the Peoples State Bank, Felix McWhirter, president, incorporated November 27, 1900; J. F. Wild & Co., J. F. Wild, president, incorporated June 20, 1905; the Meyer-Kiser Bank, Sol. Meyer, president, incorporated April 2, 1906; the H. P. Wasson Company Bank, H. P. Wasson, president, incorporated September 13, 1906; and the Fountain Square Bank, George G. Robertson, president, incorporated March 26, 1908.

There was no clearing-house organized in Indianapolis until 1871, in which year was launched the Indianapolis Clearing House Association, with Wm. H. English as president and Jot Elliott as manager. The clearings were reported at \$20,000,000 in 1871; \$33,000,000 in 1872; and \$36,000,000 in 1873; but these probably were not a full index of city business on account of part of the banking houses not being represented. The present association was organized in July, 1901, and does not admit banking houses with less than \$100,000 capital, or which have not been in business six months. The reported clearings in 1881 were \$109,557,213; in 1891, \$211,265,101; in 1901, \$412,916,678. In the published reports of local clearances the high mark appears to be reached in 1902, with \$540,818,913, the next year dropping to \$314,163,343. This is due to a change in the system of reporting, which cut the figures exactly in half. Under the old system the amount reported was the total of debits and credits, and as every debit of one bank was a credit of another on the same check, it was thought better to adopt a single entry system. The reported clearings in 1908 were \$380,-

372,084; and for 1909, \$421,123,214. The present clearing-house association is composed of seven national banks of the city and the Central, Indiana, Marion, Security and Union Trust companies.

The banking conditions of the city in January, 1910, as shown by official reports, were as follows:

MEMBERS OF CLEARING HOUSE.

| Institution. | Capital, Surplus and undivided profits. | Deposits. |
|-----------------------------|---|-----------------|
| American National Bank..... | \$ 2,151,260 | \$ 6,974,988.16 |
| Capital National Bank..... | 803,744 | 5,346,173.23 |
| Columbia National Bank.... | 523,366 | 1,975,163.97 |
| Fletcher National Bank..... | 1,407,044 | 7,947,299.54 |
| Indiana National Bank..... | 2,140,136 | 7,013,274.56 |
| Merchants National Bank.... | 1,919,816 | 5,486,314.09 |
| Union National Bank..... | 344,261 | 1,542,339.18 |
| Central Trust Co..... | 381,876 | *1,781,544.00 |
| Indiana Trust Co..... | 1,528,610 | *7,437,151.00 |
| Marion Trust Co..... | 423,588 | *3,283,800.00 |
| Security Trust Co..... | 394,966 | *519,085.00 |
| Union Trust Co..... | 1,118,599 | *10,179,538.00 |

NON-MEMBERS OF CLEARING HOUSE.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| Peoples State Bank..... | \$ 61,655 | \$ 255,917.00 |
| J. F. Wild & Co..... | 40,464 | 387,936.00 |
| Fountain Square Bank..... | 26,290 | 68,705.00 |
| Meyer-Kiser Bank..... | 60,000 | 287,483.00 |
| Haughville Bank..... | 10,595 | 18,238.00 |
| Continental National Bank.. | 388,486 | 691,000.00 |
| Fidelity Trust Co..... | 100,000 | 116,813.00 |
| Farmers' Trust Co..... | 129,797 | 560,265.00 |
| German-American Trust Co.. | 512,167 | 2,161,235.00 |

Totals\$14,536,720 \$61,028,244.00

*On July 27, 1910, the boards of directors of the American National Bank and the Fletcher National Bank adopted resolutions for the merger of the two into one bank, to be known as The Fletcher American National Bank, with capital stock of \$2,000,000 and a surplus of \$1,000,000.

*Including trust estates.

The movement of freight has been regarded as an index of business, and the records kept show the number of loaded cars received at this point and shipped from it, to have been 375,916 in 1873; 816,758 in 1881; 985,215 in 1891; and 1,135,779 in 1901. For 1908 the record was 1,116,867, which was a heavy drop from 1907, in which it was 1,311,661. The year 1907 was one of a heavy failure record in Indianapolis, making the highest recorded total both in number and in liabilities. The number was 83 and the liabilities \$1,385,611. The only preceding year in which liabilities reached two millions was 1893, when the number was 57 with \$2,331,107 of liabilities. The sales of real estate in 1874 were 4,132, with consideration of \$1,997,513. In 1891 they were 6,216 with consideration of \$6,917,805. In 1901 they were 6,766 with consideration of \$13,565,233.

The postoffice business of a city is considered

a fair index of business, and as the rates of postage have been quite uniform for over twenty years the sale of stamps is an index of the postal business. For the year ending May 31, 1887, the postage receipts of the Indianapolis office were \$173,489.22; for 1897, \$386,884.64; for 1907, \$1,003,183.75. Of earlier dates may be noted the receipts for the year ending June 30, 1841, which were \$41,655.54; and for 1881, \$447,139.29. A part of the large growth of the later years is due to the development of the city as a publishing center for periodicals. Indianapolis was made a port of entry, and a customs house was established on July 1, 1881. The receipts from duties for the first year were \$59,080. For 1894 they were \$150,080; for 1904, \$169,032; for 1909, \$186,234. In connection with Federal business the pension statistics are interesting, though they have no direct connection with the general business of the city. In 1881 there were 16,253 pensioners on the rolls of the Indianapolis office and the payment to them was \$3,069,486; in 1894 there were 57,574 pensioners and \$10,632,138 payment; in 1904 there were 67,024 pensioners and \$10,309,093 payment; in 1909 there were 58,830 pensioners and \$11,004,797 payment. The changes are of course largely the result of changes in the laws. At the present time the Indianapolis office carries 13 pensioners of the War of 1812, receiving \$1,872; 11 pensioners of the Indian wars, receiving \$2,118; and 400 pensioners of the Mexican War receiving \$57,600.

One of the most serious difficulties that Indianapolis jobbers and manufacturers have had to contend with has been discrimination in railroad rates, which have been made in favor of Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville and St. Louis. This has been complained of for years by the Board of Trade and other organizations, but nothing very effective has been accomplished towards remedying it until the Indianapolis Freight Bureau was established in 1906 with J. Keavy as commissioner. By prosecuting complaints before the State Railroad Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission relief has been obtained in many cases. Of 23 cases brought before the Interstate Commerce Commission in April, 1907, 20 were successful, and as several of these involved the readjustment of rates the benefits extended far beyond the immediate

cases involved. The corrections brought reductions of rates varying from 10 to 60 per cent on various classes of goods and points of shipment. Railroad rates are now at much nearer a fair relative basis than ever before, and Chicago and Cincinnati can no longer ship through Indianapolis to points beyond cheaper than Indianapolis can ship to the same points. It is not practicable here to go into the details, which the reader will find set forth in the reports of the Bureau.

But business developed in spite of all obstacles. In 1863 the Board of Trade estimate of the volume of business of the city was \$28,000,000, and in 1872 it was estimated at \$88,398,917, made up of "sales of merchandise, \$49,774,789; amount of manufactures, \$19,671,832; sales of real estate, \$16,326,350; amount expended in building, \$2,625,946." Just what was intended by "sales of merchandise" is not explained. In 1899 the wholesale sales were estimated at \$52,400,000, and the manufactured product at over \$60,000,000. In that year the sales of real estate were \$9,909,506 and the valuation of new buildings \$1,665,553. In 1874 the railroads began furnishing the Board of Trade with reports of receipts and shipments of freight, but unfortunately they have not always been made on the same basis, and not always tabulated in the same way. The figures for "merchandise" were originally given by "cars", and for 1875 the returns were receipts 59,598 cars, and shipments 45,328 cars. In 1896 the receipts were given as 1,709,160,242 pounds, and the shipments as 1,182,142,983 pounds. In 1906 the receipts were 1,966,735,439 pounds and the shipments 2,332,489,985 pounds. There has also been a change in the system of records of the Belt Railroad that prevents comparisons except for the period 1892 to 1905. In 1892 the road handled 42,063 cars for industrial establishments along its lines, and in 1905 it handled 90,453 cars. The experience of the past in these various lines would seem to indicate a still more rapid development under the conditions that exist at present, and with the intelligent and concerted action that is now so generally taken by the business men of the city.

A notable impulse to business was given in 1890 by the organization of the Commercial Club. So far as any public movement can be called the work of one man, this was the work

of William Fortune, who was then a writer on the Indianapolis *News*. In the latter half of January he began writing articles on the desirability of such a club, based in large part on the success of the one at Louisville, as also the benefits of those elsewhere. He obtained interviews and letters to the paper from sympathetic business men. He prepared resolutions for the movement which John H. Holliday presented to the Board of Trade. The only man there who favored them was Col. Eli Lilly, but he was a host. In such a movement he was invaluable. The qualities he had shown as artillery commander in Wilder's Brigade were just what were needed in every reform movement. He always had his guns in action at the right place and the right time. On February 6, Mr. Fortune decided to move, and called a meeting at the Bates House. Twenty-seven business men responded, and decided to organize forthwith. A committee on constitution and by-laws was appointed, and reported two days later. Colonel Lilly was chosen president and Mr. Fortune, secretary. The club started off with 81 members on February 8.

It lost no time in proceeding to business; and it wisely decided not to restrict its attention to business, but to promote the welfare of the city in any way possible. The city was urgently demanding improved streets, and there was wide diversity of opinion about the kinds of streets and quite as wide ignorance. The first action was to take steps on February 27 for holding "a paving exposition". It was a novel enterprise, but when it was held in Tomlinson Hall, April 1-5, 1890, everybody agreed that it was a great success, and was just what was needed. There were exhibits by all the leading paving companies, and companies that manufactured paving materials, in the country; and the exposition was visited by over 500 officials and delegates from nearly fifty cities. A full report was prepared by the committee in charge, and published in pamphlet form by the club. On March 10, as a sewer system was desirable before extensive permanent street paving was done, a committee was appointed to investigate the sewer question, and its report was likewise published and circulated by the club to the general enlightenment of the community.

This use of printers' ink—which did not involve any neglect of the columns of the daily

papers—has been one of the most useful methods of the club. In addition to these pamphlets, and its annual reports, it has issued a number of pamphlets of permanent value. In 1892, with the Board of Trade, it published the first "Statement of Facts Showing the Necessity of a New Federal Building". In 1893 it published a report of the G. A. R. Encampment of that year. In 1894 it published the proceedings of the "Track Elevation Dinner on May 23, 1894"; a report on the extensive special work for the relief of the unemployed, in that year; and a second "Statement of Facts" for the Federal building. In 1897 it published the proceedings of the dinner, on April 24, in the interest of beautifying the city, with General Harrison's celebrated "no mean city" speech. In 1899 it published the majority and minority reports of the street railway franchise. In 1900 it published the report on "The Navigability of White River". In 1907 it published Professor Blatchley's report on "The Natural Resources of the State of Indiana," and Mrs. Stickney's "Pioneer History of Indianapolis."

The mere naming of these reports gives some idea of the diversified work of the club, but little of its steady routine achievements. It was early decided to have a building and to make it a model business building. A committee of fifty, with President Lilly at the head, was appointed to raise \$50,000 by sale of club stock, and did it in thirty days. The club then purchased its site at Pearl and Meridian streets, borrowed \$125,000 of the Equitable Life, and erected the building which was ready for occupancy in the spring of 1893. This has been profitable as an investment, and has furnished a "home" for business men. The club occupies the two upper stories of the building. The restaurant was managed by lessees for a time, but in 1898 the house committee decided to assume the management, and since then it has steadily increased in popularity. At the present time the average attendance at the noon dinner hour is about 300, and the advantages of a common meeting place for that number of business men can hardly be overestimated in their effects on the business welfare of the city. The restaurant policy has also been adopted by the Board of Trade, and its establishment furnishes another assembly point for business men.

CHAPTER XXX.

INSURANCE COMPANIES.

The business of insurance in Indianapolis has had a checkered career, due to a diversity of causes. After the purchase of the first fire engine in 1835 a local insurance company appeared feasible, and on February 8, 1836, a charter was granted to the Indianapolis Fire Insurance Company, with a capital of \$200,000, in shares of \$50 each. The company was organized on March 16, with nine directors, Douglass Magnire president, and Caleb Scudder secretary, and began business in April. It had had full banking powers, and transacted a banking business also. Its business, however, was not extensive and in 1859-60 it suspended altogether. In 1865 the stock was bought up and a new company organized, with Wm. Henderson as president, and A. C. Jameson secretary. On December 20, 1865, the charter was amended, permitting an increase of capital to \$500,000, and making the company perpetual. The old Branch Bank building, at Virginia avenue and Pennsylvania street was bought from the Sinking Fund, in April, 1867, for some \$30,000, and occupied thereafter. A successful insurance business was carried on for some time; but the company insured a number of bridges for the Pennsylvania railroad company, and a \$10,000 loss on one of these caused a withdrawal from insurance business. It was abandoned gradually, in 1870, the company at the same time developing its banking business, which was continued under the name of the Bank of Commerce until July, 1893, when the bank suspended.

Old special charters of this kind have been much sought because they were usually very broad, giving banking, insurance and other privileges that were not conferred on any one company after the adoption of the Constitution of 1851. But few of them ran for over

fifty years, and they have now mostly expired by limitation. One that is still nominally in existence here was granted a perpetual charter on February 13, 1851, as the Indiana Fire and Marine Insurance Company. It was reorganized by act of the legislature in February 1873, adding E. B. Martindale, Thos. A. Hendricks, J. A. Wildman and Robert McKee as commissioners. Additional capital was subscribed, and E. B. Martindale was made president and J. A. Wildman secretary. It had fairly successful business for some years, and was sold to other parties, who reorganized it as the Indiana Fire Insurance Company. It is kept alive, on account of the value of the charter, with James S. Cruse as president, but has done no insurance for years, its only business being the investment of a small capital. Many of the charters, however, had no real value as they involved defective plans. The second company organized at Indianapolis was the Indiana Mutual Fire Insurance Company, chartered January 30, 1837, and organized in February with James Blake as president and Chas. W. Cady as secretary. It did a good business for several years but then met some heavy losses, and became insolvent. It was wound up in 1855.

Most of the Indianapolis home companies have been organized under the general law, and among them perhaps the most notable is the German Fire. It was incorporated on January 24, 1851, and started business with a meeting of German citizens in the German Evangelical Lutheran Church (east side of Alabama, between Washington and Pearl streets), on January 25, 1854, with the pastor, Rev. George Long, as chairman. This company was successful from the start, and was continued as a mutual company till 1896, when it had as-

sets of \$353,978.51. It was then changed to a stock company, under the law of March 11, 1895, and still continues one, the name being changed at that time to the German Fire Insurance Company of Indiana. The presidents from the start have been Henry Buscher, Julius Boetticher, Adolph Seidensticker, Andrew Hagen and Theodore Stein. The secretaries have been Adolph Seidensticker, Valentine Butsch, Charles Volmer, Charles Balke, Edward Mueller, Frederick Ritzinger and Lorenz Schmidt. On January 1, 1909, it had assets of \$610,538.66, and had paid losses since its organization aggregating \$1,585,005.58.

Connected with the reorganization of this company was an event of great importance to insurance companies in Indiana. Section 22 of the law for the organization of stock insurance companies, passed in 1852,¹ provided that when a loss occurred, and a claim for it was presented, the company should pay it within 60 days, or pay a penalty of 10 per cent of the claim for each 30 days of delay in payment. Of course a company had the right to resist payment of a claim believed to be fraudulent, but if it did so, and judgment were recovered, it was heavily punished. The law was evidently passed to relieve a temporary evil without a realization of the legislators that they were flying to others that they knew not of. No special attention was paid to it for a dozen years. Most of the companies formed were mutuals, and not concerned; but then a stock company called the Union Fire Insurance Company, was organized at Indianapolis by E. B. Martindale and others. It was confronted by a heavy loss, believed to be fraudulent, and refused payment. The claimant did not bring suit, though he insisted that his claim was valid. He was in no hurry. The company officials began to study the situation, and consulted their lawyers. On their advice the claim was settled, and the company reinsured its risks and went out of business. Up to that time it had been a prosperous company, and no doubt would still be but for this obstacle. It endeavored to get the law repealed at two sessions of the legislature, but was unable to do so, although no other state had such a law. In 1879 a committee was appointed to investigate the insurance laws of

the state, with John A. Finch as chairman; and in 1881 it reported that the provisions of the law of 1852 were "practically prohibitory" of home companies, but no action was taken for changing the law.

When the German Mutual desired to make its change to a stock company, it endeavored to get the law repealed, but was unable to do so. There was no apparent reason why it should not be repealed except the opposition of foreign companies. The law had come before the Supreme Court in 1860, and again in 1862, and it had held that the law did not apply to foreign companies, but only to domestic companies.² Obviously nobody was interested in preventing the repeal except the foreign companies; and after the exposure by the Armstrong Committee of the great sums paid by the big New York companies for lobbying and legislative corruption, there were people in Indiana who thought they knew where some of it went. The German Mutual made its change in 1896, but went on with its fight for repeal. The press was enlisted, and the Commercial Club took a hand. The legislature of 1897 finally removed the sword of Damocles that had hung over every proposal for a home stock insurance company for forty-five years.³

Indianapolis has another German company that is unique in several respects, the Indianapolis German Mutual Fire Insurance Company. It was organized on July 15, 1884, and began business on August 1, following. Its object is to furnish insurance at the lowest possible cost, and for that end it employs no agents and pays no commissions. All business must come direct to the office, and no hazardous risks are accepted. Policies are limited to \$3,000, and written for five years, the insured paying one year's premium and giving notes for the remaining four years, on a contract basis. The notes are not transferable or taxable, and no payment on them is called for unless the company suffers exceptionally heavy loss. In twenty-four years, but one assessment has been made (December, 1891), and during that time the company has paid \$79,454.11 in losses. At the close of its fiscal year, July 15, 1908, it had in force \$1,893,093.64

¹Commonwealth Ins. Co., vs. Monninger, 18 Ind., 352; Igoe vs. State, 14 Ind., 239.

²Acts 1897, p. 87.

³Sec. 3129 Rev. Stats. of 1881.

of insurance. This company has a woman for secretary, Charlotte Dinkelaker, and it is said to be the only fire company in the world that has this distinction. The present president is Albert Salm.

There are several other mutual companies in the city, in special lines, that are very successful. The Grain Dealers' National Mutual Fire Insurance Company was organized in 1902, and makes a specialty of insuring country grain elevators. In January, 1909, it had in force over nine million dollars of insurance, on over 2,200 elevators; and had paid \$283,130.10 in losses since its organization. Its president is H. N. Knight, of Monticello, Ill., and the secretary, C. A. McCotter of Indianapolis. The Indiana Lumbermen's Mutual Insurance Company was organized April 1, 1897, with Henry Coburn as president and E. B. Fowler secretary. It pays no commissions and insures only lumber yards and wood-working plants. On January 1, 1909, it had \$6,391,739 of insurance in force, and had paid since organization, \$261,652.02 in losses, and \$117,197.88 in dividends. The present president is Chapin C. Foster, and Mr. Fowler is still secretary. The Indiana Millers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company commenced its successful career on September 25, 1899. It has paid \$1,037,137 in losses, and on January 1, 1909, had \$12,316,804.92 of insurance in force. M. L. Blish is president and E. E. Perry secretary and treasurer. Mr. Perry is also secretary and treasurer of two other fire companies, the American Manufacturers' Mutual, organized February 1, 1904, and the Metal Manufacturers' Mutual, organized February 1, 1907. The former has in force \$6,233,360 of insurance, and the latter \$3,519,610. The Indiana State Fire, organized May 15, 1907, has \$1,884,854 of insurance in force. Alvin T. Coate, is the secretary.

There were a number of wrecks in local fire insurance. The Indiana Fire, organized May 9, 1862, under the general law, with Jonathan S. Harvey as president and W. T. Gibson as secretary. It seemed prosperous, and wrote over eight millions of insurance in the next six years, but met some discouraging losses and retired a few years later. The Mississippi Mutual was organized November 18, 1863, with Elijah Goodwin president and John R. Berry secretary. It advertised extensively and did a large busi-

ness on a risky and expensive basis, and went into the hands of a receiver in 1866. The Equitable Fire, a mutual company, was organized in September, 1863, with W. A. Peele president and E. D. Olin secretary. It was changed to a stock company, and met large losses which caused it to go into the hands of a receiver early in 1868. The Home Mutual was organized in April, 1864, with J. C. Geisendorff president and J. B. Follett secretary. Its business was not profitable, and it suspended voluntarily in June, 1868, and was wound up by a receiver. The Farmers and Mechanics was organized April 1, 1864, with Ryland T. Brown president and A. J. Davis secretary. It did a small business till the summer of 1867, when it suspended, and was wound up. Some others of less note followed the same general course.

Of all the collapses in Indianapolis, the one that attracted the widest attention was that of the Iron Hall, a fraternal organization, which was rather an investment company than an insurance company, though it paid sick benefits. It was organized December 15, 1881, under the voluntary association law of February 20, 1867, and was soon launched on an apparently prosperous career. Its proposal was that on the payment of assessments for seven years, amounting to about \$300, it would at the end of the period pay the investor \$1,000. At the maturity of its first certificates it had a public payment to the beneficiaries in a local theater, in which each \$1,000 was brought out on the stage in silver, in a wheel-barrow. Of course, the undertaking was unsound on its face, but it attracted a great many investors, and in 1892 the figures given out by its officials were, total receipts, \$2,520,583; total disbursements \$1,396,173; reserve fund, \$1,500,924; cash in hand, \$1,124,409; total assets, \$2,686,274. Branches had been established in a number of other states, and the institution was beginning to rival the Mississippi Land Company of John Law in its palmyest days.

On July 29, 1892, an application for a receiver was filed in the Superior Court by Albert R. Baker and others, members of the company.⁴ It charged that the company was insolvent, but with over \$1,000,000 of assets:

⁴No. 13,651 Superior Court, Room 1.

that "the Supreme Sitting of the Order of the Iron Hall," which controlled the institution absolutely, had been guilty of extravagance and mismanagement; that it had \$720,000 of the order's funds on deposit, without any security, in a bank in which Freeman D. Somerby, the Supreme Justice of the order, was the chief party in interest; and some other irregularities. A protracted hearing was had, beginning on August 11, and on August 23, Judge Taylor appointed a receiver. The order appealed to the Supreme Court, which on April 26, 1893, affirmed the ruling of the lower court.⁵

Meanwhile, the organization had gone to pieces everywhere. On August 16, 1892, Somerby's bank, The Mutual Banking, Surety, Trust and Safe Deposit Company of Philadelphia, closed its doors; and soon after there were applications for receivers in several other states, for the purpose of holding the funds in those states for the benefit of local investors. The receivership was conducted on a rather magnificent basis, which caused considerable clamor from the interested parties, and led the factions to refer to it as "the Iron Haul." Locally there was distributed to claimants about \$2,000,000; and some further distribution was made in other states where jurisdiction was held locally. The chief part of it was settled up by the close of 1895, but a portion remained until 1898, when the matter went to the Supreme Court again on a question of the rights of the subordinate branches.⁶

On the other hand there were some companies that were very well managed and might have continued in business but for extraneous influences. The Franklin Fire Insurance Company was originally chartered in 1851 at Franklin, Johnson County, and did a moderate business there until 1871. It was then brought here by John A. Childs and reorganized, with J. E. Robertson as president and Gabriel Schwack as secretary. It did a very good business here, and in 1874 erected a substantial building at the southeast corner of Circle and Market streets, which still bears the name of the company over its entrance. It ran along until Childs became infatuated with a young woman and eloped to Oregon, leaving a wife

and a Sunday school, of which he was superintendent, to mourn his loss. Then Jacob Neuburger came into the company as underwriter, and after some months persuaded the management that the prudent course for them was to reinsure and go out of business, which was done. The charter was sold to Jacob Weil, of Evansville, who organized and carried on a company under it there till the charter expired in 1901. The risks were reinsured in 1902 and the company ended. There was no adequate reason for the discontinuance of this company at Indianapolis.

But of all insurance enterprises at Indianapolis, the one whose ending caused the greatest soreness was the Indianapolis Fire Insurance Company. The inception of the company is said to have originated with John S. Spann, and he soon gathered a little knot of gentlemen who united with him in the desire to establish and build up a strong, well-managed home company. They organized on July 12, 1899, with John W. Holliday as president and H. C. Martin as secretary; and this management was continued for eight years. The characteristic of the company was its conservatism. It made money and was developing satisfactorily, meeting no serious reverses until it had losses of \$63,000 in the great San Francisco fire. But this was only a set-back, and the company was repairing its surplus and moving forward to the general satisfaction of the stockholders. It should be mentioned that the capital of the company was \$200,000 in shares of \$50. These had very readily been placed at \$75, owing to the general confidence in the management, making a surplus of \$100,000 on which to begin business. In 1906 the control of a majority of the stock was secured by the local brokerage firm of Meyer & Kiser, supposed to be acting for other parties, and at the annual meeting in February, 1907, the old management was ousted and a new one inaugurated. At the annual meeting in 1908 a number of minority stockholders attended, and on account of statements of the discouraging conditions, proposed that the company reinsure and wind up. This was flatly refused. A few days later a number of stockholders received the following letter:

"February 22nd, 1908.

"Dear Sir,—In strict confidence, because a disclosure on your part would injure the com-

⁵Supreme &c., vs. Baker, 131 Ind., p. 293.

⁶Cowen vs. Failey, Receiver, 119 Ind., p. 382.

pany, I desire to advise you of a crisis in the affairs of the Indianapolis Fire Insurance Company. Our surplus has been reduced from the \$100,000 originally paid in, to \$58,000, as appears in our last statement. As a matter of fact this surplus has been further reduced approximately \$20,000 by our fire losses in the month of January alone. During this month the ratio of fire losses, which should not exceed, in order to make money, 49 per cent, ran 105 per cent. In other words, 5 per cent in excess of entire premium paid.

"These losses do not result from any one or two conflagrations, but are the result of general conditions obtaining throughout the country, and are apparently directly connected with existing depressed financial conditions. In my judgment, unless a radical change for the better (of which there is not a good prospect), should immediately occur, the entire surplus of the company will be wiped out inside of 90 days.

"Therefore, if the company is to continue business, in order that we may comply with the laws of the states in which we have agencies, it will be necessary immediately to assess each one of the stockholders at least \$50 a share. This cannot be done against the will of the stockholders, but, by voluntary agreement on the part of all interested, which will enable us to make a respectable statement and entitle us to do business in states from which we will soon be excluded.

"Will you kindly advise me whether you are willing, in case the other stockholders contribute, to voluntarily contribute for the purpose of establishing a surplus of the company, the sum of \$50 per share on the stock which you own? I must ask you for an immediate reply as the situation is so critical that it demands instant relief of some kind.

"I again enjoin on you the necessity of entire secrecy in the subject about which I am writing you.

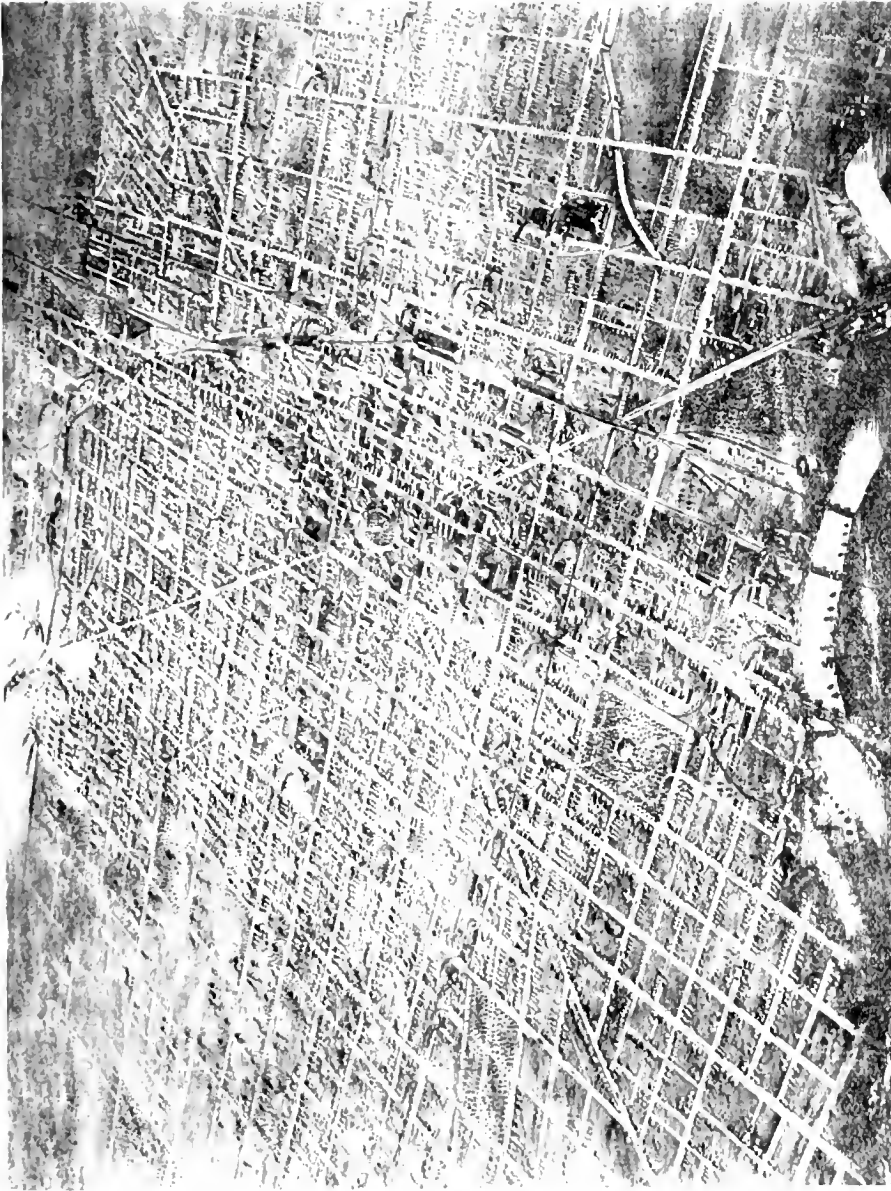
"Yours truly,

"Sol. Meyer, president."

There ensued very speedily a meeting of the principal minority stockholders, including the original management, to consider the situation. The discussion disclosed a general sentiment that the action was intended to bear the company's stock, and that the company

was in fact in better condition than immediately after the San Francisco fire. They agreed to act in a body and a committee was appointed to negotiate with Meyer and Kiser, with instructions to first endeavor to get a "buy or sell" price on stock. This was refused, as also a proposal to reinsure. There were more meetings and prolonged discussions of the possibilities. A receivership would probably be more disastrous financially than a forced sale. A majority in control, desirous of forcing out a minority could exhaust the surplus and force assessments. The negotiating committee was instructed to ascertain the best terms that could be made, and on February 28, an agreement was made to sell at \$62.50 a share, or \$12.50 less than had been paid for the stock, which was signed by holders of 793 shares. A number of others sold immediately afterwards on the same basis. On March 23, the company was reinsured in the German American of New York, and agents were notified to discontinue business, as the directors had "after careful consideration, decided that the interests of all concerned will be best conserved by the reinsurance of the present liability of the company."

This affair came as a revelation in local insurance business. The Iron Hall had demonstrated how easily a company could be taken out of the hands of those who made it, in case of mismanagement or illegal action by the officers, and wound-up by others. The State Life had narrowly escaped a similar fate. But here was a home company whose management was above criticism put out of existence. It was the most demoralizing blow ever struck at home insurance in Indianapolis, for what protection was there against this form of assault? Of course it would be possible to form a voting trust, such as has worked out with fair success in the case of the Consumers Gas Trust. The only other feasible plan of protection would seem to be in the control of a majority ownership of the stock by a close corporation of individuals who could trust each other absolutely not to break the control by sale of stock to any outsider. But that would not be practicable without very large investment by a few persons; and a company organized on that basis would lack the advantage of a wide interest of stockholders in securing insurance. Possibly some genius may arise who



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W. H. Bess, Photo. Co.

will find some mode of steering between the Scylla and Charybdis of the insurance channel, and give Indianapolis a home company, which will, to some extent at least, check the heavy drain of tribute to foreign companies, but it must be acknowledged that the present prospects of this desirable result are by no means encouraging; and those who have taken the greatest interest in attaining this end are not eager to make another attempt after the disastrous result of their former effort in this line.

Life insurance companies were not so numerous as fire companies. The Franklin Mutual Life was organized under the general law in July, 1866, with J. M. Ray, president and D. W. Grubbs, secretary. Its system was to accept premiums one-half cash and the remainder in notes, so that the longer a man stayed in the more he owed. After some fifteen years, under other officers, it became unprofitable, and the directors undertook to wind it up by buying in policies at half their surrender value. This was carried on in 1881 and 1882, and to go on with it a mortgage of \$37,500 was put on the company's building—the old State Bank building at Kentucky avenue and Illinois street, which it had purchased in 1868. After this had been expended there remained some 300 policies, with a surrender value of \$25,000, and something less than \$18,000 of assets. Part of the remaining policyholders joined in a suit to set aside the mortgage, charging that the Northwestern Mutual, to which it was made, was fully informed of the purpose for which the money was to be used. The case went to the Supreme Court, which made the somewhat startling decision that before these policyholders, who had received nothing from the loan, could set aside the mortgage, they must repay the borrowed money.⁷

The development of life companies in the last decade is largely due to the State Life Company, which was organized September 5, 1891, under the law of 1883, which provided for companies on an assessment basis. The company grew slowly but steadily, but its business was hampered by the assessment feature. The officers desired to change to a legal reserve basis, but there was no law under which they could reorganize formally, although the

company had in fact been conducted on a legal reserve basis from the start, charging full legal reserve premiums and carrying full reserves, as no other assessment company had done up to that time. A bill was prepared by W. S. Wynn, the aid of the press was enlisted by Dr. Martin, and the law of February 10, 1899, was secured. No better law can be found in any state in the Union. It makes the policyholder absolutely safe by requiring the deposit with the Auditor of State of a reserve large enough to cover the reinsurance of all risks. Under this law the State Life reincorporated on February 14, 1899, and at once entered on a career of prosperity. On January 1, 1908, its admitted assets were \$6,355,153.95. Other companies also took advantage of the new law, the American Central Life leading, by organization on February 23, 1899. On January 1, 1908, there were ten of these legal reserve life companies at Indianapolis, with total admitted assets of \$6,513,290.58, in addition to the State Life.

The years 1906-7 were years of stress to the life insurance companies of Indiana. The exposures of the Armstrong Committee in New York of the practices of the great life insurance companies had startled the country, and the magazine articles of Thomas W. Lawson, Burton J. Hendricks and others had made the nature of the abuses understood by the reading public. In October, 1905, Governor Hanly had appointed James W. Noel, William X. Durborrow and Warren Bigler a committee to investigate the affairs of the office of the Auditor of State, on account of irregularities of David E. Sherrick, and the committee was continued by him to investigate the Insurance Department of the office, and the local companies reporting to it. The investigation resulted in a demonstration that some of the New York abuses were beginning to appear in Indiana, though comparatively few and small, no doubt for the reason that none of the Indiana companies had so large reserve or surplus funds to attract the cupidity and ingenuity of the officials. The worst apparent abuses were "agency contracts" which were obviously designed to divert the just income of companies to individuals, and one charged case of interest of the president and first vice-president of the State Life in a sale of property to the company. The report of the committee was made

⁷ Wright vs. Hughes, 119 Ind., 324.

on October 22, 1906; and laid much stress on the avowed evils of special contracts, predated and commuted policies and other forms of rebating, including preliminary term insurance. It recommended drastic legislation for their prohibition, and Governor Handy followed this with a vigorous demand for it in his message, and a strong exertion of his official powers to secure it.

The situation was perplexing. Everybody conceded that there were abuses that needed correction, but everybody familiar with insurance business saw that the proposed laws would practically put the small companies of the state at the mercy of the large foreign companies, which were originally responsible for the abuses. The abuses were the result, in most part, of competition for business; and this had developed to such an extent that the first year's premium was practically consumed, and no reserve was laid aside from it under any system of policy writing. It was common for companies to sell "flyer" insurance for ten per cent of the regular premium for the first year. The Supreme Court of Vermont found this condition to exist, through a case in that state, and said: "No company can successfully do business unless it pays commissions as large as the leading companies of the country, and then it is at a disadvantage from being small. As the witness Stone stated: 'It is the large companies that set the pace in such matters. Small companies have to meet the competition or make no progress.' A new company to begin business, and a small company to continue, in order to succeed must pay what companies in general pay."⁸ The common form of meeting the competition was by preliminary term insurance, and though its prohibition was demanded, the committee conceded that there was "nothing legally or technically wrong in a provision in an insurance policy that it shall for one year be considered preliminary term insurance", and that "the only wrong in such practice is, we think, that it is generally not understood by the parties."⁹ In fact the only question involved is whether the expense of getting the insurance shall be paid from the first year's premium, or from the surplus which

equitably belongs to the policyholders, and as a problem of morality and justice it is of the weight of the distinction between Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

The committee also demonstrated in its report that the people of Indiana were paying yearly to foreign insurance companies more than ten millions of dollars more than came back to the state in payment of losses.¹⁰ This fact put a damper on any desire to do anything unnecessarily destructive to home companies, and in consequence the legislature of 1907 enacted insurance laws on a rational basis, cutting off real evils, and leaving home companies a fair chance for existence. Practically all of the companies had abandoned the objectionable contracts before the laws went into effect, and other reforms had occurred. President A. M. Sweeney, and Vice-president Samuel Quinn, of the State Life, resigned in February, 1907; and in March the board of directors was increased from 5 to 9, and Henry W. Bennett, Wm. C. Bobbs, Wm. J. Mooney, Albert Sahn, John R. Wilson, and J. S. Dissette were elected as new members. Mr. Wilson died in the following July, and Hiram P. Wasson was elected in his stead. Henry W. Bennett was elected president of the company, Wilbur S. Wynn, vice-president, secretary and actuary, Chas. F. Coffin, second vice-president and general counsel, and Albert Sahn, treasurer. Under the new management the company resumed progress at once; and notwithstanding the panic conditions of 1907, which were depressing to insurance generally, it increased its assets \$1,001,109 and its surplus \$27,775 in that year. The life insurance companies of Indianapolis have not only recovered from the shocks of this period but are in stronger and better condition in every way than they were before.

Of miscellaneous insurance companies, Indianapolis has the Federal Union Surety Company, organized September 28, 1901, with \$300,000 of capital and \$516,382.20 of admitted assets on January 1, 1908; the Woodman's Casualty Company, incorporated February 2, 1907, with \$100,000 of capital and \$128,525.61 of admitted assets; and the Security Casualty Company, organized October 11, 1907, with \$25,000 of capital and \$32,162.86 of admitted

⁸ Bankers Life Ins. Co. vs. Howard, 73 Ver., p. 1.

⁹ Report, p. 155.

¹⁰ Report, p. 122.

assets. Of assessment life and accident associations Indianapolis is the home office of the American Miners Accident, incorporated March 17, 1906, carrying \$1,613,000 of risks; the Great Western Life, incorporated April 3, 1906, and carrying \$319,000 of risks; the Hoosier Casualty Company, incorporated May 29, 1907, carrying \$1,217,000 of risks; the Indiana Travelers Accident, incorporated September 10, 1907, carrying \$11,970,000 of risks; and the Western Life Annuity Co., incorporated January 3, 1907, carrying \$1,190,000 of risks. Of fraternal insurance associations, Indianapolis is the home office of the I. O. Knights of Pythias, organized August 8, 1901, with \$528,250 of insurance in force; and the Knights and Ladies of Honor, organized April 5, 1878, with \$88,027,250 of insurance in force. There are over 250 foreign insurance companies, of various kinds, doing business in the city.

The first organization of local agents at Indianapolis was made in 1868, with Wm. Henderson as president and David E. Snyder as secretary. This was merely a "trades union" affair, for the purpose of preventing rate-cutting and otherwise promoting the good of the order. The great fire at Chicago in October, 1871, which broke up a number of companies and brought adjusted losses of \$46,000,000 to those that survived, caused a change in the insurance business all over the country. The companies insisted on inspection and a graduated schedule of rates. In the spring of 1872, on demand of the state agents, the local agents organized the Indianapolis Fire Insurance Association with Charles B. Davis as president, and Charles W. French as secretary. Under this system the local agents selected the secretary, subject to the approval of the National Board of Underwriters; and the secretary applied a rather crude schedule agreed on by the agents. In the spring of 1873 Henry Coe, of Madison, Wisconsin, came here on a visit to his brother Charles B. Coe (they were sons of a cousin of Dr. Isaac Coe) who then represented the Northwestern Mutual of Milwaukee, and was made secretary of the association. At the time the National Board met the expenses of the local associations through an assessment on premiums, but in 1877 the National Board withdrew its support, and the local association dissolved. The results of this

were unsatisfactory, and after some months the agents reorganized voluntarily, with M. V. McGilliard as president and Ebenezer Beard, secretary—later succeeded by James L. Green. The companies supported this association by proportional contributions, and it continued till 1880, when the National Board companies organized the Western Union Agency, divided into two "commissions". Indianapolis came under "Commission No. 2", with headquarters at Cincinnati, and J. T. Ashbrook was sent here as manager.

In 1884 Mr. Ashbrook was succeeded by A. T. Allen, and he in 1895 by T. M. Goodloe. Meanwhile the two commissions combined and formed the Governing Committee, which is composed of the western managers of the various companies. Mr. Goodloe continued in charge of the local work, known as the Indianapolis Fire Inspection Bureau until the spring of 1908, when he took the management of the Fire Protection and Equipment Company, and J. S. McMurray, Jr., was put in charge of the inspection bureau. The Fire Insurance Association of the local agents still continues, but has nothing to do with inspection and rate-making. Under the system now in force, the rates for Indiana generally are made by an organization known as "The Fellars Bureau," but Indianapolis is independent, and its rates are fixed by the Indianapolis Fire Inspection Bureau. Both bureaus use the Dean Schedule, which is an elaborate system of rating worked out by A. F. Dean, Assistant Western Manager of the Springfield Fire Insurance Company of Massachusetts. It is on a thoroughly scientific basis, taking into consideration all elements of fire risk, and adjusting rates accordingly. It divides cities and towns into six classes, according to water-supply, fire department, inspection, etc., the rates increasing from the first to the sixth class. Indianapolis is in the third class. To teach the first class it would be necessary to have a high-pressure water system, and a general improvement in construction. But individual risks are taken out of these class ratings by special precautions, such as fire-proof construction, automatic sprinklers, etc., and get a special rating. On the other hand proximity to dangerous buildings increases rates. There is one central block in the city in which the ratings of all

buildings are increased on account of a livery stable in it.

No account of insurance business in Indianapolis would be complete without reference to the local insurance journal, *Rough Notes*, and its editor, Dr. H. C. Martin, on account of their extensive influence on it. Henry C. Martin is a Pennsylvanian, born at Harbor Creek, April 16, 1833. He studied medicine at Castleton Medical College, Vermont, and the University Medical College of New York, graduating from the latter in 1857. He practiced for two years at McGregor, Iowa, and then took up insurance, in the employ of the Northwestern Mutual of Milwaukee, being its first special agent west of the Mississippi River. He organized agencies in several states, and was state agent for Indiana for twelve years, after which he became the first Indiana agent of the Travelers Insurance Company. In 1877 he started *Rough Notes*, not expecting to make it a permanent publication, as it was originated for a mouthpiece in a temporary emergency in insurance affairs. There appeared a demand for it, however, and it was continued as a monthly till 1896, when it was made a weekly. It is ranked everywhere as a high grade insurance journal, and stands third or fourth of its class in circulation in the United States. Dr. Martin has always stood for the best in insurance, for justice to the public and to the companies, and his reputation in that regard is established. Whenever a newspaper man wanted "straight goods" on an insurance question he knew he could get it from Dr. Martin. It was his ambition to found a first-class fire company in this city, and he had it well started in the Indianapolis Fire Company. The wrecking of that organization by others pained him like the loss of a child. More than any other one man he is entitled to the credit for the excellence of the present insurance laws of Indiana; and in this connection it is appropriate to quote the following from *Rough Notes* for March 1, 1909:

"The present session of the Indiana legislature marks the tenth anniversary of the Indiana Legal Reserve Compulsory Deposit Life Insurance Law, and it is fitting to review the results at this time. When the Indiana legislature convened in January, 1899, there was no act on the statute books of state whereunder a life insurance company could be or-

ganized in the state upon a legal reserve basis. There was a law permitting incorporation upon an assessment plan, and the lax provisions of this measure had made possible the exploitation and disastrous finish of some of the most disreputable attempts ever misnamed as life insurance institutions.

"For several years it had been the ambition of a number of influential citizens of the state to have placed upon Indiana's statute books a law which would make it possible to organize and conduct in this state life insurance companies which would be such in fact as well as in name. To this end they had made a study of the best laws on the subject that were in operation in other states and, after much consideration, they drafted a measure which more closely followed the Iowa legal reserve deposit law than any other measure, the deposit feature of that law impressing them as a most worthy safeguard for the interests of policyholders, it being recognized that the greater and better the protection offered by Indiana companies, the more certain of acceptance with the insurance buying public would be their contracts.

"Much preliminary work had been done prior to 1899, and when the legislature convened that year it seemed that the time was ripe for the attempt to secure the passage of the law. The friends of the proposed measure had their forces well organized, but so wide a swing from the wretched conditions that had prevailed in the state was certain to meet with strenuous opposition and it took constant vigilance and attention to get the measure finally to the Governor's signature. The bill became a law February 10, 1899, and that date marked the opening of a new epoch in the history of life underwriting in Indiana. The day of assessmentism completely gave way to the legal reserve plan and several companies at once began business under the new law.

"The results of the enactment of this measure have more than fulfilled the sanguine hopes of its friends at the beginning. It has proved practical and the companies under it have thriven and developed in a substantial way that is a credit to the state which gave them corporate being. In ten years the following imposing aggregates have been built up, the figures being the totals for all companies now operating under the law:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| "Admitted Assets, December 31, | |
| 1908 | \$15,181,613 |
| Premium Income during 1908, | 5,443,545 |
| Total Income during 1908, | 6,294,739 |
| Insurance in Force, Dec. 31, '08 | 165,182,565 |
| Number of Policies in Force, De- | |
| cember 31, 1908, | 69,390 |
| On Deposit with Auditor of State | |
| February 25, 1909, | 14,051,691 |

"This \$165,000,000 and more of insurance in force is every cent of it more than amply protected by the over fourteen millions on deposit with the auditor, which sum is available first for the interests of the sixty-nine thousand policyholders. The interests of the stockholders, the interests of officers, agents or managers and all other interests are secondary to those of the holders of the insurance contracts. The company may be large or small, it may be slow-growing or it may build up by great bounds, but at all times it is required to make as its first principle of existence the maintenance of a sufficient reserve for full reinsurance

in the custody of the Auditor of State. No company can make experiments or mistakes which are allowed to impair this prime provision. The vital part of the transaction which determines the destiny of the policyholders' interest is made as absolute as possible.

"Also, this measure had made it possible to accumulate this vast sum of life insurance funds within the state, which makes to the direct advantage of borrowers on high-class securities. A large proportion of the fifteen millions is invested in Indiana farm mortgages which are unsurpassed as security or for revenue production. The law has unquestionably proven itself a splendid measure. The companies operating under it have peculiar advantages in their opportunity to build on permanent and enduring foundations. The achievements of the past ten years are not alone expressed in the figures already quoted, but as well in the experience that has been gained, which experience should contribute the largest part towards making the next decade produce even more creditable results."

CHAPTER XXXI.

FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS.

Whether Masonry originated in the Garden of Eden or in the necessities of building that followed removal from that exclusive neighborhood, it was certainly in Indianapolis at the start, and for nearly a quarter of a century was the only organization of a mystic and fraternal character at this place. The Grand Lodge of Indiana had been organized in 1818 with nine lodges, and the rapid spread of the order may be inferred from the fact that when a dispensation was issued for Centre Lodge, at Indianapolis on March 27, 1822, it was "No. 23." The lodge remained under dispensation until October 7, 1823, when a charter was issued. The original officers were Harvey Gregg, worshipful master; Milo R. Davis, senior warden; John T. Osborne, junior warden and Samuel Henderson, secretary. These continued to the issue of the charter, except that Milo R. Davis was succeeded as first senior warden by Hervey Bates, and Samuel Henderson was succeeded by James M. Ray as secretary. The other officials at the time of the issue of the charter were Obed Foote, treasurer; Samuel McGeorge, senior deacon; Abraham McCord, junior deacon; William New, tyler. The meeting place was probably not fixed at first, as the first published call for a meeting that is preserved—April 2, 1823—was at "the office of James M. Ray, Esq."¹ When Henderson & Blake completed their "Washington Hall" tavern, in the winter of 1823-4, the lodge took quarters in it.²

Harvey Gregg, the first master, in addition to being a lawyer, was a partner with Douglass Maguire in the publication of the *West-*

ern Censor, which was apparently the organ of the order. Nearly one-third of its initial number is given to the publication of the oration of Thos. M. Allen, "at Bloomington, Ind., on the 24th of December, 1822, being the Anniversary of St. John the Evangelist."³ The day the Masons usually celebrated, however, was John the Baptist's—June 24—which is supposed to be his birthday, and is celebrated, contrary to the usual custom in saints' days, instead of the day of his death. On June 24, 1823, Centre lodge celebrated, and adopted the following:

"Resolved, That the thanks of this Lodge be presented to the Rev. David C. Proctor for his attendance and the satisfactory manner in which he assisted them in going through the services of the day.

"Resolved, That the thanks of this Lodge be presented to Mr. Caleb Scudder, Mr. Dan'l B. Wick, and Dr. J. W. B. Moore, for their politeness in attending as musicians.

"Resolved, That the thanks of this Lodge be presented to Mr. John Hawkins for the dinner prepared by him on that occasion."⁴

In this period, much stress was laid on the advantage of being a Mason in time of danger. In the address of Mr. Allen, above mentioned, he said, "Often and repeatedly have instances occurred where men have been overcome in battle, and upon the very verge of destruction, when the uplifted weapons of hostility have been ready to plunge into its victim, when hope had vanished, and nothing but despair was seen, still often have individuals in this situation been relieved and rescued by the

¹*Western Censor*, April 2, 1823.

²*English's Hist. of Masonry in Indianapolis*, p. 10.

³*Western Censor*, March 7, 1823.

⁴*Western Censor*, July 25, 1823.

out-stretched arm of a brother." It may be noted in this connection that Antoine Lasselie had saved his life after the Battle of the Fallen Timbers, when he was captured by Wayne's men, in 1794, by giving the masonic signal of distress.⁵ A somewhat amusing evidence of this benefit was cited in the *Censor* of August 4, 1823, in the statement of Captain Harris, who had been captured by pirates, and who said, "he was indebted for his life to the circumstance of his being a freemason, having met with several masons among the pirates who interceded for him." On June 24, 1824 the celebration of Centre Lodge included an address by William W. Wick, which was published in full.⁶ On June 24, 1825 was the first procession recorded, the march being from the lodge room to the court-house where the services were held and thence to Washington Hall, and dinner; after which more marching and return to lodge room.⁷ On this occasion the address was by Bethuel F. Morris.⁸ The dinner was furnished by "Brothers Vigus and Henderson", Mr. Blake having retired from the tavern business, and the terms were, "Dinner and Domestic drink \$1, and if Foreign liquors be furnished \$1.25." On February 6, 1827, the *Journal* published an oration "delivered in this place on the late celebration of St. John, the Divine, by P. Sweetser, Esq.," before Centre Lodge.

After this the newspapers did not publish the addresses or any accounts of the meetings except as advertisements. The Grand Lodge met in Indianapolis on November 25, 1828, and on the 27th had a procession from "Mason's hall" to "the Methodist Meeting House" where a sermon was delivered by Rev. Hiram A. Hunter, grand chaplain; followed by dinner at Vigus's tavern. Possibly the change in the attitude of the press was due to the Morgan affair, which had set the whole county in excitement at this time. Morgan who had published an "exposure" of Masonry, disappeared in September, 1826, and his fate was in doubt for some months. On March 20, 1827, the *Journal* published extracts from

several New York papers, all saying that he had certainly been murdered. One of them said: "A respectable citizen of Niagara, who is a Mason, has revealed facts derived from two other Masons, one of whom was concerned in the murder, that will shock and startle the boldest heart. He says that Morgan was condemned and executed in the manner which the oaths that he had violated prescribe, by having his throat cut, his tongue cut out and burned in the sand, and his body sunk in the depths of the lake." Nothing absolutely certain can be said as to the fate of Morgan, except, as Hon. Daniel McDonald recently said: "Masonry as an institution can no more be held accountable for Morgan's abduction and murder, if he was murdered, than can the Presbyterians be held responsible for the burning of Servetus at the stake at the instigation of John Calvin; or the Jews, as a people, be held accountable for the crucifixion of Christ. It was the work of ignorant, over-zealous and misguided members at that time of Batavia lodge, whose actions were then, and are still condemned in the most emphatic terms by all true and loyal Masons wheresoever dispersed around the globe."⁹

But whatever the truth about the Morgan case, it was a fearful blow to Masonry. There was not only a sentiment against it that in some cases produced actual persecution, but hundreds of members withdrew from the order. Says McDonald: "When the persecution struck the lodges in Indiana in 1828 there were 28 lodges, and a total membership of 654. In 1838, ten years later, the number of lodges was 15, nearly one-half less than in 1828, and the total membership was but 513, showing a decrease during the ten years of 13 lodges and 141 members."¹⁰ Even this hardly represents the full effects of the depression. In 1831 at the meeting of the Grand Lodge at Vincennes there were only seven lodges represented. In 1832 at Salem, there were but seven; and at Indianapolis, in 1833, there were but five. There was no duly accredited representative of Centre Lodge at either of these meetings, but Benjamin L. Blythe, Austin W. Morris, Charles I. Hand, and Thomas M.

⁵*Dunn's Indiana*, p. 438.

⁶*Censor*, June 29; *Gazette*, June 29.

⁷*English's Hist. of Masonry in Indianapolis* p. 19.

⁸Printed in *Gazette*, July 5, 1825.

⁹*Masonic Advocate*, Vol. 42, p. 171, May, 1909.

¹⁰*Masonic Advocate*, Vol. 42, p. 170.

Smith, of Centre Lodge were present in 1833 and took an active part in the Grand Lodge meeting. Austin W. Morris had been re-elected Grand Secretary in 1831, and, in that capacity, he was directed to take in charge the property of Centre Lodge, which had failed to pay its annual dues, and to hold it until the lodge was reorganized and the debt paid. This was accomplished in 1835, and the lodge was rechartered on December 17, 1835. From that time its condition was prosperous, and there was a general revival of Masonry throughout the state from the same time.

Just what connection there was between Masonry and politics in the early times is not definitely known, but it has been noted that Hervey Bates "was the first person that ever filled the office of Sheriff of Marion County, and it is rather remarkable that the first Judge, the first Prosecutor, the first Clerk, the first Sheriff, the first County Commissioner, the first member of the Legislature, the first Postmaster, the first Mayor, and the first Justice of the Peace ever known in the city and county were all at some time officers of Centre Lodge."¹¹ It is even more notable that in 1831 and 1832, when anti-masonry was at its highest, the *Gazette*, which was the Jackson organ, made palpable efforts to fasten anti-Masonry to the Clay movement; and the *Journal*, which was a Clay paper before his nomination as well as after, resented these efforts with much indignation. And yet it made an effort to hold both sides, leaving the discussion of Masonry to correspondents. On August 13, 1831, it published a letter from Corydon as to the election in Harrison County, where the year before the anti-masons had organized under D. G. Mitchell, and carried the county. It said: "The large majority given to Dr. Slaughter over Zenor and Paddock's, the anti-masonic candidates, and the election of three county commissioners against the anties, prove beyond doubt that the hobby *Anti-Masonry* is down here; and when put to the test in other parts of the state, by the good sense of the people, will go into oblivion."

In 1831 the anti-masons tried to forestall the Republican, or Whig, action by nominating Wm. Wirt, of Maryland for president. Speak-

ing of their action, and the probability that the Whigs would nominate Clay, the *Journal* said: "The excitement produced by masonic and anti-masonry, though at this moment great in some parts of our country, and perhaps well founded, will not, it is believed, be of long duration; for we think it quite probable that masonry will ere long be abandoned, and thus leave no ground for the existence of anti-masonry."¹² Mr. Clay carefully steered clear of the question, although a Mason himself. A committee from an anti-masonic meeting at Hanover, Indiana, composed of James A. Watson, Noble Butler and James H. Thompson, having written him for his views on the subject, he answered: "I do not know a solitary provision in the Constitution of the United States which conveys the slightest authority to the General Government to interfere, one way or the other, with either Masonry or Anti-Masonry. If, therefore, a President of the United States, or any other functionary of that Government, were to employ his official power to sustain or to abolish, or to advance the interests of Masonry or Anti-Masonry it would be an act of usurpation or tyranny. * * * I cannot believe that whether I am hostile or friendly to Masonry or Anti-Masonry, is at all material in the formation of any judgment, on the part of my fellow-citizens, concerning my fitness for any office under the Government of the United States. * * * Entertaining these views, I have constantly refused to make myself a party to the unhappy contest raging, distant from me, in other parts of the Union, between Masons and Anti-Masons."¹³

Six weeks later the *Journal* published an ingenious letter, stating that "Mr. Wirt is chagrined and mortified in the extreme, at having accepted the Anti-Masonic nomination" and "venturing to predict" that "Mr. Wirt himself will withdraw from the contest and vote for Mr. Clay."¹⁴ Possibly there was some hope of this, for in Indiana, Judge James Scott, formerly of the Supreme Court of Indiana, had been nominated for Governor by the Anti-Masons, and had withdrawn from the race.¹⁵ But Wirt did not withdraw, and

¹²*Journal*, October 15, 1831.

¹³*Journal*, December 3, 1831.

¹⁴*Journal*, January 24, 1832.

¹⁵*Journal*, July 23, 1831.

¹¹*English's Hist. of Masonry in Indianapolis*, p. 17.

in the election he secured only the electoral vote of Vermont, the popular vote then standing, Wirt, 13,106; Clay, 11,152; Jackson, 7,870. There did seem a probability in the early thirties that the *Journal's* prediction of Masonry being abandoned would be realized, and it reached its high point on December 9, 1834, when the Grand Lodge appointed a committee, with Caleb B. Smith, as chairman, to "inquire into the expediency of this Grand Lodge surrendering its charter, and if such surrender should be deemed advisable to report such resolutions as may dispose of the property of the Grand Lodge, and that of the subordinate lodges, as may seem just and expedient." The report is not preserved, but was against the surrender; and the Grand Lodge was aroused to new efforts, and the revival of Masonry in Indiana may properly be dated from the report of that committee.

One of the most notable effects of Masonry in Indianapolis was through its hall. On May 26, 1846, the Grand Lodge appointed a committee to act jointly with a committee of the Grand Chapter in the erection of a hall. In the spring of 1847, lots 7 and 8 in square 67 were bought for \$4,200. This was 63 feet front on Washington street, at the corner of Tennessee (Capitol avenue), and running back to Kentucky avenue, on which the frontage was 121 feet. An effort was then made to raise \$10,000 for a building by a joint stock subscription. This did not meet any encouragement outside of Indianapolis, but finally \$12,950 was raised, almost wholly in Indianapolis, and an assessment of \$1 per member was laid for four years to increase the fund. The cornerstone was laid on October 25, 1848, by Grand Master Elizur Deming of Lafayette, and the occasion was memorable. In those days the town turned out even more generally for a "Freemason's procession" than it does now for a big circus parade. The mystery of it all appealed to the imagination of the young especially, and the more fearful the stories circulated by the Anti-Masons the more fascinating it was to the boys. On this occasion, according to the local account, the streets were crowded by people waiting for the procession, which had been announced for one o'clock. "At half past two 'the men with the blue bands round their shoulders' and with 'little aprons on', made their appearance, and, led by the

Pendleton Band, marched and counter-marched through the streets. The procession was composed of Masons, Sons of Temperance and Odd Fellows, and looked well. Their regalia and trappings had a gaudy appearance, and the whole made more show than was ever before made in this city of the kind. There were 338 in procession, from all parts of the state, and if the roads and weather had been good, perhaps, double the number would have been out."¹⁶

One feature of the corner-stone ceremonies was a poem by Sarah F. Bolton, which justly won favor with the brethren, who presented her a silver cup, handsomely engraved in memory of this "fragrant poetic flower".¹⁷ After the services at the site of the building the procession moved to Wesley Chapel where an address was made by Grand Master Deming. The crowd then dispersed, a part to their homes "while a large number went to partake of a supper prepared by the Ladies of Wesley Chapel at the residence of Governor Whitcomb." The building was pushed as rapidly as possible by the architect, Joseph Willis, of Indianapolis, and the building committee, William Sheets, Gov. James Whitcomb, and Austin W. Morris, but it was not finally completed till the spring of 1851, when it was dedicated. The cost of building and grounds to that time had been \$21,693.98. It was a profitable investment, as well as a great benefit to the town, which until then had no adequate hall. The lower story was rented for business purposes, and the hall was the scene of most of the lectures, concerts and other entertainments of the city until after the close of the war. It was sufficiently advanced for occupancy in the summer of 1850, and was first occupied then by Mrs. Le-dernier, for a dramatic reading. The following winter, during the session of the legislature, the hall was occupied by the Constitutional Convention. Its only rivals in the earliest period were two smaller halls, one of which, College Hall, was in the third story of a building erected at the southwest corner of Pennsylvania and Washington streets, by Daniel Yaudes and Thomas H. Sharpe, a short time before Masonic Hall

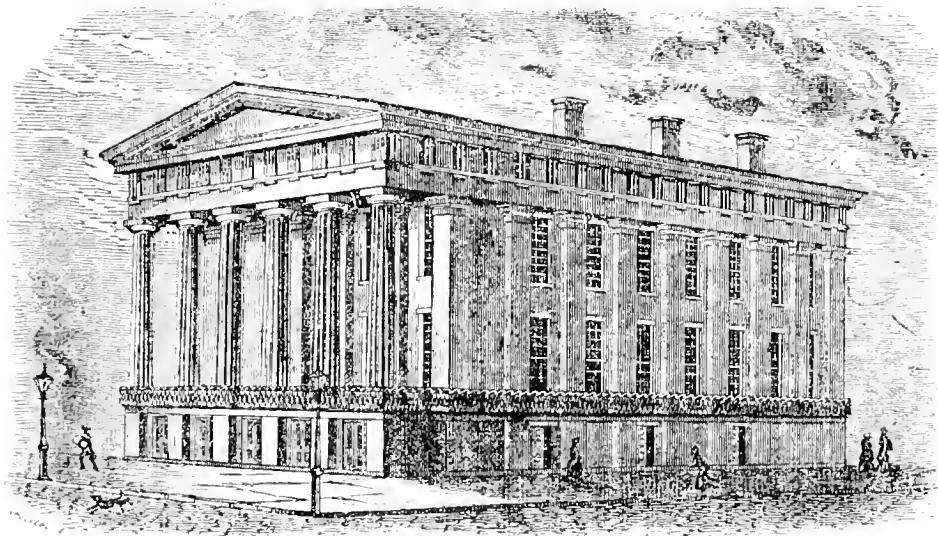
¹⁶*Locomotive*, October 28, 1848.

¹⁷*McDonald's History of Freemasonry in Ind.*, pp. 112-116.

was built. The other, erected a year or two later, was Washington Hall, on Washington street just east of the present Park Theatre, which is still in use. Out of the profits of the building the Grand Lodge bought up the outstanding stock, and became the sole owner of the property.

But like all other buildings, the Masonic Hall got out of repair, and in 1868-9, nearly \$10,000 was expended in repairing and partially remodeling it. In 1873 further alterations were reported necessary, and in 1875 it

to 1887 was ordered, which resulted in a saving of about \$10,000 each two years, which was also applied on the indebtedness. In 1886 the Grand Master announced that the Grand Lodge was out of debt and had about \$12,000 in the treasury. A grand banquet and jubilee was held on the evening of May 26 of that year in honor of the payment of the Grand Lodge indebtedness.¹⁸ The stress of the period, however, warrants McDonald's statement that, "this was the most exciting and trying period the Grand Lodge ever passed through", except-



THE FIRST MASONIC TEMPLE, BUILT 1848-50.

(From an old cut.)

was decided to erect a new building. The committee adopted plans, and let the contract, but did not include a Grand Lodge Hall, and when this was reported considerable feeling was aroused, but the matter was arranged by the adoption of a resolution for the erection of a hall in the rear of the proposed building. When the two were completed the cost was over \$120,000, and the order had a debt of over \$100,000. This came at a time when the hard times following the panic of 1873 were at their worst and was the cause of extensive dissatisfaction. Says McDonald, "An assessment of \$1 yearly on each member in the state was voted to be applied to the indebtedness, and one meeting of the Grand Lodge every two years from 1880

ing, of course, the old Morgan period. It is estimated that 10,000 members dropped out of the order in the ten years, 1876-1886.

For thirty years the second buildings served the needs of the order, but they became inadequate and inconvenient, and there was already talk of remodeling and rebuilding, when, on May 9, 1906, the front building was seriously damaged by fire. This brought matters to a head, and it was decided to build elsewhere, the Grand Lodge uniting for this purpose with an organization from the local bodies known as the Indianapolis Masonic Temple Associa-

¹⁸*Masonic Advocate*, Vol. 42, p.171; *Hist. of Freemasonry in Indiana*, p. 127.

tion. The building committee was composed of Lincoln V. Craven and Alfred W. Emery, outgoing and incoming grand masters of the Grand Lodge, with the Grand Lodge trustees, Isaac P. Leyden, Olin P. Holloway and Frank E. Gavin. In February, 1907, the old temple property was sold for \$205,000, which, with about \$30,000 received as fire insurance on the old building, and other funds on hand made some \$255,000 that the Grand Lodge had available for the work. The Temple Association raised \$125,000, and the work began. The old Mayer homestead, southeast corner of North and Illinois streets, was purchased for \$70,000, and the present massive temple of Indiana limestone was erected at a cost of \$161,000.

The temple, as mentioned is owned jointly by the Grand Lodge and the Indianapolis Temple Association, the latter being composed of 8 local lodges, 2 chapters of Royal Arch Masons, 1 commandery of Knights of Templars, 1 council of Royal and Select Masons, and 2 chapters of the Eastern Star. The Grand Lodge occupies the entire first floor; and the upper floors have the lodge, commandery, chapter and social rooms, with a handsome banquet hall, kitchen and all desirable appurtenances. It is all paid for but about \$135,000 which is practically the debt of the Temple Association, the Grand Lodge having paid its share, substantially. The furnishing of the building is in keeping with its impressive architecture, that of the first floor having cost about \$11,000, and that of the upper floors about \$40,000. The audience room on the first floor seats over 1,100. It is rented to the Christian Science Church for Sunday and some weekly meetings, and is also rented occasionally for select musical and other entertainments.

Center Lodge was the only Masonic organization at Indianapolis, aside from the Grand Lodge, until 1846. In that year Marion Lodge, No. 35, was organized; and an interesting feature of its organization was that Dr. John Evans, later widely known as Governor of Colorado, was its first worshipful master. A generation passed before another permanent lodge was organized. Concordia Lodge, No. 178, was chartered in 1855, but its charter was "arrested", September 19, 1865. In 1864 Capital City Lodge, No. 312, was organized, with Aaron D. Ohr as worshipful master; and Ancient Landmarks Lodge, No. 319, with Gen.

John Love as worshipful master. Teutonia Lodge, No. 178, was organized in 1865, with John C. Brinkmeyer as worshipful master, but it did not prosper, and, in 1871, it surrendered its charter. Next followed Mystic Tie Lodge, No. 398, with John Caven as worshipful master, in 1868; Oriental Lodge, No. 500, with Charles P. Jacobs as worshipful master, in 1874; Pentalpha Lodge, No. 564, with Martin H. Rice as worshipful master, in 1881; Logan Lodge, No. 575, with George T. Anderson as worshipful master in 1887; Veritas Lodge, No. 608, with Calvin W. Bush as worshipful master, in 1896.

But while there were only the two lodges of "ancient craft Masonry" at Indianapolis for a number of years, there was a notable development in the higher degrees. The Indianapolis Chapter, No. 5, of Royal Arch Masons was organized February 3, 1846, with John L. Richmond as right worshipful master and high priest. The second Royal Arch chapter, Keystone, No. 6, was chartered October 20, 1870, with Martin H. Rice as high priest. Chivalric Masonry was introduced by the inception of Raper Commandery, No. 1, Knights Templars, in May, 1847, on which occasion Rev. Wm. H. Raper himself was present at the annual meetings of the Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter, on a missionary visit. The organization was perfected in May, 1848. Indianapolis Council, No. 2, of Royal and Select Masters, was organized July 24 and 25, 1855, with Andrew M. Hunt as illustrious master. The Scottish Rite was introduced here in 1863. The original mover for it was Dr. James M. Tomlinson, who called into consultation Caleb B. Smith, who had already taken all the degrees in the order. A number of other Masons were then consulted, and on October 7, 1863, Tomlinson and Smith, with Edwin A. Davis, Wm. John Wallace, Dr. P. G. C. Hunt, John C. New, and Horace W. Smith went to Cincinnati, where, with the exception of Smith, they took the degrees of the Grand Lodge of Perfection and the Council of Princes of Jerusalem. On October 15, Adoniram Grand Lodge was organized, with the above named seven as officers, and also the Saraiat Council of Princes of Jerusalem. The Indianapolis Chapter of Rose Croix and the Indiana Sovereign Consistory were organized, March 7, 1865. Murat Temple of the Ancient Order of Nobles of the

Mystic Shrine was organized, March 13, 1884, with John T. Brush as illustrious potentate. Of the Eastern Star order, Queen Esther Chapter, No. 3, was organized, April 4, 1872; and Naomi Chapter, No. 131, on February 6, 1893. In addition to lodge organizations Indianapolis has two notable Masonic organizations, the Masonic Relief Board, and the Masonic Burial Ground Association. The former was organized in 1868, to look after relief to Masons not connected with local lodges; and the latter was organized in 1813 to provide for the burial of Masons who did not have individual lots. Rev. Willis D. Engle has been secretary of both since January, 1880, and both bear witness to his faithful and efficient service.

The colored Masons are not in affiliation with white Masons in this country, though they claim to be elsewhere throughout the world.¹⁷ Their first lodge in Indianapolis was organized in 1847, under the dispensation from the colored Grand Lodge of Ohio. It was called Union, No. 1, and continued until 1874, when its members united with Pythagoras Lodge to form Central Lodge, which is now No. 1, and the oldest existing lodge in the state. The Grand Lodge of Indiana was organized at Indianapolis in 1855. There are in all 31 lodges in the state, which in 1908 had 4,129 members. In Indianapolis there are five "blue light" lodges with about 500 members; and a commandery of Knights Templars with 186 members. There are also a chapter of Royal Arch Masons, a consistory of Princes of Jerusalem, a council of Knights of Kadosh, a chapter of Rose Croix, a Grand Lodge of Perfection, a Temple of the Mystic Shrine, and two chapters of the Eastern Star. The colored Masons own no real estate in Indianapolis, but have accumulated some funds for purchase, and are now casting about for a suitable location for a home for the Grand Lodge and the local organizations.

The second fraternal organization to be es-

¹⁷The ground of exclusion here is that the original "African lodge" was chartered September 29, 1781, by the Grand Lodge of England, after the Grand Lodge of America had dissolved connection with the British Grand Lodges, on account of the independence of the colonies.—*McDonald, Hist. Freemasonry*, p. 231.

tablished at Indianapolis was the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. This organization probably had its inception in various societies of a social nature in England in the eighteenth century, which gradually took on a benefit character in a small way. The substantial beginning of the modern order was about 1813, when the benefit feature was systematized by the Manchester Unity, which was organized in that year by the reformers of the order. From it the American order is derived, through a charter granted to Thomas Wilder and his associates, who had organized Washington Lodge at Baltimore in April, 1819. There had been some other lodges in New York and New England, but they all eventually recognized Washington Lodge as superior, and the order became homogeneous in the United States. From that time it spread quite rapidly. The first Indiana lodge was organized at New Albany in 1835, and the second at Madison in 1836. These two obtained authority for a Grand Lodge of Indiana, in 1837, which was located at New Albany till 1841, and then moved to Madison. On December 21, 1841, Centre Lodge, No. 18, was instituted at Indianapolis, with William Sullivan as noble grand; the other members being Edgar B. Hoyt, Jacob P. Chapman, William A. Day, Enoch Pile, Jacob B. McChesney, and John Kelley. In 1845, it was decided to move the Grand Lodge to this place, and its first session was opened here on January 19, 1846. There were then 27 lodges with a membership of 768.

The order grew quite rapidly locally. Philoxenian Lodge, No. 44, was instituted July 8, 1847, with Harvey Brown as noble grand; Capital, No. 124, on January 20, 1853, with John Dunn as noble grand; Germania, No. 129, on January 24, 1853, with Charles Coulton as noble grand. Also Metropolitan Encampment, No. 5, was instituted July 20, 1846, with Jacob P. Chapman as chief patriarch, and Marion Encampment, No. 35, on March 24, 1853, with Obad Foote as chief patriarch. In the winter of 1853 the order began preparation for a Grand Lodge building by organizing a stock company. Subscriptions amounting to \$45,000 were made by the Grand and subordinate lodges, and individuals; and in February the lot at the northeast corner of Pennsylvania and Washington was purchased

for \$17,000. On this site had stood the store of Colonel Russell and Wm. Conner, later that of Smith & Hanna. A plan was adopted, later modified by Francis Costigan, a local architect, who also built the old postoffice and the Oriental Hotel—now part of the Grand; but the building was finished by D. A. Bohlen. It was dedicated with imposing ceremonies on May 21, 1856. It was an unique but attractive structure of an oriental cast of architecture, and probably drew more attention than any building ever erected in Indianapolis. It was remodeled in 1872; the dome removed, and a mansard roof added; otherwise it remained the same until 1907—stuccoed within and without,—when it was torn down to make place for the present building.

The building was notable as a business success. The cost of building and grounds was about \$62,000, on which it paid good interest. The ground floors were occupied as business rooms and commanded high rentals. The second floor was occupied by the city offices from 1855 to 1862, when they were removed to Glenn's block (site of New York store), and after that by private offices. The third floor was occupied by the lodge rooms, which were used by the Grand and local subordinate lodges. The present building, erected in 1907-8, appears to be a worthy successor as a financial investment. It cost \$544,000, and has a rental income of about \$90,000.

The colored Odd Fellows are members of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows—the parent order of England. The American order—L. O. O. F.—declined to issue a dispensation to Patrick H. Reason and other negroes of New York who desired to form a lodge, and through Peter Ogden, a seafaring negro, they obtained a dispensation from England and instituted Philomathean Lodge, No. 616, at New York, on March 1, 1843. The order spread rapidly, and with the female degree—the "Household of Ruth"—has largely over 100,000 members. It has 42 lodges and about 1,500 members in the state. Of these, 4 lodges, with 350 members, are at Indianapolis. The Gerritt Smith Lodge, No. 1797, Lincoln Union Lodge, No. 1486 and O. P. Morton Lodge, No. 1986, jointly, own the property, 531-6 Indiana avenue, valued at \$40,000. The two Indianapolis lodges of the Household of

Ruth meet there. The Southside Lodge occupies rented quarters.

Odd Fellowship, in the American order, has been a thing of progressive development, which may be said to have started with John Pawson Entwistle, who joined the order in 1820, and whose initiative work has been carried forward by able successors. One development of especial local interest was the adoption of the Rebekah Degree in 1851-2, for women as well as men, of which Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana was the author. His statue in University Park is in commemoration of his service. The sequence of the existing degrees of the order was completed in 1885, by the organization of the uniform branch of the Patriarchs Militant. An interesting feature of the order's history is in connection with the Civil War, which practically divided it, as it did other orders, churches, and various organizations. But during the war the roll call of the Southern jurisdictions was maintained at the annual sessions of the Sovereign Grand Lodge; and at the session of September 18, 1865, all survivors from those jurisdictions answered to the call, as well as appointees for the others, making the list complete. This was the first known fraternization of the Blue and the Gray, and the representatives of the reunited order joined in a monster parade, on the following day, through the streets of Baltimore. Among the specially notable celebrations of the order at Indianapolis have been "the Diamond Celebration" of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the order in America, on May 16, 1894; and the laying of the corner-stone of the new temple on November 21, 1907, both of which were occasions of large gatherings of the members of the order.

On the first of January, 1909, the order included 754 lodges in Indiana, with a total membership of 76,326. There was paid out for relief during the year \$311,848, the benefits reaching 4,471 families. This brought the total paid out for relief and charity in Indiana, since the establishment of the Grand Lodge in 1837, to \$6,062,460. There are 17 subordinate lodges of this order in Indianapolis, with a membership of 1,000; 6 encampments, with a membership of about 800; 15 Rebekah lodges with a membership of 2,200, and 3 cantons of Patriarchs Militant. Philoxenian Lodge, No. 11, owns its building on North Meridian street,

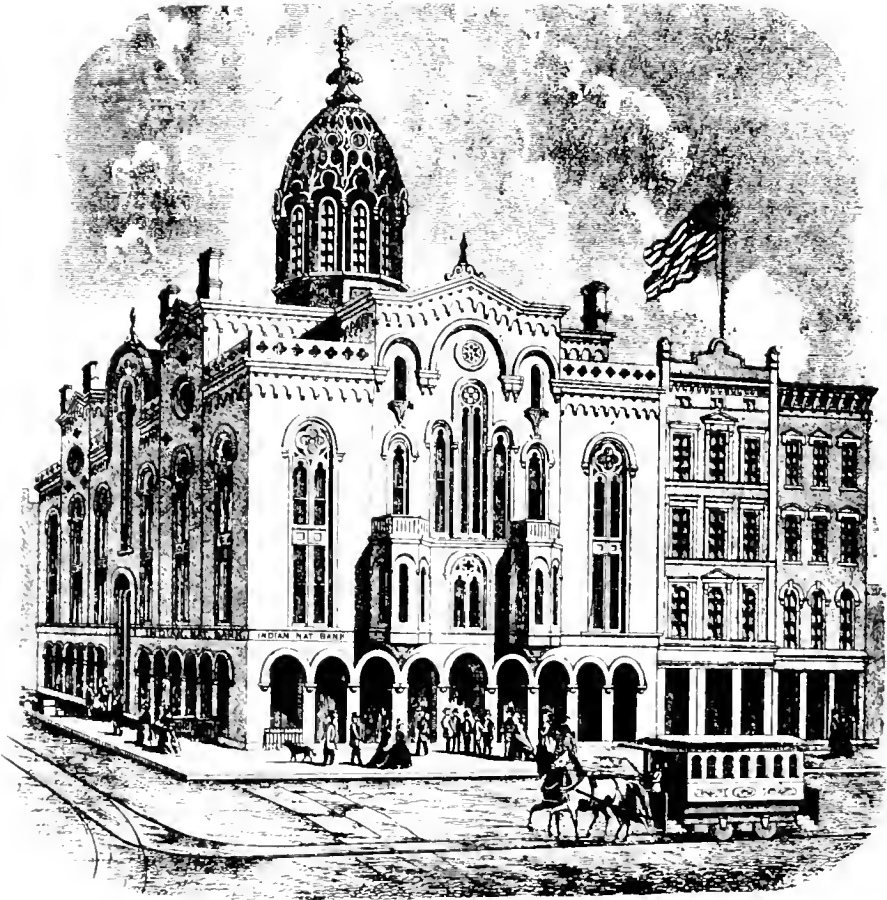
valued at \$65,000; Capital Lodge, No. 121, its building on Washington street, valued at \$40,000; Indianapolis Lodge, No. 165, its building on Virginia avenue, valued at \$40,000; Harris Lodge, No. 614, its building on West Washington street (Mt. Jackson), valued at \$12,000; and Samaritan Lodge (West Indianapolis) its building, valued at \$5,000. Meridian Lodge, No. 180, has purchased a lot for \$22,000, but has not yet built.

The ranking organization in Indianapolis in membership is the Improved Order of Red Men, which has over 6,000 members in its 21 local tribes. This order holds itself a development from the patriotic orders of Colonial America—the Sons of Liberty, Tammany Society, and the later Society of Red Men, organized during the War of 1812. The present order was started in March, 1834, by the organization of Logan Tribe, No. 1, at Baltimore. It was originally brought into Indiana by the organization of Seneca Tribe, No. 1, at Metamora, on December 28, 1853. Other tribes followed, at Laurel, Terre Haute, Edinburg and Franklin; and on May 11, 1855, a Great Council was instituted. The organization did not thrive, and in the course of two or three years became practically extinct in the state. After the Civil War efforts were made to revive it, the only tribe then in existence being Wyandotte, No. 8, of Richmond, which was organized in 1859. Tippecano Tribe, No. 9, was organized in 1866 at Patriot; Iroquois, No. 10, at Brookville in 1867; Wabash, No. 11, at Lafayette on June 1, 1868; and Kanaghwagh, No. 12, at Attica, on August 24, 1868. On December 19, 1868, the Great Council was revived, at Patriot, and still continues; but the earlier lodges became extinct, and the oldest now in existence is Wabash, No. 11.

For twenty years the order grew slowly, there being less than 1,800 members in the state in 1887. It originally admitted men engaged in the retail liquor business, but later this was made optional, and in 1899 the Great Council of Indiana excluded them. The first tribe organized in Indianapolis was Polmete, No. 17, on May 2, 1870, and it is still in existence. It is the only tribe in the state that transacts business in German. Red Cloud Tribe, No. 18, was organized August 9, 1870, and is now the largest in the state, having 916 members.

The total membership in the state at the last Great Council meeting (October 20, 1908) was 56,527. Four of the Indianapolis tribes have buildings of their own, as follows: Comanche, No. 128, in West Indianapolis, valued at \$10,000; Tishimingo, No. 210, at Seventeenth and Roosevelt, valued at \$10,000; Itasca, No. 252, at Indiana avenue and New York, valued at \$55,000; and Winamac, No. 219, in North Indianapolis, valued at \$10,000. In 1905 the Indianapolis Wigwam Association was formed by the five tribes, Polmete, No. 17; Red Cloud, No. 18; Minnewa, No. 38; Hawatha, No. 15; and Newasa, No. 190. It has purchased the old Haucisen residence, at the southeast corner of North and Capitol avenue, and will soon erect a handsome and commodious building. The first council fire of the Degree of Pocahontas, to which both men and women are admitted, was instituted at Philadelphia, February 28, 1887, and it was introduced into Indiana in the same year. There were 18,504 members of this degree in Indiana in October, 1908, of whom 1,922 were in the 13 council fires, located at Indianapolis.

For rapid development, the most notable order in Indianapolis is the Knights of Pythias. As is commonly known, it was originated at Washington, February 19, 1864, through the efforts of Justus H. Rathbone. The first lodge then formed was Washington No. 1. It was followed on April 12, by Franklin Lodge No. 2, and soon by two others, all of which united in forming a Grand Lodge on April 8, 1865. Then ensued an extraordinary reversal, and by August 17, 1865, Franklin Lodge No. 2, was the only one in existence. But its members were "stayers." They assumed the functions of a Grand Lodge until a new one was organized on May 1, 1866; and prosecuted missionary work with such vigor that on December 31, 1866, there were four active lodges, all in Washington, with a membership of 379. From that time it grew rapidly. It was introduced in Indianapolis in 1869. A dispensation had been issued to Charles P. Carty, Albert McLane and others to form a lodge on June 1, 1869; but when it came to the formal institution on July 12, there were 21 applicants, and it was determined to form two lodges, whereupon Marion Lodge No. 1 and Olive Branch, No. 2, were instituted. Three lodges were instituted at Ft. Wayne during



THE FIRST ODD FELLOWS HALL.

the summer, and on October 20, 1869, the Grand Lodge of Indiana was organized, with Charles P. Carty as Venerable Grand Patriarch, and John Cayen as Grand Chancellor. On May 1, 1871, there were nine active lodges in the state with membership of over 700. On June 30, 1908, there were 491 lodges in the state, with a reported membership of 63,236; of which 14 lodges and 1,123 members were located at Indianapolis.

One of the striking buildings of Indianapolis is the "flatiron," Indiana Pythian Building, at the corner of Pennsylvania street and Massachusetts avenue. It was erected in 1905-6 at a cost of \$517,700, the ground costing \$47,500, and dedicated with imposing ceremonies, and accompanying celebration, August 12-17, 1907. The order occupies about two full floors of the building, and the remaining eleven are rented, the rental, when fully occupied, being about \$100,000 a year, and the running expense and fixed charges, about one-half of that amount. Southeast of this building, at Nos. 115-119 East Ohio street, is the lodge building of Indianapolis Lodge No. 56; one of the three largest lodge buildings in the country; and the lodge, now numbering 880 members, is the largest in Indiana. The property is valued at \$61,000, and the ground floor is rented for \$1,700; the remaining three stories are used by the lodge. This building was put up without assessment of members, or stock issue, the money being borrowed; and the lodge is gradually paying the loan from its receipts. One block east, on the north side of Ohio street, is Castle Hall, the property of the Indianapolis Castle Hall Association, which was formed in 1901, by six local lodges, Marion, No. 1; Olive Branch, No. 2; Star, No. 7; Excelsior, No. 25; Capital City, No. 97; and Nineteenth Century, No. 197. The fifth and sixth floors are reserved for lodge purposes, including social and banquet rooms; and there remain for rental 5 store rooms and 14 office rooms. The total investment for building and grounds was \$103,000. The annual rental receipts are about \$13,000, of which a little less than \$8,000 goes for running expense and interest, leaving a surplus of over \$5,000.

The ladies' auxiliary branch of this order is the Pythian Sisters, which is peculiarly an Indiana institution. The first temple was organized at Warsaw, Indiana, in 1888. On June

1, 1889, the Grand Temple of Indiana was instituted at Indianapolis. The organization developed quite rapidly, and the Supreme Temple (National), was organized at Indianapolis in the same year. There are now over 50,000 members, of whom about one-fifth are in Indiana. There are four temples in Indianapolis, with something over 400 members. The Improved Order of Knights of Pythias is the result of a split of the original order on the subject of language. The original Knights of Pythias allowed ritual work in any language, but in 1892 it restricted it to the English language, not only as to future lodges, but also as to those then existing. There were at the time, 93 lodges in the order using German rituals, and representatives of these with 13 others met at Indianapolis on June 12, 1893, and protested, and petitioned for a revocation of the decree. They were much incensed by the scant consideration their petition received, and withdrew in a body, taking about 20,000 members. On December 18, 1893, the seceding lodges organized a Supreme Lodge, at Buffalo, N. Y., and began their independent existence. There are now 41 lodges in Indiana, of which 7, with about 1,200 members are in Indianapolis. The order is not exclusively German, as is quite commonly understood, but allows the same latitude in language as the original Knights. Four of the Indianapolis lodges use the English ritual. In September, 1906, representatives of the Indianapolis lodges formed a stock company called the Castle Hall Association, the object being to provide a suitable building for the local lodges, to whom it is to be turned over as soon as fully paid for. In 1909, the association bought the old Board of Trade building, southeast corner of Capitol avenue and Maryland street. The cost, with some little alteration and repair, was \$62,000. About two full floors are occupied by the lodges and the rental from the remainder is over \$7,000 a year. The office of the Supreme Scribe, E. F. Knodel, is also located in this building.

The colored organization of Knights of Pythias claims to have originated with colored men who were admitted to some of the Eastern lodges, and who withdrew because a separate charter for a colored lodge was refused. The order was organized in 1880, and the first lodge in Indiana was established at Evans-

ville, in 1889. This lodge is now extinct, and the oldest lodge in the state is Pride of the West, No. 2, of Indianapolis. There are 11 lodges of the order in Indianapolis, with about 1,200 members. Four of these, Pride of the West, No. 2; Marion, No. 5; Montgomery, No. 6; and Compeer, No. 31, have formed a Castle Hall Association, and purchased the property known as 101 North Senate, where they expect to build soon. The women's auxiliary organizations of this order are called Courts of Calanthe. There are five of these in Indianapolis, with about 400 members.

The Royal Arcanum is a fraternal insurance and benefit association, which was organized at Boston in 1877, and has paid over \$125,000,000 to beneficiaries since that time. Its total membership, May 31, 1909, was 242,873. It has 43 councils in Indiana, with 3,200 members. It was introduced in Indianapolis—and in the state—in 1879; and now has 3 councils and 400 members in this city. Membership is restricted to white males, and the Gulf States, and adjoining territory subject to epidemics, are excluded from its benefits. The order owns no real estate in Indiana, and indeed none in the United States, except the Supreme Council's building in Boston, which was completed in 1872. The chief object of the organization is cheap insurance for its members. It has an invested "emergency fund" of over \$5,000,000 used exclusively for death claims.

The Knights and Ladies of Honor is a comparatively new order that has been making rapid progress without much parade. Its first lodge was organized in Kentucky, in September, 1877, and the Supreme Lodge was incorporated by the Kentucky legislature in 1878, the charter being amended by the act of December 14, 1881. It is a purely beneficiary order, confined to the United States, with no uniform rank. It is notable as the first order to admit women on terms of absolute equality with men in all respects, the charter membership provision extending to "all acceptable white persons, male and female." On November 25, 1894, the Supreme Lodge filed articles of incorporation with the Secretary of State of Indiana, and removed to Indianapolis thereafter. In 1903 it purchased the property known as 429 North Pennsylvania street, which was for many years the residence of Senator Joseph

E. McDonald, and erected its handsome "temple" there. It paid \$48,000 for the property, and the cost of the building, including the heating plant on the rear of the lot, was \$43,500. The order has now over 95,000 members, and the annual receipts of the Supreme Lodge are over \$1,500,000. The order extends to all part of the United States, and is especially strong in New York. In Indianapolis there are about 1,500 members, forming 14 subordinate lodges, five of which meet in the temple, and the other in rented quarters. The Supreme Protector is S. B. Watts, of Meridian, Mississippi, and the Supreme Secretary, Geo. D. Tait, of Indianapolis.

The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks might be called the fraternity of "Bohemia," at least in its inception. Its original constitution, adopted in March, 1868, restricted it to "members of the theatrical, minstrel, musical, equestrian and literary professions, and others who sympathize with and approve of the object in view," which was "to promote, protect and enhance the welfare and happiness of each other." But like most other organizations it broadened, and its new constitution, adopted at Denver, in June, 1906, the professional limitation was dropped formally, as in fact it had always been practically, and the object was declared to be "to inculcate the principles of Charity, Justice, Brotherly Love and Fidelity; to promote the welfare and enhance the happiness of its members; to quicken the spirit of American patriotism; to cultivate good fellowship; to perpetuate itself as a fraternal organization and to provide for its government." Membership is restricted to white males. Only one lodge is allowed in a city, and none in a place of less than 5,000 inhabitants. It has a ritual inculcating morality, but makes no assumption of religious functions and has no religious rites. It is beneficiary and charitable in a practical way, but does not make public the names of beneficiaries.

The organization developed from a convivial association of actors and others, with headquarters at Mrs. Geisman's boarding-house, 188 Elm street, New York City. It was called The Jolly Corks, and was really formed to evade the Sunday liquor laws. Most of the members were English, and had been members of similar organizations in the old country, which held such titles as "The Frolicsome

Oysters," "The Rollicking Rams," "The Bounding Buffalos," etc. The name was due to an initiatory ceremony. Each member carried a cork, and the new member, being furnished with one, was taught a new game, in which a signal was given, and the last one to knock over his cork, which had been set on end, on the bar, treated the crowd. The new member, of course, knocked his cork promptly, and no one else did, so that his election was indisputable. Among these was George F. McDonald, who conceived the idea of making the association of practical use in the aid of members in need. There was some opposition, under the lead of Charles Vivian, who finally proposed to make it a branch of the English order of Buffalos, of which he was a member; but the new order was instituted on February 16, 1868, its name being suggested by a mounted Elk's head at Barnum's museum. It may be added that scientists usually consider the moose the true elk of this country, it being similar to, if not the same as, the European elk. What we call the elk—the wapiti—corresponds to the European stag. On account of this confusion, the scientific name of the moose was used for some time as a password by the order of Elks.

The constitution, by-laws and ritual of the new order were chiefly the work of Henry P. O'Neil, who had been a professional gymnast, but with educational tendencies; and was then the principal of New York Grammar School, No. 1, and entitled to add B. A., M. A., and Ph. D. to his signature. The order grew quite rapidly, and was incorporated by the New York legislature March 19, 1871. Its introduction in Indianapolis—and in Indiana—was due to Geo. W. June, who obtained a dispensation and with the aid of James V. Cook and others, obtained a list of 80 signers to the petition for a charter. Indianapolis Lodge, No. 13, was duly instituted March 20, 1881, with W. E. English as Exalted Ruler. On May 19, 1881, the new lodge had a volunteer benefit at English's, largely of members of Haverly's minstrels, then here. This was followed by annual benefits from various companies, until November 5, 1886, when the first regular Elks Minstrels was given, with W. E. English as interlocutor, and F. P. Wade, J. H. Martin, Pink Hall and Bob Johnson as end men. This proved popular, and its annual presentation has become a feature of Indianapolis amuse-

ment. This was a suggestion of June's and has since been widely imitated elsewhere. The reported total membership of the Elks, April 1, 1908, was 284,324, in 1,119 lodges. There are 54 lodges in Indiana, and the membership in Indianapolis is about 800. The Indianapolis lodge has had notable recognition by the national body, two of its members, W. E. English and Joseph T. Farring, having filled the highest office, which is Grand Exalted Ruler; Geo. W. June has served as Grand Tyler, and Frank P. Wade was Grand Chaplain. In 1902, the Indianapolis lodge erected its handsome and commodious building on Maryland street, which was dedicated on June 13, of that year. The cost of the building and grounds was about \$40,000. A pleasant and commendable institution of the Indianapolis Elks is their annual picnic or outing for the orphans of the city, which includes those from all the orphans' homes except the Lutheran, who do not participate on account of their objections to secret societies.

The Tribe of Ben Hur is an order of special local interest on account of its origin. It is based, in its ritual, on Gen. Lew Wallace's famous book; and the order grew from a conference held with Wallace by D. W. Gerard and F. L. Snyder, in November, 1893. Wallace then agreed to the founding of the order on his story, and to get the consent of his publishers. The order was incorporated in Indiana, January 9, 1894, and the first meeting of the Supreme Tribe was held at Crawfordsville on January 16. The first subordinate court was instituted at Crawfordsville, March 1, 1894, and named Simonides Court, No. 1. The beneficiary plan was perfected soon after, the first certificate being issued on April 5. It grew rapidly, attaining a membership of 12,322 by January 1, 1897. In July, 1909, its membership reached 110,000 and its reserve fund, \$1,300,000. It is a beneficial fraternity, with no assessments, but regular monthly payments by members; the social members paying one-half the rate of those who participate in sick benefits. Death and disability insurance is a separate matter with rates graded by age. Men and women are admitted on a basis of absolute equality. The headquarters of the order is at Crawfordsville, where the Supreme Tribe owns a modest "home," that cost \$6,600. Members applying for insurance must pass a

medical examination, and the amount issued to any one person cannot exceed \$3,000.

The order was introduced in Indianapolis in 1894, when *Arrius Court*, No. 5, was organized. It now has 400 members. The succeeding Courts, with their present membership, were *Indiana*, in 1902, with 103 members; *Riverside*, 1903, with 55 members; *Star*, 1904, with 170 members; and *Astrea*, in 1908, with 99 members; there are also two smaller Courts, *Daphne*, No. 25, organized in 1896, with 48 members; and *Sedan*, organized in 1902, with 29 members.

An interesting event in the local history of this order was its fight to put the statue of Gen. Lew Wallace in the national statuary hall, at Washington. Each state is allowed two statues of distinguished citizens, or persons connected with its history, and a statue of Oliver P. Morton had been placed there by order of the legislature of 1897. The question took on a political character. Democrats, generally, felt that the other statue should be of Thomas A. Hendricks, and Republicans, generally, were determined that it should not be. The legislature of 1907, being Republican in both branches, the party leaders decided to settle the matter, supposing that there would be no difficulty in passing an act to place a statue of ex-President Harrison in the other place. But the Tribe of Ben Hur was promptly on hand with a demand for Lew Wallace. The *Star*, which favored Harrison, made the question the subject of a coupon voting contest. Democrats, realizing that they were not in the game, paid little attention to it; but the labor organizations started a movement for Edward F. Gould, of Indianapolis, whose sole claim was that he had been a devoted labor leader through his life. In spite of opposition efforts, Wallace was kept in the lead, and when the *Star* closed its contest on January 27, 1907, the vote stood: Wallace, 10,487; Harrison, 9,196; Gould, 5,151; and Hendricks, 4,083; with a dozen others having smaller votes, notable among whom was Capt. James B. Eads, perhaps the most distinguished Indianian of them all—certainly the greatest civil engineer of the nineteenth century, American or foreign—who had a total of 5 votes. Meanwhile, the bill passed the Senate easily on January 25, and, notwithstanding a strong fight against it, on February 27, received the bare constitutional majority of 51 to 44 in the House. Wallace

was a native of Indiana, which Harrison was not, and he had been a Democrat before the war; so that the selection was not so bitter a political pill as had been contemplated. But it should not be forgotten that the statue is a monument to the Tribe of Ben Hur, in addition to its other significance.

The German order of *Harugari*, originated in New York in 1847, and was largely a result of opposition to "Knownothingism." It is a fraternal benevolent order, with sick and death benefits. It was introduced in Indianapolis in 1875, and there are now two lodges here, each of about 50 members. *Schiller lodge*, No. 381, is a men's lodge, and *Hertha*, No. 43, is a woman's lodge. They occupy rented property. The *Sons of Herman* is also a German order which originated in New York in 1848, largely based on opposition to "Knownothingism," and also to combat a system of peonage that had grown up of selling immigrants to pay their passage money. An unsuccessful attempt was made to introduce it in Indianapolis in 1884, and it was permanently introduced in 1896. There are now 67 lodges in the state, of which 2, with about 100 members, are located at Indianapolis.

The Ancient Order of Druids was founded in London in 1781, and suffered various splits and factional troubles. The chief body derived from it was the United Ancient Order of Druids, which was originally introduced in this country in 1833. It did not live long, and in 1839, *George Washington Grove*, No. 1, was organized at New York City, and from that time the order grew steadily in the United States. It is a moral, social, beneficiary assessment association. There is an auxiliary branch to which women are admitted, the lodges of which are called "circles." This was one of the early orders in Indianapolis, the first grove—*Octavia*—having been organized in 1854. It was a German grove, and indeed the order was German, but this characteristic has gradually worked out and the Indianapolis groves are now all conducted in English. *Manilla*, *Tuxedo*, and other early groves have disappeared, and *Octavia Grove* was consolidated with *Capital City Grove* in 1909. There are now six groves in the city—*Capital City*, *Klondike*, *Garfield*, *Meridian*, *Lincoln* and *Magnolia*—and 1,700 members, including the circles, of which there is one for each grove. A grand grove of the state was organized in

1860. There have been one or two splits in this order, the last local one being in 1909, when Model Grove, No. 34, withdrew and started on an independent career, under the name of Modern Druids. The chief cause of this separation, was the objection of those withdrawing, to the admission to the United Ancient Order of Druids of persons engaged in the liquor business.

There are a number of sick and funeral benefit associations among the negroes of Indianapolis, both for men and for women. Perhaps the oldest and most important of these is the United Brothers of Friendship, which was organized at Louisville, August 1, 1861. The controlling spirit soon became W. J. Gibson, a Louisville teacher, under whose leadership the society was reorganized in 1868. A grand lodge was formed in Kentucky in 1875, with Gibson as State Grand Master for five years and later National Grand Master. He pushed the work of organization outside of Kentucky, and in 1900, there were over 100,000 members. In 1878, a women's auxiliary was formed, known as the Sisters of the Mysterious-Ten. There are 5 lodges of the United Brothers in Indianapolis, with 850 members, and 6 lodges of the Sisters, with 800 members. There is also a juvenile auxiliary with 300 members. Another of the older of these orders is the American Doves of Protection, with membership for women only, the first lodge of which was established here in 1865. It now has 105 members, and there is another local lodge of the order with 85 members. Another women's order is the Lilies of the Valley, which has one lodge here with 25 members. There are also 5 lodges of the Sisters of Charity; 2 lodges of the Daughters of Charity; 1 lodge of the Independent Daughters of Honor; and 5 lodges of True Reformers. An interesting society is the International Order of Twelve, of Knights and Daughters of Tabor, which was founded at Independence, Mo., in 1872, by Rev. Moses Dickson, a Methodist minister. It is based, in a way, on a secret anti-slavery association of negroes, in 1846, known as the Order of Twelve, and a later one of the same kind, known as the Knights of Tabor. The Knights meet in "temples," the Daughters in "tabernacles," and as Princes and Princesses of the Royal House of Media, they assemble socially in "palatiums." The juvenile auxiliaries are Maids and Pages of Honor, and the adults

are commonly known as Knights of Tabor and Daughters of the Tabernacle.

The Knights of the Maccabees of the World, is a fraternal beneficiary association, organized at Port Huron, Mich., in 1883. It now has about 5,000 tents, or subordinate lodges, and 300,000 members. There are 190 tents in Indiana, of which 5, with a membership of 1,360 are in Indianapolis. The first tent was organized here in 1903. All of the tents occupy rented quarters. Co-ordinate with this organization, but wholly independent in management, is The Ladies of the Maccabees of the World, for women only, organized at Port Huron, October 1, 1892. It has a membership of over 150,000, and has paid benefits of over \$6,000,000. The order was introduced in Indianapolis in the year of its organization, and now has 7 hives and 550 members in this city. The Knights of the Modern Maccabees is similar to the preceding, and was organized at Port Huron in 1881. It has one tent in Indianapolis.

The Modern Woodmen of America, is a fraternal beneficiary organization, formed at Wines, Iowa, in 1883. On June 30, 1909, it had reached a membership of 1,075,968. It has 580 camps and 45,030 members in Indiana. Of these, 12 camps and 3,500 members are in Indianapolis. This order has the distinction of establishing the first sanatorium for its members who contract tuberculosis. It includes 1,900 acres of land, lying some 9 miles south of Colorado Springs and afflicted members are there given the modern open air treatment, free of charge. The auxiliary branch of this order is known as the Royal Neighbors of America. Members of the Woodmen and their female relatives are eligible to membership in it.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians is an outgrowth of the patriotic Irish Catholic societies of the last century, in the period preceding the Catholic Emancipation act. It was introduced in America in 1836, and was brought to Indiana about 1865 by Pennsylvania coal miners, who located in Clay county. From there it was brought to Indianapolis some two years later. There are now eight divisions of the order in this city, with about 1,000 members. The Ladies' Auxiliary, properly known as "The Daughters of Erin," is more extensive, having nine divisions and 1,100 members. There is also a Juvenile Auxiliary of girls. This is a beneficiary order, but its central in-

spiration is devotion to Ireland and the Irish cause. Some injustice is done this order by confusing it with the "Molly Maguires" of Pennsylvania, which was a separate organization, though its members usually were Hibernians. After the "Molly Maguires" was broken up, the Ancient Order of Hibernians was reorganized in the coal regions on the peaceable and benevolent basis that characterized it elsewhere. The Catholic Knights of America is

and death benefits are optional with the subordinate councils. Its councils for women are known as The Ladies' Auxiliary in the East, and the Young Ladies' Institute in the West. There is also a junior rank for boys of 15 to 18. It was introduced in Indiana in 1895, and now has 30 councils in the state, of which 8, with about 1,500 members are in Indianapolis. They own no real estate, but Capitol Council, No. 276, has accumulated a considerable fund which is expected to be used for a building. This order corresponds to some extent to the Y. M. C. A., especially in its provision for athletics and gymnasia. Many of the councils encourage debating societies and other forms of intellectual culture. Its greatest strength is in the West, notably in California.

The Knights of Columbus is a strong Catholic beneficial association for men. It was organized in March, 1882, at New Haven, Connecticut, where the principal offices are located, and has 262,000 members. There are 42 councils in Indiana, with 6,200 members, and one in Indianapolis with 550 members. Indianapolis Council, No. 437, was organized June 25, 1899, and was the first in the state. It recently purchased the property known as 707 and 709 North Illinois street for \$19,500, and expects to begin in 1910 the erection of a building costing \$50,000 or more. This order is largely devoted to intellectual development of its members, of which there are two classes, insurance and associate. It has about \$70,000,000 of insurance in effect. It excludes persons in the liquor business.

The Catholic Order of Foresters is a fraternal insurance association, organized May 24, 1883. It has 140,000 members, and 1,625 subordinate courts, in Canada and the United States, excluding the extreme southern state as subject to epidemics. It was introduced in Indiana at Hammond in 1890. There are two courts in Indianapolis with about 150 members—St. John's Court, organized May 6, 1905, and St. Anthony's Court, organized in 1907. During its existence the order has paid over \$12,000,000 in benefits. There is also a women's lodge of this order in Indianapolis. The Knights of Father Mathew is a fraternal beneficiary society, especially devoted to the promotion of total abstinence. It is named for Father Theobald Mathew, a Capuchin, who started the great temperance reform in Ireland in 1838 and pushed it to wonderful



THE SECOND MASONIC TEMPLE.

a fraternal, beneficiary order, but is not a secret society in any sense. It was founded in 1877, and is limited to the United States, being strongest in the West and South. There are three "branches" in Indianapolis.

The Young Men's Institute is a Catholic fraternal association, which was organized in 1880 at San Francisco, by four young men, who desired a fraternal organization of American Catholics of all nationalities. It is restricted to the United States and its possessions, and has some 30,000 members. Sick

success. "The Apostle of Temperance" visited the United States in 1849, and was asked to speak in the national House and Senate, being the first foreigner to whom that honor was accorded since Lafayette. He was invited to visit Indiana, but was unable to accept.

Of the distinctive Hebrew organizations, the oldest in Indianapolis is the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith (Sons of the Covenant). It was originated in 1813 in New York City, as a fraternal, charitable and benevolent society, its chief direct aim being to foster education and social uplift among the immigrant Jews, most of whom were of the peasant classes. It was originally of a patriarchal form of government but took on a thoroughly representative basis at its reorganization in 1869. In 1882 the order was introduced in Germany, and it is now world wide, having about 500 lodges and 40,000 members. It was introduced in Indianapolis in 1862 by the organization of Abraham Lodge; and Esther Lodge was organized in 1881. In 1908 these two were combined in Indianapolis Lodge, which has 300 members. The beneficiary features are optional with subordinate lodges; and Abraham Lodge had an endowment system which continues as to its surviving members. The present Indianapolis lodge is wholly sociable and charitable, contributing to the numerous splendid charities of the order, among which are notable the Jewish Orphan Asylum, at Cleveland, Ohio, and the Consumptive Hospital at Denver, Colorado, admission to which is open to all sects. It holds its meetings in the vestry room of the temple, at Delaware and Tenth streets.

The largest of the Hebrew fraternities in this city is the Order of B'rith Abraham (covenant of Abraham) which originated in New York in 1859. It is both beneficiary and charitable with educational features. Lodges for women, relatives of members, are formed under sanction of the Grand Lodge. Over half of the lodges and the membership are in New York City. There are three lodges in Indianapolis, the Rev. M. Messing Lodge, No. 137, organized in 1892, with 180 members; the Hungarian True Brothers Lodge, No. 201, with 100 members—organized in 1895; and the Indianapolis Lodge, No. 239, organized in 1897, with 186 members. There is an offshoot of this organization known as the Independent Order

of B'rith Abraham. It is represented here by Zion Lodge, organized in 1900, which has 200 members. The Independent Order of Sons of Benjamin is also a charitable and benevolent association, on the mutual assessment basis, which originated in New York in 1877. It has one lodge here with 40 members. The Knights of Joseph, of similar character, has one lodge in Indianapolis, with 30 members. There are several Hebrew fraternities on a more purely insurance basis, one of the largest of which at this point is the Progressive Order of the West. It has two local lodges, the Abraham Jacobs, organized in 1902, with 120 members; and the Jacob Schiff, organized in 1909, with 60 members. The Order of the Western Star has one local lodge, with 200 members, organized in 1895.

There are a number of orders that have been represented here in the past which are now out of existence or at least not now represented in Indianapolis. An example is the Heptasophis, or Seven Wise Men, which had two lodges here in the '70s. Most of these were small and unimportant orders. Perhaps the largest was the American Protective Association—the noted A. P. A.—whose cardinal principle was hostility to Catholicism in everything, but especially in political matters. There had been a score or more of anti-Catholic fraternities in the country since the great "Know-nothing" movement, but most of them were short-lived, and those that still existed when this one was started were swallowed up in it. The A. P. A. originated in the town of Clinton, Iowa, in 1887. Its founder was H. E. Bowers, a lawyer of that place; and it spread with phenomenal rapidity, especially through the Central West until it was said to be the strongest in numbers, and in the ability and standing of its leaders, of all the organizations of the kind that have been known in the country. It was preparing to enter politics on a large scale, by demands for declarations on the subject by the leading political parties, when the bitter campaign on monetary issues in 1896 put everything else out of the minds of the people. It is said to have been quite strong in Indianapolis at the time, but if it exists here now it is on a very secret basis. About the only manifestation of its former existence is the occasional protestation of some candidate that he did not belong to it.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE PRESS.

The beginnings of newspaper publication in Indianapolis—the *Gazette* by George Smith on January 28, 1822, and the *Western Censor and Emigrants' Guide* by Harvey Gregg and Douglass Maguire on March 7, 1823, have been described in the chapter on "The Primordial Life." These two papers and their legal successors, and occasional offshoots, were practically the only newspapers for the first twenty-five years, and were the leading papers for half a century after that, being the state organs of the two great political parties of the country until they were finally discontinued, the *Journal*—the Whig and Republican successor of the *Censor*—on June 8, 1904, and the *Sentinel*—the Democratic successor of the *Gazette*—on February 25, 1906. Both had numerous changes of control and vicissitudes of fortune. The *Journal* was published longest under one name, though it was the *Indiana Journal* at its beginning under the name on January 11, 1825, varying to the *Indiana State Journal*, and on April 25, 1853, it came out in a new typographical dress as the *Indianapolis Morning Journal*. In August, 1830, the *Indiana Democrat* was started, and the *Gazette* was consolidated with it. This name continued till July 21, 1841, when it was changed to the *Indiana State Sentinel*. On March 1, 1855, there was a change of management, and a prospectus had been issued stating that the name would be changed to the *Times*, but this was dropped, and the paper was continued as the *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*—it had become a daily on April 28, 1851, the *Journal* leading it one week and starting as a daily on April 21, 1851. Both had published dailies during the sessions of the legislature prior to that, the *Sentinel* beginning

on December 6, 1841, and the *Journal* on December 12, 1842. From November 1, 1865, to April 11, 1868, the name of the *Sentinel* was changed to the *Indianapolis Daily Herald*, and then back again to the *Sentinel*, which was retained until the end. And these two papers were the ones that the great majority of the reading public, on one side or the other, loved and cherished, in sickness and in health, till death did them part.

The *Gazette* was originally published by George Smith alone, but his stepson, Nathaniel Bolton, joined him and they conducted the paper together till 1823. Then Bolton ran it for a year, but he persuaded Smith to resume the partnership, and they remained together till 1829. Then Smith retired again, and Bolton continued it till its consolidation with the *Democrat*, which had just been started, in August, 1830. Alexander F. Morrison, the new owner, formed a partnership in 1833 with Nathaniel Bolton; and in 1836 sold his interest to John Livingston, who continued the paper till 1841, when he sold the paper to George A. and Jacob Page Chapman. Alexander F. Morrison was a clear, strong writer, always ready and able for a journalistic "scrap," who made quite a reputation as editor of the *Democrat*, as also in 1856, when he wrote for the *Sentinel*. He was a delegate from Marion County to the Constitutional Convention of 1850, and died at Indianapolis in 1857. John Livingston was a college bred man, of the New York Livingston family, and of rather more literary culture than was common with western editors at the time. The Chapmans, who had been publishing the *Wabash Enquirer*, at Terre Haute, changed the name to the *Sentinel*; and on July 21, 1841, the first number

appeared, bearing a cut of a game-cock in the title and the words, "Crow, Chapman, Crow!" Concerning this motto Austin H. Brown says:

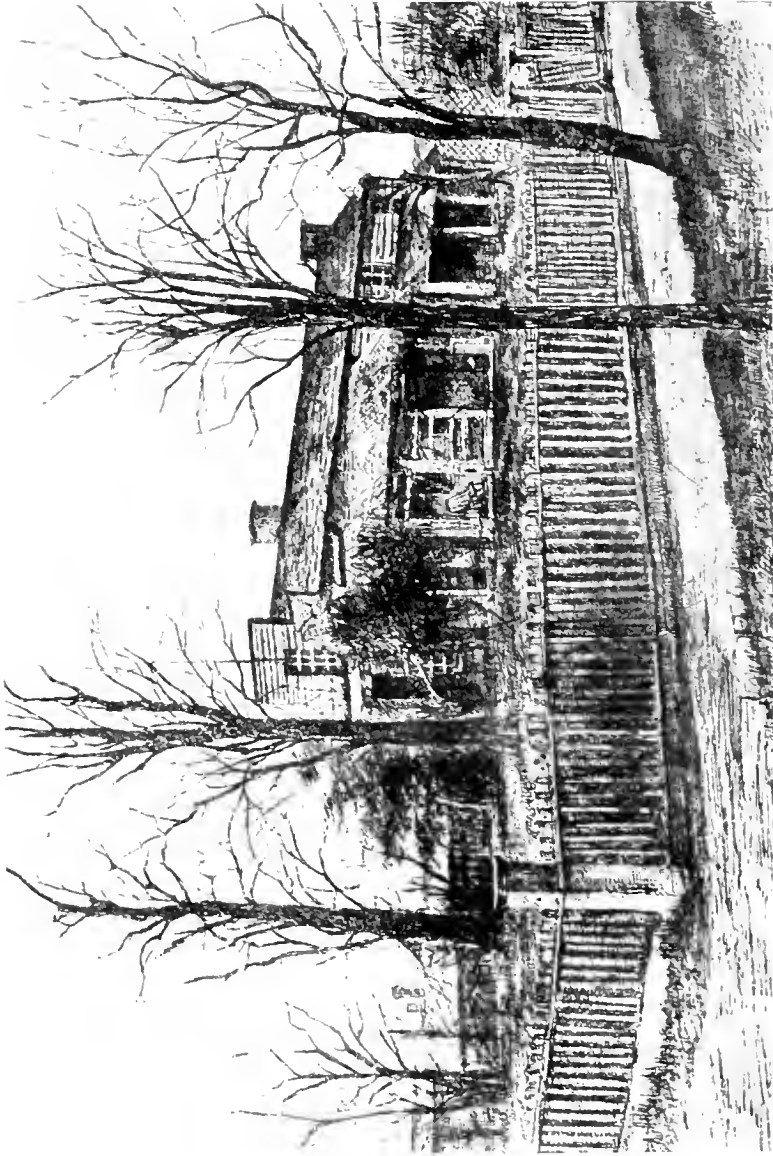
"The incident on which this motto was founded occurred in 1840, and with it these Chapmans had nothing to do. Joseph Chapman was the Democratic candidate for the Senate in Hancock County, and things were looking discouraging for the Van Buren party, when George Patterson wrote a letter to a political friend at Greenfield using this expression, "Tell Chapman to Crow." The letter fell into the hands of a Whig opponent who made it public in the *Journal*, and the Whig press took it up all over the state as evidencing the approaching defeat of the Democrats. The new *Sentinel* proprietors were shrewd Yankees from Boston, and they took hold of the words mentioned, and placing them at the head of their paper in connection with their name, made a hit, and ever since the rooster has been the chosen emblem of the Democrats. The *Sentinel* prospered under the new control. The proprietorship continued in the Chapmans until about seven years later, when John S. Spann was taken into partnership. The firm name thereafter was Chapman & Spann until the sale to myself of the good-will and name of the *Sentinel* in 1850."

Mr. Brown undoubtedly knew the facts, for he was working on the paper at the time. He came here with his father and the rest of the family on December 31, 1836, his father taking the office of secretary of state on January 1, 1837. A few weeks later, as a youngster of 9 years, he got a job in the office of the *Democrat* in the capacity of "devil," roller-boy, and carrier, and continued to work there till 1845. George Patterson came into the *Democrat* office in 1838. He was a young lawyer talented and forcible as a writer. During the campaign of 1840 a campaign sheet called "The Constitution"—bearing a cut of "Old Ironsides"—was issued from the *Democrat* office, edited chiefly by Patterson. At the same time the *Journal* issued a campaign paper called "The Spirit of '76," of which Joseph M. Moore was editor; and he was in the better luck, for President Harrison made him postmaster after the election. At this time the *Democrat* was

printed in a one-story brick building, where the *News* office now stands. It was furnished with a two-pull Smith press, on which the *Democrat* and a paper called "The Mechanic" were printed. The *Mechanic* was a weekly, edited and published by Henry Comingore, a printer in the *Democrat* office, and another printer named Gilmore.

Bolton was a very industrious man, and made nearly a "full hand" in the office as well as writing editorials. He was, however, a trifle absent-minded, as is illustrated by an incident recounted by Isaac M. Brown, who was a printer in the office at the time. There were no janitors in those days, and the first man on hand made the fire. One cold night, when there was some work to be done early next morning, Bolton offered to bet Patterson and Brown that he would be at the office first. The bet was taken, and Patterson and Bolton slept that night in the editorial room, which was over the postoffice, next door; but Brown beat them, and had the fire going when Bolton came in the next morning. He says: "Mr. Patterson told me that he was awake when Mr. Bolton got up, and, in his hurry to get to the office, he pulled on his boots first, then his coat and hat, and started to the office. After Mr. Bolton reached the office he complained of feeling unusually cold. On his walking up to the stove I discovered that he was minus pants and vest. When I reminded him of this oversight in his dress he seemed very much chagrined. About this time George Patterson came in, and we had a good laugh at the cool appearance of Mr. Bolton's dress. It was then daylight and people were passing on the street. Finally, Mr. Bolton started on a run for his room, and never liked to hear this joke spoken of afterward."

The circulation of the leading Indianapolis papers was not very extensive then. Writing in 1900, Austin H. Brown says: "When I began to carry the *Democrat* in 1838, the population of Indianapolis was less than 1,700, and the carrier's list did not exceed one hundred subscribers. The route embraced the entire town. Governor Noble's was the farthest delivery to the east near where the baseball grounds of last season were. The farthest northeast was General Robert Hanna's, just east of the Union tracks



(W. H. Bess Photo Company.)

THE OLD BLAKE HOME.
(From a drawing by Mary Y. Robinson.)

on Massachusetts avenue. The farthest north James Blake's on North and Tennessee, and Arthur St. Clair's, where the Blind Institute is located. The remotest western delivery was in Stringtown, beyond the river; and the farthest south was Sammel Merrill's, at Merrill and New Jersey, and Dr. McClure's, where the present Industrial School (Manual Training High School) stands. There were a few outlying houses beyond these limits. One was called the Presbyterian Grocery, a bakery kept by a good Lutheran named George Brown. I usually lunched there on ginger cakes and spruce beer. When I carried the *Sentinel*, in 1841-3, the population had increased to 2,800 and the city subscribers to more than two hundred and fifty, with two carriers. When I became the owner of the paper, in 1850, the population was 8,091, but notwithstanding this increase the city subscription list did not exceed four hundred for the semi-weekly."

The Chapmans made a live paper of the *Sentinel*, Jacob Page doing most of the editorial writing. It became the leading paper of the state, and the recognized state organ of the Democratic party, wielding an influence that was rare even in the day of party organs. For two years before their ownership the paper had been published in a frame building where the L. Strauss & Co. store now is. They moved it to Blake's block, on the south side of Washington street, west of Illinois. It remained there until 1841, when it was removed to a two-story brick building erected specially for it, on the east side of Illinois street, half a square north of Washington; and an extensive job office was operated in connection with it. In 1846 John S. Spann, a thorough practical printer, became a member of the firm, and he, with E. W. H. Ellis, purchased and continued the job office when the paper was sold to Mr. Brown in 1850. George A. Chapman died soon after the sale of the *Sentinel*. In the spring of 1853, J. P. Chapman started a weekly paper, called the *Chanticleer*, with Berry Salgrove as associate editor and George H. Chapman as city editor. This venture lasted for a year. In 1855, Jacob Page Chapman's mind became deranged, and he was taken to the insane hospital, where he died. His son George H. Chapman (later General Chapman) was for

years a well-known lawyer of the city, and judge of the Criminal Court from its beginning in 1865 till 1870. He became as strong a Republican as his father had been a Democrat, and the first negro who ever served on a jury in Marion County did so in his court.

Austin H. Brown published the *Sentinel* for five years, selling in March, 1855, to Dr. John C. Walker and Charles W. Cotton. Mr. Brown made the *Sentinel* more of a newspaper than it had been before, and also made it a daily on April 28, 1851. One of his notable achievements was printing the Know-nothing ritual, which he had obtained from a Brown County deserter of the order. Some Know-nothings who got wind of it fired two pistol shots through the window of the composing room, but no one was hurt, and the ritual appeared the next morning. He was elected county auditor in 1855 and served for four years. Walker and Cotton sold the *Sentinel* in December, 1855, to John S. Spann and John B. Norman, the latter becoming editor. Norman had learned his trade of printer in the *Democrat* office in the early forties, and had for some time edited the *New Albany Ledger*. He tired of the *Sentinel* in six weeks and returned to New Albany, being succeeded by Prof. Wm. C. Larrabee, late of Asbury (DePauw) University, with whom Alexander F. Morrison was associated; and Cotton was city editor. In August, 1856, Joseph J. Bingham of Lafayette purchased an interest in the paper, and in January, 1857, John Doughty purchased the remaining interest. These two fitted up the old Capital House (just west of the present Lombard building) making the largest and best newspaper building in the state, and moved into it on April 7, 1857. Early that evening a new boiler, which had been placed in the rear of the press room, exploded with terrific force, wrecking the east room and dropping the composing room with its contents into the press room below. One of the press hands, named Homan, was killed, and several were injured. The loss was heavy and seriously embarrassed the proprietors, but appeals for party aid resulted in the formation of the Sentinel Company and the paper was resumed on April 21, and continued under that management until July 31, 1861.

At that time John R. Elder and John

Harkness, who had been publishing the *State Guard*, joined with J. J. Bingham in purchasing the *Sentinel* and moved it to the old Locomotive and Guard office in the Hubbard block, where the L. S. Ayres & Co. establishment now is. In 1863 a new building was put up especially for it, at the southeast corner of Pearl and Meridian streets, where it remained until 1865. It was then bought by Hall & Hutchinson, who changed the name to *The Herald*, and moved back to the old Capitol House site, 16 East Washington street. Judge Samuel E. Perkins was then political editor. In October, 1866, the paper went into the hands of a receiver, and in January, 1867, it was purchased by Lafe Develin of Cambridge City; and in April, 1868, he sold to Richard J. Bright, who changed the name back to the *Sentinel*, and made J. J. Bingham editor. In 1869 Mr. Bright remodeled the old Wesley Chapel, at the southwest corner of Circle and Meridian streets, and moved the paper there in December of that year. He held the paper until 1872, when he sold to the Sentinel Company, organized by John Fishback and others.

If ever a man in Indiana had an unenviable task, Bingham had it, in steering the *Sentinel* through the Civil War period, and it is a guaranty of considerable ability on his part that he brought it through as well as he did. Naturally those who had any Southern sympathies were attracted by the *Sentinel's* criticisms of the party in power, and H. H. Dodd persuaded Bingham to join the Sons of Liberty, where he was made chairman of the committee on literature. He swore, however, that he had no knowledge of even the existence of a "military circle," and that as soon as he learned that any treasonable action was contemplated he reported it to Joseph E. McDonald, and co-operated with him, Michael G. Kerr and others in bringing the matter to the attention of Governor Morton. He was a witness for the state in the prosecutions.¹ As a newspaper man Bingham was progressive and had material influence in developing the *Sentinel* on the news side. Even his adversaries gave him credit for adroitness as a political writer.²

The year 1870 may be treated as the beginning of a new era in Indianapolis journalism, and we may here turn back for a look at other newspaper ventures of the earlier period. As has been mentioned, the *Journal* was the one other leading paper in the state capital besides the *Sentinel* for nearly half a century. As mentioned, the *Western Censor and Emigrants' Guide*—the predecessor of the *Journal*, was started March 7, 1823, by Douglass Maguire and Harvey Gregg. On October 29, 1824, Gregg sold his interest to John Douglass, who was preparing to come from Corydon as State Printer. On January 11, 1825, the paper was enlarged and the name changed to the *Indiana Journal*. Maguire continued as editor until 1826, when he was succeeded by Samuel Merrill. In 1829 Maguire resumed his position as editor and continued till 1835, when he sold his interest to S. Vance B. Noel, who had formerly been a printer on the *Journal* and had gone to Ft. Wayne with Thomas Tigar, a fellow printer, to start the Ft. Wayne *Sentinel*. Noel continued as editor till 1842, when he sold his interest to Mr. Douglass.

Mr. Douglass secured for editor Theodore J. Barnett, a man of considerable ability, and the most pugnacious editor the *Journal* ever had. With the Chapmans on the *Sentinel* there was the finest of opportunities for a row. In fact, the Chapmans were probably looking for trouble, for in their salutatory editorial they say: "From our first settlement in this state persecution and violence have been exercised towards us."³ There was more coming, for Barnett made the most vicious attack on J. P. Chapman that was ever made on an Indianapolis editor.⁴ There was talk of a libel suit, which was not begun, and thereafter exchanges of compliments from time to time. In 1843 Mr. Noel bought out Douglass, and retained Barnett as editor. One night Barnett wanted a pound of butter, and, not being able to find Noel, signed his name to an order for it. Chapman learned of this, and promptly denounced Barnett as a forger. They soon after met at the postoffice, and there was an altercation in which it is said a pistol was drawn by

¹*Treason Trials*, p. 97.

²*Salgrave's Indianapolis*, p. 234.

³*Sentinel*, July 21, 1841.

⁴*Journal*, November 23, 1842.

Barnett, but that was as far as the controversy went. Barnett was succeeded as editor by a Mr. Kent, who remained but a few months, and was succeeded in March, 1845, by John D. Defrees.

Mr. Defrees was a Tennessean by birth, but his father moved to Ohio when he was 8 years old. There he learned the printer's trade, and there read law in Thos. Corwin's office. From 1831 to 1844 he resided at South Bend, Indiana, where he edited a newspaper, and from where he was two or three times elected to the state legislature. He was a student and a man of progress. Berry Sulgrove, who knew him well, says: "He was the first man in the state to use steam to drive a printing press, the first to use a caloric engine for the same purpose, the first to see the value of the Bullock printing press and encourage the inventor, the first to use the metallic stitching machine for binding, and the first to use the Edison electric light except the inventor." He edited the *Journal* till early in 1854, and then put Berry Sulgrove in charge of the editorial while he managed the business department. In October, 1854, he sold the paper to the Journal Company, which consisted of Ovid Butler, Joseph M. Tilford, James M. Mathes and Rawson Vaile. On March 23, 1861, President Lincoln appointed Mr. Defrees government printer, and he served until President Johnson removed him September 1, 1866. Congress then made this a Senate office, and Defrees was elected March 1, 1867, remaining until April 15, 1869, when President Grant removed him. On June 1, 1877, President Hays reappointed him, and he served until April 11, 1882, when he resigned on account of failing health. He was a high grade man in every respect, but rather outspoken for a politician. Both his removals were said to be due to criticisms of the administration.

The *Censor*, and after it the *Journal*, had its office on Washington street opposite the State Life building. In the later thirties it was moved to the opposite side of the street one block west, and several years later to the north side, nearly opposite this location. In 1853 it was removed to Pennsylvania street—a site now covered by the rear part of the Saks building. In 1860 the company erected a building for it at the southeast corner of

Meridian and Circle streets. Berry Sulgrove did most of the editing for the company till 1864, when it sold the paper to Wm. R. Holloway & Co. Judge Horatio C. Newcomb then became editor until 1868, and was one of the ablest editors the paper ever had. In February, 1865, James G. Douglass and Alexander H. Conner bought an interest in the paper, and in 1866, with Samuel M. Douglass, bought all of it, controlling it as Douglass & Conner until 1870. In 1866 they bought the old First Presbyterian Church and built on the eastern half of the property—now included in the American Central Life building, the western half being added by Col. Nicholas Ruckle some ten years later—and moved the paper there early in 1867. In June, 1870, Lewis W. Hasselman and Wm. P. Fishback purchased the paper, and Fishback became the editor. He was a brilliant man and an able writer, but rather independent for the editor of a party organ.

These two papers were chiefly devoted to politics, and up to 1860 almost exclusively so. The local news was brief, and but for communications would throw little light on the doings of the community. The first extended account of anything, except political speeches, was the *Journal's* account of the old settlers' meeting of 1855 on June 5, which made five columns—small columns in large type—and it was not printed till June 7. There was no effort to report events of the preceding evening in the morning papers. The first break in that line was in 1852, when the Eagle Machine Works burned. The fire was early in the evening, and J. H. McNeely, city editor of the *Journal*, on his way home from it, stopped the press and inserted a brief notice of it, which made the town gasp at his enterprise. In the later fifties there began to be some report of the preceding evening's events. Although the telegraph closely followed the railroad, there was practically no newspaper telegraph service until the siege of Sevastopol, and not very much then. At that stage Mr. John F. Walliek used to read the dispatches from a Morse dot-and-dash record to the city editors of the *Journal* and *Sentinel*, who wrote them out in long hand. A year or two later Coleman Wilson became the news operator, and read the dispatches by sound. Most of the "by magnetic tele-

graph" reports before that time were reprints from Cincinnati and Chicago papers; and it may be added that a great many since that time have been likewise.

It seemed impossible to furnish the public enough politics in those early days, and both papers usually issued special campaign editions under other names. "The Constitution" on the Democratic side and "The Spirit of '76" on the Whig side, in 1840, have been mentioned. In 1844 the Democrats followed with "Chapman's Coon Skimmer," and their opponents with "The Whig Rifle." In 1845 politics took another chute, on account of alleged intolerance of the Chapmans, and A. F. Morrison and John S. Spann started *The Indiana Democrat* as an organ of the Democrats who had favored General Cass as nominee for president, and who claimed they were being shown no consideration by the adherents of Van Buren. This paper started on November 7, 1845, and wound up on October 30, 1846, when Mr. Spann stated that Mr. Morrison had gone to Mexico for the war, and that after consultation with friends he had concluded to suspend. About the same time an anti-slavery paper, called *The Freeman*, was started here by a Mr. Dupuy, on the south side of Washington street west of Meridian. It was a very well edited paper, but the office was not mobbed, though several times threatened, and occasionally visited with minor indignities, and it died after a year or so of lack of notice. At that time Whigs and Democrats vied in their hostility to abolitionism.

By this time the temperance movement was becoming formidable enough to call for an organ, and in June, 1848, Dr. B. T. Kavanagh started a weekly called *The Family Visitor*, as the organ of the Sons of Temperance. It was discontinued on November 7, 1850, to make way for *The Temperance Chart*, which was the temperance organ for the next half dozen years. After the suspension of Chapman's *Chautiueer* in 1854, a weekly was started in its place, and in 1855 this became *The Daily Evening Republican*, with George H. Chapman as "active editor." This was continued for several years under various editors, and wound up with Willis W. Wright & Co. as proprietors and John Coburn editor. The next afternoon daily was

The Indianapolis Daily Citizen, which was started on April 5, 1858, by Cameron & McNeely. It was independent in politics, and had no telegraph, but was one of the best local papers the city had before the war.

The best of the locals, however, was the *Locomotive*. It was first issued on August 16, 1845, by John H. Ohr, Daniel B. Culley and David R. Elder, who were apprentices in the *Journal* office, as a small weekly, seven by ten inches in size. It lasted for three months, and was then discontinued till April 3, 1847, when it was revived by the same parties for three months longer. Its short stays had demonstrated that there was a place for it, and on January 1, 1848, it was again revived by Douglass & Elder, enlarged and put on a more permanent footing. On March 30, 1850, Elder & Harkness became the proprietors, and again enlarged it. It acquired the largest circulation in the county, and thereby secured the "letter list," which was a much-coveted plum in those days, and which was especially desirable to the *Locomotive* on account of its personal character. It was the first paper here that approached "society" reporting, and it did it outside of the stereotype room, noticing only affairs of some interest and getting in most of the gossip of the place. As Berry Sulgrove aptly says: "It was the first paper that the women and girls wanted to read regularly, and the paper that makes itself a household favorite is settled for life." But the political microbe finally destroyed it. On July 17, 1860, Elder & Harkness started *The Old Line Guard* as a Breckemridge and Lane organ—the *Scimitar* having gone with the Douglass faction—in order to preserve true democracy. On November 10, 1860, the *Locomotive* announced its own discontinuance, and merger with the *Guard*, and so ended the city's most interesting publication prior to the war. Some further notice of it will be found in the chapter on "The Literary Atmosphere."

On August 15, 1851, a paper similar to the *Locomotive*, called the *Hoosier City*, was started by Samuel H. Mathers, Francis M. Thayer and Henry C. Ferguson, another combination of *Journal* apprentices, but it lasted only three months. It was well edited, however, and some of its articles were widely copied. In 1855 Charles Hand began a liter-

ary and local weekly called the *Railroad City*, but it also lasted but a few months. A similar fate overtook the *Dispatch*, a daily started in 1850 by W. Thompson Hatch. On April 15, 1858, an afternoon paper called *The Indianapolis Daily Citizen* appeared, published by Cameron & McNeely on "Meridian street, seven doors south of the postoffice." It was an excellent paper, and was maintained for two years, when it was bought by John D. Defrees and merged with the *Atlas*, which he had started in 1859. In 1861 the *Atlas* was purchased by the *Journal* and discontinued. The slavery question called several papers into existence, besides *The Freeman*, to meet the views of that portion of the community for which the regular party organs were too conservative. The first of these, *The Free Soil Banner*, appeared in 1848, edited by William Greer and Lew Wallace, and understood to be backed by Ovid Butler. On January 3, 1857, the *Western Presage* appeared, published by Bidwell Bros. at 84 East Washington street. It was an exponent of radical Republican views, which were not widely popular, and was printed in an expensive style, the combination bringing it to a natural death in April of the same year. In 1857 also, the *Indiana American*, edited by Rev. Thos. A. Goodwin, was removed to here from Brookville. It was an enthusiastic anti-slavery and temperance paper. After the beginning of the war, he sold it to Downey & Co., who made it a daily evening paper. The name was later changed to the *Gazette*, and the paper was bought by the *Journal* in 1869. In the same year *The Indiana American* was revived by Mr. Goodwin, but it continued only a year or two.

The German press went in vigorously for politics. The first German paper here, the *Volksblatt*, was established in September, 1848, by Julius Boetticher, while the German population was still small. He did nearly all the mechanical work of the paper himself, assisted only by his little son and daughter, as well as the editing; but even on this inexpensive basis the venture was in a fair way to expire in three months, when luckily Prof. Hoshour started a German class, and recommended his pupils to take and read a German paper. The little bunch

of cash subscriptions from this source renewed Mr. Boetticher's determination, and the *Volksblatt* lived on for twenty years under his management, and on his death was continued by the Gutenberg Company. The *Volksblatt* was Democratic in its tendencies from the start, and was made intensely so by the development of Know-nothingism. In September, 1853, Theodore Hielscher started the *Freie Presse* in support of the free soil and abolition principles, and the two papers went at it, hammer and tongs, just like the other political papers, as is more fully noted in the chapter on "The Germans in Indianapolis."

The *Freie Presse* was continued until during the Civil War, and the *Volksblatt* passed into the hands of the Gutenberg Co., which continued its publication as a weekly until 1907. In 1865 the Gutenberg Co. established the *Telegraph*, a German daily, and six months later the *Spottvogel*, as its Sunday issue. In 1877 *The Tribune*, a German daily, was started in opposition to the *Telegraph*, and these two divided the field for a quarter of a century. In March, 1907, these two were consolidated, and *The Telegraph and Tribune*, with the *Spottvogel* (Mocking-bird) as Sunday issue, now published by the Gutenberg Co., is the only German newspaper of Indianapolis. The *Volksblatt* was discontinued at the time of the consolidation. The only German paper now published in Indianapolis besides the *Telegraph and Tribune* and the *Spottvogel*, is the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Buchdrucker-Zeitung*, the official organ of the German-American Typographical Union. This is edited by Hugo Miller, and is issued semi-monthly. It was originally established in New York City in 1873, but was removed to Indianapolis in 1891 when the headquarters of the union were transferred to this point.

There is no publication in Indianapolis in any other foreign language than German, but there are two trades papers that publish departments in French and Italian, as well as German and English. One of these is *The Carpenter*, a monthly paper, which was established in 1881. The other is *The Bricklayer and Mason*, also a monthly, which was started in 1898. The *Buchdrucker-Zeitung* serves the purpose of a German organ for

the International Typographical Union of America as the German Union is in alliance with it, and from the same headquarters, in the Newton Claypool building, is issued *The Typographical Journal*—the official organ of the International Union—a semi-monthly which was established in 1893. There are several other labor union publications in the city, printed in English only. The *Teamster*, the official organ of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, was started in 1903, and is published from the Carpenters building on East Michigan street. *The Carpenter* is also published here, and so is *The Journeyman Barber*. The latter is the official magazine of the Journeyman Barbers' International Union of America. It was started as *The Barbers' Journal* in February, 1891, at Syracuse, N. Y., and later moved to Cleveland and then to Los Angeles, following the headquarters of the union. At Los Angeles the name was changed to *The Journeyman Barber*. It was moved to Indianapolis in 1905. It is published monthly. Other labor union papers published here are the *United Mine Workers Journal*, organ of the United Mine Workers of America, established in 1891; and the *Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, established in 1885, and now edited by John F. McNamce.

In addition to the organs of special unions, the city has had several general labor papers, of which Cal Light's *Workingmen's Map* may be regarded as the pioneer. It was started early in 1876 and continued till May, 1877, when it was suspended, and the subscribers were furnished with *The Times*, a weekly that had been started also in the spring of 1876, and which continued for two or three years longer. *The Times* originally devoted itself to sensations and scandals, but improved, and became a fairly decent labor paper. Light started *The Democrat* soon after the suspension of the *Workingmen's Map* and it lasted but little longer than its predecessor. One of the most notable of these was *The Labor Signal*, which was established in 1881 as the organ of the Central Trades and Labor Union. For a number of years Wm. Langstaff was trustee, and Thomas M. Gruelle editor. It claimed to be "the oldest established labor paper in the West;" was very well edited, and had considerable

influence. Early in 1896 it was bought by James Wilson, then proprietor of *The People*, who wanted the material and fixtures of the office, and who discontinued the paper. The labor field was already occupied by *The Union*, which was founded in 1888 by Edwin F. Gould. The paper in that year bitterly opposed Gen. Harrison, who Gould made affidavit to have said "a dollar a day is enough for a workingman." *The Union* was continued by Gould till his death, on May 4, 1906. It was then continued for a few weeks by Edgar A. Perkins as his administrator; when he bought the paper from Mrs. Gould, and still continues it. It is the organ of the Indiana Federation of Labor, and the Central Labor Union of Indianapolis, and is an excellent paper of its class. A shorter-lived labor paper was *The Workingman*, which was established in 1892 by Frailey and Goodwin. It was continued for about two years.

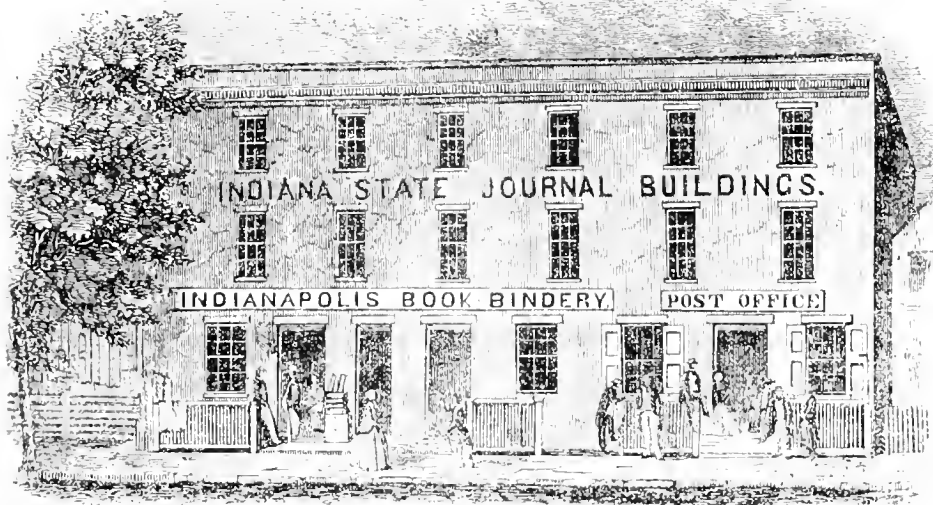
The first agricultural paper published here was a monthly called the *Indiana Farmer*, which was started in the last half of the '30's by Osborn & Willetts. Very little is known about it, and no copies are known to have been preserved. The same is true of the second one, *The Western Cultivator*, which was published at Indianapolis by W. Thompson Hatch, who also started a short-lived daily called *The Dispatch*, about 1850. *The Cultivator* was in existence when Henry Ward Beecher started his paper in 1845, and is referred to by him as a very valuable publication that had been established by great effort.⁵ Mr. Beecher had always taken a great interest in agriculture, floriculture and horticulture, and had been contributing periodically to the *Journal*, as well as stirring up the community generally on these subjects; and usually in a very rational and useful way. There was already a wide and intelligent interest. In a letter in January, 1843, Beecher says there were then 18 regular nurseries in the state, and that apple-trees sold at 10 cents and pear trees at 20 cents. He also states that an association of gentlemen had been formed in Indianapolis to plant the streets with shade trees; and would "take ample stock from our own forests."

⁵*Indiana Farmer and Gardener*, Vol. 1, pp. 1, 114.

and also plant some pear and plum trees, the latter in the belief that they would be free from the curculio on highways. He mentions with regret that the fine "oaks, maples, sycamores, beeches, tulip trees and elms" had been cut from the public squares, and that these had been replanted with "short-lived locusts."⁹

The Indiana Farmer and Gardener was the result of a scheme arranged by Vance Noel of the *Journal* and Mr. Beecher by which it was issued semi-monthly from the *Journal* office, and such of the matter as was wanted

into it, which makes it very readable to this day. He also showed unusual newspaper enterprise. One of his strokes was issuing a double number on October 19, 1846, with a complete almanac for 1847. He explained that "almost every family purchases an almanac of some kind," and he proposed to furnish one in which "uncouth wood-cuts and pointless anecdotes" were replaced by "useful information". This was done very satisfactorily, but included among the useful information were some powerful arguments for subscribing to the *Western Farmer and*



THE STATE JOURNAL BUILDING, 1850.

(From an old cut.)

was then lifted into the *Journal* forms with credit to the *Indiana Farmer and Gardener*, which was thereby made possible of sale at 50 cents a year. This arrangement continued for some eighteen months. The first number was issued on February 1, 1845. On January 1, 1846, the name was changed to *The Western Farmer and Gardener*, the paper having absorbed *The Western Farmer* of Cincinnati. It closed its second year with 1,200 subscribers, which is not surprising, for Mr. Beecher got a large amount of interesting information

⁹*Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, Vol. 3, p. 189.

Gardener. The paper was discontinued when Mr. Beecher left in 1847, and for nineteen years the city was without an agricultural paper. In 1866 Dr. T. A. Bland started the *Northwestern Farmer*, and in April, 1871, this came under the editorial control of J. G. Kingsbury, who changed the name to *The Indiana Farmer*, and made it the leading agricultural paper of the state. In 1872 J. J. Billingsley, publisher of the *Drainage and Farm Journal*, bought an interest in it; and in 1874 J. B. Conner bought a half interest. Mr. Conner then assumed the active business management of the paper, which he still retains.

There have been several short-lived agricultural papers started at Indianapolis, such as the *Agricultural Press*, by Cyrus T. Nixon, and *Farm, Herd and Home*, by Austin H. Brown and A. Abromet; and in the later period there have been several notably successful ones. *The American Farmer*, which was started in 1885, developed remarkably, and had at one time a circulation of over 200,000; but has lost some in the last few years on account of changes in postal regulations. It is published by a company, of the same name, of which Solon L. Goode is the largest owner. *Up-to-Date Farming* is an agricultural semi-monthly that was started by J. A. Everitt in 1898, and was published by him till January, 1909, when it passed into control of an incorporated company, of which he is the chief owner. It claims 125,000 circulation. *The Equity Farm Journal* is the official organ of the American Society of Equity, and is devoted more to agricultural buying and selling than to the science of cultivating the soil. It was started in Chicago as an independent publication in November, 1907, but was acquired by the society and moved to this point in January, 1908, the headquarters of the society being here. Its circulation is about 60,000 and is rapidly increasing.

Closely following Beecher's *Indiana Farmer and Gardener* came another notable publication, which, strange to say, has dropped entirely out of sight in the histories of Indiana. This was *The Common School Advocate*, first issued on October 1, 1846, as a semi-monthly, by Henry F. West, later mayor of Indianapolis, and the founder of the book store now known as The Bobbs-Merrill Co.—or rather the W. K. Stewart Co. This educational journal is not mentioned even in that very thorough work, Boone's History of Education in Indiana, and yet it did more to secure the free school system of Indiana than any other publication in the state. It was frequently quoted in contemporary papers, and it no doubt won the fight for the free school tax in Indianapolis, in 1847, by its vigorous arguments, one of which was a demonstration that the illiteracy of Indianapolis was greater than the average illiteracy of the entire state. I have been able to find in existence only one copy of it—the second

number—bound at the back of a volume of Beecher's *Indiana Farmer and Gardener*, formerly belonging to Judge H. P. Biddle, and now in the City Library at Indianapolis. It was probably discontinued shortly after the battle for free schools was finally won in 1852, as that was its mission.

In January, 1856, the *Indiana School Journal* was started in pursuance of resolutions adopted by the State Teachers' Association to publish an educational journal similar to that published in Ohio. It was conducted by nine editors, appointed by the association, one of whom was "resident editor", on a salary. The first resident editor was George B. Stone, then Superintendent of the Indianapolis schools. He was one of the numerous teachers who left the state in 1858, after the Supreme Court had held the school law unconstitutional. He was succeeded by W. D. Henkle for one year, when he also left, and O. Phelps was appointed. Mr. Phelps was absent from the state so much that he could hardly be said to "reside", and the work of issuing the paper fell chiefly on H. H. Young, the publisher. The paper deteriorated greatly and its subscription list fell to 150. In the spring of 1862 the Association transferred the paper to Geo. W. Hoss, then of the faculty of Northwestern Christian University (Butler) and later State Superintendent of Public Instruction, who edited it for eight years, and put it in good standing once more. The *Journal* was then consolidated with the *Indiana Teacher*, and Wm. A. Bell was associated with Mr. Hoss as chief editor. In August, 1871, Mr. Bell bought the interest of Mr. Hoss, and for the next twenty-eight years was proprietor and editor of the *Journal*.

Wm. A. Bell was an important factor in education in Indianapolis and Indiana. He was a native of the state, born in Clinton County, January 30, 1833; and attained an education by his own effort, graduating from Antioch College, Ohio, in 1860. He tried teaching in the South, but returned on account of the war, and in 1861-2 was in charge of the schools at Williamsburg, Indiana. In 1863 he was made principal of the old Second Ward school in Indianapolis, and in 1864 of the newly-organized high school. In 1865 he was superintendent of schools at Rich-

mond, Indiana, and in 1866 returned as principal of the Indianapolis high school, where he continued till 1871. After buying the *School Journal* he was president of the State Teachers' Association in 1873, and from that time was an efficient member of the Indianapolis School Board for twelve years, 1873-85, and was president of the board for seven years of that time. In June, 1899, Mr. Bell sold the *School Journal* to D. M. Geeting, late Superintendent of Public Instruction, who became editor, with E. B. Bryan and Geo. W. Bass as assistants. In 1900 the paper was consolidated with the *Inland Educator*, which was started in Terre Haute in 1895, and has since been published, as *The Educator-Journal*, by a company which was formed at the time of the consolidation. The present editor is Robert J. Aley, State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

In December, 1897, appeared the first number of *The Indianian*, a rather unique semi-monthly devoted especially to the interests of township trustees. It was published by The Indianian Company, the chief factor in which, and the business manager of the publication, was B. F. Blair. The managing editor was F. W. Van Sicken. In October, 1898, W. H. Smith, author of a *History of Indiana*, began editing a historical department in the *Indianian*, and in July, 1899, he took editorial control, the principal aim of the publication thereafter being to promote the study of local history in the public schools. It was got out in good style, with excellent illustrations and descriptive articles of various counties and other interesting historical matter. But the publication was too expensive for the returns. In October, 1900, Mr. Smith was dropped as editor, and in December of the same year *The Indianian* suspended.

There was no historical periodical published in the city, or in the state, until 1905, although the Indiana Historical Society was organized on December 11, 1830, and incorporated by special act of the legislature on January 10, 1831. The society had an intermittent existence for over half a century, suspending and being revived, but inactive most of that time. In 1886 it was reorganized, and since then has been maintained continuously, issuing pamphlets from time to time

until it has now completed four volumes of its *Publications*. As there had been several publications prior to that date, those of 1886 were started as Volume 2, and in the course of the next ten years those preceding were gathered up, and published as Volume 1. It never undertook a regular periodical. Mr. George W. Cottman, of Irvington, a pleasing writer, who had given much attention to local history, became convinced that there was a field for an historical periodical, and in the spring of 1905 launched the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*. He continued it for three years, giving it up on account of removal. It was largely a labor of love, as the returns were very little more than the expenses. But by that time a number of persons were satisfied that the publication was too valuable to be dropped, and arrangements were made to continue it. Prof. C. B. Coleman, of Butler, undertook to edit it; State Librarian Demarethus Brown undertook a large part of the business management; and the Indiana Historical Society guaranteed expenses to the amount of \$150 a year. Under this arrangement the publication is still continued, and the magazine is steadily gaining an independent footing on its merits.

One reason for taking 1870 as a sort of dividing line between the old and the new in Indianapolis newspapers is that it was the first year of a permanent afternoon paper, and one that had the press reports—the *Indianapolis News*. Its first issue appeared on December 7, 1869, and its low price—it was the first 2-cent paper—clean make-up, condensed form, and refusal to print advertisements as editorial matter soon made it popular. It was well edited. Its founder, proprietor and editor was John H. Holliday, who was of one of the oldest families in this region. His grandfather, Samuel Holliday, was one of the associate judges at the Indian trials at Pendleton, in 1824. His father, Rev. Wm. A. Holliday, was pastor of the First Presbyterian church in 1832-4, and resided in Indianapolis from 1841 till his death December 16, 1866, except for two years, 1864-6, when he served as professor of Latin and modern languages at Hanover College. He was a man of much learning, and for a number of years conducted one of the noted private schools of the city. John H. Holliday

grew up in Indianapolis, was educated at Hanover, and had several years' newspaper experience on the *Sentinel* and other city papers. His editorials were sane, pithy, and to the point, as a rule. His one failing was in not realizing how important and valuable a paper he had established. In 1884, when the *News* was the chief independent newspaper of Indiana, Joseph E. McDonald was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the presidency. Mr. Holliday considered him the most available Democratic timber in sight, and could have been of material influence by simply saying so. With Mr. McDonald's approval I endeavored to get him to do this, but the result was a tame, almost non-committal article that was not of the slightest use to Mr. McDonald or anyone else. But usually no one had much trouble in locating the *News*, though it was at times inconsistent, notably in the matter of preaching tariff reform and generally supporting protective tariff Republicans in national elections. The only Democratic candidate for president it ever supported was Horace Greeley.

As important a factor in building up the *News* as Mr. Holliday himself was Gideon B. Thompson, who came to it in the second year of its life as city editor. Thompson is a native of Ohio, born August 4, 1839. His father was a Presbyterian minister. Gideon worked at the printer's trade in a country office, and came to Indianapolis to perfect himself in the trade in the winter of 1856-7. He worked for the *Sentinel* Company, which then had the state printing, till 1860; went to Kentucky for a few months; then back to the *Sentinel*, and later to the *Journal*, when it got the state work. He was a member of Shoup's Independent Zouaves, and went to camp for the three months' service, but took sick, became delirious, and did not come to himself till the regiment was gone. But he went out in August, 1861, and came back in 1863, broken in health. He married, but soon fell ill, and for years was unable to do a full day's work. Nevertheless he worked in the *Journal* composing-room, setting type for an hour and then sleeping for an hour on a board he had placed under his ease. In the winter of 1868-9 he began reporting the council for the *Journal* and *Sentinel* to help

out his earnings; and then went on the *Journal* as reporter. His most noted work there was a defense of the management of the Orphan Asylum. George C. Harding who was then city editor of the *Sentinel*, attacked the management. Mrs. Newcomb, wife of Judge H. C. Newcomb, who was then editor of the *Journal*, was one of the members of the board. Thompson interviewed her and the other ladies of the board, and they talked very spicily. Harding was too gallant to come back at the ladies, and, not suspecting Thompson, he replied by horsewhipping George Long, the city editor of the *Journal*, who was innocent of any connection with the matter. When Harding left the *Sentinel*, Thompson took his place as city editor, which he held till R. J. Bright sold the paper, and then he went to the *News*.

Mr. Thompson has long been known as "Snacks", many people not knowing him by any other name. He picked up this cognomen at Danville, Indiana, where he worked for some months before coming to Indianapolis. He took the character of "Snacks" in an amateur play there. The young ladies of the place were interested in knowing something about him, but he would satisfy their curiosity only by assuring them that he "came from nowhere, was going no place, and had no mission in the world that he knew of". They retaliated by christening him "Snacks", and the name followed him. While in the army he used it as a pen name in his correspondence for the city papers. In a paper on "The Reporter", read before the State Editorial Association in the early seventies, Mr. Thompson described the requisite qualifications of a reporter as, (1) "an Argus nose for news", (2) "a talented pair of legs", and (3) "brains"; the emphasis being laid on the first two, and the third being treated as of small importance. But he had all three, and one of the most attractive features of his work was the invention of unique expressions, with a faculty for iteration that was not monotonous. Many Indianapolis people remember the epithet "the commonest kind of a common deadfall", which he applied to a "skin" auction room on South Illinois street until he fairly ran it out of town. He made Street Commissioner Kennington fa-

mous as "the little red wagon with a wart on it". But perhaps his most noted expression was "The Slick Six", which he applied to Harry Adams, Roscoe Hawkins, John Leonard, Dan Rausdell, Lee Mothershead, and Ot. Hasselman, then the "brains" of the local Republican machine. It was a chance shot, suggested by "the Big Six" who were then running New York City, and would probably have spent itself with the one use had not one of the assailed made the mistake of asking Thompson not to use it again; whereupon he nearly lost his breath getting back to the office to use it, and kept it up until it became an established political epithet, outliving the memory of its original application and meaning.

It may be noted here that one element of the success of the *News* was employing the best writers available in every department. After it was well on its feet, whenever a man showed ability on another paper the *News* went after him and usually got him without trouble, for some newspaper men prefer day work. In its reportorial force it took on such men as Charles Dennis, Hilton U. Brown, Ernest P. Bicknell, Meredith Nicholson, James Hornaday, Harry Palmer, Mark Thistlethwaite, and others of little less local note. To its editorial force were called Dan Paine, a writer of charming verse as well as prose; Morris Ross, a graceful writer; and Louis Howland, much of whose work is of magazine or review quality. The *News* could always boast of being well-written as well as well-edited, and that has been a large factor in its success. One of its first victories was swallowing up its only afternoon rival, *The Evening Mirror*, which, as a daily, was of about its own age. It was started as a Saturday afternoon paper on December 22, 1867, by George C. Harding and M. G. Henry. In a year or two Henry sold out to John R. Morton, and Wm. B. Vickers also entered the firm. In the winter of 1869 the paper began to be issued as a daily, but fell by the way, and in February, 1870, was sold to the *News*. *The Weekly Mirror* was suspended at the same time, and Vickers soon began a weekly in its place, called *Town Talk*, which did not last long. Mr. Harding then formed another union with Mr. Vickers, and revived the *Mirror* as a weekly. In May, 1870, Harding

sold his interest to Vickers who continued it for about a year, when he became managing editor of the *Journal* and sold the paper to B. O. Mulliken. Mulliken succeeded in killing it in a few weeks.

George C. Harding was the most picturesque character that ever appeared in Indianapolis journalism. He was born near Knoxville, Tennessee, August 26, 1829, and learned nature at first hand in his boyish rambles. Before he reached his teens his father, who was a lawyer, moved to Paris, Illinois. Here the boys named him "The Cherokee" on account of his swarthy complexion and wild ways, but after he had thrashed all of the fighting element the Indian problem was solved. At fourteen he left school and went to work at odd jobs; ran off to St. Louis, whence he soon returned penniless and disheartened; got a chance to learn the printer's trade on the *Terre Haute Courier*, which he accepted with joy. Here he began writing; and on completing his apprenticeship he went to aid his father, who had started the *Prairie Beacon* at Paris, and wrote more extensively. Then the Mexican War broke out, and after a desperate effort to enlist, in which he followed the troops to New Orleans on a flat-boat, he fell sick and came near dying. His next newspaper venture was at Charleston, Illinois, as part owner of the *Courier*, a warm Republican paper, which is said to have been the first newspaper to suggest Fremont for president. After experience there, and on the *Cincinnati Commercial*, he became associate editor of the *Houston (Tex.) Telegraph*, which he left to come north just before the Civil War began.

Harding enlisted in the Twenty-first Indiana (First Heavy Artillery) under Col. John W. McMillan, which went first to Baltimore, and then to the Gulf Department. He was promoted from the ranks to second lieutenant, but soon after resigned, and in 1864 took a position on the *New Orleans Times*. While in the army he corresponded for the *Cincinnati Commercial*, and his letters attracted much attention. In 1882, after his death, these letters, with other articles, were published in book form, at Indianapolis, under the title, "The Miscellaneous Writings of George C. Harding". After six months on the *Times* he came north; worked for a

short time on the *Cincinnati Commercial*; and then came to Indianapolis, where most of the remainder of his life was passed. His first work here was as local editor on the *Journal*, then under Lafe Devlin on the *Herald*, and Dick Bright on the *Sentinel*. Then he went to the *Journal* again, and was managing editor of the short-lived evening edition of that paper in 1871. After the failure of the *Mirror*, his next venture was the *Saturday Herald*, which was a great success. It was first issued on January 5, 1873. Most of its popularity was due to Harding's work, but he was ably assisted, especially by Mrs. Gertrude Garrison, who was an exceptional writer, and a woman of fine literary judgment.

Harding's great forte was as a paragrapher, in which he had much of the quality of George D. Prentice. In personal onslaughts he was persistent and merciless, and the public really enjoyed seeing a victim squirm when he gigged him—he did it so artistically. The only person on record who got ahead of him in a personal controversy was Frank McDonald, son of Senator Joseph E. McDonald. Frank was a keen wit, noted as a raconteur and natural actor of high ability. Although puny and deformed, he could assume a fierceness that was almost terrifying. On one occasion Harding made an onslaught on Senator McDonald, and when Frank met him he fiercely notified him that if he assailed his father again he would have him to settle with. This was the food Harding fed on, and the next issue of the *Herald* had all the mean things about Senator McDonald that he could study up, on the notice given. In due time Frank appeared at the editorial sanctum and sternly said: "I told you, sir, that if you assailed my father again, you would have to deal with me." "Well," said Harding, "what do you propose to do about it?" "This, sir!" replied Frank, and placing a box of fine cigars and a bottle of choice whisky on the desk, he walked out, leaving the astonished editor to swallow his punishment. The next issue of the *Herald* contained this brief paragraph: "Frank McDonald certainly knows how to heap coals of firewater on the heads of his enemies"; and thereafter Senator McDonald was allowed to live in peace.

Perhaps the most attractive quality of

Harding's writing was its originality. He was always doing something novel. In 1876, April 1 fell on Saturday, and the *Herald* celebrated the day with a very plausibly written story of the discovery of Charley Ross in Indianapolis, and his temporary location at the Grand Hotel. It was a great success. Numbers of the most inquiringly prominent people of the city hastened down to call on the long lost boy. The victims naturally denounced Harding as a heartless monster, but they got little sympathy. But there was very general satisfaction a little later when Harding himself was taken in by "the meteor hoax", which was the most successful thing of the kind ever worked in Indianapolis. On January 16, 1879, the *Journal* published what purported to be a special from Crawfordsville giving an account of the remarkable death of Leonidas Grover, a Fountain County farmer, who, while asleep in his bed, was killed by a twenty-pound aerolite that came through the roof, passed through his body, and on to the cellar where it buried itself five feet in the ground. There was no one else in the house at the time, and the family, who returned later, did not discover the casualty till the next morning.

The story was as complete a hoax on the *Journal* as on outsiders. It was found on the telegraph editor's desk with other matter, in the usual form, but it did not come over the wires. The author was never discovered. I was charged with it at the time, and numerous deluded people still hold me guilty, but I never saw it until I read it in the *News* that afternoon. Nearly everybody believed the story, though it was absurd on its face. Meteors do not fall straight down; and they become intensely heated in passing through the atmosphere, many being completely consumed. That one should pass through an inflammable building without setting fire to anything; bury itself in the cellar, without giving off fumes that would attract the attention of a family entering the house later; and, most of all, retain the "stains of blood", as the story stated, was simply preposterous. But the learned were caught also. Professor Cox, the State Geologist, hastily sent Major Palmer to the scene to get scientific details and secure the aerolite. He soon discovered the lack of facts, but decided "to keep up

the joke". He secured a cobble-stone of appropriate size and colored it with black and red ink; also a rustic photograph which served for a portrait of the mythical Grover; and prepared plans of the non-existent house showing the course of the imaginary aerolite; all of which he put on exhibition in Joe Perry's drugstore, then at the northwest corner of Pennsylvania and Washington streets, where they were viewed by wondering hundreds. Perhaps the most notable result was that the story was reproduced by Alexander Winchell, the noted geologist, in one of his scientific works.⁷

The story appealed to Harding and he wrote a feeling article on the strange way in which death had come to this man, sleeping in supposed security. It was published on the 18th, after the hoax had been exposed, but it had been put on the "inside", and the inside was printed, so it had to go. The next Saturday the *Herald* resumed the subject as follows: "We take it back in its totality. The death was not a phenomenal one. The aerolite did not come hurtling from the depths of space. It did not tear a ragged opening through the roof of Mr. Grover's house, nor did it crash through his breast and then pass through the bed, the floor, and so on into the earth, five feet. Mr. Grover's daughter and her husband were not away from home at the time of the accident, and they didn't fail to discover his death until the next morning. He didn't die. He didn't get hurt. He didn't even get frightened. He wasn't there; he isn't anywhere now. Durn him. If Mr. Leonidas Grover ever should come into existence, and get killed by an aerolite, he will have to get some one else to write his obituary. It is a nice enough thing to moralize over, and it furnishes great scope for the play of sentimental fancy, but we despise the subject, and we have precious little faith in thunder-stones, anyhow. The audacious villain who invented the canard is an unmeasured fraud and an infinite liar. Hell gapes for him. The devil beckons to him with his hands, and horns and tail. Eternal cremation, with a brimstone accompaniment, is his doom."

Naturally Harding had frequent things at

his contemporaries, one of which was *The People*, which was started as a Sunday paper, on November 6, 1870, by Enos B. Read. It was a moderately decent paper at first, but soon degenerated into a chronicle of crimes and nasty scandals, illustrated occasionally with wood-cuts, hand made, with a butcher-knife. Nevertheless it had a clientele among the ought-to-be-submerged tenth, and lived long after its more respectable contemporaries had collapsed. Read was a pompous individual who imagined he could write poetry and grind out pure literature. He also thought he was a sportsman, and made a specialty of his fisherman's column, but his highest ideal of sport was sitting in a boat and angling for red-eyes and sun-fish, with worms. He used the editorial "we" always, even in local items, until the facetious got to calling him "We, The People". He tried to cultivate Harding, and for some months after the suspension of the *Mirror* Harding edited a column in *The People*; but after Harding got a paper of his own he took a fancy to spear Read, and broke his heart by christening him "Piles, the Poet". Read wailed about the betrayal of friendship, but he quit writing poetry.

But not all of the assailed were so mild. Among them was Calvin A. Light, who was a very radical labor leader, and edited a weekly called *The Democrat*. He made himself conspicuous in the Railroad Strike of 1877, and after it heaped unmeasured condemnation on the local officials, particularly Mayor Cayen, though Cayen had performed a real service to the strikers by inducing them to disperse when there were 5,000 regulars, militia, and armed citizens, including a large sprinkling of old soldiers, ready to attack them, and just mad enough to shoot with intent to hit. Harding took an intense dislike to Light, and on one occasion ordered him out of the *Herald* office with variations. After that there was some exchange of civilities, which reached a climax in the spring of 1879; and then Harding showed his one weak spot as a verbal pugilist. He could not take punishment. He had called Light a "venomous reptile", and a "pestilent little beast", and just because Light referred to him as "the Leper of the Press" he got mad. On May 1 he went to Light's house and tried

⁷*World Life*, pp. 14-15.

to shoot him, but after one ineffective shot was dragged away by neighbors. The next day he went to *The Democrat* office and shot at Light three times, but only succeeded in wounding a printer named Lizius. He was duly arrested and tried, but got off on a plea of insanity.

Soon after he sold his interest in the *Herald*, and went to Minnesota, where he started a country paper. But he longed for Indianapolis, and was soon back, quite cured of his insanity. On October 31, 1880, in company with Charles Dennis, he started the *Saturday Review*. They made, with the aid of Gertrude Garrison, a strong journalistic team, and the paper quickly gained popularity and circulation. Its prospects were very bright but he was not to reap success. He received a slight wound on his leg from a projecting grating, neglected it, and died from blood poisoning on May 8, 1881. The *Review* was continued for a couple of years by Mr. Dennis, associated at first with A. C. Jameson, and later with Bert Metcalf, and in 1883 was sold to John O. Hardesty, an old-time editor. He first made it a political, and then a G. A. R. paper, changing the name to *The Veteran's Review* on December 13, 1884. It discontinued shortly thereafter. The *Herald* passed successively into the hands of Samuel N. Bannister, A. H. Dooley, J. C. Oehiltree, Lowry & Hyman, and the Hyman brothers. On November 5, 1889, it appeared as *The American Implement Herald*, conducted by a company with D. M. Parry as president, and "devoted to the farm implement, vehicle and kindred trades"; but as an organ it was not a success, and soon suspended.

After Enos B. Read's death *The People* passed into the control of James B. Wilson, who also edited a liquor paper called *Freedom and Right*. Wilson appeared to be doing a thriving business when the U. S. authorities objected to some of his publications, and on December 12, 1895 he was sent to the penitentiary for two years, for sending obscene matter through the mails. Wilson had some good qualities, with others. While in prison he became convinced of the innocence of Wm. E. Hinshaw, a life prisoner, convicted of the murder of his wife, at Belleville, west of Indianapolis, on January 10,

1895. Wilson said that every man in the prison believed Hinshaw innocent, and that convicts were never deceived by pretended innocence. After his release he devoted considerable effort to advocating Hinshaw's innocence. *The People* was discontinued after Wilson's death. The Hinshaw case attracted as much attention in Indianapolis as any murder case that ever occurred in this vicinity. Hinshaw said that his wife was killed by burglars, during a struggle in which he was cut several times with a razor, and shot twice. The prosecution maintained that his wounds were self-inflicted, and the burglar story made up to cover the crime. He was convicted on circumstantial evidence, on October 3; and on October 6, the *Sentinel* reviewed the case in a four-column editorial and declared its "belief, from the evidence, that the defendant is a wholly innocent man". Its chief reasons were (1) that the case was tried on the theory that she was shot in bed, and the state's medical experts said that the bullet cut an artery in the brain, and that the wound would have filled with blood and have begun to discharge externally in eight seconds; but there was no blood on the bed; (2) that the last shot was fired across a street from the house, and the revolver, from which it must have been fired, and with which the woman must have been killed, if Hinshaw did the shooting, was found ninety feet away from that point, on the farther side of a wood shed and within one foot of its foundation, where Hinshaw could not possibly have put it. Noah Baney, a confirmed criminal, afterwards confessed that he and two others were the burglars, and confirmed Hinshaw's story, except that he said Mrs. Hinshaw was shot on the back steps of the house, where she was found by the neighbors with her head in a pool of blood; but he recanted when an attempt was made to indict him. Hinshaw was paroled on January 9, 1905, by Governor Durbin, but was sent back on November 9, 1906, by Governor Hanly, for an escapade with a woman, under circumstances that proved him a very stupid man to have concocted the story he told about the murder.

Of the weekly newspapers that have maintained their existence, the oldest is the *Independent*, which was established in 1881.

It is a sprightly sheet, devoted chiefly to local politics, and publishing quite an amount of political gossip not accessible elsewhere. The proprietor, Mr. Sol Hathaway, does the greater part of the reporting for the paper, which led to Mayor Bookwalter's little joke that "the *Independent* was a paper whose editor circulated more than the paper". Thomas Gruelle, former editor of the *Labor Signal* has assisted in the editorial work of the *Independent* for some time past. Another local weekly, but on a county basis, and making a specialty of farming interests, is *The Marion County Mail*, which was established in November, 1902, by Leo K. Fesler, and has a circulation of 3,700. There have been several other weeklies that died in childhood. *The Sunday Morning Call* was begun in November, 1879, by Ned Reed & Co., and continued for a couple of years. *The Southside* was started in 1873, and gave especial attention to affairs south of Washington street. In 1879 it was bought by J. A. Dynes & Co., who changed the name to *The Indianapolis Republican*, and published it for five or six years longer. The first issue of *The West Side Herald* was on January 5, 1894. It was devoted to affairs west of the river, and had very patent insides. It was conducted by Clark Brown, Wm. J. Smith, and Chas. I. Kiser till 1897, when West Indianapolis was annexed to the city.

The pioneer of the religious press appears to have been *The Christian Record*. This was originally a monthly published at Bloomington, Ind., by James Mathes. It started in 1843. In 1850 it was moved to Indianapolis, and Elder Elijah Goodwin became the editor. It was later made a weekly, and was published here until 1866, when it was consolidated with *The Christian Standard*, of Cincinnati. Soon after the *Record* came *The Gospel Herald*; and after it *The Western Universalist* was established by Manford & Jordan, and continued for two or three years. Next came *The Witness*, a Baptist publication, edited by Dr. M. G. Clarke, which continued till 1860, and was then merged with *The Standard*, published at Chicago. While Elder Goodwin was publishing the *Record*, in 1863, Mrs. M. M. Bassett started, at Cincinnati, *The Christian Monitor*, which was "the pioneer magazine devoted to the sisterhood of

the current reformation," i. e. to the women of the Christian (Disciples, or Campbellite) church. The editors exchanged papers, and their writing inspired a mutual passion which led them to exchange vows; and on June 19, 1863, Elder Goodwin and Mrs. Bassett were wedded. *The Monitor* was then moved to Indianapolis, where it continued as *The Ladies' Christian Monitor* until 1881-82, when it was purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Smart, and removed to St. Louis. It was continued by them then, the name being changed later to *The Christian Companion*; and, a few years ago, it was merged with *The Christian Evangelist*, which is still published at St. Louis. In 1869 Mrs. Goodwin also published *The Mother's Monitor*, and *The American Housewife*, at Indianapolis. At the same time, her stepson, Angelo Q. Goodwin, who had learned the printer's trade in the *Record* office, started a literary paper called *The Sparkling Gem*, which sparkled for a few months, and then faded.

When the Christian Woman's Board of Missions began the publication of *Missionary Tidings* here, in May, 1883, Mrs. Goodwin was made editor, but resigned in September of the same year on account of ill health. She died at Cleveland, Ohio, February 22, 1885. This paper was then edited by a publishing committee, composed of Mrs. S. E. Shortridge and Mrs. L. A. Moore, for one year, when Mrs. Shortridge took the position of editor, and continued till her death in April, 1890. Following her, the editors have been Miss Lois A. White, April, 1890, to January, 1899; Mrs. Helen E. Moses, January, 1899, to May, 1905; Mrs. Anna R. Atwater, May, 1905, to November, 1909; and Mrs. Effie L. Cunningham from then to date. This is a flourishing paper, with over 33,000 subscribers, in all parts of the United States and twenty foreign countries. It has recently been moved to the new building of the Board at Irvington.

After the war there came a notable development of publication here in the Christian Church, through Rev. Wm. Worth Dowling, for some time a teacher, and head of the preparatory department of North Western Christian University. In January, 1865, he started *The Little Sower*, the first Sunday School paper printed here, and the first one

of the Christian Church anywhere. There was some opposition among the church leaders to Sunday School papers at the time, on the ground that they were "unscriptural," as introducing some other instrument of instruction than the Bible, so the work began with due caution. The paper was a monthly for the first year, then a semi-monthly for three years, and in 1869 became a weekly. It continued till 1884, when the name was changed to *The Sunday School Evangelist*, and later to *The Young Evangelist*. As interest in Sunday School work grew, a paper was needed for teachers and older students, and Mr. Dowling started *The Morning Watch* to cover that ground. Its name was later changed to *The Christian Sunday School Teacher*, and in 1891 to *Our Young Folks*, under which title it is now published. There was also a call for a primary paper, and *The Little Watchman* was issued for that, the name afterward becoming *The Sunny Side*, and later *Our Little Ours*. There was also a lesson leaf published under the title of *Good Seed*, which, after the adoption of the *International Lesson Leaf*, developed into a quarterly and annual. All of these publications were started in Indianapolis, but in 1877 the "Christian Publishing Company," with Mr. Dowling as editor-in-chief, moved to St. Louis, where they are still continued, with various others. The success of *The Little Sower* suggested a similar publication for day schools, and in 1868 Mr. Dowling and Prof. A. C. Shortridge started *The Little Chief*. They continued it for two years, and Prof. Shortridge, and Shortridge & Alden, kept it up for several years after that.

There have been a number of short-lived religious papers here, among which may be mentioned *The Illustrated Christian*, published also at Boston, in the later sixties. It was bought by A. A. Barnes, the name changed to *Heart and Hand*, and the publication continued for several months, with Rev. E. P. Ingersoll as editor. Mr. Barnes then turned it over to the Y. M. C. A., under whose care it soon died. The Y. M. C. A. had another publication in 1873, called *Our Paper*; and another in 1876 called *The Y. M. C. A. Review and Sabbath Magazine*, which also died young. In 1869 Rev. F. C. Holliday published *The Western Fireside*, which

had a brief career. In 1871 Rev. Thos. A. Goodwin started the *Indiana Christian Advocate*, which lasted for a couple of years, and was chiefly devoted to the temperance cause, with friendly remarks on woman's suffrage, and hearty opposition to state institutions of higher learning—at least in Indiana. In 1875 the *Journal and Messenger* was started by the Central Baptist Press Company. Early in the eighties came *The Gospel Trumpet*, published by Daniel S. Warren, *The Christian Union*, and *The Crown of Glory*. A more permanent publication was *The Indiana Baptist*, started in 1881 by Elgin & Chaille, brothers-in-law. Elgin dropped out in a few years, and the paper having become somewhat involved financially, it was taken over by a company called the Baptist Publishing Company. In 1902 it was removed to Greensburg, Ind., and is still published there as the *Baptist Observer*.

The Catholic Church can hardly be said to have church papers as the Protestant churches have. The papers known as "Catholic" are private ventures, devoted not to the discussion of doctrine, but to the publication of news of interest to Catholics, and to the promotion of the welfare of the church and its members. There was no Catholic paper here until 1875. When Father O'Donoghue came here, in 1874, he was impressed with the desirability of such a paper, and advocated its establishment. As a result a stock-company was formed in 1875 which began the publication of *The Central Catholic*. It was edited for a short time by Dr. J. W. Rogers; then by Capt. Thos. K. Barrett; then by Dr. Walters. The paper was sold to L. H. Bell of the Louisville *Catholic Advocate*, who continued it as *The Central Catholic Advocate*. In 1882 there was another change of ownership, and the name was made *The New Record*. It next passed to Alexander Chomel, who made it *The Catholic Record*, and published it till 1895, when it was sold to *The Catholic Columbian*, of Columbus, O., and the name took its present form of *The Catholic Columbian Record*. The volume number was changed in 1882 when the paper was called *The New Record*, and the files would indicate its origin in that year; but it was practically all one paper back to 1875. The only other Catholic paper here is

The Indiana Catholic, which was started in February, 1910, by J. P. O'Mahony, who had been for several years the manager of the *Record*.

Of the later religious publications, still continued, *The Indiana Reporter*, a semi-monthly, is under auspices of the Seventh-Day Adventists. *The Herald of Light* is published by the Pentecost Band. *The Awakener* is the organ of the Indiana Sunday School Association, and is devoted to the extension of Sunday School work. The Episcopalians have an organ in *The Church Chronicle*. This is a monthly publication which was begun in April, 1899, by the Woman's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Indianapolis, and was ably edited for ten years by Mrs. W. D. Pratt. She then resigned and the paper was taken over by Bishop Francis. He and Rev. Geo. Burbank are now the editors.

There is hardly any imaginable sort of paper that has not been published in Indianapolis at some time. Humor has been represented by *The Humorist*, published by Landon & Hastings in 1860; the *Jolly Hoosier*, by A. C. Rooche & Co. in 1870; *Scissors*, started by the Indiana Publishing Company, the principal members of which were the Hyman brothers, in 1883, this last with cartoons of the "Puck" order. Of skeptical, or "free-thought" papers there were Monroe's *Ironclad Age*, a rather ably edited paper, and Lamaster's *Iconoclast*, which was bitterly opposed to everything that anyone else was in favor of. Papers of fraternal organizations will be found mentioned in the chapter treating of those organizations; but it may be mentioned in passing that the most widely circulated paper, of any kind, ever published here was the *Modern Woodman*, whose last issue before it was removed to Rock Island, in October, 1908, was of 1,040,000 copies. Of papers of the colored population the pioneer was *The Indianapolis Leader*, published by Bagby Bros., and the present representatives are *The Indianapolis World*, published by Gurley Brewer and A. E. Manning; the *Recorder*, published by Geo. P. Stewart, and *The Freeman*, published by Geo. L. Knox. Of liquor papers there have been half a dozen, the most striking, in name at least, being *Barrels and Bottles*, published

by W. O. Bates. Of literary papers, more or less literary—there have been still more, of which the pioneers may be considered *The Olive Branch*, published by Miss Carrie D. F. Bush, and Miss Dill's *Gazette*, published by Lizzie St. C. Dill, in 1860. The most pretentious venture in this line was *The Reader Magazine*, published by The Bobbs-Merrill Co. from November, 1902, to February, 1908, and then consolidated with *Putnam's Magazine*. This was published as *Putnam's* and *The Reader* for a year, and thereafter as *Putnam's*.

The first medical paper here was published by Dr. Theophilus Parvin. He had been associated in the ownership and publication of the *Cincinnati Journal of Medicine*, and in June, 1867, acquired the entire ownership. He removed it to Indianapolis, the July number being issued here as *The Western Journal of Medicine*. Dr. Parvin was a man of high culture, and of the first rank in his profession. His paper was a high-grade monthly, with 64 pages of reading matter, issued by Robert Clarke & Co. of Cincinnati at the same dates that it appeared here. After several years the name of the paper was changed to *The American Practitioner*, and Dr. Yandell, of Louisville, was associated in the publication. He stood as high in Kentucky as Dr. Parvin did in Indiana, and at the time was lecturing here at the Indiana Medical College, while Dr. Parvin was also lecturing at Louisville. In 1880 it was the leading medical journal of Indianapolis. In May, 1870, Dr. Thad. M. Stevens, a nephew of the celebrated Pennsylvanian of the same name, started a monthly called *The Indiana Journal of Medicine*, which was continued for several years. There were two or three short-lived medical papers in this period, among them the *Medical Review*, published by Dr. J. A. Brown in 1877, and *Liberal Medicine*, published by Dr. Frank A. Wright. Joseph Perry also issued for some months a paper called the *Pharmacist*.

In September, 1882, Drs. Frank Ferguson and A. W. Brayton began publishing *The Indiana Medical Journal*, which has proven the most lasting of all. Dr. Ferguson dropped out in a year or two and the publication was continued by a stock company, with Dr. Brayton as editor. Dr. Brayton is an all-

round scientist and litterateur, as well as a medical man, and made the *Journal* of interest to many persons outside of the profession. In June, 1898, the *Medical and Surgical Monitor* was started by a stock company, with Dr. Samuel E. Earp as editor. In 1903 Dr. Earp became editor of the *Central States Medical Magazine*, published at Anderson, Ind.; and the *Monitor* was edited by Drs. A. E. Sterne and S. P. Scherer. In 1905 these two papers were combined, and published at Indianapolis as *The Central States Medical Monitor*, with Dr. Earp as editor. In January, 1909, arrangements were made to combine this with the *Indiana Medical Journal*, and the resultant is now published under that name, with Drs. Earp and Brayton as editors, and Drs. Saul C. Norris and S. P. Scherer as associates. Norris was the original editor of the *Central States Medical Magazine*, and Dr. Scherer of the *Monitor*, so that *The Indiana Medical Journal* now represents all the interests of the old school, except the students at the Medical College of Indiana, who have been publishing *The Medical Student* since October, 1902.

The other schools were not inactive. In June, 1874, the State Physio-Medical convention adopted resolutions to publish a paper. A publishing committee was appointed, and in January, 1875, the first number of the *Physio-Medical Journal* appeared. In 1878 Dr. George Hasty, the founder of the local Physio-Medical College, became editor, and did much towards building the paper up. It continued till 1897. In that year the *Physio-Medical Record* was started, with Dr. Haggard and the Drs. Anthony as editors, and still continues. In the later seventies the Eclectics got busy. They established a medical college at Indiana avenue and California street, whose first class graduated in 1881. In 1878, Dr. Geo. W. Pickerill started the *Indiana Medical Eclectic Quarterly*, which lasted only a year or so. In January, 1883, Pickerill started the *Indiana Eclectic Medical Journal*, which was more hardy. In July of the same year Dr. R. C. Kelsey started the *Medical Free Press*, which was an eclectic monthly, Dr. Kelsey being dean of the college. In 1890 the *Eclectic Medical Journal* combined with the *Medical Free*

Press, and the paper was continued under the latter name.

The legal profession has managed to get along most of the time without a local paper, there being comparatively little occasion for one. The chief current professional information is the decisions of the Appellate courts which are largely furnished by the various reporter publications, and, long before these were instituted, digests of the decisions were commonly printed by the daily papers as news matter. On March 25, 1881, J. C. and Frank L. Wells started a publication called *The Indiana Law Reporter*, devoted almost exclusively to the publication of court decisions, which was discontinued after a few months. They were not wholly discouraged, however, and in May, 1883, began publishing *The Indiana Law Magazine*. This was on a slightly broader basis, and was continued through five semi-annual volumes. The next legal periodical was *The Indiana Law Student*, started by the students of the Indianapolis Law School in 1896, but their vaulting ambition lasted for less than a year. In January, 1898, the *Indiana Law Journal* was begun, with W. P. Fishback as editor, and Wm. F. Elliott, Charles W. Moores and Wm. P. Kappes as associate editors, but they found little in the venture but work and expense, and it was discontinued after a year or so. The only other publication approaching this character was *The Public Official*, which was begun in 1895, and ran through three volumes.

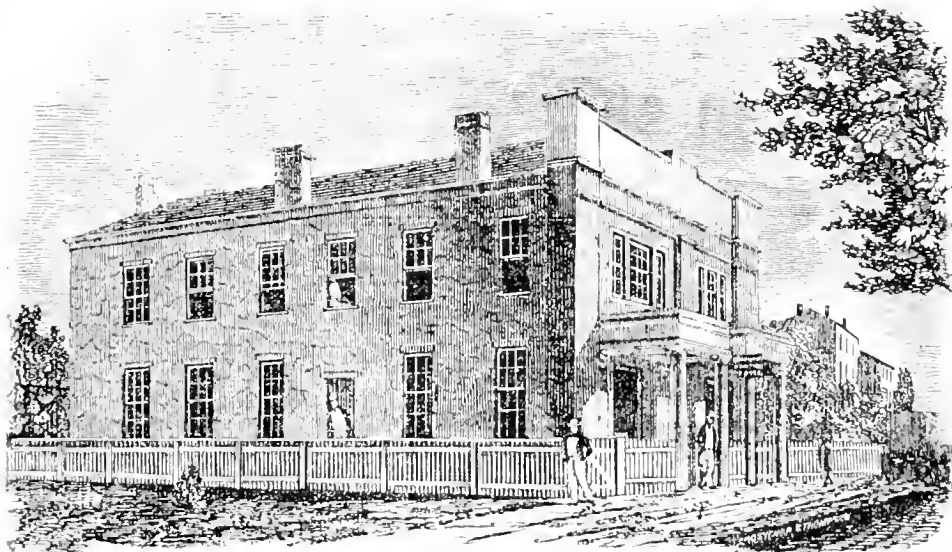
A publication which was unique at the time of its beginning in 1891, was *Paving and Municipal Engineering*. It was an outgrowth of the paving exposition held by the Commercial Club in 1890. There were so many inquiries sent here concerning it that Mr. William Fortune, secretary of the club, conceived the idea of starting a paper to supply information on such subjects. Mr. Wm. P. Bobbs associated with him as business manager and the magazine was launched. Mr. Bobbs disposed of his interest in December, 1892, and the paper was continued by a stock company controlled by Mr. Fortune. The first two volumes were annuals and the succeeding ones semi-annual. In July, 1896, the word "Paving" was dropped from the title, and it has since been published as

Municipal Engineering. In 1896 Mr. Charles C. Brown became editorial writer, and in 1901 editor. The great body of the matter has always been specially prepared by contributors, usually by recognized experts. This characteristic, as well as its efficient editing, has given it an authoritative standing, and it now has a widely scattered circulation of over 5,600.

Another successful publication of its own class was *The Daily Reporter*, which began publication September 3, 1895, nominally by the Reporter Publishing Co., but the moving

L. Purdy, formerly of the *Sun*, and apparently continues its old time prosperity.

There has been no form of temperance agitation that has not been represented by an Indianapolis publication, and prohibition has had its representative since 1884. In that year M. E. Shiel moved the *Monitor-Journal*—a paper published at Seymour, Ind., formed by a combination of the *Monitor* and the *Red Ribbon Journal*—to Indianapolis and united with the *Sun*, a South Bend temperance paper, under the name of *The Phalanx*. It was owned by a stock company, and soon



THE SENTINEL OFFICE, 1850.

(From an old cut.)

spirit of the enterprise was Joseph T. Elliott, Jr. Its specialty was commercial reporting, and incidentally promoting the interests of the Indiana Banking Association. On May 20, 1903, the name was changed to *The Indianapolis Commercial Reporter*. From the start the paper gave very full and accurate reports of markets, legal proceedings and other business matters, and became the chief local medium for legal advertisements. In 1908 Mr. Elliott sold his interests and removed to California. On April 11, 1908, the name of the paper was changed to the *Indianapolis Commercial*, and its scope was slightly enlarged. It is now edited by Fred

gained a reputation as a spicily and vigorous publication. In 1891 it passed into the control of Wm. F. and Edward W. Clark, who have since published it. The name was changed in 1893 to *The Patriot Phalanx*. From the Phalanx office is also issued *Clean Politics*, a paper on a national basis, published by a stock company, with W. M. Lickins as manager and Chas. M. Fillmore as associate editor. It was started in July, 1909, and attained over 35,000 circulation in six months. It is a weekly, published at 50 cents a year.

There have been two or three attempts at society papers here, such as *Madam*, but none

of them that lasted long. The most notable paper that might be included in this class was *The Indiana Weekly*, which was started November 9, 1895, by E. E. Stafford. It was rather broader than a mere society paper, and preserved quite an amount of biography in its sketches of local characters. In the fall of 1900 Mr. Stafford sold it to Lieutenant Governor Haggard and John Reichman. Within a year they sold it to Geo. McCulloch, who continued it two or three years longer.

On July 14, 1881, appeared a new morning daily called *The Indianapolis Times*. It was a two-cent paper, published at the old *Journal* office, at the northeast corner of Circle and Market streets. It was published by a company, the chief factor in which was Wm. R. Holloway, who is a newspaper man by both heredity and environment. His father was for years editor of the *Richmond Palladium*, with occasional political preferment, having served for a term as commissioner of patents. William learned the printer's trade, and before he was of age worked as compositor on a Cincinnati paper. When his brother-in-law, Oliver P. Morton, became Governor, Mr. Holloway became his private secretary, and served in that capacity to 1864, when he, with others, bought the *Journal*, and remained its editor until the winter of 1866. In 1869 he was appointed postmaster, and retained the position for twelve years, during which time he dabbled a little in newspaper work, and on leaving the office started the *Times*. Charles M. Walker, one of the best known newspaper men in Indianapolis, who had been editor-in-chief of the *Journal*, was made editor of the new paper, and served until he went to Washington as chief clerk of the postoffice department, under Judge Gresham, in 1882. But the *Times* was not a money-maker, and its last issue appeared on August 9, 1886, the paper being sold to the *Journal* Company—nominally consolidated in the Indianapolis *Journal* Newspaper Company with John C. New, Henry New, and Oliver T. Morton as directors. The United Press franchise, which had been held by the *Times*, was sold to the *Evening News*.

Up to this time the *Journal* had absorbed everything in the form of an evening paper that had appeared, excepting the *News*. As

mentioned, *The Citizen*, started in 1857, had been merged with *The Atlas*; and in 1861 *The Atlas* was sold to the *Journal*. In 1867 the *Journal* bought the *Evening Gazette*, and in 1870 *The Daily Times*, which had been started nominally by Dynes & Cheney, but really by James H. Woodard, a correspondent, widely known as "Jayhawker." In 1871 the *Journal* bought *The Evening Commercial*, which had been started in 1867, and made it the evening edition of the *Journal*, with George Harding as managing editor. This was regarded as an effort to displace the *News* in the afternoon field, but it was not successful, and was an expensive luxury; and after a convincing trial of the experiment, the *Journal* was glad to confine itself to its morning issue.

The only paper that ever proved able to hold a place in the afternoon field against the *News* is the *Sun*. This was started on March 12, 1888, by a company of five newspaper men who had worked together at Cleveland, Ohio. The chief stockholder and financial backer of the paper was J. S. Sweeny, of Detroit, a member of the Scripps-McRae Company, who did not take up residence here. The others were Fred L. Purdy, who edited the paper; Charles J. Seabrook, who was business manager; Wm. S. Speed, who had charge of the book-keeping and office work; and A. C. Keifer, who looked after the circulation. It was a one-cent paper, supplied with the Scripps-McRae telegraph service, and soon found a field in which it was very successful for a number of years. Mr. Purdy is largely an editor of the old school training, but with all the new school trimmings. He was born at Bellaire, Ohio, January 22, 1859; and, after getting a rudimentary education in the common schools, entered the office of the *Free Press*, a country paper in Chemung County, N. Y., at the age of 13, to learn the printer's trade. At 18, having learned his trade, he went to the *Elmira Free Press*, where he set type and incidentally edited telegraph till 1882. A printers' strike then came on, and he edited a paper printed by the strikers till it reached the usual "bust." He then went to Cleveland and got a job as marine reporter on the *Press*; and in due time rose to the position of city editor, which included the

functions of managing editor. From there he came to Indianapolis to start the *Sun*. In December, 1904, when he sold the *Star*, George McCulloch made a contract under which he controlled and operated the *Sun*, with option to purchase the stock. The building in which it is published belongs to J. S. Sweeny. Under its new management the *Sun* was quite severely afflicted with Hearst-itis, which has usually proved fatal in this climate. Giving more space to headlines than to matter, and printing editorials in display type is too much like holding an ordinary conversation through a megaphone to be popular in sober Indianapolis. Early in 1910 the *Sun* was purchased by Mr. Rudolph Leeds, of Richmond, and passed to a financial basis that is sound enough for any newspaper, as well as to an improved condition.

But the *Sun* is hardly a competitor of the *News*. The most serious competition the *News* ever had was from the *Press*; and that was not so serious as it looked, because the *Press* was too largely handicapped to have any real chance for success. On May 12, 1892, John H. Holliday sold the controlling interest of the *News* to Wm. Henry Smith, widely known as manager of the Associated Press. His son-in-law, Charles R. Williams, then became editor-in-chief of the paper. Mr. Williams is a man of wide culture. Born in New York, April 16, 1853, he was honor graduate at Princeton in 1875, with post-graduate work at Goettingen and Leipzig. He was tutor in Latin at Princeton and professor of Greek at Lake Forest. He was editor of *Potter's American Monthly*; literary editor of the *New York World*, and assistant general manager of the Associated Press from 1883 to 1892. On the death of Mr. Smith on July 27, 1896, his son, Delavan Smith, became the principal owner of the paper. It has been widely believed that Senator Charles W. Fairbanks was a part owner of the *News*, but this is not the fact. He is a first cousin of Delavan Smith, and their relations are naturally close. In consequence the *News* has commonly been regarded as a Fairbanks "organ," though it has not been one in the usual sense of the term.

Mr. Holliday's chief reason for selling the *News* was impaired health, which he attributed to the close confinement of editorial work.

He founded the Union Trust Co. in 1883 and became its president. He regained his health and, like most men who have become accustomed to newspaper work, both he and Major Richards desired to return to it. They accordingly decided to start the *Press*, and, after elaborate preparations the first number was issued on December 13, 1899. They undertook to make it from the first a larger and better paper than the *News*, but the latter at once met the competition, and both were soon issuing blanket sheets resembling the ordinary Sunday paper. In this the *News* had much the advantage. It had the monopoly of the United Press service, and of the afternoon franchise of the Associated Press, and these furnish the cheapest high-grade news matter known in this country. It had a large established circulation and a large line of profitable advertising contracts, while the *Press* had to build up a circulation, and take advertising at such rates as its circulation justified. It had not exactly a monopoly of "classified ads," but a great lead over all the rest of the city papers combined, and which all the other papers had made vain efforts to rival. Consequently the *News* was always able to make the better showing of current news, and had enough advertising to carry its increased reading matter without serious loss. The *Press* kept up the fight for sixteen months, but it was swallowing money so rapidly that its owners took council of discretion, and on April 16, 1901, suspended, Mr. Holliday "becoming a member of the *News* copartnership" and Mr. Richards retiring. Both have since taken prominent parts in financial affairs, Mr. Holliday being re-elected president of the Union Trust Co., and Mr. Richards becoming vice-president of the Union National Bank.

After the purchase of the *Journal* by Hasselman and Fishback in 1870, W. R. Holloway bought a sixth interest; Mr. Hasselman presented a sixth to his son Otto; and Thomas D. Fitch bought a sixth. In January, 1872, these sold to a Journal Company in which Jonathan M. Ridenour and Gen. Nathan Kimball, former State Treasurer, were the chief owners. They improved the mechanical department, and bought a Bullock perfecting press, the first brought to the state. In 1875 Nicholas Ruckle, ex-sheriff of

the county, obtained a controlling interest, and Mr. Ridenour retired. In 1876 the paper was sold to E. B. Martindale and W. R. Holloway, the job office being retained by Ruckle, who later sold it to Hasselman & Co. The new proprietors moved the paper to the new Journal office—now the American Central Life building—and later to "Martindale Block" remodeled Roberts Chapel, where the Lemeke building now stands. In 1880 the paper was purchased by John C. New and his son Harry, who had started in as a reporter under the Martindale management, and they held it for twenty-two years.

This last quarter of a century of the *Journal* was its best period. The earlier part of it was under the editorial management of Elijah W. Halford, one of the best-known newspaper men of Indianapolis. He is an Englishman, born at Nottingham, September 3, 1843. His family came to the United States in 1847, settling first at Cincinnati, and in 1851, at Hamilton, Ohio. Here Elijah got his education in the common schools, and served an apprenticeship of six years in the printing trade. He came to Indianapolis in December, 1861, and worked first in the job office of John Falmestock, and later at Braden's, where he attracted the attention of Dan Paine, who recommended him to the editor of the *Journal*, and he was employed as a reporter. He rose to the position of city editor, and when John Young Scammon started the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* in 1872, Halford was called to it as managing editor. After two years he returned to the *Journal* went from it to the *News* during Mr. Ruckle's ownership, and back again after John C. New bought the paper. He did effective work for the nomination and election of General Harrison, and was made private secretary by the president soon after his election. Just before the close of President Harrison's term Mr. Halford was made a paymaster in the army—a life position with a comfortable salary.

After Mr. Halford's departure Thomas Steele took his place as managing editor. Halford had written only a part of the editorial when in charge, most of it being written by Charles M. Walker and Berry Sulgrove. Mr. Steele wrote still less. He had come up from the printer's case, as

proof-reader and telegraph editor, and was an excellent judge of matter, and a wise manager. Miss Anna Nicholas began writing on the *Journal* under Halford; was with it to the end, and went to the *Star* when the *Journal* suspended. She is a clever and industrious writer and has given much of the character to the editorials of both the *Journal* and the *Star*. Her brothers preceded her, John D. Nicholas being managing editor of the *Journal* during the Ruckle ownership, and Will Nicholas, now of New York City, having been for some time one of the brightest writers on the *Journal* staff. They were from Meadville, Penn. Under Mr. Steele's management Col. Z. A. Smith became the political editorial writer. In the winter of 1902-3 the proprietors sold the paper to Charles L. Henry, who continued it till the summer of 1904, when he sold it to George McCulloch of the *Star*. The papers were announced to be continued as *The Star and Journal*, but the name "Journal" was merely added in small type to the regular large head of the *Star*, and on October 27, 1904, even this was dropped, and the *Journal* became only a memory.

The *Star* had been started June 6, 1903, by George McCulloch, with Earl Martin as editor. It was printed at the southwest corner of Circle and Market streets, and was "one cent a day, seven days in the week." Later it was made a two-cent paper, with a five-cent Sunday edition. In October, 1904, the *Star* was sold to a company, in which Daniel Reid of New York was the chief stockholder. At this time Mr. Ernest Bross was secured as editor. He is a native of Michigan, born in 1860. He was educated at Doane College, Nebraska, and had newspaper training on several papers, especially the *Omaha Republican*. In 1887 he went to Portland, Oregon, to take charge of the *Oregonian*, where he attained a wide notability as an editorial writer. He is still the chief editorial writer of the *Star*. The *Star* was edited and published in the building at the southwest corner of Market and Circle streets until July, 1907, when it was removed to the building specially erected for it at the northeast corner of New York and Pennsylvania streets. In April, 1908, Mr. Reid applied to the U. S. Court for a receiver for the *Star*

"chain," including the *Muncie Star* and *Terre Haute Star*, both owned by the same company, on the ground of insolvency. There were \$650,000 of outstanding bonds, \$500,000 of 6 per cent preferred stock, and \$500,000 of common, besides a demand note to him for \$220,640.86, and past due interest of \$16,116.64. The paper had not earned dividends, and it was alleged it could not. On April 30 Judge Anderson appointed as receiver Geo. W. Hitt, the veteran business manager of the *Journal*, and in twenty months from then, to December 31, 1909, he reported surplus net earnings of \$140,731.11, after paying all fixed charges due. Moral: If not prosperous, go into the hands of a receiver.

On July 1, 1886, the control of the *Sentinel* passed to W. J. Craig, with Gus Matthews as editorial writer. Craig was one of the most courteous men as an employer I have ever known, but he took a very serious view of the *Sentinel's* responsibility as the organ of the Democratic party, and he did not believe in "weak-kneed politics," and that was what caused the worst "break" the *Sentinel* ever made. In the campaign of 1886, the office of Lieutenant-Governor being vacant, both parties nominated candidates, and the Republican candidate, R. S. Robertson, was elected. The only person who objected to a nomination by the Democrats was A. G. Smith, later Attorney-General, who had been elected president pro tem. of the Senate at the preceding session, and who insisted that a lieutenant-governor could not be elected until 1888, under the constitutional provision for an election once in four years. After the election he announced his intention to hold as presiding officer of the Senate, and as the legislature was very close, the Republicans holding the House, and a United States Senator was to be elected, the Democratic leaders decided to support him. A case was prepared and hurried to the Supreme Court, but the court refused, on January 4, 1887, to decide the question on the ground that it had no jurisdiction of the case, as the constitution made each house the judge of the election of its members and officers, and that it was not proper for the court to decide what was the law unless it had jurisdiction in the

case at bar. Judges Mitchell and Howk dissented.

As the majority of the court was Democratic, the Democrats were naturally indignant at this evasion of the question, and none more so than Mr. Craig. He had Matthews write a scathing editorial denunciation of the court, and, after reading it, added the introductory sentence, "Damn their cowardly souls." This furnished water for the Republican mill, with a vengeance, and for some days the merits of the case were completely eclipsed by criticism of this assault on the highest court in the state. I had been substituting occasionally for Matthews as editorial writer, and I assured him that his editorial position was well taken, with the exception of the opening sentence. The question involved was not merely of the election of a presiding officer of the Senate, but of a lieutenant-governor, who would succeed as governor in case of the death of that official. The hesitancy about stating the law where a supreme court has not jurisdiction, or where the question is not properly presented, was all rot. Although it is not often a commendable thing, all courts make such statements when they like, and the reports of the Indiana courts were full of "obiter dicta." But further than that, there was a very strong line of decisions to the effect that in time of public excitement and threatened disturbance over a disputed question of law, it was the duty of the court to state the law, even if it could not give it the force of a decision. At the request of Matthews I prepared an editorial on these lines, taking several days to collect authorities, but when it was prepared Craig was so much intimidated that he decided not to publish it. And there he lost his chance of at least partial vindication, for within two months, on rehearing, the court practically reversed itself and gave the statements of the law which it had held improper; and the opinions sustained Smith's position.⁸

In February, 1888, the control of the *Sentinel* was purchased by Samuel E. Morss, and this marked an epoch in its existence. I think he was one of the strongest editorial

⁸Robertson vs. The State ex rel. 109 Ind., p. 79.

writers Indianapolis ever had, if not the strongest, and certainly he was the readiest. He was bold and outspoken; made up his mind on new questions very quickly, and seldom decided erroneously. He was born at Ft. Wayne, Dec. 15, 1852, and had only a common school education, which, however, he broadened by extensive and solid reading. He began work as a boy on the *Ft. Wayne Gazette*, and after growing up bought the *Ft. Wayne Sentinel*. This he sold to his partner in 1880, and went to Kansas City. There he established the *Star*, but did not reap the benefits of that great newspaper success, for overwork brought a nervous breakdown, and in 1882 he sold and went to Paris for treatment by a nerve specialist. He returned in the winter of 1883-4 much improved—though he never fully recovered—and went on the *Chicago Times* as editorial writer, and later Washington correspondent. From there he came to the *Sentinel*.

It was a national campaign year, with General Harrison as the Republican candidate. Both sides were enthusiastic and confident. The Republicans carried the state by a small plurality in response to General Harrison's appeal that he did not want to be elected and failed to carry his own state. The slogan was "get one vote," and this resulted in the most extraordinary individual effort ever known in Indiana. The *Sentinel* made a gallant fight, and though beaten it exposed the Dudley frauds and inspired the party with the desire for honest elections. The legislature was Democratic, and the *Sentinel* began its fight for election reform immediately after the election, the results of which are detailed in the chapter entitled "A Political Epoch". But that was not all. Morss was a natural reformer, for the simple reason that he believed in good government. Anything that promised improvement appealed to him. He took up Oscar McCulloch's bill for a State Board of Charities and Corrections, Representative Pleasant's bill for a state school book system, Senator Barrett's street improvement bond bill, Senator Byrd's bill to abolish "pluck-me stores" in the coal regions, and made earnest campaigns for them. The legislature of 1889 went on record as the greatest reform legislature in the history of the state, and the *Sentinel* received and de-

served much of the credit. A similar course was followed in the legislature of 1891 with the city charter, tax law and other measures.

In 1892 there was the usual Democratic figuring for a "favorite son" on the national ticket, but Mr. Morss was convinced that the party sentiment of the state was overwhelmingly for Cleveland, and boldly said so. The result was an Indiana delegation for Cleveland in the national convention. In 1893 Mr. Morss was appointed Consul-General to Paris, and left the editorial department of the paper in my charge—I having been associated in it since 1888. Matters went smoothly enough till the campaign of 1896. Both Mr. Morss and myself were international bimetallicists by conviction, and as between a gold standard and "free silver" considered the latter the lesser evil. All that the *Sentinel* could do to hold the party to international bimetallicism was done, but after Bryan was nominated Mr. Morss cabled me to support the ticket. I did so to the best of my ability. It did not do much good, but the paper was at least made obnoxious to the opposition. That campaign ruined the *Sentinel* financially. The great majority of business men acquired the delusion that if Mr. Bryan were elected their property would be practically confiscated. The feeling was intense—far beyond anything ever known before or since, over an economic question. The boycott on advertising, begun during the campaign, was continued long after. It made the *Sentinel* a losing proposition on the business side, and it never recovered from that condition. There was no compensation from the other side. Indeed, some of the Democratic leaders assiduously claimed that their worst obstruction in the campaign was the *Sentinel's* concession that free coinage by this country alone must result in a silver standard.

Morss made an earnest effort to overcome his difficulties, but only succeeded in making more. He convinced himself that the morning paper was out of date, and on May 18, 1903, brought the *Sentinel* out as a one-cent evening paper. The morning edition was continued nominally for a few days, under the name of the *Indianapolis Globe*, to protect the Associated Press franchise, but this, which was perhaps the most valuable asset of

the paper, was sold to the founders of the *Star*, which started in June. But the evening was no better than the morning, and the financial situation slowly grew worse until the unfortunate death of Mr. Morss by a fall from the third story of the *Sentinel* building on October 21, 1903. The paper was continued by Aquilla Q. Jones as administrator, aided by Thomas Taggart, who had an interest. For some months it was conducted by Harneyer and Allen, two Chicago newspaper

men, who took an option on it and gave it up. It was then managed by Frank Tarkington Baker, who made it such a ghastly imitation of a Hearst paper that it was really a relief to have the poor old thing put out of its misery, which occurred on February 25, 1906. The *Sunday Sentinel* was purchased by the *Star*, and the daily and plant went to the owners of the *News*. And so ended the lineal successor of the first newspaper in Indianapolis.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

UNDER THE CHARTER.

The task of inaugurating the new government under the city charter of 1891 fell upon Mayor Thomas L. Sullivan. The law took effect on its passage, and continued in office the mayor, clerk and councilmen; the aldermen, and other officials not provided for in the new charter, dropping out. The most important of the new offices were the City Controller and the Board of Public Works, and the appointments to these were announced as soon as the Mayor learned that the law was signed, which occurred just before noon on March 6. The new government dates from March 7, though it was actually inaugurated March 9 in the new departments. For Controller, Mayor Sullivan chose an ideal man in William Wesley Woollen, an old-time banker who had been manager of the local clearing-house since its establishment, and who for two years had been chairman of the Finance Committee of the Council. The Board of Public Works was composed of Allen W. Conduitt, Adolph Scherrer and Morris M. Defrees. In accordance with the provisions of the charter an election was held on October 13, 1891, at which Mayor Sullivan was re-elected, defeating Wm. W. Herod, 14,320 to 11,598. His service was therefore two years and eight months, and in this time the practical forms of the new system were very fully established. Among these may be noted that while the charter provided for an annual statement from the Mayor to the Council of the finances and general condition of the city, it did not require departmental reports, and Mayor Sullivan originated the custom since followed of detailed reports from the various departments.

At the beginning of 1891 the area within the city boundaries was 7,927 acres, or 12.39 square miles. By the ordinance of April 18,

1891, this was increased to 9,610 acres, or 15.03 square miles. Extensive preparations for street improvement had begun. The Commercial Club held its street-paving exposition in Tomlinson Hall, April 1-5, 1890, and 55 contractors and manufacturers of paving material made exhibits. It gave a general education to citizens in rational paving, and was visited by official delegations from a number of other cities. One thing it taught was the desirability of proceeding systematically, and especially with reference to sewer improvements, which, of course, had to be made first to avoid tearing up the improved streets, as also the laying of adequate gas and water mains. At the beginning of 1891 the city had 1,632 miles of asphalt streets, 1.69 of vulcanite, 1.90 of cedar block, 2.22 of macadam. In 1891 were constructed 4,118 of asphalt and 1.90 of brick; and in 1892 2.96 miles of asphalt and 3.94 miles of brick streets with .99 mile of brick alleys. There were a little over 10 miles of graveled and bowldered streets completed in the two years, and 15 miles of brick and cement sidewalks.

But obviously the first thing to adjust was the sewer system. In 1869, when the city council first decided on underground sewers, a new committee on sewers, sewerage and water works was created on June 11, and John Marsee, C. E. Whitsit and Eric Locke were appointed members. The committee invited to this city R. C. Phillips, city engineer of Cincinnati, and Jacob Wirth, ex-city engineer of Cincinnati, to aid in devising a general sewerage plan. They did so, and the plan was reported on August 23.¹ Fortunately, before adopting this plan the com-

¹*Council Proceedings*, pp. 349, 353.

mittee called in Moses Lane, who was then the highest authority in the United States on sewerage, with possibly the exception of his partner, E. S. Chesbrough (who also visited Indianapolis, and approved of the plans); and he modified it in several respects, most notably as to the Washington street main sewer which had been designed to run straight west to the river. The Lane plan, which was adopted, made the Washington street and Kentucky avenue sewer the main one of the city. It began at Pogue's Run and ran 7 feet in interior diameter to Noble street; then 7½ feet to Pennsylvania street; then 8 feet to Illinois, where it turned into Kentucky avenue and followed it to the river, without change in size. The main branch was the South street sewer, which was 4½ feet interior diameter through Fletcher avenue and South street to East; 5 feet to Meridian; and 5½ feet to Kentucky avenue, where it emptied into the main sewer. The region south of McCarty street was to be drained by the Ray street sewer, which had already been constructed. There was also another southside branch on Merrill street which was not expected to be built for some time. On the north side there were to be laterals on Mississippi, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Noble streets.²

This report also proposed the drainage of the region west of the canal, as also that north of First street (now Tenth street) into Fall Creek, but with provision in view for an intercepter which should carry the sewage to the river at a point below Washington street. It also mentioned the feasibility of turning Pogue's Run into Fall Creek north of the city and making a main sewer in its bed. The Lane plan was adopted, with the addition of a lateral in Alabama street, and the sewers constructed under it are still in use, except the one in Alabama street, which had to be rebuilt some twenty years later. The Ray street sewer had been built by Samuel Hanway and Samuel Lefever; the South street sewer, and the Kentucky avenue sewer were built by Jacob Wirth & Co. of Cincinnati. The Washington street sewer from Pogue's Run to Illinois street encountered most serious opposition, probably be-

cause it was paid for by assessments of benefits and damages instead of by a general tax. Nearly all the property owners protested, and Councilman H. S. Bigham (popularly known as "Little Big") made a thrilling report against it as an impediment to business while in construction, and a menace to health and comfort when completed; besides all which the main sewer ought to be put in the bed of Pogue's Run. But a small majority of the council were determined to proceed, and an ordinance was finally passed for a sewer from Illinois to Pennsylvania street, in Washington, and the contract was let on May 25, 1874, to Bruner & Riner, who did the greater part of the sewer construction of the city for some years after.

It may be noted here that the conflict of opinion at that time as to the desirable location of sewers is not at all strange, for it is difficult for the average man to dissociate his idea of an underground sewer from the surface configuration. The earliest known proposal for an underground sewer system in Indianapolis was made by the *Locomotive* on May 7, 1859. It suggested two plans. One was to construct sewers in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Illinois streets, from Market or Ohio street to Pogue's Run. The other was to make a large sewer in Washington or Maryland street, from New Jersey to the river. It observed: "One of these two plans must eventually be adopted. Which is the best? The best, that will accomplish the objects desired, for the present and future drainage of the city, is the cheapest, no matter what the cost of construction may be." In this suggestion the *Locomotive* contemplated only disposing of surface water from rains; and if you are disposed to criticise its short sight, pause and reflect if our present sewer system is not one that will have to be abandoned, or so modified as to prevent the flow of sewage into White River. Is it not manifest that it can be but a short time until this making sewers of running streams must be wholly discontinued?

By the time of the adoption of the new city charter the city had constructed a total of 26.66 miles of sewer, varying from 4 to 8 feet in interior diameter, of which 21.32

²*Council Proceedings, 1870*, pp. 882-90.

³*Council Proceedings, 1873-4*, p. 1921

miles were brick, and 5.34 miles pipe. Most of this was serviceable but it was overtaxed, partly on account of extensions and partly on account of improvements; for roofs and street pavements serve equally to prevent the rain reaching and being soaked up by the natural soil, and turn it into the artificial drainage ways. This was generally realized. A committee of the Commercial Club recommended the adoption of a comprehensive system to begin with. The new Board of Public Works, composed of A. W. Conduitt, M. M. Defrees, and A. Scherrer, the last two being professional engineers, decided to submit the problem to the best talent obtainable. They selected Rudolph Hering, who had been the sewerage expert for New York, Chicago and Philadelphia, and who had two years earlier been called to Washington by President Harrison to devise a sewerage system for that city. Previous to his coming, extensive surveys were made by City Engineer Mansfield, and the data for the investigation collected as far as possible. Mr. Hering's services were secured on February 12, 1892, and on June 14, he made an elaborate report covering the entire subject.⁴

Hering divided the city into five main drainage districts, following the natural divisions as modified by the work already done. The first was the territory north of Fall Creek; the second the natural drainage area of the State Ditch and the region between it and Fall Creek; the third, covering most of the city, was the natural drainage area of Pogue's Run; the fourth the region west of the canal; and the fifth the natural drainage area of Pleasant Run. The third and fourth districts only were covered in Lane's plan. The sewage from the first and second districts was to be brought to a common main running through the river bottom west of the main city to a point below Washington street, while the storm water of the second was diverted to Fall Creek through the Belle street interceptor. The fifth was wholly independent of the others, and a matter for future treatment, as the district was sparsely settled. The third and fourth retained and were based on Lane's work, except that the outflow of these districts was

diverted to "the river interceptor", and carried to a point farther down the river. The sewer work since that time has been on the lines laid down by Mr. Hering, and up to January 1, 1909, there had been completed 224.25 miles. The 26.66 miles constructed prior to 1891 cost \$726,157.73. The total cost of sewers, including this, to 1909, is a little in excess of \$3,000,000. None of the later sewers are larger than the Washington street sewer except the State Ditch sewer, on Twentieth street, and the Harding street sewer in West Indianapolis, both of which are semi-circular in construction, 8 feet high by 12 feet 4 inches broad at the base, with about the capacity of a circular sewer 10 feet in diameter.

A notable achievement of Mayor Sullivan's administration was the construction of the Virginia avenue viaduct. For several years there had been great complaint over the division of the city north and south by railroad tracks, but no feasible form of relief appeared until 1886 when the railroad companies desired to construct the new Union Station. This necessitated the closing of Illinois street, and some other street vacation, in compensation for which the Union company agreed to pay \$30,000 towards the construction of a tunnel under the tracks at Illinois street, and to build a viaduct over the tracks in the first alley east of Meridian street. The viaduct was to have a grade of 7 feet in 100, to be 50 feet wide, and the alley was to be widened accordingly. The work on the tunnel was begun promptly, and on May 7, 1888, the City Engineer reported it complete except bowldering the north approach, which had been omitted because the company desired to asphalt it. The viaduct dragged. Suits were brought to prevent closing Meridian street, and in connection with the widening of the alley. After Mr. Sullivan became mayor he took up the matter with the railroad authorities, especially with Messrs. Ramsey and Ingalls of the Big Four, and insisted on action. They pointed to the suits and said they were anxious to proceed, and were willing to build elsewhere. This proposal was advantageous to the city, for nobody desired an alley crossing, and it was too near the Illinois street tunnel to be as serviceable as it might be, for the great

⁴*City Annual Reports, 1892*, pp. 73-95.

spread of the city beyond the tracks was to the southeast. Finally they came to an agreement for a concentration of tracks at Virginia avenue—removing those formerly on Louisiana street—and a viaduct as at present, 90 feet wide in the approaches and 70 feet in the bridge. But Mayor Sullivan insisted on a grade of not over 4 feet in 100; Mr. Ramsey for the railroads put 5 feet in 100 as the limit. At length the railroad people submitted a proposition that a grade of 4 feet would cost \$10,000 more than a grade of 5 feet, and if the city would pay \$5,000 it would make the change. As the street railway company was vitally interested in this matter, Mayor Sullivan laid the matter before Mr. Shaffer, then president of the street railway company, and he agreed to pay the city's \$5,000. The work then proceeded and was completed in the summer of 1892, the viaduct being formally opened with great Democratic rejoicing on September 23, 1892. The Columbia and Marion Clubs, and the Republican speakers invited, all declined to participate on the ground that the ceremony had been postponed for political purposes.

Under Mayor Sullivan, a new contract was made with the Water Company by which it was to furnish water free for fountains in the parks; to reduce the rate for water for city buildings from 10 cents to 5 cents per 1,000 gallons; and to lay 20,000 feet of mains annually, if required, instead of 7,000. An important contract was made with the Indianapolis Brush Electric Light and Power Co. to light the streets with electricity—they had been lighted with gas. This contract was notable for introducing the principle of compensation from public service corporations for use of the streets. It provided for payment by the company into the city treasury of 2½ per cent of its gross receipts till January 1, 1896, and 5 per cent thereafter. Street sweeping was inaugurated for improved streets, and a system of street sprinkling paid for by property owners; street name signs were put up, the streets renumbered, and there was a general advance of the city government on business lines.

But the defeat of the city administration on other lines was made inevitable by a combination of circumstances. In the middle of January, 1892, a strike occurred on the street

railway. The men had been furnished with badges entitling the wearer to free transportation, and on complaint that these were being loaned to others not entitled to them, John P. Frenzel, the president of the company, ordered them taken up. It was temporarily adjusted by an agreement to arbitrate and service was resumed on January 14. But no settlement was reached, and on February 21 the men struck again, and demanded the removal of Frenzel from the presidency. What made the situation serious was politics. The *News* stated it very accurately on February 24: "The whole thing reeks with politics. The very decency and safety of living in Indianapolis are involved by politics. The Lincoln League, with delegates from different parts of the state, meeting here before the strike began, insulted the memory of the name it bore by adopting a resolution espousing the cause of the strikers in advance. The Republican primaries meeting on the eve of the strike systematically adopted resolutions urging the men on to stake their living in quitting their work. The mayor of the town for offset abdicates his sworn duty under the law, and openly announces that the Republican politicians are playing a game, and the city (i. e., Democratic control) does not propose to help them play it." The city government did not run the cars, and the situation continued till everybody, the public included, was mad, and all blaming someone else.

On February 29, Wm. P. Fishback applied to the Superior Court (Judge N. B. Taylor) for a receiver "in his own behalf and in behalf of thousands of other citizens of said city". The complaint charged that the company was a monopoly, and that it desired an extension of its charter; that it had made Frenzel president because he claimed to control the *Indianapolis News*, and could obtain the desired franchise extension; that by his arbitrary acts he had caused the service to be stopped and plaintiff to be damaged, etc.² Judge Taylor appointed W. T. Steele receiver, and the cars were started. The badges were at first returned to the men, but were given up by direction of the court on March 3, subject to future adjustment of the

²*News*, March 1, 1892.

question between the men and the company. On March 4 an appeal was allowed, and the property was restored to the company. The whole matter was settled, but the *News* denounced the manner of settlement, and thereafter criticised the administration as strongly as it had formerly approved it. There were others, who did the same, as was natural, for the doctrine invoked was rather novel. But it set the whole country to thinking, and the conviction that the public has a tangible interest in the service contracted for by a public service corporation is much more generally accepted now. And in connection with the street railway company it may be noted here that the Sullivan administration determined on a new franchise which should give better returns to the public. On April 19, 1893, bids were received on a franchise providing for rapid transit: six fares for 25 cents with universal transfers; paving between the tracks, and payment to the city of a share of gross receipts ranging from 10 per cent the first five years to 14½ per cent the last five of the thirty years of the franchise. The Citizens' Company made no bid, but a new company—the City company—organized here, did bid, and the contract was approved by the council on April 24. Naturally the Citizens' Company was in politics and against the administration thereafter. The subsequent disposition of the City franchise is presented elsewhere.

The panic of 1893 hurt the city administration—the national administration being Democratic—but there was a local complication that added to its effect. In 1893 there were \$21,000 of Sellers farm bonds falling due on April 1, and \$600,000 of funding bonds falling due on July 1. The \$21,000 of bonds were taken up at maturity, and on May 26 bids were taken for \$621,000 of 4½ per cent "refunding" bonds, to replace the total amount. The best bid was from Coffin & Stanton of New York, who offered par for the lot, and were awarded the bonds. The panic prevented their placing them, and they could not meet their contract, which they abandoned on the ground that the issue of the \$21,000 was illegal, as not being "refunding", and invalidated the entire issue. They had deposited a five per cent forfeit (\$31,500), and afterward, in a suit to recover

this Judge Woods sustained their contention and ordered the money repaid.⁶ City Controller Woollen hastened to New York and made arrangements with Winslow Lanier & Co., by which they were to take up all bonds presented, and carry them at the same rate of interest (7.3 per cent) until the city could arrange for their payment, so that the city maintained its record of never defaulting an obligation.⁷ In one sense the occurrence was fortunate, for after the financial stringency had eased the city placed the \$600,000 in 4 per cent bonds at a premium of \$10,187.50, on February 15, 1894, which, with the saving in interest, was over \$100,000 better for the city than the sale that failed. There was no real cause for blame of the city authorities, but the *Journal* made lurid charges of manipulation under malign influences, for campaign purposes,⁸ and though no one who knew Mr. Woollen believed them, there were many persons who did not know Mr. Woollen. The Republican city platform, adopted on July 22, did not mention this bond matter, but denounced "the Democratic policy which closes our manufactories and business enterprises and throws thousands of men out of employment".

Nor did this platform mention the street railway strike. It had a paragraph pledging "a strict enforcement of all laws, city and state, in the interest of public order and the preservation of public rights"; but this was construed to refer to liquor and gambling laws, and the campaign was fought, nominally at least, almost wholly on that issue. To read the papers, especially the *News*, one might have supposed the city had entered on an era of wild debauch, under the control of Sim Coy and Charley Polster, saloon keepers, and Bill Tron, gambling capitalist. In reality the conditions were the same that they had been in the earlier part of Sullivan's administration, when the *News* was supporting

⁶Coffin et al. vs. the City, No. 8888 U. S. Circuit Court.

⁷Woollen's statement, *Journal*, July 5, 1893.

⁸*Journal*, July 6 and 12, 1893. See also *Journal* editorials September 8 and 9, 1892, and Woollen's card in *Journal*, September 9, 1892.

him. The administration of the liquor laws had always been "liberal", i. e., the Sunday closing and eleven o'clock laws were not strictly enforced; but that there was any special development of law violation, or agreement for it, was absurd. As the result of the combined influences, Caleb S. Denny, the Republican candidate for mayor, was elected on October 10 by a vote of 16,328 to 13,250 for Sullivan.

Mayor Denny proceeded in good faith to carry out the platform pledges on which he had been elected. As soon as he took office he sent for Superintendent Colbert of the police force, and directed him to see that all saloons were closed on Sunday and after 11 o'clock, and that gambling was suppressed.⁹ In fact this, and the attempted suppression of the social evil were the distinguishing features of the administration. George W. Powell, who was in the fullest sympathy with this policy, was made Superintendent of Police and he certainly spared no effort to enforce the laws in full. In his report of January 1, 1895, he said: "Houses of prostitution have been regulated, places used for assignation purposes have been closed, and the professional gambler, who lives upon his ill-gotten gains, debauches the youth and causes the ruin of men has been taught that he can not ply his vocation in this city, and gambler and gambling furniture have been removed to towns and cities more congenial. The battle against violations of the liquor law has been a constant and relentless one, and will be continued." There were many who doubted the accuracy of this statement of the results attained—who maintained that the evils had in fact only been scattered, and put on a more secret basis—but there was no question of the sincerity of the effort.

The business affairs of the city progressed smoothly on established lines. Preston C. Trusler, a capable man, was appointed Controller, and under the improved financial conditions soon put the city on a satisfactory basis. The \$600,000 of refunding bonds were placed advantageously, as above mentioned, and also \$109,500 of Southern (Garfield) Park purchase bonds which matured on January 26, 1893. All these bonds bore 7.3 per

cent interest, and were refunded at 4 per cent. Most people were desirous of improvements and this work was pushed. In 1894 there were 20.02 miles of sewer completed, and in 1895 15.99 miles, a total three times that of the preceding three years. There were 3.99 miles of asphalt street made in 1894, and 8.36 miles in 1895; 4 miles of brick street in 1894 and 1.77 miles in 1895; 1.07 miles of wooden block street in 1894 and 1.60 miles in 1895; 9.65 miles of cement sidewalks in 1894 and 11.77 miles in 1895. Additions were made to the city, on the north, east and west, during 1895, bringing the total area at the close of that year to 19.38 square miles. It was charged by the Democrats in their platform that this was a taking in of Republican territory to affect the city election, but if so the results did not indicate it. During the summer of 1895 an effort was made for a readjustment of the street railway situation, by a new franchise to the Citizens' Company, on terms less favorable to the city than those of the City Company's franchise. The *Sentinel* made a bitter fight against this movement;¹⁰ and it was finally killed by an application for an injunction against the proposed action made by Frank Maus and William Gordon, on August 19. Judge Brown took the case under advisement till September 2, and then held that the court could not interfere with the exercise of discretionary executive power. But the suit ended the negotiations, and also caused the removal of Mr. Maus from the Park Board.

On December 3, 1894, on account of charges in the press of defective work and frauds in the department of Public Works, the Council appointed a committee to investigate that department. It was composed of Geo. Merritt, J. R. Allen, A. A. Young, Jas. H. Costello and Wm. Hennessy. It held eighteen public meetings for the taking of testimony, and on January 28, reported that there had been "no dishonesty or corruption on the part of the Board of Public Works or any member thereof, or on the part of any subordinate or employe of such Board", but there had been "errors of judgment, irregularities and negligence, and it is also clear that there has been in some cases im-

⁹*News*, October 12, 1893.

¹⁰*Sentinel*, August 5 to September 5.

perfect execution of correct plans".¹¹ The committee considered the plan of letting street sweeping contracts by districts instead of streets an "error", and that the inspection of work had been of little value. As to sewers there was some defective construction but the evidence was conflicting as to whether it would "jeopardize their durability". As to catch-basins, "the specifications were not followed, and many catch-basins were villainous frauds". There was "much imperfect work in making house connections", and "much of the cement sidewalk work has not been constructed in accordance with specifications". On January 31, the members of the Board of Public Works resigned, and a new board was appointed, the resigning members issuing a statement in defense of their course.¹²

On August 3, 1895, the Republicans nominated City Controller Trusler for mayor, and on August 29 the Democrats nominated Thomas Taggart. There were obviously numerous causes for dissatisfaction with the existing regime, but by far the most potent was enforcement of the liquor laws. There were hundreds of Republicans who had voted for Mr. Denny who did not want his platform pledges redeemed, and the revolt of the "liberal element" was the chief factor that gave Taggart, on October 8, a vote of 17,491 against 13,769 for Trusler. Taggart was re-elected in 1897, defeating Wm. N. Harding by a vote of 20,005 to 16,191. In this election C. F. Smith, an independent candidate, received 464 votes. Smith had allowed himself to be filled with the tales of a number of irresponsible liars about street railway "deals", and became a candidate on that issue. He got out a campaign sheet, which was a source of much entertainment; and in it he charged that the city press had been bought up in the attempted "settlement" under Mayor Denny. He included in this charge the *Scoutinel*, which had, as before mentioned, opposed this settlement proposition, and defeated it. After the election, on October 17, the *Scoutinel* demanded a retraction, which was promptly made on October 19. The *Scoutinel* took the matter under ad-

visement, and on October 27 proposed that if Mr. Smith would withdraw his retraction, as to it, it would bring suit for libel and ask no damages beyond attorneys' fees and costs. But Smith preferred to "stay apologized", and so the matter dropped. On October 10, 1899, Mayor Taggart was re-elected for a third term, receiving 20,388 votes to 20,041 for Charles A. Bookwalter. The *Scoutinel* celebrated the occasion on October 12, by putting all its editorial in doggerel verse.

The six years of Mayor Taggart's administration were years of steady development in the improvement of the city. The mileage of constructed sewers grew from 48.41 to 128; asphalt streets from 26.88 to 43.09; brick streets from 15.76 to 25.75; wooden block from 1.60 to 15.77; cement walks from 34.91 to 154.99. The total cost of public works in the six years, 1896-1901, inclusive, was \$4,015,090.42. In connection with the extension of block pavement, it should be noted that the blocks then laid were "creosoted", i. e., treated with oil of coal tar, before laying, to prevent decay. This was a new process, introduced at this time. In 1897 the towns of Haughville, Mt. Jackson, Brightwood and West Indianapolis were annexed to the city, with much interlying territory, the area of the city increasing from 19.38 square miles January 1, 1906, to 28.15 square miles January 1, 1902. In 1899 the policy of constructing permanent bridges was adopted and contracts were let for the Melan arch bridges over Fall Creek at Illinois and Meridian streets. This construction was adopted on account of cheapness of construction and the opportunity it gives for a bridge between comparatively low banks without obstructing the channel of the stream with numerous piers. The Illinois street bridge cost \$50,000 and the Meridian street bridge \$55,000. They are of concrete, with 10-inch "I" beams running lengthwise through the arches, 3 feet apart, and are faced with Bedford limestone.

A most notable step of Mayor Taggart's administration was the park purchases. The \$500,000 of Belt Railroad bonds which the city had issued were paid at maturity, in 1896, by the railroad company, thus releasing the city's credit to that extent. The application of a large part of this to park pur-

¹¹*Council Proceedings*, p. 452.

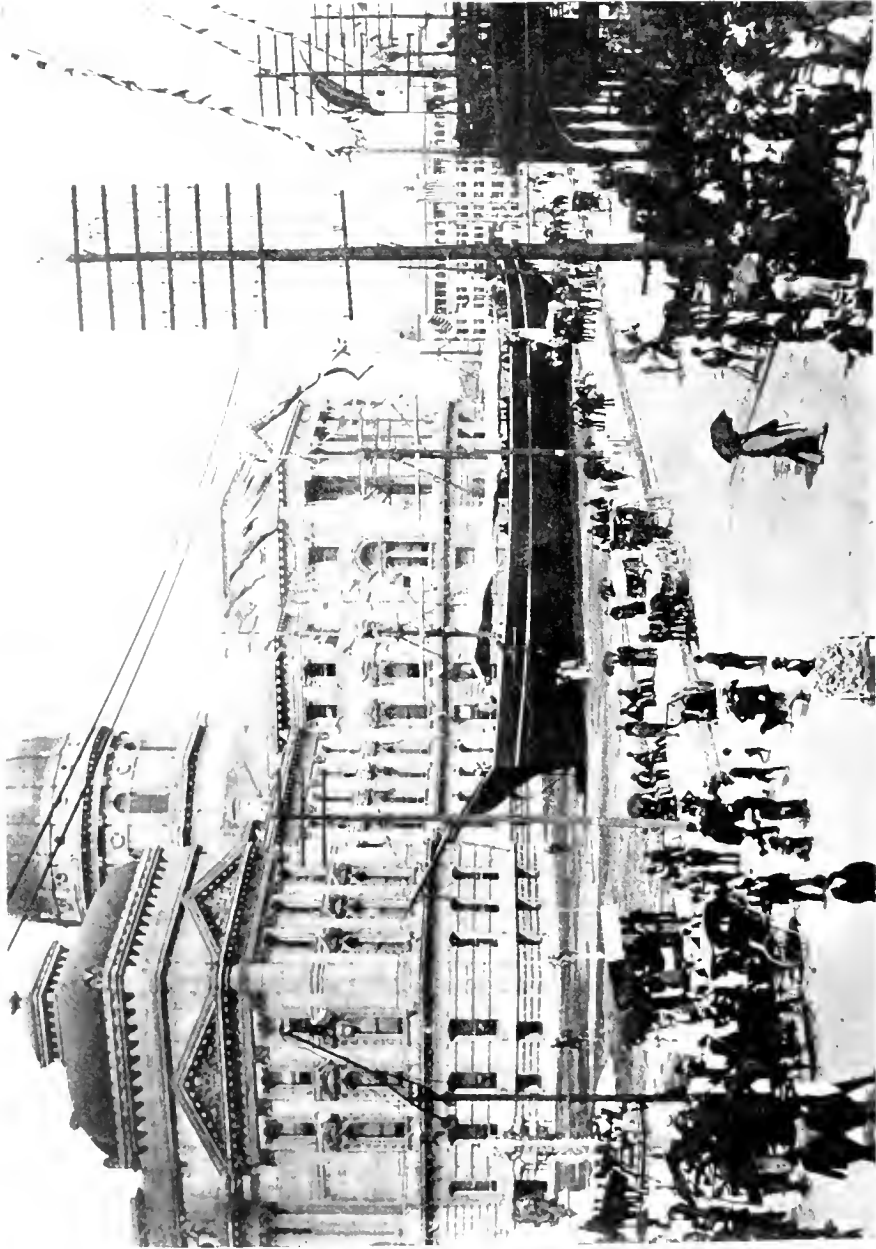
¹²*Journal*, February 1.

poses was largely due to S. E. Morss, whose newspaper position made him very influential with the administration, and who simply insisted on a park system. There was need for extensive improvement in the fire and police departments, and \$150,000 of bonds were issued for that purpose on June 1, 1897. By ordinance of March 4, 1897, \$350,000 of park bonds were issued, of the proceeds of which \$300,000 was to be used for the purchase of park lands, and the balance, with any premium obtained, for their improvement. The park bonds brought a premium of \$23,485 and the public safety bonds a premium of \$10,600. It had been intended to purchase lands for a large park along Fall Creek, but the owners of the land found it so valuable that it got beyond the city's reach. What had originally been appraised by the city's appraisers at \$157,325 was raised by the owner's experts, on appeal to the Board of Public Works, to \$339,790. On June 3, the *Sentinel*, for the purpose of inducing a more reasonable view of the matter by the land-owners, suggested that the park be located on White River, north of Fall Creek, and a boulevard be built along Fall Creek, for which the owners of the valuable land there could help pay. A number of land owners on White River jumped at this proposal, which had not been made with expectation of action; and before the Fall Creek people realized the situation, a satisfactory proposal was made by the White River people, and was soon accepted. On July 9 the council authorized the purchase of 953 acres in what is now Riverside Park, and 82 acres in Brookside Park, with Highland Square and Indianola Square in West Indianapolis. The Riverside lands cost \$230,000; Brookside \$25,000; Highland Square \$23,500; and Indianola Square \$8,000.

Up to this time Indianapolis had no park of any size except Garfield Park, and it was rather a joke as a park. It was originally known as the Southern Driving Park, having been purchased by the "Indianapolis Fair Association", and arranged for horse racing—the members being dissatisfied with the provisions at the State Fair grounds. After one really great meet in 1872, at which Goldsmith Maid, Judge Fullerton and Red Cloud were the chief attractions in horseflesh, the

venture was abandoned as a financial failure, and the 97 acres of land sold to the city for \$109,500; for which bonds were issued January 26, 1874, for 20 years, bearing 7 1/2 per cent interest. These were refunded in 1894 at 4 per cent for 30 years. There was no street car line to this park until 1895, and probably a majority of the people of Indianapolis had never seen it. In truth there was no great call for parks up to this time. Alexander Ralston, indeed had urged the people to secure land for parks while it was cheap, but the settlers who were then trying to get land cleared for roads and fields probably thought him mildly insane. All park purposes of the period before 1870 were served by the Military Reservation, the State House and Court House squares, and University Square. Anyone who wanted more rural surroundings could easily reach "the country" in any direction. In the spring of 1868 the heirs of Calvin Fletcher offered to donate the city 30 acres of land at its northeast corner, if it would dedicate it to park purposes, and expend \$30,000 for its improvement within a certain time; but the suspicious saw in this a scheme to advance the value of adjacent property at the expense of the city, and the offer was refused. A correspondent made an eloquent appeal for a "suburban park", in the vicinity of "the five-mile bridge" over White River, in the *Journal* of May 19, 1870, but no sentiment was aroused.

In fact the park sentiment had little food for development in the conditions. Indianapolis had no congested residence quarter, no slums. Its broad streets and large building lots made the whole city almost a park, as was often noted by visitors to the city. Even in 1898 the interest taken in the park proposals was chiefly due to the supposed influence of a park location on neighboring real estate. And there was an abundance of criticism of the locations selected, originating largely with people who wanted other locations; and taken up by papers and orators for political purposes. The city campaign of 1899 was actually fought on the charge that the city had squandered vast sums for "bog lands" at Riverside and Brookside parks; incredible as it may seem to one who visits those parks today. Public opinion is quite generally settled now in the belief that these two parks



(W. H. Bess Photo Company.)

STATE HOUSE AND U. S. S. KEARSARGE.
(Grand Army Encampment 1893.)

comprise the most desirable park lands adjacent to the city.

Perhaps the most notable episode of the Taggart administration was the settlement of the street railway franchise difficulty which was in brief as follows: On January 18, 1864, the Citizens' Street Railroad Company was granted a franchise for 30 years, and in 1880 the Council extended this 7 years, to January 18, 1901. In 1893, as before mentioned, the City Attorney gave an opinion that this extension was invalid, and a franchise was granted to the City Railway Company, on terms much more favorable to the city. When the latter undertook work, the Citizens' Company asked an injunction in the Federal Court, alleging that its franchise was perpetual, subject only to termination by the Legislature. Judge Woods sustained this claim and granted a perpetual injunction. The case was appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court, which decided that the Citizens' Company held at least until January 18, 1901, and reserved its opinion on the question of a perpetual franchise. The legislature of 1897 undertook to dispose of the perpetual franchise by what was called the "New Act", terminating the franchise on January 18, 1901. It also passed a stringent three-cent fare law for "cities having a population of more than one hundred thousand", which applied to Indianapolis alone. The Central Trust Co. of New York, trustee for the bondholders of the Citizens' Company, at once asked an injunction in the Federal Court to prevent the enforcement of the 3-cent fare law, and Judge Woods called Judge Showalter of Chicago to hear the case. He decided the law unconstitutional as special legislation, and the "New Act", which was also restricted to cities of over 100,000 population, fell under the same principle. A few weeks later the Supreme Court of Indiana took the opposite view and held the 3-cent fare law constitutional.¹⁵ Judge Showalter was then asked to dissolve the injunction and follow the ruling of the State Court, but refused to do so. Appeal was taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals, composed of Judge Woods and Judges Jenkins and Burn of

Wisconsin, and it held that it had no jurisdiction to review Judge Showalter's decision. About this time the city, in an effort to get a decision of the whole matter, brought suit against both companies, alleging their franchise contracts to be void. It was heard by Judge Neal of the Hamilton Circuit Court, on change of venue, and he held that the City Company's contract was void, as against public policy; that the "New Act" was valid; and that the Citizens' Company's franchise expired January 18, 1901. Appeal was taken to the State Supreme Court, which on December 16, 1898, reversed Judge Neal's decision as to the City Company, holding its thirty-year franchise valid, and sustained his ruling that the franchise of the Citizens' Company expired on January 18, 1901. Soon after this decision was given, by a divided court, the three judges who had concurred in it went out of office by the expiration of their terms, and the new court granted a petition for a rehearing.¹⁶ This was the situation when the legislature of 1899 met.

Meanwhile the control of the Citizens' Company had changed, and Mr. Hugh McGowan had been sent here to untangle the snarl. He succeeded in getting control of the City Company, and in securing the passage of an act of the legislature removing most of the difficulties, and authorizing the city to enter into a new franchise contract.¹⁷ The franchise was to be limited to 34 years; fares were not to exceed 5 cents, with 6 tickets for a quarter and 25 for a dollar, and universal transfers; the right was to be reserved to substitute new modes of propulsion to insure first class service; the company was to pave between the tracks and 18 inches outside; it was to allow the use of its lines for interurban cars to the center of the city on a reasonable basis; and it was to surrender as a part of the purchase price all existing franchises or claims to franchises. This last provision was of special importance, for aside from the question of perpetual fran-

¹⁵The rehearing was not had on account of the new legislation, and for this reason the decision does not appear in the Supreme Court reports. It will be found in the *North-eastern Reporter*, Vol. 52, p. 157.

¹⁷Acts 1899, p. 260.

¹⁶City of Indianapolis vs. Navin, 151 Ind., p. 439.

chise, the Citizens' Company had 50-year franchises in all the suburban towns that had been annexed to the city; and it had been granted perpetual franchises over a number of important roads, by the County Commissioners, parts of which were already far within the city limits. On April 6, 1889, the Board of Public Works entered into a carefully drawn contract with the Citizens' Company, including all the provisions of the state law, with numerous safeguards in the way of city supervision and control of the service rendered, and with a further provision for a flat payment of \$30,000 a year to the city for 27 years, and \$50,000 a year for the remaining 7 years of the franchise. The company also obligated itself to spend, as rapidly as needed, not less than \$1,000,000 in the improvement of the plant and equipment. There was not a little wild talk and rumors of corruption and "hold-ups" at the time, in connection with the matter, as to which the full truth will probably never be known, but it is scarcely questionable that, all things considered, Indianapolis got a more advantageous contract than any street car franchise then existing in the country. The chief point of legitimate criticism is that the franchise provisions have never been carried out as to a cross-town line and paving between the tracks, and these are largely due to the city administrations which have not insisted on compliance with those provisions, in the exercise of the supervising powers held by them.

But the singular thing is that the chief issue in the city campaign was not any important economic question that had come up, but "the 59-cent tax levy"—an issue that developed as great a display of stupidity and imbecility as was ever shown in a civilized community. Mr. Taggart had declined to be a candidate for another term, and the Democrats nominated Charles Maguire, who had been a member of the Board of Public Works, by direct primary on August 26. Charles A. Bookwalter had been nominated at the Republican primaries on July 23. The contest was of necessity largely based on Mayor Taggart's record, and a notable feature of the campaign was a series of letters from Mayor Taggart in his own defense, published in the *News* from Septem-

ber 26 to October 2, and later in pamphlet form. The tax levy issue began in 1898. In every year up to that time, since the adoption of the new charter, the city tax levy had been 60 cents on \$100, except the year 1893 when it was 64½ cents. In 1898 there was an estimated increase of \$127,568.60 in city expenses, of which \$61,510 was for improvement of the new parks, and the remainder for extended public service due to the annexation of the suburban towns. City Controller Johnson and Mayor Taggart recommended a tax levy of 70 cents, and it was adopted. This was promptly criticised as extravagance, especially by the *News*, which had fallen out with Mayor Taggart after supporting him for four years. In 1899 Mayor Taggart decided to meet this criticism by a counter-move and the tax levy was reduced to 59 cents for current purposes, with 1 cent added as required by law for the firemen's pension fund.

The criticism now turned quite as fiercely to the proposition that this levy was not high enough, and this was speedily taken up for political purposes. In the election of 1899, although Mayor Taggart was re-elected, the Republicans carried the council, and the chief energies of the council were directed to making it appear that the levy was too low. Every impediment possible was put in the way of the financial administration. Everything that would increase the city's receipts was refused. In this line the most absurd action was the refusal to levy the tax of 3 cents a foot on natural gas mains, which by the contracts of the companies could be imposed at any time after July 13, 1896. This would have given a revenue of about \$50,000 a year to the city, and would probably have caused the property of the Consumers' Trust to pass to the city without cost, instead of going into the hands of speculators who made a nice thing from it. The \$409,061 paid to the Eureka Company for the old Consumers' Trust property just about covers what the city should have received in taxes on the natural gas mains—the direct cost of "putting Taggart in the hole". The city was entitled to it because the companies did more than that amount of damage to the streets when they put in their mains. The stockholders of the Consumers' Trust had

received the amount of their investment with 8 per cent interest, which was all their "stock" called for, in addition to cheap gas. The Indianapolis Company had made at least an equal profit. There was no reason why they should not have been held to their contract for a tax of 3 cents per foot on their mains, but the most stupid quality of small politics.

The action as to brewery licenses was worse in principle though there was not so much involved. The city had instituted a brewery license in 1891, and it had been sustained by the Supreme Court.¹⁶ On September 18, 1900, the council repealed this license ordinance, under which over \$65,000 had been paid into the city treasury, and substituted for it a wholesaler's license, which was invalid, and was so held by the courts. This action cost the city \$12,000 a year for the next five years, for that time elapsed before the old ordinance was re-enacted and put in force.¹⁷ But without much regard to the issues presented, the people wanted a change; and on October 8, 1901, Charles A. Bookwalter was elected by a vote of 21,513 to 19,338 for Maguire. Mr. Bookwalter's victory was largely due to his personal qualities. He is one of the most persuasive stump speakers ever known in Indianapolis, and of a genial character that makes him "a good mixer".

Partly on account of delay in issuing the annual reports, and partly because he found it more convenient to review the city's work in connection with the annual estimates, Mayor Bookwalter never followed the custom of the other mayors of making a detailed statement in connection with the annual departmental reports. His contributions to these are brief messages, and his reviews of the city work will be found in the Council Proceedings instead of the Annual Reports. Mayor Bookwalter's first task was with the financial situation of the city, which was theoretically bad on account of "temporary loans" made in anticipation of tax-payments. In reality, here, as generally in America, legislation has been made to favor the tax-

payer until taxes are much belated. To illustrate, the taxes of 1908 were assessed in the spring of 1908, and levied in the fall of 1908, but the first half was not due until May, 1909, and the second half in November, 1909. In reality a municipality that meets its bills without loans is a year in advance of its revenues. The times when municipalities run short of funds are before tax-paying times, the loans not running over 3 months. Consequently the interest charge is for about 6 months in the year. But Mayor Bookwalter had promised to make no temporary loans, and he kept his promise by issuing \$195,000 of "emergency bonds" bearing 3½ per cent, to replace an equal amount of temporary loans at 3 per cent—in other words made an interest payment of \$6,825 to replace one of \$2,925—and this was actually applauded by those who had denounced "the 59-cent tax levy".

But this was not the only step in the line of the argument of the campaign. In 1900 the tax levy had been made 73 cents—1 cent of this for firemen's pension fund—on Mayor Taggart's recommendation. In 1901 it was made 75 cents, of which 2 cents was for the sinking fund provided by the last legislature, and 2 cents for the police and firemen's pension fund. In each of these years the levy of the brewery and natural gas mains taxes was urged by the Mayor, which would have reduced the levy 5 cents. In 1902 the estimates of expenses were increased over \$200,000, and Mayor Bookwalter recommended a tax levy of 86 cents, with 4 cents additional for pension and sinking funds. The Republican majority of the council committee on finance recommended a reduction of 2 cents from this, which was adopted, the Democratic minority advocating a reduction of 8 cents. In 1903 the assessment of city property having been raised from \$132,927,210 to \$142,846,065, Mayor Bookwalter recommended a reduction of the city levy to 78 cents with 4 cents additional for pension and sinking funds which was adopted. The emergency bonds were issued as of December 14, 1901, making the bonded debt on January 1, 1902, \$2,446,600. There were added in 1903, \$30,000 of Market House bonds, \$100,000 of Boulevard Bonds, and \$25,000 of Bridge bonds with provision for \$10,000 more.

¹⁶City vs. Bieler, 138 Ind., p. 30.

¹⁷A full history of the brewery license is in the City Controller's report for 1903.

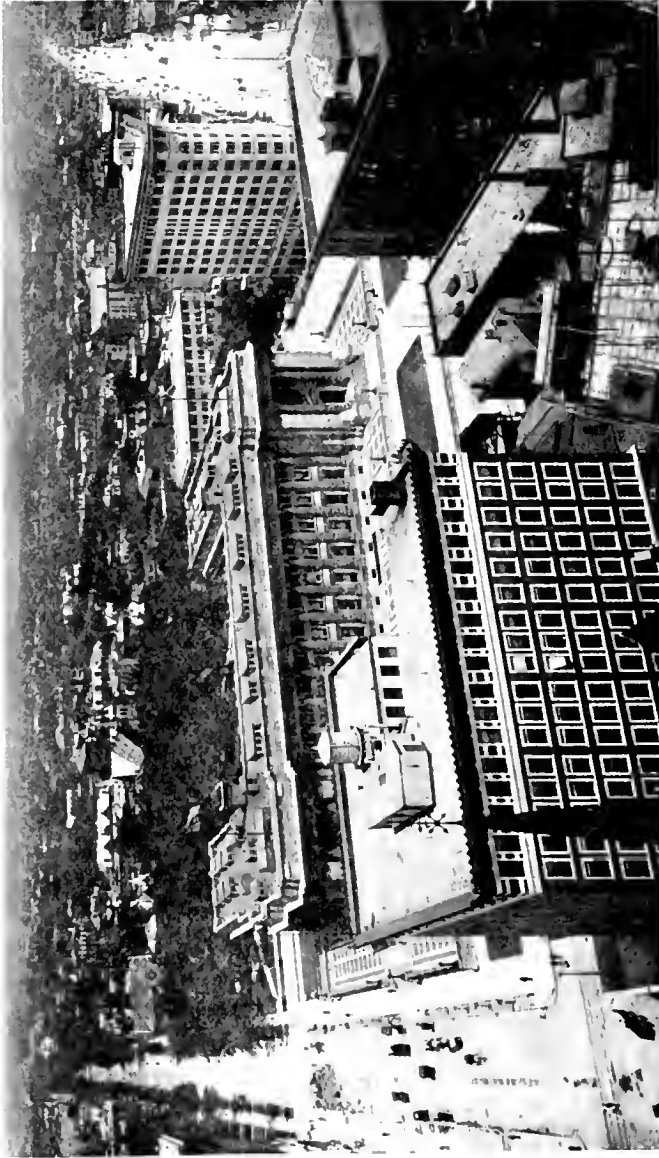
making the bonded debt on January 1, 1904, \$2,537,400. Of this increase \$11,500 was due to the annexation of Irvington in 1902, with a bonded debt of \$19,000, of which \$7,500 was paid in 1902 and 1903.

The annexation of Irvington, with the interlying territory brought the area of the city to 29.35 square miles. The work of public improvement was carried forward at a moderate pace, the chief work being on sewers, of which 10.36 miles were completed in 1902 and 6.9 miles were completed in 1903. An attempt was made to repair the Washington street bridge over White River, but just after the repairs had been completed, on January 16, 1902, the bridge collapsed, dropping three street cars and four wagons into the stream, with 11 men and 4 teams of horses. Fortunately no one was killed and only one person seriously injured. The principal franchise concessions were to the interurban roads, with the Indianapolis Terminal. Franchises were granted to 8 interurban roads in 1902, the only compensation to the city, aside from approved service, being a payment of 1 cent per round trip for each car entering the city. The city trips are made over the lines of the Indianapolis Traction and Terminal Company, lessee of the old Indianapolis Street Railway Company, and it, by contract with the city on August 15, 1902, through the Union Traction Company, by contract of the same date, pays the city 5 cents per car, per round trip, to November 4, 1908; 15 cents to November 4, 1918; and 25 cents per car thereafter. The payments are not very heavy, the total of them, in 1907, reaching only \$4,386.25. The city also granted a franchise to the Indianapolis & Southern Railway Company on April 11, 1902; and one to the Indianapolis, Logansport and Chicago Railway Company on September 8, 1903. The latter has not been built, and by its terms the franchise is forfeited if the road is not built in five years. "Upon the proper written resolution of said Board of Public Works", which has not been made.

The city campaign of 1903 was under a notable change of Democratic management. The old organization, popularly known as "the Taggart machine", which had been in control for a dozen years, was overthrown in

the primaries, and James L. Keach became the city chairman. On July 25 the Democrats nominated John L. Holtzman for mayor, and their platform made the most explicit charges of corruption and maladministration against the Bookwalter administration that were ever made in a city platform. The moral issue was made prominent in the campaign, especial emphasis being put on the toleration of wine-rooms. But what developed into the most serious political obstacle for the Republicans was their early convention. The primaries for organization were held on March 7, on three days' notice, which was complained of by the anti-administration forces; and the city convention was promptly called by Chairman Logsdon for March 28. The antis made an effort in the primaries, but with so small effect that they made no fight in the convention beyond a motion to postpone; and Mayor Bookwalter was renominated by acclamation. The "snap convention" was made the basis for an open bolt by a number of Republicans, and the campaign was further enlivened by the movements of the Citizens' League. This body undertook to expose the city administration through a detective imported from St. Louis, but instead of trapping anyone he got arrested for an attempt to bribe a city official, and his trial added to the picturesque features of the season. At the election, on October 13, Mr. Holtzman was successful, by a vote of 20,528 to Bookwalter's 19,702, and 5,470 for Hitz, the independent candidate.

The most important problems of the Holtzman administration were track elevation and cheap gas to take the place of the exhausted natural gas; and it was hampered in its work by a Republican council, for the unexpected had again happened, and a council whose majority differed from the mayor in politics had been elected. There was no mode in which track elevation could be obtained but by agreement with the railroads, and in October, 1904, the Board of Public Works reached an agreement with the Monon, L. E. & W. and Big Four roads for elevation at Massachusetts avenue and Tenth streets, by which not more than one-fourth of the expense should be borne by the city. On November 21 the Board asked the council for an appropriation of \$25,000 to carry out this contract



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

BIRDSEYE VIEW—NORTHEAST FROM SOLDIERS' MONUMENT—1908.

which involved a partial depression of streets, but action was not taken until January 23, 1905, when the ordinance was passed, and the work proceeded. It was completed early in 1906, the expense to the city being \$24,558.02. Meanwhile the legislature of 1905 had met and adopted a law, prepared by the city administration, authorizing the city to require track elevation under certain restrictions: (1) it could not require more than \$400,000 cost of elevation in one year; (2) the railroad or roads affected were to pay 75 per cent of the expense, which was to include any alteration in the grade, paving or drainage of the streets affected, and the salary of the city engineer while engaged in the work, but not the cost of rails, ties, ballast or track-laying; (3) if the crossing was used by a street railroad it was to pay 5 per cent of the cost, the city 14 per cent, and the county 6 per cent; but if not used by a street railroad the city was to pay 17 per cent and the county 8 per cent. There was some criticism of requiring the city to pay any of the cost, but the public generally realized that the railroads owned their franchises, and in fact had obtained most of them when there were no crossings; and also that these terms were more favorable than prevailed generally in American cities. As soon as this law went into effect, the Board of Public Works adopted a resolution for the elevation of the Vandalia, Big Four and Union railway tracks over Kentucky avenue, at West street. This work was completed in November, 1908, the total cost being over \$500,000, and the city's share \$83,091.61. The Board of Works next ordered the separation of grades at the Big Four crossing of Thirtieth street, just east of Riverside Park, but before work was begun the railroad company practically abandoned these tracks for a new line west of the city, and removed its bridge over White River, so that the work became unnecessary. It also ordered an elevation and subway at the Big Four crossing of Valley avenue, which was completed in 1908, at a cost of a little over \$30,000, the city's expense being \$6,133.79.

There was nothing left of the city's rights under the natural gas contracts of 1887 but the city's option to purchase the "entire plant" of the Consumer's Trust, and there

was a widespread desire that this be utilized to secure the mains for the distribution of cheap artificial fuel gas. The Citizens' Gas Company was therefore projected, and active efforts were made to secure the subscriptions to its proposed \$1,000,000 of stock. On August 25, 1905, the Board of Public Works granted a franchise to this company through its trustees Alfred F. Potts, Frank D. Stalaker and Lorenz Schmidt and gave them a purchase option on the city's option. This was ratified by ordinance of August 30, 1905, and the mains of the Consumer's Trust passed into the hands of the new company under this agreement. In 1905 the Board of Public Works induced the Water Company to lay a 36-inch main from its pumping station northwest of the city to Ohio street, and 30-inch mains thence to the business district, giving a direct pressure reinforcement to the water service of the whole city.

The great floods of March, 1904, did a large amount of damage to public property, destroying bridges and roadways, and floating off several block pavements. On this account an issue of \$125,000 of flood bonds was made on May 1, 1904. These were the only bonds issued under Mayor Holtzman, excepting \$40,000 of bridge bonds which had been ordered by the preceding administration, and not sold for want of bidders; and \$45,000 of refunding bonds, issued July 1, 1905, to replace a like amount of old bonds whose payment was optional. All three issues were sold at a premium, and the refunding bonds bore 3½ per cent interest while the bonds they replaced bore 4 per cent. An ordinance requiring a license of \$1,000 from brewers was adopted in April, 1904, and the city that year began receiving \$10,000 annually from that source. On January 1, 1906, the city's total bonded debt was \$2,585,800 as against \$2,537,400 on January 1, 1904; and the available cash was \$224,048.63 as against \$64,848.94 on January 1, 1904. In September, 1905, the tax levy was reduced to 85 cents. There were a number of expenditures in 1905 outside of the ordinary current expenses, among which were \$37,000 for grounds at Kentucky avenue and Maryland street for a new central engine house; \$14,764.24 for the Raymond street engine house; \$9,000 for opening Jackson place, to give an entrance

to the Union Station from Meridian street; and \$25,000 for the purchase of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum grounds, for a park.

In the campaign of 1905 there was a decided political change that had nothing to do with city business. Mr. Bookwalter decided to be a candidate again, and was renominated at the Republican primaries on June 30, 1905, defeating Frank D. Stalmaker by a vote of 12,227 to 9,760. This disposed of any claim of irregularity of nomination, which had been damaging two years before. The Democrats were weaker for the disappointments of aspirants to office, and also by a development of local factional controversies, and Mr. Holtzman, who was renominated on August 26, unquestionably did not receive his full party vote. Mr. Hitz for some mysterious reason imagined it was a good time for him to run again. The election on November 7 resulted, Bookwalter 25,988; Holtzman 24,327; and Hitz 1,603. It is hardly questionable that a large part of the vote that went to Hitz in 1903, from the Republican side, was cast for Bookwalter in 1905. The date of election was changed from October to November by law in 1905,¹⁸ and the same law made the terms of city officers four years, instead of two, beginning on the first Monday in January following their election, with further provision that they should be ineligible to succeed themselves.

Mayor Bookwalter's second administration was rather stormy. The city had for a number of years had its offices in the basement of the court-house, but county officers claimed that the room was needed for county business, especially after the creation of two new superior courts by the legislature of 1909, and insisted that the city move out. The city offices found lodging in various buildings making the transaction of city business inconvenient, and Mayor Bookwalter determined to build a city hall. His original plan was to build a city hall in conjunction with a colosseum, for large public gatherings. This was to be placed over a part of the market-house, and involved a partial depression of the lower story used for market purposes. When this was announced, a number of market men objected. Two actions for injunc-

tion were brought,¹⁹ both of which resulted in decisions against the plaintiffs on the ground that the action was premature. A third suit was brought, after a contract for the building, at a cost of \$614,000, had been signed. This was heard by Judge Carter of the Superior Court, who, on June 26, 1907, decided that the city could not build a hall for public gatherings not connected with city business; that it could not contract for a building for \$614,000 because that would exceed the debt limit; and that the city could not put any building on the market square which would interfere with its use for market purposes.

This ended the colosseum project, and Mayor Bookwalter then announced that he would build a city hall to cost not less than \$500,000.²⁰ It was at first proposed to put it on the north side of the Court House square, making virtually the extension of the court house which was contemplated in the original plans. This could have been done, with the co-operation of the county, but objections were made, and on October 30, 1907, a site was purchased, at the northwest corner of Ohio and Alabama streets, for \$115,000. By this time the proceeds of the \$300,000 of bonds issued for the colosseum had been largely exhausted, Mayor Bookwalter stating the use as follows: Temporary sheds for market \$11,381; architect's fees \$8,000; site for new hall \$115,000; Fall Creek boulevard \$45,000; repairing Riverside dam \$15,000; City Hospital improvements \$51,000; a total of \$245,381; leaving \$54,619 of the bond proceeds, with \$22,000 that had been appropriated from the city treasury. It was therefore necessary to have additional funds, and on November 17 the council authorized the issue of \$600,000 of city hall bonds, which was then allowable because the city assessment had been increased to \$176,665,190, making the city's 2 per cent. debt limit \$3,533,303.80. These bonds were issued on January 15, 1909, but with a provision that the purchaser need not take the whole issue till the city wanted the money, and that the interest should not begin to run until they were actually taken and paid for. It

¹⁸ Cook vs. City, No. 15,183, Circuit Court; Cook vs. City, No. 72,914, Superior Court.

²⁰ News, July 8; Star, July 16, 1907.

¹⁸ Acts 1905, p. 219.

should also be mentioned that the temporary market-sheds, erected along Market and Alabama streets in preparation for work on the colosseum, were not a total loss, as the city retained the lumber, and used it in making sheds for the street-sweeping vehicles.

Plans for the new city hall, prepared by Rubush & Hunter, were adopted on November 3, 1908; and protests against hasty action on them were then made by the Municipal Art League, and the Merchants Association.²¹ No action was taken for some months, and the plans were put on exhibition, and public criticism was invited. On March 6, 1909, suit was brought in the Circuit Court by Otto Stechhan and Frank W. Flanner of the Marion County Taxpayers League to enjoin the city from letting a contract on these plans. Their contention was that the plans of themselves indicated fraud. The case was heard by Judge Remster, who, on April 8, 1909, decided for the defendants, holding that mere opportunity for fraud, without evidence of actual fraud, or intent to commit fraud, was not sufficient to sustain an injunction. The contract was then let, and the work proceeded with no further interruption but a labor strike in September, 1909.

In railroad elevation, the Bookwalter administration ordered no new work in 1906, but continued the work ordered in 1905. In 1907, on March 17, it ordered the elevation of the Big Four and C. H. & D. tracks at Washington and Decatur streets in West Indianapolis, and also the Belt tracks at Morris street. The latter order was abandoned, and the former was completed at a cost of about \$150,000, the city's share being \$25,406.46. In 1908 it ordered the elevation of the Belt tracks at East Washington street as part of an elevation of the Belt road about two miles in extent, reaching from East Tenth street to Prospect street and providing subways at East Michigan street, East New York street, Southeastern avenue, and the Panhandle tracks. The elevation at Washington street was opened for traffic October 7, 1909, and cost about \$110,000. The remainder is to cost \$600,000 to \$700,000, and to be completed in 1910 and 1911.

On February 11, April 27, and May 4,

²¹*Star*, November 8, 1908, p. 10.

1906, the trustees of the Citizens Gas Company demanded the transfer of the city's option to purchase the Consumers Gas Trust mains as contracted for by the preceding administration. On the last occasion they sent an open letter reciting the history of the matter, and stating that unless an answer was received by May 8 they would understand that the city refused to carry out its contract.²² On May 25 the trustees sued the city for specific performance of the contract.²³ The case came before Judge Carter, and was disposed of on January 26, 1907, by his overruling the demurrer to the complaint; which was practically a decision that the option must be transferred. After some small additional stipulations it was transferred on January 30, 1907. The legislature of 1907 also took up the gas question, and a bill introduced by Senator Linton Cox was passed limiting the price of heating and lighting gas to 60 cents per 1,000 feet in Indianapolis, and regulating the quality of the gas furnished.²⁴ Under this law the citizens have been receiving 60-cent gas since.

Aside from governmental affairs, the year 1907 was memorable as a year of donations. It began early by raising \$95,000 by public subscription for Butler University. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. were both desirous of new quarters, and also appealed to the public, in organized campaigns. The Y. M. C. A. began first, and in a whirlwind campaign of 17 days, closing March 1, obtained pledges of \$273,000. General enthusiasm was aroused, and dozens of business men, some of them having no connection with the Y. M. C. A., gave their time and effort to the work. As soon as this was finished most of them volunteered to help the Y. W. C. A., which began work on March 2, and completed a ten days campaign on March 11, with pledges of \$140,000. This made a total of over half-a-million dollars raised for public purposes in Indianapolis in less than three months. The Y. M. C. A. sold its old building on the east side of Illinois between Market and Washington streets—now removed—

²²*News*, May 4, 1906.

²³*Citizens Gas Co. vs. City of Indianapolis*, No. 71,524 Superior Court.

²⁴*Acts of 1907*, p. 149.

for \$225,000, and put \$450,000 into its present quarters at Illinois and New York streets, for building and grounds. The building was dedicated through the week February 13-20, 1909. The Y. W. C. A. already owned a site, with a building on the rear which met a part of its needs, but with a debt of some \$27,000. It paid its debt, and erected its present main building, which cost \$150,000, furnished. It was dedicated on July 26, 1908.

The city tax levy in 1906 was made 88 cents on \$100; in 1907 it was 92 cents; in 1908 it was 91 cents; and in 1909 it was 91 cents. Included in these levies each year are 1 cent for fire and police pension funds; 5 cents for sinking fund; and 4 cents for track elevation. The legislature of 1907 fixed a tax of not less than 4 cents nor more than 8 cents for parks and boulevards, and the legislature of 1909 increased this to not less than 5 cents nor more than 9 cents. The law of 1909 also gives the Park Board power to assess benefits and damages for new boulevards and parks, by districts, to the amount of \$1,250,000 in ten years, but not more than \$200,000 in any one year.

Another law of 1909, introduced by Senator Cox, reduced the city council to nine members, nominated from districts but elected by vote of the entire city. Still another provided for the nomination of party candidates by direct primaries. The primaries were held on August 5, and were unquestionably out

of machine control. There were also more votes than usual in the primaries, though less than two-thirds of the number cast in the election. For candidates for mayor, the Republican vote was 13,270 for Samuel Lewis Shank and 5,908 for Wm. N. Harding; the Democratic vote was 8,668 for Chas. A. Gauss; 5,086 for Chas. B. Clarke; and 1,013 for Wm. E. Kroll. The most singular feature of the result was the make-up of the Democratic ticket, all of the candidates on which, but two, were Catholics. This was not a result that was sought for, but was due to the fact that the average man, without any special inducement, votes for the candidate he knows best, in either a primary or an election, providing he does not know him unfavorably. Of the Democratic candidates the most active and widely known happened to be Catholics. The result caused immediate surprise and some consternation, as much or more among Catholic politicians as among others. In a convention, experienced leaders are always careful to distribute their ticket as much as possible, geographically and with reference to race and religion and other large controlling features. This feature of the ticket probably defeated it, for it had been generally believed for some months before the primaries that the Democrats were sure to carry the election. The result of the election was Shank 27,038, and Gauss 25,403, with 2,167 scattering.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE SUBURBAN TOWNS.

Indianapolis had "suburbs" from a very early date. One of the earliest was "Waterloo" which was the region between the Bluff road (now South Meridian street), and the river bottom, for some distance below the Belt Railroad, which was once a rather tough neighborhood.¹ "Kinderhook" was not a suburb, but a name given to the triangular block between Maryland, and Alabama streets and Virginia avenue, after the old Kinder House was moved there.²

A real suburb was "Cotton town", on the west side of the Canal, about Sixteenth street, where Nathaniel West put up his cotton mill, and caused a number of operatives to locate about it. In the early fifties the name "German town" was given to the region about North Noble street, where a number of the German immigrants settled. "Stringtown" was for years the region along the National road west of the river. Much later we had "Cerealin town" which grew up about the cerealine factory, north of Fall Creek. "Bucktown" developed from the influx of negroes, during and after the war, in the region about Indiana avenue, west of the canal. "Sleigho", or "Sleigho, under the Hill" was the colored settlement, east of Broad Cut and west of the gravel pit, where the awful Purdue wreck occurred. "Peedee" was a name early conferred on Pike Township, and later transferred to other things in that direction.³ After the city bounds were extended to Sixteenth street (old Tinker, or Seventh street) the school house that stood west of Illinois on the south side of Tinker, was known for years as "the Peedee school house."

But none of these localities ever developed into a town with an independent government, and it was not until the boom times of the early seventies that a real suburban town appeared. The first of these was Irvington, which was platted on November 7, 1870 by Jacob B. Julian and Sylvester Johnson. The plat covered 304.47 acres, and was designed as a residence suburb, being about four miles east of the city by rail. The avenues were laid out on curved lines, and two circles were made—Irving Circle for a park, and College Circle for a female college. The place was named for Washington Irving, and it was designed to place a statue of him in Irving Circle, but this has never been done. All deeds of lots contain this clause: "The grantee accepts this deed from the grantor with the express agreement that he, his heirs and assigns will not erect or maintain, or suffer to be erected or maintained, on the real estate herein conveyed any distillery, brewery, soap-factory, pork-house, slaughter-house, or any other establishment offensive to the people, and that he will not erect or maintain, or suffer to be erected or maintained, on said premises, any stable, hog-pen, privy, or other offensive building, stall, or shed within fifty feet of any avenue in said town, and that he will not sell or suffer to be sold on said premises any intoxicating liquors except for medicinal, sacramental or mechanical purposes strictly, and he accepts this deed on the further agreement that the right to enforce and compel compliance of the above conditions rests not only in the grantor, his heirs and assigns, but in all the property-holders and inhabitants of said town." Additions made later were covered by a similar condition. The early locations in the new suburb were chiefly by persons more or less interested in the site, but there was a satisfactory

¹*Newland's Reminiscences*, pp. 109-10.

²*News*, July 19, 1879, p. 2.

³*Locomotive*, June 9, 1855.

growth for the first three years, and on March 11, 1873, a petition for incorporation was made to the Board of County Commissioners, which ordered an election on March 21. The vote for incorporation was nearly unanimous, and an election of officers was ordered for April 3. It resulted in the choice of Jacob B. Julian, Levi Ritter and Chas. W. Brouse for trustees, Sylvester Johnson for assessor and treasurer, and Ferdinand Wann for marshal. The trustees met on April 7 and adopted four ordinances; (1) requiring lot owners to grade their sidewalks and plant shade trees; (2) prohibiting hogs running at large; (3) prohibiting the use of fire-arms within the town limits; (4) prohibiting the killing of "any bird within said town." The last stringent provision was never construed to apply to domestic fowls. On April 21, an ordinance was adopted to prohibit cattle running at large. On October 1, an issue of \$15,000 for school purposes was ordered. An ambitious school building was undertaken, and on April 28, 1874, \$10,000 more of bonds were ordered to complete it.

In the spring of 1873 the directors of Northwestern Christian (Butler) University decided to select a new site for the institution. There were several competitors, and the proprietors of Irvington and adjoining property, made an offer of 25 acres of ground for a campus and \$150,000 for buildings. This was formally accepted on June 17, 1874; and the main building was begun that fall—a three-story brick, 135 x 75, with steam heat and all modern conveniences. Instruction in the new building was begun in the fall of 1875, and from that time on Irvington was "a college town". And it was fortunate in being so, for the college life not only helped it weather the financial stress of the seventies, but gave it an intellectual atmosphere that has made the place attractive for residence. The Athenaeum has always ranked with the best literary societies of Indianapolis. The crowning service in this line came with the Bona Thompson library, in 1903, for while it was given to Butler its donor very wisely provided for its free public use.

The college life also aided in solving the transportation problem, which was one of the most serious of the early days, for many of the students lived in town. At first the only serv-

ice was by the railroads, the Panhandle having its station, and the C. H. & D. stopping at the college for accommodation. In 1881 an extension of the "mule-car" service was made out English avenue, with cars leaving hourly, and arriving more nearly daily. For awhile in the seventies a bus line was tried, out Washington street, with a horn and other stage-coach accompaniments outside the city limits. In 1893 the Washington street car line was secured. It was then a mule-car line, but soon after a dummy steam motor was imported from Muncie, and used till it ran off the tracks into a ditch, near the Deaf and Dumb School, injuring several passengers. There was never any satisfactory service to any of the suburbs until the street railway lines were electrified.

As a natural result of the conditions, early life in Irvington was very quiet and peaceable. There were no saloons to stimulate the aggressive, or attract the boisterous from the city. The most alarming noise was the college yell, and the only times that could be called exciting were elections, when the pacific burghers seemed to let out all their pent-up exuberance.

The wildest excitement that ever developed was in 1877. Owing to the failure of newly elected school trustees to qualify, there developed two school boards, each claiming control, the old board consisting of Geo. W. Julian and J. O. Hopkins, and the new board of Sylvester Johnson and Dr. James A. Krumrine. The old board employed Miss Lydia R. Putnam, who had been teaching in 1876, to conduct the school in 1877; but before the school opened Hopkins resigned, and William H. H. Shank was elected by the town board on August 2. He affiliated with the new board, and they notified Miss Putnam that her services were not wanted. She replied that under her written contract they were. She had the keys to the building, so the new board had new locks put on; and on September 3, when school was to open, they were on hand to maintain their authority. Likewise came Miss Putnam to maintain hers. The board ordered her out, but she went not. Then they put her out, the witnesses stating that Johnson and Krumrine each held an arm while Shank brought up the rear "boosting with his knee." Before they had recovered from their exertions Miss Putnam had got in again at the back door, and the work

had all to be done over. This time the teacher got hold of a staple in the wall, and hung on for some time, but the allies finally got her out, and held the house.

For the next two weeks the Indianapolis papers were full of "the Irvington war", and the communications from the two factions that developed were nothing if not spicy. But the proceedings were not confined to the papers. Miss Putnam had the board members arrested for assault and battery, and the case was tried by a jury in Justice Glass' court on September 11 and 12, with a crowd in attendance, and a formidable array of legal talent. The defendants were fined \$15 and costs each. Then Miss Putnam brought suit for damages for the manner in which she had been "bruised and lacerated". As the *News* said: "War to the knife has been declared, and no quarter will be given or taken. The amenities of suburban life are enchanting." She won again, getting judgment for \$800. The case was taken to the Supreme Court, which affirmed the judgment, and so "the Irvington war" was closed.⁴

Irvington maintained its separate existence longer than any of the suburban towns, but the increasing population after the advent of the electric railway desired city conveniences that were not accessible to the town. Electric lighting had been obtained by threats to put up an independent lighting plant, which caused an extension to Irvington. The town also secured the important concession from the railroads of maintaining electric lights at their crossings, which was both valuable and unusual. But it was still without water service, and intimations of the grant of a water franchise were supposed to have hastened the council's action on annexation. Residents of the territory lying between Irvington and the city were desirous of annexation, especially in the region of Tuxedo Park, and efforts were made in 1900 to annex it, but without success. On December 2, 1901 an ordinance was introduced for the annexation of both Irvington and the interjacent territory, which was passed on February 7, and approved February 17, 1902. Irvington had no debt when annexed but its school house bonds, \$19,000, and these were assumed by the city.

When the college removed to Irvington it

was the North Western Christian University. On February 28, 1877, the name was changed to Butler University in recognition of the benefactions of Ovid Butler. As the original university plan was never fully developed, and on account of the movement for the University of Indianapolis, the name Butler College was adopted on April 8, 1896, to designate the academic department, which is located at Irvington. The University of Indianapolis did not fully develop, but Butler is affiliated with the Indiana Law School, and with the Indiana Dental College, a prosperous institution which owns its own building at Ohio and Delaware streets. In addition to the main building, which has 18 recitation rooms, offices, chapel, and halls, the college has Burgess Hall, with 6 recitation rooms, museum and laboratories; a college residence for girls; a fine gymnasium building with exercise hall 35 x 58, baths, etc.; and the Bona Thompson Memorial Library building. This last was donated in 1903 by Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Thompson in memory of their daughter Bona, who graduated at the college in 1903. The library has 12,000 volumes, and is also a station of the Indianapolis Public Library. The college has its own Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., and the students publish a weekly paper, *The Butler Collegian*. The college maintains a summer school, and has a Teacher's College Department for the training of school teachers. In 1907 an addition of \$250,000 was made to the endowment of the college. Joseph Irwin, of Columbus offered \$100,000 if \$150,000 additional were raised. Marshall T. Reeves, of Columbus, contributed \$30,000, and Andrew Carnegie agreed to give the last \$25,000. An enterprising local campaign secured the remaining \$95,000.

An important addition to Irvington was made in 1909 by the location there of the general offices, publication department, and missionary training school of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions. The year 1909 was celebrated as the centennial of the church, being the one hundredth anniversary of the "declaration and address" of Thomas Campbell, and was made the occasion of donations for the establishment of this institution as a permanent memorial of the event. The largest single gift was of \$25,000 from Mrs. C. G. Ferris, daughter of Sarah Davis Deterding, in acknowledgement of which the new school is

⁴Johnson et al. vs. Putnam, 95 Ind., p. 57.



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

SARAH DAVIS DETERDING MISSIONARY TRAINING SCHOOL.

named The Sarah Davis Deterding Missionary Training School. The object of the school is not to duplicate the work of colleges and academies, but to give special training to persons who propose to go into the missionary field, not only in a general way, but with special reference to the countries in which they propose to locate, their peoples, their religions, their manners and customs and laws. A part of the work will be practical training in home missionary work in Indianapolis, especially among the foreign element. The centennial contributions amounted to some \$90,000, which has been put into the building and grounds, and about \$10,000 more will be raised to complete the work on them as originally contemplated. The building is now occupied by the offices and publication department, and the school is expected to open in the fall of 1910.

The town of Brightwood was originally platted on September 17, 1872, by W. D. Wiles, D. H. Wiles, C. A. Greenleaf and John L. Mothershead. On May 27, 1874, an amended plat was filed, which included E. T. Fletcher's First Addition to the town. The action was a result of a decision to locate there the plants of the Greenleaf Manufacturing Company, which manufactured a patent turn-table, and the foundry of Mothershead & Morris, who were doing business in Indianapolis. In the winter of 1874-5, the interests of the Greenleaf Manufacturing Company were purchased by the "Bee Line" Railroad Company, which removed its Michigan street shops to that point in 1877. On account of the prospective change it was decided to incorporate the town; and on June 9, 1875, a petition was filed for that purpose with the Board of County Commissioners by Isaac X. Hoover, J. J. Bicknell and others. It showed that the proposed town had at that time 132 inhabitants. The county commissioners ordered an election to be held "at the door of the postoffice" on June 26. The town was duly incorporated, but some controversies arose; and the people also found that they had accumulated an elephant by taking in a township school that they were unable to support. Accordingly the incorporation was abandoned, and a second petition was filed on April 11, 1876. An election was ordered for May 1, which was favorable to incorporation, there being 23 votes in the affirmative, and none against.

The election of officers was held on June 19, and a spirited contest occurred, which resulted in the choice of Joseph E. Ayers, Richard Attridge and Willis R. Miner for trustees; John Henry, marshal; Luke Wells, assessor; James Holmes, treasurer; and Isaac X. Hoover, clerk. For a number of years the elections were theoretically nonpartisan, with a "citizens' ticket" and an "independent ticket", but the former was usually Republican and the latter Democratic, and more recently they dropped their masks and appeared in their hideous nakedness. The most interesting question of local politics was the water works, for Brightwood is the only part of Indianapolis that ever tried municipal ownership of a public service. The water works construction was in 1895-6 and was installed with a fire department of two hose reels. It has extended until there are now 5 miles of mains. The water supply is from deep wells (500 feet) and there is a reservoir of 40,000 gallons capacity. In December, 1906 a report was made on the plant by Brossman & King, engineers. They count the capacity of the mains for domestic supply at 10 times their present use, and the fire capacity sufficient for 2 lines of hose, with 1½ inch nozzle, for 13¼ hours.

From the financial standpoint they estimate the waterworks as self-supporting since 1904, but not before that date, allowing credit for five hydrants at \$45 per year. This is a fair credit for fire protection since the annexation of the town, for it is the rate the city pays for hydrants. It omits the consideration, however, that the extension of the city mains to Brightwood would call for a number of additional hydrants. And it seems obvious that this was not a fair measure of the value of fire protection to the town prior to annexation. Under the existing system of six grades in insurance rates, the difference between a town with no fire protection and one with the protection Brightwood had is at least two grades; and the difference in insurance is 13 per cent a grade on buildings and 2 to 8 per cent on goods. The allowance for Brightwood's 40 hydrants at \$45 is only \$1,800 a year, and that would soon be eaten up by an increase of 26 per cent in insurance; and that would not represent half the difference in a fire loss, for town insurance averages under 50 per cent of valuation. It is pretty safe to say that the Bright-

wood water works was a good investment for fire protection. The water supply for domestic purposes is much appreciated by the people, and they have always strongly resisted any proposal to abandon the system.

The greatest support of Brightwood is, of course, the railroad company, which pays there annually something over \$500,000 in wages. There have always been, however, several manufacturing enterprises giving employment to a number of men. The life of the town has been largely independent, with its own churches, fraternal organizations and other social features. The "Town hall" is a 3-story building that was erected in 1890 by an association, composed originally of members of the Knights of Honor, but with stock held outside now. The first story is rented for business purposes; the second is the hall; and the third is used for society meetings. Another quasi-public building is the Y. M. C. A., which was erected in the winter of 1902-3, at a cost of about \$20,000, of which three-fourths was paid by the railroad company, and the balance by popular subscription. It is designed chiefly for the use of men in the railroad company's service, and is furnished with restaurant, dormitory, baths, pool room, and other equipments of a modern Y. M. C. A. house.

Its independent condition made Brightwood the largest of the suburban towns in 1880, its population being 619. By the census of 1890 it had grown to 1,381. It was fairly well off in transportation, as the railroad ran special morning and evening trains for its men, and it was one of the first suburban towns to get an extension of the "mule-car" street-railway system. This line, however, was not electrified for some time after the others; and the Brightwood car was for months pulled as a trailer by the Columbia avenue car, being switched off where the two lines separate, and hauled the remaining two miles by mules. The town was annexed to Indianapolis by ordinance of March 15, 1897. The town debt at the time was \$18,000; all water-works bonds.

Woodruff Place is the one suburb of Indianapolis that has avoided annexation, although entirely surrounded by the city. It was platted October 2, 1872, by J. O. Woodruff and was designed for a park residence section. A reservation of two feet all around the boundary was made for a common fence, and provision was

made in the deeds preventing any "structure" within fixed distance from the streets. The streets were laid out with central grass plots, with flower beds, fountains, and iron statuary, "hand-painted." It has always maintained this distinctive character. In the spring of 1876, not being able to secure city advantages of fire and police protection, the people of Woodruff Place decided to incorporate independently. Their petition for incorporation was heard on March 16, 1876, and was opposed by City Attorney Byfield, who considered that it would be injurious to have an independent municipality practically within the city. On consultation it was decided that the matter should go over to the next term, and meanwhile, Mr. Byfield would try to secure fire and police protection from the city; in case of success the petition was to be withdrawn. The matter was presented to the city council, and the Judiciary Committee was directed to act with Mr. Byfield in an effort to secure some satisfactory adjustment. This could not be done, and so the opposition was withdrawn. The incorporation election was held on July 20, and resulted six in favor of incorporation, and none against; and so, on August 8 the town was incorporated.

The separate government system was not without its troubles. The new town obtained fire protection by paying for a main connecting them with the city system; and secured the service of the city fire department by donating \$50 to the pension fund when there is a fire call from Woodruff. The school problem was managed for some years by the Woodruff Place pupils paying tuition in the public schools; but in 1894, a contract was made by which the town levied 25 cents on \$100 school tax, and paid the proceeds to the Indianapolis School Board, and in return the children were allowed the same school privileges as those of the city. This proved so satisfactory that the same arrangement has been continued ever since. The people of Woodruff Place have always resisted annexation, the reason being that they desired to preserve their park features, and feared that the city would not keep them up if annexed. Since the park board has assumed work of that kind, there is not the sentiment against annexation that formerly existed, and that will probably result in due time. The population of Woodruff Place was 29 in 1880; 161 in 1890; and 177 in 1900.

West Indianapolis was a by-product of the Stock Yards and several factories that were located along the line of the Belt Railroad. The stock yards were opened for business November 12, 1877, with grounds covering 12 acres and capacity for the care of 1,000 head of cattle and 35,000 hogs. The business connected with it made almost a town of itself, but of course it was largely transacted by residents of the city and transients. Meanwhile a village grew up to the north of it that was known as Belmont. In the spring of 1882 it was decided to incorporate, and on March 5 a petition was filed for the incorporation of the town of West Indianapolis. It covered a territory of 1,565 acres and had a resident population of 171. The petition was favorably considered, and an election was called for April 1. At this the 100 did not vote and the 71 cast their votes solidly for incorporation. The election for officers was set for May 3, and at it David Johnson, Joseph McClain and George W. Jinks were elected trustees; John C. Williams, clerk, Charles F. Risner, treasurer, and Charles Shell, marshal. The trustees organized on May 6, electing David Johnson president. The first ordinance was of "rules and regulations for the town government," and among other things it provided that the board should meet each Monday evening at "Room 12, Union Stock Yards Building," at 7:30 p. m. from April 1 to October 1, and at 6 p. m. from October 1 to April 1.

There was nothing very striking in the history of the town. It developed rapidly and steadily in population. Of course it does not appear in the census of 1880, but in 1890 it had out-tripped all the other suburbs, and had a population of 3,527. In 1894 it was decided to incorporate as a city, and the trustees divided the town into 3 wards and 7 precincts in preparation for the election on May 1. The election was on national party lines, and the Republicans succeeded in electing their entire ticket except the councilmen in the third ward. The officers elected were A. B. Tolin, mayor; O. E. Williamson, clerk; Walter S. Hoss, treasurer, and Thomas Perry, marshal. It was claimed on both sides that "hoodle" was freely used, and it is not recorded that anybody demanded proof. Mr. Tolin continued to hold the office of mayor until West Indianapolis was annexed in 1897. He was the senior member of a live stock com-

mission firm operating at the stock yards. West Indianapolis was annexed to the city by ordinance of March 15, 1897. At the time of annexation its debt was \$19,000, which was much larger than that of any of the towns that have been annexed; but then West Indianapolis was a city.

Haughville is a little older than West Indianapolis, but was a little slower about incorporation. It came into existence as a manufacturing suburb. In 1856, Levi B. Williamson and Emmanuel Haugh started a little factory for the manufacture of iron railings on Delaware street, opposite the court house. In 1863 the establishment passed to the ownership of Benj. F. Haugh, who had been foreman of the factory, and F. Schowe. The business developed steadily, the firm style changing several times, and the establishment moving to South Pennsylvania street, where it manufactured jail and court house fittings and architectural work. In 1875, Haugh & Co. (Benj. F. Haugh and Joseph R. Haugh), removed their works across the river to Michigan street, west of Germania avenue. In 1881, owing to financial complications, the firm was reorganized as Haugh, Ketcham & Co., and in 1885, it was incorporated as the Haugh, Ketcham & Co. Iron Works. A village grew up about the works, and on December 16, 1882, a petition was filed by "Thomas Morrow and 31 others," for the incorporation of the town of Haughville. The election was set for January 10, 1883, "at the store of Thomas E. Spafford and W. P. Canfield," and resulted in 10 votes for incorporation with none against. The town had several seasons of disquiet owing to labor and race troubles, having a large foreign element and also a considerable colored population. Although not incorporated, its population was reported 70 by the census of 1880. In 1890, it was 2,141, making the suburb second only to West Indianapolis. The town was annexed to Indianapolis by ordinance of March 15, 1897. At the time of annexation its debt was \$18,300 of school and town hall bonds. There had been unsuccessful efforts to secure its annexation for two or three years previously.

North Indianapolis was never an incorporated town, although its population is given in the census of 1890 as a town. The residents were then 1,479, but exactly what extent of territory was included is unknown. The town was

originally platted October 20, 1873, by Wm. Braden, John C. Shoemaker, H. R. Allen, A. L. Roache, and Thos. F. Ryan. This subdivision of parts of sections 26 and 27, extended only from the Canal to Rader street, except between Armstrong and Eugene streets, where it reached east to the Michigan road. The new suburb pinned its faith to the Edell Ladder Works, which located there that year, the North Indianapolis Wagon Works, and the Henry Ocow Manufacturing Company, which made bent wood furniture, particularly the "improved gothic cradle". It was made the Western terminus of the Belt Railroad, and has always been a manufacturing suburb, though since electric transportation came into use, it has become quite popular for residence purposes. The Ocow Manufacturing Company burned out and discontinued; but the North Indianapolis Cradle Works, which makes cradles for agricultural instead of infantile purposes, came in and remained. The wagon works also burned, but other factories came, and North Indianapolis spread until it became a substantial town in its independent life.

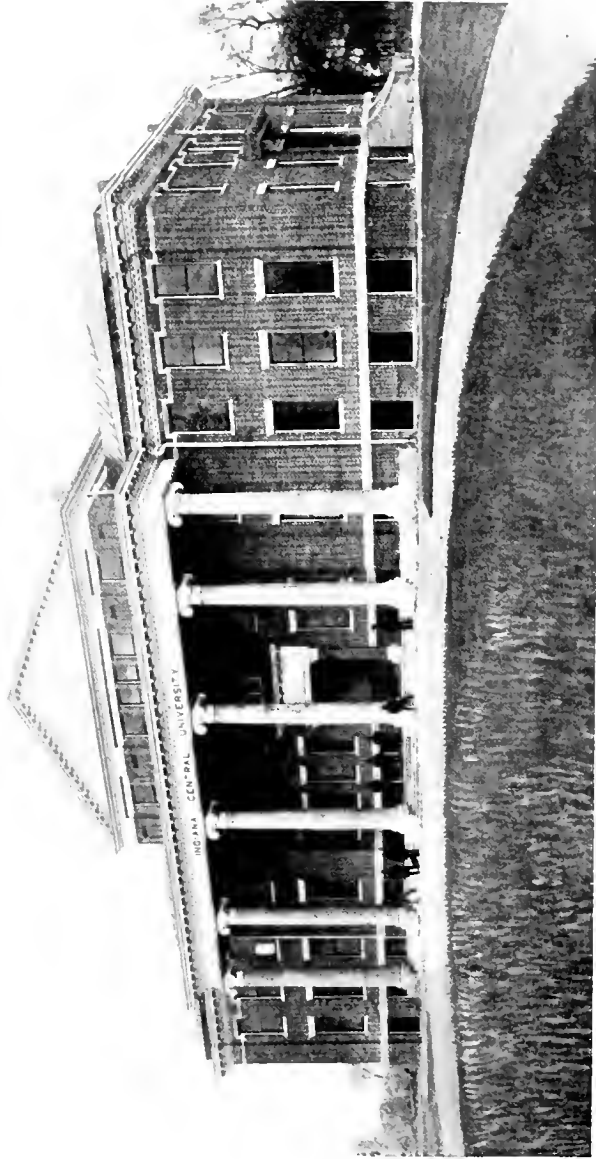
Mt. Jackson was the oldest in name of the suburbs, for it was given to his farm at that point by George Smith, the first newspaper proprietor and editor of Indianapolis, in honor of the great Andrew. The name adhered, but there was not much of a town, and not much occasion for one, when the petition for its annexation was filed on September 3, 1888, by "W. W. Webb, H. M. Carpenter and twenty-five others". On December 4, the remonstrance of "Christian Bush and others" was filed, and on December 14 an election was ordered to be held on January 5, 1889, at "the grocery store of Dorus J. Baker". It was a warm election, but of the 61 votes cast, 37 favored incorporation and 24 opposed, and so the advance was made. The town was blessed with a "business administration" from the start. The first business, after organizing on February 12, of the town board, composed of Messrs. Johnson, Swartling and Taylor, was to provide for hiring a lawyer. On February 27, the board instructed the clerk to "arrange with Squire Martin to investigate taxes". On March 15, it adopted an ordinance for a \$100 liquor license and a dog license, thus providing the necessary lubrication for the wheels of government. In further evidence of its wise manage-

ment may be mentioned the fact that when annexed, by the ordinance of March 15, 1897, it brought to the city a debt of only \$100, which was for a school house.

Mapleton was never an organized town. It was platted as an addition to the city by Hannah C. and Theodore P. Haughey on May 1, 1889. It took its name from the growth of sugar maples in the vicinity, and the country church, which had been there for some years, was commonly known as Sugar Grove Church. The growth of the place was uneventful, and quite slow until the electric car lines brought it within reach.

The latest, and what bids fair to be the greatest of the suburbs of Indianapolis is Beech Grove, southeast of the city, a result of the location of the construction and repair shops of the New York Central road. When, in 1906, it was announced that this company would invest here \$5,000,000 in "the greatest locomotive hospital in the world", there were few who had any conception of what it meant. The average human mind does not grasp millions. But when one sees all the wonders of massive electrical machinery that were shown in the last great world's exposition in practical operation, the conception becomes clearer. Five of the principal buildings have been completed. One, the Machine and Erecting Shop, is 320 x 575 feet, and as one enters this mammoth room, without a partition, and sees a 120-ton electric crane pick a locomotive off its trucks and place it where desired, he realizes that he is among the latest and greatest achievements in scientific machinery. In addition to this the Blacksmith Shop, 151x30 feet; the Boiler Shop, 126x561 feet; the Store and Office Building, 76x244 feet and three stories high; and the Power House, 116x140 feet, have been completed. In addition to these there are 14 other shops in the planned works, the smallest, a paint shop, 58x60; with round houses and other minor buildings, and yards with switch accommodation for over 16,000 cars. The plant is now employing 1,000 men and when in complete operation will require more than three times that number. At present, most of the employes are not residents of the suburb, but 600 to 700 of them are brought to their work by special trains.

Early in 1906, Wocher Bros. were instructed to purchase 740 acres of land for these shops:



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

INDIANA CENTRAL UNIVERSITY.

and they also took options on some 1,600 acres additional, and adjacent, and organized the Beech Grove Improvement Company, to handle it, with \$300,000 of preferred stock and \$300,000 of common stock. The main part, or "Section A," was platted on November 13, 1906; with additions known as "Section B," on August 6, 1907, and "Section C," on October 28, 1907. On June 7, 1906, "Louis McMains and 52 others" filed their petition for the incorporation of 1,780.5 acres as the town of Beech Grove. The petition showed that there were 233 residents of the tract, of whom 64 were heads of families. The county commissioners ordered the election to be held "at the residence of John Tacoma, on Sherman Drive," on June 19. A part of the residents were farmers who had given options on their land without being told of the proposed location of the shops—there were 80 farms, large and small, included in the purchase—and most of them opposed the incorporation, but the incorporators won. The opposition then contested the election, and remonstrated in the County Commissioners' Court. On July 11, the commissioners sustained this remonstrance, and held the election invalid on the ground that the tickets used by the incorporators were invalid in form. The incorporators then appealed to the Circuit Court, which reversed the commissioners on October 20, 1906, and declared the town incorporated.⁵ The costs were assessed to Eugene Mueller and the other remonstrants, who took some steps for an appeal, but never perfected it.

The first town election was held on November 9, 1906, and John Woehler, Louis McMains and Herman H. Weelburg were chosen as trustees, and Harry E. Marsh as treasurer and clerk. The town has grown with considerable rapidity although so many of the employes reside outside. The resident population is now estimated at 1,000—the vote at the last town election, November 2, 1909, was 181. It is probable that there have been many locations prevented by the lack of street railway connection with the city; and a company has been formed to supply this deficiency, and has begun work, the company being under contract to have the line in operation by April 27, 1910.

⁵In *Re Incorporation of Beech Grove*, Cause No. 15,273, Circuit Court.

Business establishments have been attracted by the shipping facilities, the most notable being the mammoth elevator of the Cleveland Grain Company, which cost \$350,000, and has a capacity of a million bushels. The company has wisely provided for parks, and a modern school building has been erected, 76x94, with accommodations for 200 pupils. It has a basement with play room, etc., and is constructed with a view to adding a second and third stories if desired. Presbyterian and Baptist churches have been built and occupied. The Catholics have put up a handsome parsonage, and have bought land for a church and a school, for which plans have been adopted that call for an expenditure of \$100,000. The Sisters of St. Francis have bought a block of 30 lots, on which they propose to build an \$80,000 hospital.

There is another suburb, not exactly a town, which may be mentioned here, and that is Fort Benjamin Harrison, the United States Army Post, northeast of the city. The army post was something that was worked for a long time before it was secured. It became apparent in the nineties that the government was going to abandon the arsenal, which was merely a storage institution, and the Indianapolis people thought they should have something at least equally good. Congressman Overstreet and the Indiana Senators took an interest in it, and there was some persistent and effective work for it by Harry New, and also by Addison C. Harris. By 1899, the prospects were looking so bright, that, by joint resolution of March 1 of that year, the legislature ceded jurisdiction to the United States of any lands bought or to be bought by the United States for an army post. There was quite a warm competition for the site. In August, 1903, a board of army officers visited Indianapolis to examine the five sites offered, and report on the same. Later in the year it was announced by the Department of War that it would purchase the site near Lawrence, containing 1,833 acres.

In the summer of 1903, the site had its first baptism of theoretic blood. The state militia were in camp at the state fair ground that year, and on the last night of July they stole away from their tents and on August 1, fought a "battle" at the new grounds. Possibly this had something to do with their selection, for army men regard the location as ideal for maneuvers.

In 1901, the militia held their camp of instruction at the army post site from July 27 to August 5, and the Twenty-seventh United States Infantry joined in the exercises. From that time forward it has been the scene of an annual meeting for instruction in large military movements, the first extensive one being in 1906. On July 15 of that year, 2,000 regulars began their march to Fort Benjamin Harrison from Fort Sheridan (Chicago), Fort Wayne (Detroit), Fort Thomas (Newport, Ky.), Fort Brady (Michigan), and Jefferson Barracks (St. Louis), to take part in the maneuvers.

Meanwhile the preparations for permanent occupancy were proceeding, and on June 20, 1905, Captain Cheatham, in command of the post, announced the awards of contracts for the buildings—commanding officer's quarters, \$12,800; four field officers' quarters, \$45,200; bachelor officers' quarters, \$29,900; two non-commissioned staff officers' quarters, \$3,400; hospital, \$31,400; band barracks, \$13,900; administration building, \$18,900; stable, \$16,400; wagon shed, \$3,500; fire engine house, \$2,200; bakery, \$8,300; granary, \$10,000; six double barracks, \$235,000; quartermasters' and subsistence storehouse, \$25,500; eight double captains' quarters and six double lieutenants' quarters, \$217,800; guard-house, \$19,000; with smaller buildings, making an aggregate of \$868,346.31. The post appears to be growing in popularity with army men, and there has been a sentiment manifested to enlarge it; and also to make it a center for the purchase and training of horses for the army. The post is connected with the city by electric interurban line, with special cars running at regular intervals. The reservation now contains 2,030 acres, and is the station of the Tenth infantry.

One other suburb remains to be noted, which is quite unique in character. Early in 1902, Wm. L. Elder, submitted to White River Conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, a proposition to donate to the church 8 acres of campus ground and a college building, costing \$40,000, if the church would furnish buyers of 116 lots in an addition, to be known as University Heights, south of the city,

in which the college was to be located. In that year, White River Conference voted to accept the offer if one other Indiana conference would co-operate, which St. Joseph Conference did two weeks later; and Indiana Conference joined in the year following. The work was prosecuted vigorously, and the college building was completed and occupied in the year 1905-6, the trustees receiving a deed to the entire property on June 13, 1906. The church, prior to this time, had no institution of higher education in Indiana, and has entered into this work with enthusiasm, supplementing the original movement by the three conferences agreeing to raise an amount equal to \$1 a year for each member, for three years—or \$150,000—for an endowment fund. In addition to this, there have been numerous individual gifts and pledges. The institution, known as Indiana Central University, is now soundly established in a prosperous career, with 15 professors and instructors, and about 200 students. It has a diversified and thoroughly up-to-date curriculum, and an academy has been added for preparation for the college course. The college property is now valued at \$90,000.

The original theory of the movement was that the establishment of the college would necessarily create a settlement about it, and that the advance in the value of lots would more than compensate the purchasers, so that the church would get its institution with practically no expense to the purchasers. This anticipation has already been largely realized. The plat of University Heights was filed on May 9, 1904; and on May 7, 1907, a petition was filed for the incorporation of the town. At the election, on May 21, 17 votes were cast for incorporation, and 1 against; and so the municipal government was instituted. The present officials are Robert Hostettler, J. A. Cummins, Jr., and Oliver Mumaw, trustees; and W. C. Brandenburg, clerk. The town is one mile from the city limits, and is reached in twenty minutes from the center of the city by the Columbus and Southern Traction Company's line. It thus presents the ideal combination for collegiate life of country surroundings with easy access to all the advantages of the city.

CHAPTER XXXV.

"THE DEMON RUM."

When James Blake was about to open the first Washington Hall tavern, in partnership with Samuel Henderson, Calvin Fletcher, on December 4, 1823, entered in his diary, "I do not prophesy that a very great advantage will result from the connection". Commenting on this, Rev. J. C. Fletcher says: "We can see that this tavern did not result to any very great advantage to the writer on the 25th of December, when he naively records the following: 'December 25. I visited Messrs. Henderson & Blake's in the a. m. Drank rather too much whisky and brandy, and ate too much sweet cake'. (Then follow a lot of dashes with r's between them.) 'r—r, r—r, came home and went to bed'. The 'sweet cake' was too much for the writer. A few years later, when he made a profession of religion, he banished all wines and liquors from his house, and became a temperance man from principle".¹ This was not an unusual experience, for in the earliest days practically everybody drank, and indeed, it was the very general belief that was necessary to do so in order to prevent, or alleviate, fever and ague. At the old settlers' meeting in 1857, Mr. Fletcher told how when starting to help survey the Ft. Wayne road, "he stopped at Washington Hall and took some egg-nog, and filled his pocket pistol, which they all carried in those days to keep out the chills". At the same meeting, Demas McFarland told of his experience with chills, and said, "Old rye, with salts, was his remedy, and although the disease was bad, the remedy was not hard to take—in fact it was always a legal tender, and the principal circulating medium".² There were some, however, who doubted the efficacy

of whisky, Samuel Merrill, in commenting on the extensive malarial sickness of 1821-3, says: "When the sickness first commenced, those who drank spirits mostly escaped, and it was a matter of frequent boasting among them that they 'kept above fever heat'. But they were soon after attacked much more severely than others, and their taunts were then returned with interest".³

But as a general proposition, the condition is very accurately portrayed by Rev. T. A. Goodwin: "Whisky was the prevailing drink. Whisky raw and whisky sweetened, whisky hot and whisky cold, and sometimes whisky watered, and often whisky medicated. Roots and herbs, and barks, when steeped in whisky had wonderful curative properties. Snake bites and milk sickness, rheumatism and agues, alike, yielded to the thousand and one preparations which the hardy men of those days knew how to make with whisky; and a birth or death, a wedding or funeral, a log-rolling or shucking, or a raising or a quilting, was incomplete and unsatisfactory without it. Egg-nog or toddy, or both, was much more certain at an afternoon visiting party of women than 'store tea' was for supper; and well-to-do Methodists, and Baptists, and New Lights, and other good people, were as thoughtful to supply it for their guests, even their preachers, as were other people. * * * All churches tolerated its use, and many a good pioneer had a license from the state to keep a tavern, meaning a license to sell whisky, and at the same time a license from his church to preach; and they were preachers of no mean repute, either, as well as good tavern keepers. "The Methodist church made special provision" in her discipline for her members, requir-

¹*News*, September 19, 1879.

²*Locomotive*, June 13, 1857.

³*Ind. Gazetteer*, p. 119.

ing them to keep orderly houses, and in theory, not permitting her local preachers to retail at all. But, like her inhibition of slave-holding, this was in practice a dead letter, for many of her best local preachers kept tavern, to put it mildly, and many of them liberally patronized their own bars. Many of the early preaching places for all denominations were in the bar rooms of these taverns. Good men bought and sold and drank, but bad men also engaged in the business, and kept dens of dissipation; hence those provisions of the early laws which required all applicants for license to prove that they were of good behavior, and, later, of good moral character. Every store that kept tea or coffee kept whisky by the quart, and as there was then no law against giving it away, the barrel, or bottle, was free to all customers. Whisky was cheap then, and merchants were liberal. It is no wonder, therefore, that with such business and social habits, men died of delirium tremens in large numbers, called then, brain fever. * * * It was not until about 1830 that men began to associate together for the purpose of checking the tide of dissipation which was sweeping over the country".⁴

There was probably as little drinking in Indianapolis, in the early years, as in any place of the same size in the country, but there was very little of scruple about drinking; and Indianapolis did its share. The *Journal* of October 2, 1827, reported that there had been 213 barrels of whisky purchased by Indianapolis merchants from outside, and 71 barrels of home product, within the past year. A census of the town on November 25, 1827, showed a total of 1,066 inhabitants, of whom 503 were females, and 151 were under 15 years of age. Mention has been made of the hilarious celebration of Christmas, 1824, when the first political campaign was inaugurated, and of the free use of whisky at the first election on April 1, 1822, when, Mr. Fletcher says, "the quantities drunk must be reckoned in barrels".⁵ It may be questioned, however, if even these can wrest the rank of "a hot time in the old town", from the night of February 17, 1827—the day on which was received the news of the ratification of the Potawatomic treaty in 1826. This treaty

gave to the state a strip of land 100 feet wide, so far as the Indians were concerned, running from Indianapolis to Lake Michigan, for a state road, and with its ratification, the citizens seemed to see the road opened and the town leaping forward under the impetus it gave. The coming of the capital had helped growth somewhat, but the crying need was for roads, and here was a new outlet to the great lakes, and water connection to the ocean. The ratification, as the *Gazette* said, gave "a road from Lake Michigan through this place, to the Ohio River, a section of good land being given for the purpose of making each mile of said road".

It mentions that the news "was received with the most lively enthusiasm by our citizens, on Saturday last, which was more fully demonstrated by an illumination of the town on that evening."⁶ But a more detailed and interesting account is given by Mrs. Betsey Martin (then Mrs. Goldsberry) who was a witness of the joyous occasion. Her early newspaper training had given her an appreciation of news, and a faculty for presenting it. She says of it:

"In 1827 the treaty was ratified between the United States and the Indians, and the Michigan road was granted, to Lawrenceburg. Well, we had a grand turn-out of all the citizens, with lanterns of every design, and mottos appropriate for the occasion, and music, and everything to make it grand and enjoyable. Mr. Goldsberry carried a burning tar barrel on a high pole till it was burnt through. It spoilt a new suit of clothes that Aunt Cox⁷ had just made of blue casinet. After marching through the streets, or the main ones, which were Washington and Meridian, they marched down to old Dunning's tavern on the river, and all got tight and had a dance. Uncle Nat Cox and Governor Ray danced a nigger jig. There was not one but drank too much. Mr. Goldsberry came home as tight as a brick, carrying a big transparency which he took after the tar barrel burned out. He was very jolly, and when I opened the door he pulled me out in the mud to see his transparency. That was the only time he drank too much, and he was excusable when the Governor was tight, and all concerned. There were a lot of sick folks

⁴Seventy-Six Years' Tussle With the Traffic, pp. 4-6.

⁵News, April 12, May 10, 1819.

⁶Gazette, February 20, 1827.

⁷Mrs. Nathaniel Cox.

the next day, for many of them had never drunk too much before." The completeness of the celebration may be inferred from the fact that at the time Mr. Goldsberry was one of the pillars of the Methodist Church, and a very exemplary citizen.

But reform was on the way. The earliest movement for temperance in this country was among the physicians, with Dr. Benjamin Rush as the chief factor. For years it was devoted chiefly to urging moderation, and the reform made little progress until in 1827 the country was stirred by an address of Jonathan Kittredge, one of the ablest jurists of his day, who urged that all drunkards were developed from moderate drinkers—"have become drunkards by the temperate, moderate, and habitual use of ardent spirits, just as you use them now. Were it not for this use of ardent spirits, we should not now hear of drunken senators and drunken magistrates, of drunken lawyers and drunken doctors; churches would not now be mourning over drunken ministers and drunken members; parents would not now be weeping over drunken children, wives over drunken husbands, husbands over drunken wives, and angels over a drunken world." In November, 1827, the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, which had been advocating moderation since 1813, recommended total abstinence. The American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, which had been organized at Boston on February 13, 1826, soon followed. Kittredge's address was circulated broadcast by the American Tract Society, and other literature—notably Lyman Beecher's "Six Sermons"—by the temperance society.

Indianapolis responded early. On October 3, 1828, a meeting was held at "the Methodist Meeting House", with Rev. John Strange as chairman and James M. Ray as secretary, and the "Temperance Society of Marion County" was organized. Its object was "to discontinue the use of ardent spirits, except as a medicine, both by precept and example." Ebenezer Sharpe was made president; James Givan and Henry Bradley, vice-presidents; James M. Ray, secretary; with a committee of correspondence composed of Daniel Yandes, Caleb Scudder, Isaac N. Phipps, John G. Brown, Chas. J. Hand, George Bush, John Wilkins, George Holloway, William Rector, Isaac Coe and John

Walton. Provision was made for a meeting on the first Saturday in January, at which addresses were to be made by "the President, Ebenezer Sharpe, Esq., on the objects of the Society, the encouragement, and the objections against it. Rev. George Bush, on the moral obligations requiring exertion in the cause. Rev. Edwin Ray on the demoralizing effects of intemperance. Dr. Isaac Coe on the destructive effects of intemperance on the human system. James M. Ray on the expense of the manufacture and consumption of ardent spirits."⁸ The next meeting was actually held on December 20,⁹ and the society met quarterly thereafter.

At its meeting, November 23, 1829, the society adopted resolutions, "that entire abstinence is the only course which promises success in suppressing intemperance"; "that the practice of selling liquor to the intemperate does not only in its injurious consequences immediately affect the purchaser, but in an imminent degree the morals and means of the community"; and "that it is expedient to form a State Temperance Society, auxiliary to the American Temperance Society." Among the new names that appear at this meeting are Rev. Thos. S. Hitt, Alfred Harrison, Robert A. Taylor, Douglass Maguire, Rev. Joseph Merrill, Robert Brenton and Joseph Catterlin. The proposed state society was duly organized on December 9, 1829,¹⁰ but no account in detail was published. At the first annual meeting, on December 13, 1830, Jeremiah Sullivan, of Jefferson County, presided, and J. F. D. Lanier—subsequently of Winslow, Lanier & Co., bankers—acted as secretary. Dr. Sylvan Morris presented a resolution "that the habitual use of ardent spirits is injurious to health, destructive to the mental faculties, and tends to shorten human life", which after an address by him was unanimously adopted. Hon. Bethuel F. Morris presented and spoke for the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted: "Resolved, That the customary and fashionable use of ardent spirits is dangerous to the civil institutions of our country." Reverend Sickles presented the following resolution, supported by himself and Reverend Lewis,

⁸*Journal*, October 16, 1828.

⁹*Journal*, December 17, 1826.

¹⁰*Journal*, December 16, 1829.

which was unanimously adopted: "Resolved, that the use of ardent spirits, either occasionally or habitually, exerts a demoralizing influence and is injurious to public and domestic happiness." Hon. Wm. Sheets presented a resolution, supported by himself and Hon. Stephen S. Harding—later Governor of Utah—that the formation of temperance societies, on the principle of entire abstinence, is the only effectual preventative of intemperance and its evils", which was unanimously adopted. The society then elected officers: President, Jeremiah Sullivan; Vice-Presidents, Milton Stapp of Jefferson, David H. Maxwell of Monroe, Edwin Ray of Vigo, James Morrison of Marion and Stephen C. Stevens of Switzerland; Secretary, James M. Ray; Executive Committee, B. F. Morris, Isaac Coe, Rev. John R. Moreland, John T. McKinney, Rev. Thos. S. Hitt, James Blake, Isaac N. Phipps, Daniel Yandes, Horace Bassett, John Hendricks, Sylvan B. Morris, and David Wallace.

It is thus evident that at this early date the reform idea had so spread that the best men in the commonwealth stood openly for total abstinence, and most of them were men in active political life. It was a notable change from but a few years earlier. No one could call it "fanaticism" for it was a change of view of men who had formerly used liquor themselves if they felt occasion for so doing. And there had been some sentiment aroused. Jeremiah Johnson, an eccentric local character, having attacked the Temperance Society in the *Gazette*, was answered by a correspondent who, among other things averred that "the practise in respectable stores of keeping liquor free on the heads of barrels has been checked, that tavern-keepers admit their sales have been sensibly diminished, and that an entire abstinence from the use of it has been observed by the members almost universally.¹¹ The truth is that the things had begun to happen that make people hate liquor, and the change of sentiment was due to an observation of the evils that intemperance carries in its train. This is plainly visible in the accounts that have been left to later generations, as for example, the following comment on the earliest developments of the liquor traffic by Mrs. Betsey Martin:

"In the spring of 1822, Jerry Collins opened

a small shanty built out of poles and clap-boards, and had the first whisky shop in town. He had a barrel of whisky and some tobacco and segars. There was no license, and he made money, and he also, as now, made drunkards. I well remember two men burnt to death while under the influence of that cursed liquor. One was an old batter named Shunk.¹² He fell with his head against the kettle and his shoulders in the mouth of the furnace; and he was roasting all night. In the morning someone called and found him. As I have told you, he was not quite dead. They took him to his boarding-house—he boarded at old John Van Blaricum's—and the doctors did all they could for the poor old man, but he died that same night. He was roasted brown half way down. The work of the whisky seller! The other was Big Smith—he was called 'Big' to distinguish him from the rest. He was over six feet, and large and well formed, and would have been a useful man unless for that awful habit. Smith and some other men of the same stripe went into a field back of where Mr. Blake now lives,¹³ and were drinking and playing cards. They had set fire to an old standing dry tree, and Smith was too drunk to go when the others left. He went to sleep, and the tree burnt and fell close to his back and shoulders, and he was too drunk to move; so he had to roast; and he did, for his shoulders and back were a perfect crisp. He only lived a few hours after he was taken home. Well, from that time till now, I can trace nearly all the murder and every other crime to that—the worst thing in the world—whisky! It brings poverty, disease and death!"

But there is one thing more appalling than the drunkard who meets a sudden and shocking death, and that is the drunkard who drags out a miserable life. The first "frightful example" in Indianapolis was Dr. Jonathan Cool. He came here in 1824, a talented young fellow, and better educated than the doctors that were here. He had graduated at Princeton, where he was a classmate of Judge Blackford, and had also taken his degree in medicine, and had served for a time as surgeon in the United

¹² John Shunk, see *Nowland's Reminiscences*, pp. 49-51.

¹³ *i. e.*, the northwest corner of Capitol avenue and North street.

¹¹ *Journal*, December 8, 1829.

States army. He was the first physician here to protest against the heroic doses of medicine—especially of calomel—that were given in the early days. This brought him into a controversy with Dr. Isaac Coe, who was one of the most heroic in his treatment,¹⁴ and he stated his case in a poem, one verse of which is still preserved—

“Oh, Dr. Coe! Oh, Dr. Coe!
 Why do you dose your patients so?
 Slow to cure, and quick to kill;
 There is no man alive can tell
 The awful power of calomel,
 And dead men tells no tales.”

But Cool took his own poison, and in the course of a few years became a hopeless sot. He retained some of his characteristics, however. He was always very polite, and very fond of quoting poetry, but an evident sense of shame made him shun the society of ladies, of which he had been fond; and there were some ladies who would gladly have tried to reclaim him if they had had opportunity. In the course of his downfall, Cool made an arrangement with Jerry Collins by which he was to have three drinks a day in return for medical services—morning, noon and night. One morning Cool came in for his noon drink about 11 o'clock, and when Jerry called his attention to the hour was sadly depressed. Then a happy thought struck him, and with true pathos he exclaimed: “For the love of God, Jerry, loan me an hour.” The loan was made. But there was greater need for eloquence when the doctor was overcome by “the Great Thirst” and called for an extra drink. On these occasions there was usually a profound discussion which resulted in Cool getting the drink, for Collins was not a bad-hearted fellow, in his way. In the accompanying cut Jim Dunlap has presented one of these arguments with Jerry on the defensive behind the bar, and the dilapidated doctor making his plea. His most effective appeal was on this line: “Jerry Collins, you know that whisky costs you only 20 cents a gallon, and there are 56 drinks in a gallon. Will you refuse to relieve the sufferings of a fellow human-being when you can do it for less than two-fifths of a cent?” Poor

Dr. Cool! He was not one who owed his reputation for mental brilliance to the fact that he was a drunkard; and when he finally came to his death in 1840 there were many who sighed for his ruined life.

Another victim of the early period who was often spoken of by the older citizens was Hugh O'Neal. He came here a boy with his father, Thomas O'Neal, in 1821; and grew up on his father's farm, just north of what is now Morton Place. He was an ambitious boy, who attained a fair education chiefly by his own effort, read law, and had an excellent standing. Says Nowland: “No young man in the state did fairer to rise to eminence and distinction than he did. When the California mania was raging, in 1849, his ambition prompted him to risk his chances for fortune in that golden region, and it was there he fell a victim to that destroying demon (intemperance) that annihilates all that is good and virtuous in our natures, and sends us to an early grave, unhonored and unsung.”¹⁵ And there were others, so many of them that it were out of question to call them all up, and there is no need for it; for there are few of the living who cannot recall some case within the circle of their own acquaintance. Yet one I will mention, for his memory haunts me, and that is “old Colonel Blake”, as he came to be known in his later years.

As a young man John W. Blake was considered to be of great promise. He was a lawyer in Clinton County, and represented that county in the legislature of 1857, where he is said to have been an important factor in the great senatorial controversy of that year. He entered the Fortieth Indiana as lieutenant-colonel, was promoted to colonel in 1862, and served through the war. After the war he located at Indianapolis, living at the northeast corner of Walnut and Tennessee streets. His boys were my playmates. His wife was an excellent lady, respected by all her neighbors; and they had a sweet little girl who was generally admired. Blake became a hard drinker, and went to pieces. The family was obliged to move to less attractive neighborhood. The two boys became drunkards, and were both killed on the railroad tracks, while drunk. The girl grew up and married a conductor—

¹⁴*Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. 4, p. 331.

¹⁵*Early Reminiscences*, p. 111.



JERRY COLLINS AND DR. COOL.
(From a sketch by James B. Duulap.)

a very excellent man. He came home unexpectedly one night and found her with a man she had picked up at a saloon on Massachusetts avenue. The husband shot him. A public scandal and separation followed. Things went from bad to worse. Blake became almost a public nuisance, and his family would have suffered but for his pension.

On April 4, 1901, a notable company left Indianapolis for the dedication of the Indiana regimental monuments at Shiloh. Governor Durbin and staff were there in gorgeous uniforms, and a throng of old soldiers and prominent citizens were at the depot to accompany them. Old Colonel Blake appeared at the depot. He had served with credit at Shiloh. His portrait is in the monument commission's report, and his name on the monument of the Fortieth regiment. There was a wistful look in his bleared eyes as he approached various members of the party, hoping for an invitation to join them. But none came. He watched the train pull out, and turned to resume the downward path that ended only with the grave, five years later, on April 9, 1909. If some Zola could write the story of that life, just as it was, with its baleful effects on his family, it would make a temperance story by the side of which *L'Assommoir* would be insignificant.

In the earliest temperance societies "ardent spirits" was not understood to include wine, beer, hard cider, and such light drinks, and it is said that not infrequently a "total abstainer" would become intoxicated from the use of these. It was not until the second national Temperance Convention, at Saratoga, on August 4, 1836, that a general stand was made against these, and even that was not universally accepted. Goodwin says that, "As late as 1844, the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, the oldest and most influential organ of the M. E. Church, opposed 'teetotalism' editorially, as contradicting the acts of the Savior and the advice of Paul." It had been adopted by some members of temperance societies prior to 1836, and the word "teetotal" is said to have originated from distinguishing such members on the society rolls by the letter "T", standing for "total", while O. P.—standing for "old pledge"—designated the other members; and from the use of T-total grew teetotal. However that may be, the idea spread widely, and

the new "teetotal" societies supplanted the earlier ones in many places, but its effects were not much in evidence here; although there was increased activity in temperance work at the time, and a Young Men's Temperance Society was organized on April 2, 1836.¹⁶ Our early laws dealt only with "spirituous or strong liquors", and in 1839 the Supreme Court decided that port wine was not within the law, saying: "Spirit is the name of an inflammable liquor produced by distillation. Wine is the fermented juice of the grape or a preparation of other vegetables by fermentation."¹⁷ It was not until 1852 that the phrase "intoxicating liquor" appeared in the general law, although it had been used in some laws essentially local; and it was not until 1859 that it broadened to "spirituous, vinous or malt liquor, or any intoxicating liquor." And under that, it was required to prove that the liquor was "intoxicating", the Supreme Court holding, in 1876, that "beer" was not even presumptively intoxicating,¹⁸ and in 1877 the same as to "malt liquors."¹⁹

The controversy over the use of wine unquestionably caused a lull in the temperance movement, but it was soon overcome by the Washingtonian movement, which originated in Baltimore, in 1840, from a sudden resolve of a party of convivial drinkers to reform. The society grew and was so beneficial that in 1841 members were sent to New York and Boston to hold meetings. These were tremendous successes, and the movement spread over the country. It reached Indianapolis in February, 1842, when "a reformed inebriate, a Washingtonian from Illinois, on his way to Ohio", gave it a start. The missionary, who is named only as "Mr. Matthews", held his first meeting on February 28, when a Washingtonian Society was formed, and 106 signed the pledge of total abstinence from "intoxicating liquors". He was persuaded to stay a day longer, and on the evening of March 1, 116 more names were added; and Matthews was induced to stay one more day when the membership went up to 318. The meetings had to adjourn to the East Market House, because no

¹⁶*Journal*, March 19 and April 30, 1836.

¹⁷State vs. Moore, 5 Blackford, p. 118.

¹⁸Schlosser vs. State, 55 Ind., p. 82.

¹⁹Shaw vs. State, 56 Ind., p. 188.

room in the city would hold the crowds. The secretary announced that "about 15 of those who have signed the pledge have been until very recently, and some up to the present time, considered degraded, confirmed drunkards; a very large number of them only moderate or gentlemanly drunkards."²⁰ The officers of the society were: Carey H. Boatright, president; Nathan Davis and John McGinnis, vice-presidents; Joshua Soule, Jr., secretary; and James M. Sharpe, assistant secretary; Joshua Stevens, treasurer. "Committee of Vigilance"—west of Meridian street, George Durham, Nathan Lister and Ezekiel C. Boyd—east of Meridian street, James M. Smith, William Campbell, and William Biddle.

Matthews was followed on March 26 by "Mr. Patterson, a reformed inebriate from Pittsburgh," who had been "a drunkard for more than 20 years"; and on April 19 the society announced that it had 458 members. They evidently went into the work with a vim, for on April 5 the *Journal* said: "At a sale held yesterday, the Washingtonians disposed of, at a great sacrifice, the remains of a distillery which they had recently purchased in the vicinity of this place. This was done with the express understanding that the articles sold were not again to be used for the manufacture of intoxicating drinks of any kind whatever." The meetings of the society were frequent, and on the Fourth of July they joined the procession in a body and a special temperance meeting was held. There were no strong drinks at the dinner that day. In the fall a Washingtonian camp-meeting was held near Greencastle, with prominent speakers from all parts of the state.²¹ In Indianapolis "the winter campaign against King Alcohol" was opened on November 11, at the Second Presbyterian Church, with "an address by H. W. Beecher, a member of the society."²²

The decadence of the Washingtonians as active societies was largely due to the organization of secret, fraternal, temperance societies. The first of these, the Sons of Temperance, was started September 29, 1842, in New York. It was followed in 1845 by the Templars of Honor and Temperance; and in 1851 by the

Order of Good Templars. The decade was one of great progress in temperance sentiment. Such speakers as Dr. Charles Jewett, Rev. Thos. P. Hunt and Theodore L. Cuyler came into prominence. The Hutchinson family of temperance singers came into prominence in 1843. John B. Gough had joined the Washingtonians in 1812, but fell from grace, and in 1811, having again reformed, leaped into fame at the eighth anniversary of the American Temperance Union, in New York City, to remain in active temperance work till his death in 1886. Father Theobald Mathew, after starting his great work in Ireland and England, came to this country in 1849, and was received with the highest honor everywhere. He was invited to Indianapolis but could not come.

The Sons of Temperance were first organized in Indiana in the eastern and southern parts of the state, and "Washington Division, No. 10" was instituted at Indianapolis on April 21, 1846, with John D. Defrees, William Hammaman, W. T. Hatch, R. A. McCluer, H. B. Hibben, Wm. Campbell, John Evans, James Hall, J. E. Kingsbury and Robert Martin as officers.²³ This organization was the great agency of temperance for the next decade. In less than five years over 400 divisions had been organized in Indiana. At first it kept clear of politics and devoted itself to reform work. The legislation of the state had for more than a decade been a curious hotch-potch of local temperance laws, varying in the different counties, townships and towns, from plain license to practical prohibition. In 1847 a general law was passed that a majority vote for "no license" in any township should insure no license for one year. At the annual meeting of the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance at South Bend, in July, 1848, a proposal to memorialize the legislature to amend the law, so that no vote should be counted for license unless expressly so cast, was voted down by a large majority. But a change soon came. Nine months later, at Evansville, the Grand Division voted unanimously to take steps for prohibition, and it did not rest till that end was attained. In 1852 the Grand Division started a paper at Indianapolis called the *Temperance Chart*. It was edited by Jonathan

²⁰*Journal*, March 9, 1842.

²¹*Journal*, October 4, 1842.

²²*Journal*, November 1, 1842.

²³*Journal*, April 29, 1846.

W. Gordon, then a doctor, and it will not be necessary to inform anyone who knew Gordon that it was a live paper. It was continued for four or five years.

The constitution of 1851 having done away with the system of local and special legislation, the temperance sentiment was strong enough to secure the passage of the stringent local option law of March 4, 1853. It provided for submission of the question of license or no license at the April township elections, the majority to govern, and no vote to count for license unless expressly so stating. It was strict in other respects, and contained a provision that anyone selling liquor who should "cause the intoxication of any person, shall board, keep and take care of such person until he shall be able, without assistance, safely to return to his home"; and on failure so to do anyone else might perform the service and recover reasonable compensation for it from the seller, with 50 per cent damages. The election in Center Township was held on April 4, and resulted in a majority of 196 for no license out of 2,170 votes. At the city election on May 3, the Democrats put up a party ticket, all of whom were defeated except Benjamin Pilbeam, the candidate for marshal. The law was not enforced. On August 6, an "East-ender" complained to the *Locomotive* that there were ten establishments retailing liquor in one square in his neighborhood. On August 18 a public meeting was held which denounced the non-enforcement of the law, requested the resignation of the of the officials responsible, declared for prosecution, and appointed an investigating committee, composed of Robert A. Taylor, Andrew Brouse, Dr. G. C. Beeks, James Blake, and Daniel Yandies. On September 1, the committee reported "a list of 10 houses they had visited where liquor was sold with the names and places"; and a resolution was passed calling for the resignation of the marshal and his deputy or their removal by the City Council. No action was taken, however, and on November 29 the Supreme Court declared the local option feature of the law unconstitutional, leaving the rest of it to stand as a simple license law.²⁴

The effect of this was to determine the temperance people for absolute prohibition. Meet-

ings were held through the state, and delegates selected to a state convention which met at Indianapolis on January 11, 1854. It issued an address to the people in favor of a prohibitory law, and declared "that no prohibitory law will satisfy the temperance sentiment of this state which does not contain the principles of seizure, confiscation and destruction of liquors kept for illegal sale." With this the Democratic State Convention on May 24 took square issue, declaring opposition "to any law that will authorize the searching for, or seizure, confiscation and destruction of private property." As a result many temperance Democrats left the party, as also did many who objected to its attitude towards slavery. On July 13 "the People's Convention" met at Indianapolis. It was a strange mixture of former Whigs, Democrats, Know-nothings and temperance men, but they agreed on two things, opposition to slavery and opposition to intemperance, and that made up their platform. The convention declared for "the passage of a judicious, constitutional and efficient prohibitory law, with such penalties as shall effectually suppress the traffic in intoxicating liquors as a beverage." The campaign was fought on these issues, and the result was a victory for the People's party by 12,600 majority. They carried Marion County by 650, and Center Township by 200.

The next legislature passed a strict prohibition law, prohibiting the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors except for medical, scientific and sacramental purposes, and that was to be done by agents, on a dispensary basis. The law applied expressly to "Ale, Porter, Malt Beer, Lager Beer, Cider, all Wines, and fermented liquors which will produce intoxication, and all mixed liquors of which part is spirituous or intoxicating liquor." It was a prohibition law that prohibited, for the time being. The following statement by Goodwin concerning it is historically accurate: "It was to take effect on the 12th of June and it *took effect!*" On the morning of the 13th every saloon in Indiana was closed; and not a single saloon was opened for public business from that day till the 8th day of the following November. Speaking of the workings of the law in Indianapolis, the Indianapolis *Sentinel* of the 15th of June said: "The temperance law, so far, has been universally and faithfully ob-

²⁴ Maize vs. the State, 4 Ind., p. 312.

served. We hear of no disposition to violate its provisions." And the local editor, the same day, said: "The new liquor law has knocked police items into a cocked hat. Not a single item is to be obtained now on account of John Barleycorn." Recurring to the subject again on the 20th it said: "That the people of Indiana desire and will have a reasonable and constitutional law for the suppression of the evils of intemperance, none are blind enough to deny." Recurring again to the same subject, on the 28th of June it said: "During the past fifteen days there has not been a single commitment to the county jail for the violation of city ordinances, and in the way of arrests by the city police there is little or nothing doing."

"The Indianapolis *Locomotive*, of the 23d of June, said: "There has not been a single arrest or commitment to prison since June 12th. The Mayor sits quietly in his official chair, and the night watch doze on the store boxes." Such was the peace and order which followed, that on the 12th of July, just one month after the taking effect of the law, the Indianapolis Council reduced the night watch one-half. Referring to this fact, the *Locomotive* of the 21st of July, said: "The temperance law has nearly abolished rioting, drunkenness and rowdying, and the tax payers are reducing their expenses". The *Journal* referring to this reduction in its issue of July 24th, said: "The reduction of the night watch was on account of the diminution of disturbance and drunkenness from the enforcement of the prohibitory law." The Indianapolis *Evening Republican*, of the 29th of June, said: "Rummies no longer perambulate the streets, making night hideous; and the watchmen have little to do." The *Journal* of August 20th said: "The law diminished crime, reduced drunkenness, saved money and emptied jails until the Supreme Court took hold of it." It was the same everywhere."²⁵

Preparations for fighting the law had begun early, and eminent counsel had been retained to make a test case. On July 2 Roderick Beebe, an Indianapolis saloon-keeper openly violated the law; and was at once arrested and fined \$50 by the mayor. Refusing to pay he was committed to jail and immediately sued out a writ of habeas corpus in the Court of Common

Pleas. That court sustained the law, and an appeal was taken. The Supreme Court had adjourned for the summer vacation, but it was called together, and on July 9 the argument began on appeal. The state had not had the time for preparation that the appellant's lawyers had, and asked time to file briefs; and the case went over to November. Judge Perkins tried to call his colleagues in on August 23d to decide the case, but Judges Stuart and Gookins refused to attend. On August 25 the Marion County Democratic Convention denounced the law and called for a prompt decision. On August 27 a convention of leading Democrats was held at Indianapolis, which adopted some resolutions, but did not mention the liquor law. The *Journal* treated each move as significant only of the rivalry between Jesse D. Bright and Governor Wright, who had signed the law; and in a protest against a decision of the question in August, which it said would be for political effect, it said: "That the decision will be adverse to the law is well understood." In reality, however, it was in some doubt. About November 1, Judges Stuart and Gookins asked for reargument on some points.

On November 8 a boy named Herman violated the law. He was arrested, fined by the mayor, sent to jail, released on habeas corpus by Judge Perkins of the Supreme Court, and brought before him, in chambers, for hearing, by 2 o'clock in the afternoon. But even this did not equal the speed with which the case was disposed of. By agreement it was submitted on the argument already made in the Beebe case. The judge made an off-hand decision, ending with, "The law is void; let the prisoner be discharged." This was the decision that ended the enforcement of the prohibition law, and not the decision in the Beebe case, made on December 20, as is commonly supposed. The decision was printed in full by the *Sentinel* on November 12, and by the *Journal*—"revised by the author"—on November 13. It was not included in the Supreme Court reports at the time, having properly no place there; but it was inserted as an appendix two years later.²⁶ A most singular thing about this is that the decision is dated October 30, 1855—ten days before the case was heard. After this

²⁵*Seventy-Six Years' Tussle*, pp. 11, 15.

²⁶ 8 Ind., p. 515.

decision no attention was paid to the liquor law. Drunks became common again, and for some days the *Journal* printed its items of this kind under the headline, "Perkins."

The temperance agitation of 1853-5 gave rise to some heat and some disorder, but it was so mixed with the "Know-nothing" controversy that it is hard to separate them. The committee of 1853, which reported places where liquor was sold in defiance of law, gave the nationality of the sellers as follows: "German 33, Irish 3, French 2, Hoosier 2, Colored 4, Total 44."²⁷ The meaning of this is that it was "a beer proposition" in the main, and the chief location of trouble was in the eastern part of the city, where the German immigrants had settled. The nearest approach to any serious trouble was on the night of August 1, 1855, when three night watchmen who had arrested two disturbers of the peace were set upon by a dozen or more men who undertook to release the prisoners. A fight ensued in which pistols were used freely, but no one was killed, and only one man wounded. The watchmen held their men, and the next morning J. P. Michael, J. Mattler, A. Naltner and Michael Esser were arrested and taken before Justice Sullivan on charges of riot. The *Journal* treated it as a liquor insurrection and riot; and the *Sentinel* as resistance of citizens to unwarranted affronts by Know-nothings.²⁸ Both papers dropped the subject in a few days, giving no account of the disposition of the cases, and the *Locomotive* did not mention the subject at all. The City Council indorsed the watchmen, and so did a meeting of citizens held on August 8. After the liquor law was held unconstitutional, the council, on January 21, 1856, created a police force of 40 men, 1 for each ward and 3 at large—with a captain. This was gradually increased from time to time, and in 1863, on request of the city, the military authorities provided a provost guard, which was continued till the close of the war. In 1865 the force included 27 patrolmen, 2 detectives, and 16 special officers.

The decision of the Beebe case settled the prohibitory law, for though the court was divided, and the question of "search and seizure" was not before it, the judges announced orally

that they would hold those provisions unconstitutional when brought up. The temperance people were defiant, and proposed to change the constitution. The Republican platform of 1856 called for prohibition in about the same language as in 1851, but, of course, that was hopeless without an amendment of the constitution. The subject was hardly mentioned in the campaign, and the Democrats carried the state. From then on interest centered so completely in slavery and the war that temperance was almost lost sight of. In 1868 a State Temperance Alliance was organized, and temperance sentiment was revived and unified throughout the state, so much so that the legislature of 1873, without any special preliminary issue on the subject, passed the Baxter law for the restriction of the sale of liquor. This was practically a local option law, requiring one who wanted license to present a petition signed by a majority of the voters of the ward or township. It prohibited sales on Sundays and holidays, and between the hours of 9 p. m. and 6 a. m. It required the seller to pay the expense of caring for one whom he had made drunk. It gave broad rights of action to relatives, guardians and employers for damage resulting from drunkenness, and authorized suit by the township trustee, for the benefit of the poor, if no one else sued. This caused a political upheaval. The Democrats elected the next legislature, which substituted the liberal license law of 1875.

It is problematical to what extent this result came from the Women's Crusade—whether it strengthened or weakened temperance sentiment among the men. It certainly caused considerable disquiet while it was in progress. The movement had begun about Christmas, 1873, almost simultaneously, at Hillsboro, Ohio and Shelbyville, Ind., by two prayer circles, entirely independent of and not knowing of each other. The movement was started here by meetings in four of the churches on February 22, 1874, followed by other meetings for consultation. On March 3 the local Women's Christian Temperance Union was organized, and on March 6 the movement was indorsed by a meeting of men at Masonic Hall. The first work was canvassing by wards to prevent signatures to petitions under the Baxter law. This was followed by visitations to saloons, and by putting watches at the doors of sal-

²⁷*Locomotive*, September 10, 1853.

²⁸*Journal*, August 2; *Sentinel*, August 3, 11.

oons. The main purpose of the campaign failed. The sensation soon wore off, most of the women got tired of the work, and it was abandoned. But some permanent good had been accomplished. A number of drunkards had reformed and the community had been well stirred up on the matter of law enforcement. The W. C. T. U. had been organized, and remains an effective force. On the other hand it was a heavy cross to many of the women who went into it from a sense of duty; and it created a prejudice against aggressive temperance work in many men.

Notwithstanding the reversals of 1874-5, the temperance forces rallied quickly. The Indiana Prohibition League was formed in November, 1876; and its work was immensely forwarded by the Blue Ribbon movement of Francis Murphy, which began in Pittsburgh at about the same time—or at least made its great start there, there being 60,000 pledges signed, and 500 saloons closed. In October, 1879, the Grand Council, composed of temperance men and women of all organizations, was organized in Indiana, and was chiefly instrumental in bringing up the proposed constitutional amendment of 1881. Petitions for an amendment for prohibition, signed by some 46,000 voters, were presented to the Republican legislature of 1881, which adopted such an amendment, and also one providing for women's suffrage. In the campaign of 1882 the Democrats vigorously opposed the prohibition amendment and the Republicans ran away from it, declaring in their platform that the amendments were nonpartisan, and should not be treated as party measures. As a result, the Republican plurality of 6,593 on the state ticket in 1880 changed to a Democratic plurality of 10,924 in 1882; and the amendments were dropped by the legislature of 1883. It was in 1882 that the Liquor League was organized, and became a force in politics as an organization. It made the political mistake of trying to dominate absolutely when it came into power, and by its course probably contributed more to the development of anti-saloon sentiment in the next ten or fifteen years than any other influence.

In 1895 came a surprise to the liquor power. If anyone had predicted in advance that the legislature of 1895 would pass such a measure as the Nicholson law, he would have been

laughed at, even by members of the legislature, for no such issue had been presented, and the party leaders on both sides were against it. But a movement started in Indianapolis that did the work. Colonel Eli F. Ritter wanted a local option law that would "hold water", and he had put in months preparing one. It was based on the principle of taking provisions from the laws of other states that had been upheld and construed, with the view that the courts would hold the "legislative intent" to be taking such laws with their construction. After it was prepared Mr. S. E. Nicholson representing Howard County, came to the city anxious to do something for the temperance cause, and after some consultation it was arranged that he should introduce the bill.²⁹ Meanwhile Captain Ritter had associated with two other gentlemen and formed "the Citizens' League", which had arranged for backing by the clergy of the state, the Epworth League, the Christian Endeavor societies, and some other agencies. As soon as the bill was introduced, 10,000 copies were printed and sent out, with 5 petitions with each copy of the bill asking for its passage, by name and number. Within a few days they began to come in to every member of the legislature in such number and strength that they could not be disregarded, and the bill became a law. It has never been fully enforced or it would practically have ended the retail liquor business, but the remonstrance features of section 9 have been acted on until much the greater part of Indiana has no saloons.

The liquor people realized that they had been caught napping, but made a strong effort to overthrow the law in the courts. There were over two dozen of the best lawyers in the state acting for them at the hearing in the Supreme Court, and their argument was presented by three ex-judges of the Supreme Court—Elliott, Hammond and Zollars. The state's case was presented by W. A. Ketcham, Attorney-General, Charles W. Smith and Eli F. Ritter. Ritter was assigned specially the defense of section 9, which was the most questionable feature of the law. On June 19, 1896, the court filed its decision sustaining the law in toto, with two judges dissenting in part as

²⁹*Journal*, April 21, 1903.

to section 2 only." Under this law, with the supplementary Moore law of 1905, and the county option law of 1909, the process of voting out license has proceeded until on November 1, 1909, there were 70 dry counties out of 92, and of the remaining 22 there was only one—Vanderburgh—in which there were not one or more dry townships. Out of a total of 1,016 townships 922 were dry. Out of 89 cities 63 were dry. Out of 360 towns 330 were dry.

Much of this work has been due to the Anti-Saloon League, which aims to work independent of party lines, on an "omni-partisan" basis. It originated at Oberlin, Ohio, in Sep-

tember, 1893; and a national organization was effected at Washington City, December 18, 1895. A state organization was made in Indiana in October, 1898, by Rev. W. C. Helt, who was sent here by the national organization for that purpose. "The Citizens' League", which had been enlarged after the passage of the Nicholson law, was practically merged in this new organization. In fact the Anti-Saloon League is practically a combination of the forces that had formerly been working for temperance outside of the Prohibition party. That state-wide prohibition must eventually come, and that at no distant day, is little doubted by anyone who keeps watch of political movements.

⁴⁹The State vs. Gerhardt, 115 Ind., 439.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE THEATER AND THEATRICALS.

After the chilly reception of the Smiths in 1824-5, no theatrical company visited these inhospitable shores until the winter of 1837-8, when William Lindsay's Company came in by wagon from Cincinnati bringing their scenery, costumes and properties with them. All that was lacking was a theater, and that was soon provided in the wagon-shop of Mr. Olleman—father of "Weary" Ezra Olleman—which was across Washington street from the Court House, just west of the alley. The seats were two-inch planks without backs, and the theater was lighted by tallow candles, which also, placed in tin sconces served as foot-lights. The scenery was in rolls, and adapted itself to any sort of room. The orchestra consisted of two fiddles, which discoursed the popular airs of the day, such as "Hang On", "Broad Ripple", "Jay Bird", "Devil's Dream", and "Fishers Hornpipe". The troupe included Mr. and Mrs. Lindsay, who did the leading parts; Mr. and Mrs. Bailey, who did juveniles, and also presented living statuary between plays; Jim Linton, a really good comedian and fine singer; and several of no especial note who filled out the casts. The performance began with something heavy, and during the season the company gave "Macbeth", "Douglass", "Richard III", "The Stranger", "Bertram", and Robert Dale Owen's "Pocahontas", which had recently appeared in print. After this came two or three specialty numbers usually, at least a comic song, and sometimes living statuary or a recitation. The performance closed with a farce, among those given being "Turn Out", "Lottery Ticket", "Jeremy Diddler", and "Swiss Cottage". At this time the National Road and Central Canal had brought enough floating population to the place to give fair encouragement to the players, and Lindsay re-

turned in the winter of 1839-40 with some additional players.

On this second visit the company played in the dining room of Browning's Hotel, which stood where the New York store now is. The performances were of the same character as before, but were made notable by the engagement of Mrs. Alexander Drake—"reengagement", the *Democrat* called it,¹ though there is no record of her being here before. "The Honeymoon", "The Golden Farmer" and several other plays were added to the list at this time. Mrs. Drake was a star actress, at this time in her prime, and she was certainly "a link among the years" in Indiana theatricals. She was a Miss Denny, and made her first appearance on the stage at Cherry Valley, New York, as "Amelia Wildenheim". Later she married Alexander Drake, and with him went west with a theatrical company in 1815. In 1821 Drake's company visited Vincennes, where they took on Sol Smith—uncle of Sol Smith Russell, and a pioneer in Indiana theatricals. Her last appearance in Indianapolis was during the Civil War, when her son-in-law, Harry Chapman, was managing the old Metropolitan theater. Her first husband, Alexander Drake, who was the most noted actor and manager of his day in the Ohio Valley, died on the stage at Cincinnati while singing the celebrated old comic song, "Near Fly Market Lived a Dame".

The legislature was in session at the time of this engagement, and among its members was George W. Cutter, of Vigo County, who developed a great passion for Mrs. Drake, and she apparently reciprocated, although old enough to be his mother. Cutter was an orator of the high-flying type, which was natural

¹*Democrat*, December 24, 1839.

enough, for he was a poet, and a very creditable one. His "E Pluribus Unum" was a very popular poem in his day, and so was his "Song of the Steam"—

"Fetter me down with your iron bands,
Be sure of your curb and rein,
For I scorn the power of your puny hands—
As the tempest scorns a chain."

In fact the latter was popular long after his day, and ranks with standard poetry now. During this session appeared his "Elskwatawah", an epic on the fortunes of the Shawnee Prophet, which was his most lengthy production. Cutter was ardent in his devotion. He and Mrs. Drake both boarded at Browning's Hotel, and every night he accompanied her to the theater, and stood in the wings while she performed. One night she fell on the stage, and he rushed to the rescue, embraced her with words of endearment, and kissed her back to life, to the intense amusement of the audience. That settled it, if there was any doubt before. They were married. As the first theatrical marriage in Indianapolis, the record is of passing interest. It is as follows:

"Be it known, that on January 23d, 1840, a marriage license issued to George W. Cutter and Mrs. Frances A. Drake, he being of Vigo County, and she of Marion County, where she has resided one month immediately preceding this date, proved by affidavit of E. K. Brown filed, and both of lawful age.

"The marriage of whom is thus certified, to-wit:

"I hereby certify that on Thursday, Jan'y. 23, 1840, I joined in marriage, according to law, Mr. G. W. Cutter & Mrs. A. Drake.

"H. W. Beecher."

The E. K. Brown who made the affidavit was a portrait painter. Think of it! The most notable Indiana poet of his day, married to the star actress of the Ohio Valley, with an artist for witness, and Henry Ward Beecher for minister! What could be more charmingly Bohemian? But it did not impress the public that way, and the legislature proceeded to "have fun" with Mr. Cutter, until, on February 3, the *Journal* reported a passage between Mr. Cutter and Mr. Eccles, in which it said that

Mr. Eccles "alluded very improperly to the former's recent marriage." Then Cutter made an indignant denial, and Eccles hastened to explain: "It is notorious that Mr. Cutter has been treated (as I thought) improperly, by knocking, laughing, etc., when speaking"; and that he had rebuked this levity, stating that, "if we had no respect for Mr. Cutter, we ought to respect the people of the county from which he came".² The *Journal* also explained that it did not mean that Mr. Eccles used any improper expressions, but that it was improper to refer to the private life of a member.

The theater itself did not escape the attention of the watch-dogs of morality on this occasion. On January 10, 1840, "Old Subscriber" carded the *Journal*, which, by the way, did not advertise the theater, saying: "As there may be much misapprehension among the people in other parts of the state, as to citizens of Indianapolis encouraging or sustaining a Theater, which it is said cannot find even temporary support in any other town in the state, be so good as to insert the following explanation from a late New York paper of the sources of such support, even in large cities—which may, in some degree, relieve our city from a reputation, on this subject, which a large majority of us by no means covet." The inclosure, which the *Journal* printed, was a lengthy and severe reflection on the character of the people, who built theaters, and a declaration that their support in New York came chiefly from "visitors from the country", adding that "but very few respectable families in New York visit the theater at all, and these few go too rarely to afford much support".

To this Mr. Lindsay replied in the *Democrat*, charging that the alleged extract from a New York paper was a pretended one. Then "Old Subscriber" came back in the *Journal* of January 29, stating that the New York paper in question had been left at the *Journal* office. He also gave an extract from a Louisville paper commending the authorities of Mobile for declaring a theater a nuisance; and an extract from the Philadelphia *Saturday Evening Post*, on theaters, which, among other things, said: "We consider them as the most fruitful source of crime, profligacy and misery to be found in our great cities, and we have

²*Journal*, February 5, 1840.

resolved that our influence shall be exerted against them. They shall never be noticed in this paper but for the purpose of censure."

This season of 1839-40 was also made famous by the presentation of "Pocahontas", under the personal supervision of Robert Dale Owen, the author. The late Austin H. Brown gave this account of it: "A company of strolling players, some of them talented and successful actors, under the management of William Lindsay, was then playing in Indianapolis for a brief season. Mr. Owen enlisted the services of these players and in addition those of James G. Jordan and Joseph F. Brown, two amateurs who had appeared on some occasions with the strolling company. In this way the principal parts were filled. Browning's Hotel dining room was engaged, and a crude stage and scenery were placed therein on a raised floor at one end of the room. The footlights and sidelights were supplied with tin sconces, each holding a lighted candle. Mr. Owen gave his personal attention to the preparation and staging of the play in every detail, and frequent consultations were had with Jordan and Brown in the State Library, and I was present at most of them.³ The play was gone over carefully, and a large portion of it cut, and reduced into an acting play of about two hours' length. There was in the original an under-plot carrying with it a love story in the wilderness, and that was entirely cut out. My mother, as an accommodation to my Uncle Joe, assisted in the preparation of the wardrobe. Finally it was thought the play, after frequent rehearsals was ready, and a night was fixed for its presentation. The Legislature was then in session and was well represented in the audience, which was considered a large one for the times. The character of Capt. John Smith was assumed by James G. Jordan and that of John Ratcliffe by Joseph F. Brown, while the other parts were played by the members of the strolling company, Mrs. Lindsay taking that of Pocahontas.

"The drama was considered to have been well acted, and the next year a society of home Thespians reenacted it two or three times in a

³ Mr. Brown's father, Hon. Wm. J. Brown, was then Secretary of State, and ex-officio State Librarian, but the duties of the latter office were performed by "Uncle Joe" Brown.

rude frame building where the Medical College of Indiana now stands,⁴ the principal characters in the cast being: 'John Ratcliffe,' Joseph F. Brown; 'Capt. John Smith,' James G. Jordan; 'Powhatan,' James McCreedy; 'Pocahontas,' William Wallace; 'Nomony,' her sister, Lewis Wallace. * * * In those days women did not take part in amateur theatricals. Hence it was that the two Wallace boys, then about eighteen and sixteen, respectively, assumed the female parts, and, barring their voices, one could not tell from dress or action that they were not young girls. Mr. Jordan died many years ago. It was said of him that, had he taken up the theatrical profession, he would have achieved success and honor as a tragedian." The other members of that memorable company were better known, William Wallace as law partner of Gen. Benjamin Harrison, and postmaster of Indianapolis; Gen. Lew Wallace of national fame as soldier and author; Joseph F. Brown long a deputy in the County Clerk's office; and James McCreedy as third mayor of Indianapolis, who outlived all the rest and died October 9, 1909, at the ripe age of 93.

The Thespian Corps was the first amateur theatrical organization in Indianapolis, and it had a number of other notables in its membership. There were no ladies in it. The male characters were taken by Spofford Edward (Ned.) Tyler, William Hite, Nat and John Cook, Montserrat and Martin, in addition to those named, while in addition to the Wallace boys, Davis Miller, J. McCord Sharpe, James McVey and William Sneed did female parts. The organization was inspired by the Lindsay season of 1839-40, and Lindsay rented the amateurs part of his scenery while he went off on a tour to other towns of the state. The first announced play was "Douglass, or the Noble Shepherd," on March 28, 1840,⁵ and for this venture they sent to Logansport for Nat Cook, who had taken subordinate parts at "Shire's Garden" theater, at Cincinnati, to

⁴ Northwest corner of Market and Senate avenue. The old building was built for a foundry and stood east of what was commonly known as "the hay press," having been put up for the purpose of baling hay for the flat boat trade, down the river.

⁵*Democrat*, March 25, 1840.

take the character of young "Norval," which he did very well, though his playing was considered to be surpassed by Jordan's "Glenalvon." Cook's younger brother John took a part in the farce afterpiece. They were sons of John Cook who became State Librarian the next year, after having that office made independent and the duties of custodian of the State Capitol and grounds added to it. There was another of the Cook boys, Aquilla, who appeared in some of the plays, and who went to Cincinnati about 1844 and married a dancer at Shire's Garden. He shot the treasurer of the theater on a charge of insulting his wife, and escaped and disappeared. Jordan was at the time a law student, later city clerk, and then secretary of the Bellefontaine Railroad Company when Oliver H. Smith was president.

The Thespians gave "Pocahontas" oftener than anything else. It is not much of a play, but it was an excellent thing for "breaking in" a moral town, as it was full of philosophy and moral sentiment, and abounded in good speeches, such, for example, as this of Capt. John Smith:

"Oh! they are wondrous wise, these merchant rulers,
 Considerate—most considerate, if faith!
 Merciful—so that mercy fills their purses;
 Just—and if justice would but turn to gold.
 With every virtue under the sun
 That will but yield the profit of a vice.
 I'm sick of will—and will not—gentry, I;
 Men who would at once be both black and white;
 Would pluck the fruits of Hell, on road to Heaven;
 Would serve two masters, and take hire from both;
 Men who will scorn a brazen-conscienced cut-throat,
 Then grumble that they've not a cut-throat's pay;
 Expect the end, while they disclaim the means;
 Covet the rich reward a villain earns,
 And deprecate the villainy that earns it;
 Would buy damnation in the Devil's market,
 Yet higgie at the price the Devil asks."

In fact when the play appeared early in 1837 from the New York press of George Dearborn, some of the eastern papers expressed

astonishment that so truly Shakesperian a production should emanate from Indiana. It was produced at several points in the West for a short time but soon dropped out of use. The Thespians gave several plays that called for greater histrionic ability, such as "Pizarro," "Douglass," "The Brigands" with Jordan as "Massaroni" and his song "Love's Ritornella," and "The Golden Farmer." The last was a great favorite. The cast was, "Golden Farmer," Joseph F. Brown; "Harry Hammer," James G. Jordan; "Old Mob," James McCreedy; "Jemmy Twitcher," Ned Tyler; "Elizabeth," James McVey. Tyler made a great hit as "Jemmy Twitcher," and it was freely predicted that he would make his fortune if he would take to the stage. The boys made a very good, but rough theater of the old foundry building. The stage, about fifteen by twenty feet, was at the north end, and the scenery was very fair, through the generous aid of Jacob Cox. There was no floor, and the plank seats rose gradually to the south end, on Market street. Admission was twenty-five cents, but merchantable articles were frequently accepted in lieu of cash. The organization was maintained for three or four years, and was a source of no little entertainment to the community. In regard to the make-up of the Corps it should be added that Jordan was stage manager and Enoch May—a printer commonly called "Boston" May, father of Edwin May the architect—was prompter.

The season of 1843-4 brought to Indianapolis John Powell, with the best troupe Indianapolis had seen; and Powell was an advertiser of rare genius. On November 24, 1843, appeared the announcement in the *Democrat* that "The New York Company of Comedians" would give "a Grand Concert" at 7 p. m.; followed by a statement that those who attend—price twenty-five cents—are "requested to remain, free of charge, and witness a Full Dress Rehearsal of the beautiful drama in three acts entitled *The Princess of Mongrelia*," after which there were to be some chaste songs and "the much admired and fashionable comedy *The Irish Heiress*." A day or two later Powell almost got up to the panorama level by presenting "The Apostate, or The Horrors of the Spanish Inquisition." This company improvised a theater in the second story of Hiram Gaston's wagon shop, where the Claypool

Hotel stands, with a fair stage and scenery. The proscenium was adorned with the inscription, in large letters, "Veluti in speculum," which was gratifying to the learned, as it gave them opportunity to explain to the masses that it meant "As in a mirror." On the other hand, the stair and platform by which the theater was entered from Washington street, on the outside of the building, had not been furnished with a guard-rail, and one night Richard Corbaley fell off to the pavement below, and received injuries from which he shortly died, thus furnishing a solemn warning against theater-going.

However, the season was made irresistible by the additional engagement of "Mrs. A. Drake," who had wearied of domestic happiness at Terre Haute and returned to the stage, and A. A. Adams, who had lost an eastern engagement by "getting full" at an inopportune season, and was starring the provinces from necessity. "Gus" Adams, as he was familiarly known, was a really fine tragedian, of the Edwin Forrest type, large physically, with a strong voice, and withal a man of brains and dramatic insight. He and Mrs. Drake made a very strong team in "Pizarro," "Lady of the Lake," "Othello," "Virginius," "Macbeth," and other standard plays. It must be confessed, however, that the most lasting impression on the play-goers of the time was made by the two comedians and comic singers, Sam Lathrop and Tom Townley. The former's song "The Tonga Islands," and the latter's "The Raging Carawl" were talked of for years.

But the most striking effect of this visit was on the *Journal*, which actually melted, and on December 13 said, editorially: "We have hitherto forbore to notice the dramatic company under the management of Mr. Powell now in this city. * * * The arrival of Mr. A. A. Adams and Mrs. Drake, advertised for 'Rolla' and 'Elyvira,' induced us for the first time to witness the performances, and the result is that we not only feel remunerated for the trifle of expense, but feel called upon to give encouragement to the enterprize," and then followed details. "Mrs. Drake, ever a favorite with us, ever in our view unsurpassed, even by the illustrious Kemble—we were delighted and thrilled with her powers. And Adams as 'Rolla' had never to our mind

been eclipsed even by Wallack, whose especial favorite this part is." It was a really wonderful change of attitude, but it was no doubt largely due to a change of editors. Mr. Neal's former place on the tripod being occupied by Theodore J. Barnett, who was evidently not built for resistance to temptation. There is no express record of the effect on patronage, but it was probably not great, for half a dozen years passed before another theatrical troupe undertook to play Indianapolis.

On June 1, 1850, Austin H. Brown became proprietor of the *Sentinel*, and having good facilities for advertising in all lines, there being a good job office connected, he evolved the idea of bringing shows to advertise, and sharing profits. His first ventures were with the popular line of entertainments, panoramas, lectures, concerts and the like. There were others for which he was not responsible. One of the most interesting was "John Talby, Ventriloquist," who advertised a magician show on December 26 and 27, 1850, at Masonic Hall, together with "the only living specimen of the Momater! a fowl with six legs, which will dance Fisher's Hornpipe." John acted as his own doorkeeper, and, after the audience was in, retired behind the scenes, from which he never emerged on the same side as the audience. The show consisted of one mysterious disappearance. This was followed by a double panorama show at Concert Hall—"Adam and Eve. The Temptation and Expulsion from Paradise"; and a "Panorama of the Hudson River." This was more moral and more lasting—it stayed for three weeks.

In January, 1851, Mr. Shire, the theatrical manager, brought here and advertised for January 8, 9 and 10 a "Grand Dramatical and Musical Entertainment, by the Celebrated Toledo Company, ten in number," which was to give "the most choice Dramatic Pieces and Vocal and Instrumental Music." This was a notable occasion for two reasons. The first was that the *Journal* broke the record of twenty-six years and published its advertisement. The second was that the only satisfactory place for a theatrical show was Masonic Hall, in which, the Constitutional Convention was then sitting, and arrangements were made by which the Convention performed in the daytime and the dramatic company at night. This did not arouse much criticism, though the *Locomotive*

observed, "It is the greatest burlesque of the age to know that the Constitution of the State of Indiana is being framed in a Theatre." In the same issue, however, it stated that the company "have met with much better success than we anticipated—their houses have all been good, sometimes crowded." The *Journal* confirmed this on January 27, saying: "They had a very large audience on Saturday evening, and continue to draw good houses every evening they appear." This was a regular theatrical troupe, with Harry Perry, Robert Buxton and Mrs. Coleman Pope as the leading players. It gave a wide range of plays in its three weeks' stay, including "Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady," "The Dumb Belle," "Swiss Cottage," "The Serious Family," "The Two Gregories," "Merchant of Venice," "The Lady and The Devil," "Jenny Lind Has Arrived," "You Can't Marry Your Grandmother," "Box, Cox and Knox," "Othello," "Lady of Lyons," etc.; and it established the fact that the railroad had made enough change in Indianapolis to make a successful theatrical engagement possible.

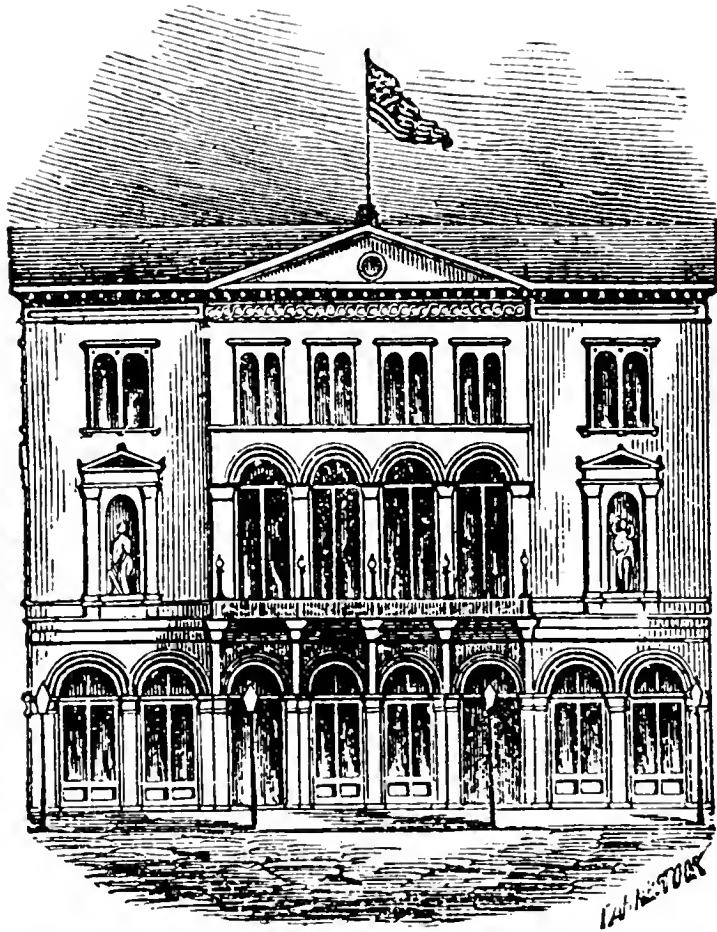
However, when the troupe was gone, the city settled down to more serious recreation. On February 6 came Barman's panorama of "Napoleon's Funeral Procession," presenting the removal of that gentleman's remains from St. Helena to Paris, for six days at Masonic Hall. Then came two weeks of "The Polyorama" at Concert Hall, with "Dissolving Views, the Refracting Kaleidoscope, gyrations by a representation of a human figure, to show the facility with which light can be managed, and lastly Cupid's Advent." Then the season closed with three days of "Rossiter's magnificent historical paintings," which were "The Return of the Dove to the Ark," and "Miriam the Prophetess, exulting over the Destruction of Pharaoh's Host." In 1852, during the first State Fair, Austin H. Brown engaged all the halls and had several specialty performers—magicians, concerts, etc.—and also Sam Wells' minstrel troupe, which appeared first in Concert Hall, then for a return engagement at Masonic Hall, and then was taken by Mr. Brown for a tour of the smaller towns.

During this fair came another theatrical manager, in the person of "Yankee" Robinson, whose coming marked an epoch. He opened

in a tent on a vacant lot in the rear of the present Park Theater, and gave such plays as "Hole in the Wall," "The Idiot Witness," "Loan of a Lover," etc. He was induced to open the season in Washington Hall, which had just been finished, and occupied it for two winters, touring in the summer with his tent and playing "Uncle Tom's Cabin" to the provinces. In his troupe were Mr. and Mrs. R. J. Miller, Charley Wilson, F. A. Tammehill, and, chief of all, "Old" White. F. G. White was familiar to Indianapolis play-goers for many years after, and was one of the best actors, especially in comedy, that was ever known here. By common opinion he was not surpassed in such characters as "Toodles" and "Solon Shingle" by any star who ever presented them in Indianapolis. He was thoroughly educated in his profession. When James Whitcomb Riley was visiting Sir Henry Irving in London he told him about White and mentioned that White had certain stage mannerisms that he had never noticed in any other actor. Irving was interested and asked what they were, and Riley mentioned some, among them his habit of tapping his lips with his finger tips when representing doubt and hesitancy. To his astonishment, Irving produced a book of stage directions that had been in use in England for many years, in which this identical direction was given, as well as others that Riley had mentioned.

In the winter of 1854-5 Robinson opened the "Atheneum" in the upper story of Calvin Elliott's new building at the corner of Meridian and Maryland streets, where the Daniel Stewart Drug Co. is now located. In his stock company were most of his former players, with George and Mary McWilliams, Jimmy Lytton, who was very popular in Irish songs, "Yankee" Bierce, and young Henry Waugh, who was also the scenic artist, and a very good one. This was quite a popular theater, and Robinson played a number of stars during his management, among them Susan and Kate Denin, Peter Richings and his daughter Caroline, the Florences, Maggie Mitchell, Joseph Proctor, and the elder John Drew. It was here that Austin H. Brown made his "first appearance on any stage," playing "Bombastes Furioso" to Henry Waugh's King, at a benefit given by Robinson for "the poor." At the close of the performance Robinson came

⁶*Locomotive*, January 25, 1851.



Metropolitan Hall.

(The First Theater—from an old cut.)

before the curtain and announced that as he was the poorest man in town he would keep the receipts, which so impressed the audience that no objection was made. Susan Benin was an actress of real talent, though she did not gain the national reputation that some of the others did. She was deservedly popular in Indiana for the next twenty years, and died in Bluffton, on December 4, 1875, from the effects of a fall on the stage at Indianapolis a short time before.

When Robinson's season closed in the spring of 1855, Austin H. Brown and John M. Commons took the Athenaeum and undertook to run it through the summer, which was a dismal failure. Mr. Brown, in a reminiscence article, says: "We played a short season with a very ordinary company, picked up in Chicago, Cincinnati and New York, with indifferent success. Our stars were James E. Murdoch, Harry and Julia Chapman, Mrs. A. Drake and others. Our orchestra had among its musicians Reinhold A. Miller, well known as a superior leader, the two Schellschmidts, the two Dolms and Gottlieb Krug. In order to keep down our license fees we complimented all the councilmen and their wives. One member of this body never missed coming, but on one occasion he appeared at the box office and made an apology, saying: 'My wife is sick, so I thought I'd come down and tell you we won't be here tonight.' Having been elected county auditor in August, 1855, I withdrew from active theatrical management and left the Athenaeum in the hands of my partner." In reality the season's experience was more painful than this would indicate. Murdoch was then at the head of the profession in the United States, and his engagement came in the hottest part of a very hot July. About twenty people ventured out the first night to see him in "The Stranger," and the next night was worse. Then he threw up the engagement in disgust, and never came back to Indianapolis until during the war, when he was devoting himself largely to the care of wounded soldiers and giving plays and readings for their benefit.

Commons reopened the Athenaeum in September and ran it until December 8. He had improved the stock company, and had Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Duff for leading parts. Charles J. Fyffe, the acting manager, and leading support, was afterwards librarian at the Edwin

Forrest Home in Philadelphia. But it was not a paying enterprise, nor was it under succeeding managements, although most of the stars of the time were brought here by Commons and by W. L. Woods, Wilson, Maddocks, Pratt, Lytton and Cal. J. Smith, who tried leasing it in the next two years. In August, 1858, a German company took it for a short season, and during the State Fair the Chapmans came back with Mrs. Drake and John K. Mortimer, the comedian. That was the last winter of the Athenaeum as a theater. In 1859 it was taken for a gymnasium by an association that was formed, with Simon Yaudes as president, but the novelty of that soon wore off and it failed also.

Meanwhile a real theater had come—the first building erected in Indianapolis for that purpose—the "old Metropolitan," built at the northeast corner of Washington and Capitol avenue by Valentine Butsch. The corner stone was laid in August, 1857, and it was completed and opened in September, 1858, at a cost of \$60,000. The lower story was occupied by business rooms, and the theater above seated about 1,500. It is remembered as one of the best built theaters for the accommodation of the audience that Indianapolis ever had, for every seat gave a view of the stage and of most of the house. The scenery was composed of flats, the first ever used in Indianapolis. The drop curtain was a copy of one of the series of Cole's "Voyage of Life," painted by Samuel W. Galick, the scene painter of the theater. The formal opening was on September 27, with E. T. Sherlock of Detroit as lessee and manager. He had, or at least advertised, a stock company of 22 members, headed by H. M. Gossin, "the talented young tragedian", with Mlle. Haydee, a danseuse, as a striking final. The opening play was "Love's Sacrifice," with Gossin as "Matthew Elmore," Mrs. Van Deering as "Margaret," W. H. Lenke as "Paul Laforte", Mary McWilliams as "Helen," and H. B. Copeland as "Modus." Before the play a very good dedicatory poem, written by Gossin, was recited by Mrs. Van Deering.

On the second night the Keller troupe of living picture artists, "60 in number," appeared as the special attraction, the stock company also giving "the scriptural drama 'Azazel, the Prodigal Son.'" It was here that Sherlock's

troubles began. That morning "Old Subscriber" appeared with a letter to the *Journal* with a request to publish an inclosed editorial from the Cincinnati *Gazette*, which the *Journal* did. The *Gazette* stated that in Cincinnati the Kellers had "introduced into one of their Tableaux on Saturday night an attempt at the representation of God," which it denounced as "impious and blasphemous." This looked very bad, but it turned out well for the theater, for on the 29th the *Journal* published a second article from the *Gazette* explaining that the character referred to was not intended to represent God, but "was meant for Adam"; and the reaction carried the Kellers to favor. That night the audience called for Keller, and he made a speech in which he "invited everybody, and particularly 'Old Subscriber,' to come the next evening and witness his mythological and sacred representations." On September 30, the *Journal* waxed enthusiastic, and declared that "Nothing in Indianapolis ever equaled the 'living pictures' exhibited by this troupe"; and on October 1, after they left, it said, "No troupe has ever contributed more in one brief stay, to the entertainment of the people of Indianapolis."

But the triumph was short-lived. Three weeks later came J. H. Hackett, the great "Falstaff," as a star. For an after-piece was put on a new and rather broad farce called "The Lilywhites," from the name of the leading characters in it. This shocked the local editor of the *Journal*, who gave it a column roast, declaring the farce "immoral, obscene, disgusting," and saying: "A theater will always exist in Indianapolis. It has languished because the gross, and not the refined taste, was catered to by our dramatic managers." At the same time Sherlock managed to get mixed up in a tilt that was going on between the local editors of the *Sentinel* and the *Citizen*—an afternoon paper—as to the merits of their respective dramatic criticisms, and on October 28 the *Sentinel* local said: "Mr. E. T. Sherlock, the manager of the *Metropolitan*, is an accomplished gentleman. He called us a fool yesterday. We would not condescend to return the compliment. He evidently meant it for the editor of the *Citizen*." Several days passed before the relations of the theater and the papers was restored to an amicable basis.

Some very good attractions were brought

here by Sherlock, among them Sallie St. Clair, Dora Shaw, the Florences, J. B. Roberts, W. J. Wallack, Mrs. Charles Howard and Harry Watkins, Eliza Logan, the Chapmans, and the Wallers. In March, 1859, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was put on, with little Mary McVicker (afterwards Mrs. Edwin Booth) as Eva. Then the season closed with the Cooper Opera Company, in the first real presentation of opera that Indianapolis ever had. But it was not a paying season. Sherlock's offer to give a benefit to the Widows' and Orphans' Society, and its chilly refusal will be found fully recounted in the chapter, "The Social Swirl." He left Indianapolis with well developed symptoms of disgust, and leaving unpaid a generous portion of the rent for the theater. Harry Chapman then took a lease on the building, but his season was very brief, and even more disastrous than Sherlock's. As a result of the two experiences Mr. Butsch became quite discouraged with that system, and declined to make any further leases of the theater.

Sherlock's offer to give a benefit for the Widows' and Orphans' Society, which was refused on moral grounds, and the controversy following it, showed that the feeling against the theater was still strong, and Butsch tried to avoid it in 1859. He changed the name of the building to Metropolitan Hall, and, securing Austin H. Brown as treasurer and assistant manager, dropped the stock company, rented to such shows as came, political conventions, and other gatherings. In the fall of 1860 he switched back to the Metropolitan Theater, engaged a stock company and resumed business, with John A. Ellsler, father of Ellie Ellsler, as manager. There was a predominance of spectacular shows that season, such as "The Naiad Queen," and "Aladdin," the most popular production being "The Sea of Ice," in which little Ellie Ellsler appeared as the child. The season was not very remunerative, and Ellsler retired in April, and was succeeded by Felix A. Vincent as manager.

On March 7, 1861, the "Holman Comique Parlor Opera Troupe" made its first appearance in the North, after a disastrous tour in the Southern states, which they were practically forced to leave on account of the existing hostility to "Yankees," although they al-

ways sang "Dixie" at their concerts. The chief attractions of the troupe were the four Holman children, who were quite talented both as singers and as actors. Austin H. Brown took them out on a tour of Indiana and Ohio, landing at Cincinnati on April 11. They had a good house that night, but on the next day came the news of the attack on Fort Sumter, and that night there were not a dozen people in the house. The engagement was cancelled and the Holmans went to their home in Canada. They were in Indianapolis three or four years later as a juvenile opera company, and with them were William H. Crane, later the celebrated comedian, and John Chatterton, later noted as a tenor singer under the stage name of Signor Perugini. This company gave "The Bohemian Girl" and operas of that class. In passing may be noted a peculiarity of George Holman, father of the children and head of the troupe, mentioned by Mr. Brown. He always carried a shotgun, and when within ten miles or so of an objective point on their tours, he would leave the train and walk in, picking up what game he could on the way.

Although the war put a damper on theatricals for a short time, it was the making of the Metropolitan. The legislature met in special session on April 24, 1861, on call of Governor Morton, and by that time the town was filling with volunteers. The Metropolitan had been closed for the season before the news came on April 12 of the attack on Fort Sumter, and the first entertainment in it thereafter was a concert on April 17 by Mme. Ines Fabbri, who took the city by storm by singing "The Star Spangled Banner," in the costume of the Goddess of Liberty, and received the most gorgeous press notices that had been given to anyone that year. The stock company was hurried back and the theater was reopened on April 25 for "a short season," which extended to the second week in June. The leading lady was Marian Macarthy, a clever actress and a very good vocalist, who was here for some time afterwards. She became insane, and died here. She was on the program every night for patriotic songs, "Hail Columbia," "The Red, White and Blue," "The Union Marsellaise," a new song, and most of all "The Star Spangled Banner." The theater was filled with soldiers, and enthusiastic townsmen who went wild in

their patriotic demonstrations night after night when she sang. Women waved their handkerchiefs, and men stood up, threw their hats in the air, and shouted until they were hoarse. On April 29 the officers of the Eighth Regiment gave her a public invitation to visit their camp, and tendered her a benefit, which was given on May 1. After that spring there was never any hostile criticism of the theater, as an institution, in the Indianapolis papers.

Vincent was manager of the Metropolitan until 1863, when he was succeeded by Wm. H. Riley, who remained till 1866, and then went to New Orleans to take charge of the St. Charles theater. He died shortly afterwards, and his remains were brought here and buried with Masonic honors. He and his wife played leading parts in the stock company, and he was very popular in all capacities. In the winter of 1867-8 Matt V. Lingham was manager. He married Kate Fletcher, who had made her first appearance as a child on the Metropolitan stage as "The Cricket" with Couldock in "The Cricket on the Hearth." She became a noted actress and appeared as leading lady with Joe Jefferson, Barry Sullivan, Frank Mayo, Edwin Booth, Lawrence Barrett, James O'Neill, E. L. Davenport, Dion Boucicault and others. The spring season of 1868 at the Metropolitan was managed by Charles L. Pope, and that was the close of "the old stock company days," and of the Metropolitan as a "legitimate," for a long time. It had a great career for a decade. All of the great stars named above appeared there, and all others who had any celebrity at that period—Junius and J. Wilkes Booth, Forrest, Hackett, the Chanfrons, the Couldocks, the Wallers, Charlotte Thompson, Matilda Heron, Lucille Western, John Brongham, and Lotta. It had a first-class stock company, too, with Kate Fletcher, Old White and wife, Mr. and Mrs. Hodges. It had good scene painters in Samuel Gulick, and later T. B. Glossing. Even its bill poster will be remembered by the theater-goers of those days, for confronting them on the drop curtain were the lines:

"Dishon brothers,
And no others,
Go forth in haste
With bills and paste,
And proclaim to all creation,

That men are wise
Who advertise
In the present generation."

The reason of the close of the Metropolitan as a stock company was the opening of the Academy of Music. In 1868 Mr. Butsch became convinced that the Metropolitan was not adequate to the demands of the city. He therefore bought an incomplete building—stopped at one story—known as Miller's Block, at the southeast corner of Illinois and Ohio streets, and finished it as a theater. It had originally been intended for a theater when started by Dr. T. B. Miller in 1865, but he did not have means to complete it. Mr. Butsch bought it for \$10,000 and expended \$113,000 in finishing it as a theater. And a very satisfactory theater it was, seating about 2,500, with a row of dress boxes between the parquet and the dress-circle, and two galleries, the upper one a freedmen's bureau. The stock company was transferred to it, under the management of W. H. Leake, who had been with Sherlock's company; and the Academy was formally opened on September 21, 1868, with "The School for Scandal," by the company. Before the play Mr. Leake made a little address, and his wife, "Miss Anna Waite," read a dedicatory poem, by Miss Laura Ream.⁷ All of the best attractions of the time appeared there until it was destroyed by fire on January 27, 1877, and quite a number of attractions that were very commonplace. Mr. Leake leased the building in 1869, and again in 1870, with James Dickson as a partner. In 1874, Col. Nicholas Ruckle bought it for \$140,000, and spent \$20,000 in redecorating. Barney Macauley ran it in 1875, with Gen. Dan Macauley as manager. Dickson & Losey had the lease in 1877, when the building burned.

One of the never-to-be-forgotten events of its history was not on the program. The play was "Under the Gaslight," a popular sensational drama, in which the hero, a one-armed soldier, is waylaid by the villain at a lonely railroad station, bound hand and foot, and placed on a railroad track to be run over by the lightning express. Providentially, the heroine has been locked up over night in the tool-house, and, grasping the situation, she

knocks the door open with an ax, and drags the hero from danger just as the lightning express is whirled past by the active supernumeraries. There was in the audience, which was not excessive, a country visitor who was so excited over the play that he got to attracting more attention than the play itself from those in his vicinity. As the play approached the climax, and the hero came strolling on towards the station, looking in every direction but that of the canvas tree behind which the villain was visibly concealed, tortured nature could endure no more, and rising from his seat the rural philanthropist yelled in stentorian tones, "Hey! you d——d fool! Don't you see that feller behind that tree?"

Participation by the audience was not so unusual in those days at the Metropolitan, which had been bought by Dillard Ricketts, and leased to Simon McCarty, who made a variety theater of it. It was a very mildly naughty variety, though there was a wine-room attachment, and it was much frequented by the young bloods of the town, who put in a large amount of their spare time in studying up practical jokes. One of their great successes was tossing a handsome bouquet on the stage to a young woman who did operatic songs, with great satisfaction to herself. She reached for it, and it moved away. She made a second effort before she realized that there was a string to it; and then she retired, overwhelmed by the tumultuous applause of the audience. On another night one of the boys came in alone, and the night being rainy, and the parquet sparsely inhabited, he was rather a conspicuous figure in the lower right hand corner, where "the gang" usually congregated. An artist came on with a song, "I See a Young Man Sitting There," in which she avowed her affection for the person indicated, to the great entertainment of the rest of the audience. She took the lone youth for her victim, and he, with much evidence of alarm, raised his umbrella and held it between them, occasionally peering out to see what was threatening him. She tried to go on, amid the whoops and laughter of the audience, but finally melted into tears and flowed off the stage.

In 1879 the "Met." was taken by James B. Dickson, who renovated and redecored it and opened it as a high grade theater on September 19, with Joe Jefferson as the attraction.

⁷*Sentinel*, September 22, 1868.



(W. H. Ross Photo Company.)

MURAT TEMPLE.
(The Latest Theatre.)

The name was then changed to the New Park Theater, and it has been the Park ever since, except for a period after 1886, when George Dickson and Henry Talbott formed their partnership. They leased the theater that year, bought it in 1887, and leased it to S. J. Sackett, who opened it as "The Dime Museum," and later called it the Eden Musee, and "Park Theater and Eden Musee." The building burned on March 7, 1897, and the present Park Theater was at once built in its place. It is still owned by Dickson & Talbott—George Dickson, who died July 27, 1903, being succeeded by his son, Fred C. Dickson—and is operated as a "combination theater," *i. e.*, traveling troupes play there on percentages.

The Academy of Music was not rebuilt as a theater, because in the hard times then in progress there were enough theaters without it. In 1875 the Dickson Grand Opera House had been erected at its present location and had become a popular theater from the start. It was opened on September 13, 1875, by a stock company with W. H. Leake as manager. Mr. Leake made an opening address in which he recalled that he had also spoken the first words from the stages of the Metropolitan in 1858 and the Academy of Music in 1868.* The opening play was "Love's Sacrifice," with Annie Waite (Mrs. Leake) as "Margaret Elmore." Both the Grand and the Park were run as legitimate combination houses after both came under the Dickson control in 1879.

In March, 1880, Wm. H. English announced his intention of building a first-class theater, which struck the community as so ill-advised that the *Herald* printed a two-column article advising him not to do it.⁹ However, Mr. English persisted, and on September 27, 1880, English's Opera House was opened, the play being "Hamlet," with Lawrence Barrett in the title role. The theater was managed by Wm. E. English till the close of the season of 1885-6, when it was leased to Dickson & Talbott, and they controlled all of the theaters in the city.

The first amateur theatrical society after the Thespians that attracted public notice was the one formed in 1864 as a war measure, in aid of the Sanitary Fair, which is described in the

**Journal*, September 14, 1875.

⁹*Herald*, March 13, 1880.

chapter entitled "The Social Swirl." In 1872 there came another, which seems to have had a rather informal formal organization, as appears from the following, the first part in the handwriting of Austin H. Brown, and the signatures original, all on detached leaves of a pocket note-book:

"ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE
INDIANAPOLIS DRAMATIC SOCIETY.

"INDIANAPOLIS, Nov. 19, 1872.

"The undersigned hereby agree to associate themselves together for the purpose of reading, rehearsing and playing comedies and dramatic plays for mutual improvement and entertainment, and to be governed by rules and regulations to be hereafter agreed upon.

| LADIES' NAMES | GENTLEMEN'S NAMES |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| Mary F. Tousey | M. H. McKay |
| Ida C. Dodd | Austin H. Brown |
| Kate Tousey | John W. Jones |
| Mrs. John W. Jones | E. W. Pollard |
| Mrs. Lida Talbott | Charles H. Talbott |
| Mrs. Upton Hammond | James Slaughter |
| Mrs. James Broadbent | Frank L. Bixby |
| Mrs. F. R. Rowley | F. R. Rowley |
| Mrs. L. D. Sherwood | Dan Macauley |
| Miss Fannie Wilder | H. L. Nelson |
| Mrs. Sallie Hildebrand | F. P. Wade." |

This association, with a number of other members added later, gave plays for the next five years, usually for some charitable object, and mostly at the Academy of Music, their first appearance there being on Thanksgiving night, November 29, 1873, for the benefit of the poor, when they gave "Married Life" and "Poor Pilleoddy." Among the additional members who appeared at various times may be named Harry Palmer, Will S. Otwell, Jacob W. Smith, L. D. McLain, Mrs. Julia Otis and her daughter, Elita Proctor Otis, Mrs. Augusta Hays and Mary H. Kront. Mrs. Coleman Pope appeared once, in an emergency, playing "Mrs. Dove" to Austin H. Brown's "Mr. Dove" in "Married Life."

Mrs. Coleman Pope was an old-time actress and a very estimable lady, who located in Indianapolis. She had appeared as a star at the Athenaeum, and later with the Stock Company at the Metropolitan. On June 22, 1877, she was given a benefit at the Grand, which was one of the memorable events in Indianap-

olis theatricals. The Dramatic Society gave the old play, "The Rendezvous"—masquerading under the title of "Love in All Corners"—with Austin H. Brown as "Simon Quake." There were several other numbers. Mrs. Pope recited; M. H. Spades gave a violin solo; Jud Colgan did "The Whistling Story," at which no one ever excelled him; but what made the evening memorable was a cornet solo by Athlick Smith, with entirely unexpected accompaniments. He was to play "The Carnival of Venice" with bass variations, but some disorder overtook his cornet, and the bass would not work. He went through a strain of the Carnival smoothly enough, and then came a series of erratic squawks that caused a general titter; then another strain, more and wilder squawks, and much laughter; another strain, more squawks, and howls and shrieks of mirth. Never was an audience so convulsed; and when one got his face straightened and the tears wiped away, a glance at that stout, red-faced German, solemnly trying to extract harmony from that perverse instrument, would set him off in another fit. Finally Mr. Smith gave it up, the audience hushing to hear him explain: "Gentlemen and Ladies, I dond know vots de matter, but I can do it. If you appoint a committee, I do it before dem." Then everybody felt sorry for him, and called him back to give him a chance at something else; but he undertook "Annie Laurie," all in the bass, on the same cornet, and the last end of that man was worse than the first. The audience went off again; and when he finally suspended it was weak and exhausted, gasping for breath.

I think Austin H. Brown was the moving spirit of the Dramatic Society, for it suspended about the time he became a Scottish Rite Mason, in March, 1878; and the Dramatic, Literary and Musical Association of the Scottish Rite was organized in October, 1878, Mr. Brown being one of its most regular and popular performers almost to the time of his death, in January 1, 1903. He had three ruling passions, theatricals, politics and public schools, and he was really a public benefactor in all of them. He held several offices, but none that was not well administered. His work for the schools was long and self-sacrificing, and it is very justly commemorated by naming one of the buildings for him. For fifty years he was in closer touch with professional and amateur

theatricals than any man in Indianapolis, and it may be worth while to give here one of his brief reflections on the subject. He says: "Very few sensible persons who engage in private theatricals to entertain their friends at home ever get so carried away as to attempt to enter the regular profession. In conclusion I wish to say that since I first took a fancy to amateur acting, I never had a wish to become a professional, or any other thought than to please my audiences. The life of a professional is a hard one, and in but few cases a profitable one pecuniarily, and my advice to the ambitious is to 'avoid it altogether.'"

Old Sol Smith, who may be accounted the first Indiana actor, took a rather more pessimistic view of amateurs. He said: "I never knew any good to come from Thespian societies; and I have known them to be productive of much harm. Performing a character with success (and Thespians are always successful) inevitably begets in a performer a desire for an enlarged sphere of action. If he can please his townsmen and friends, why should he not delight a metropolitan audience? He becomes dissatisfied with his profession or business, whatever it may be, applies to a manager for a first appearance in a regular theater—appears—fails—takes to drink, and is ruined".¹⁹ That is a rather gloomy view; but there have been a number of Indianapolis amateurs who went on the stage, and none of them made any notable success. And then the stage is a relentless leveler. I was on the *Denver Tribune* in 1881 when Robson & Crane came there for a week's stay. Eugene Field, the managing editor, detailed me to get a story each day from some member of the troupe, which was not hard, as they had some interesting people. Among them were two Indianapolis people—Mattie Ferguson, who made her first appearance in the exclusive Southern Club, and Al Lipman, for years a stock actor at "The Met." I was behind the scenes often, and saw the absolute level of their professional lives; and I could but wonder how long it would have been before they could ever have met at the Southern Club.

It is a notable fact that no one has gone to the professional stage from The Dramatic Club,

¹⁹*Theatrical Management in the West and South*, etc., p. 22.

which is now in its twentieth year, holding the record for longest existence of amateur organizations, of which there have been more than a score in the past forty years. This is probably due to its social character. It originated with a group of young ladies, who got up a play for their own amusement, no gentlemen taking part and none admitted; and who had so much fun at it that they organized a club on that basis. Very soon a change came, on account of an accident. The moustache of a player who was taking a masculine part fell off in her tea-cup while doing a difficult eating act, and the club decided that it must have members whose hair would stay on. Men were then admitted, and the new organization opened with a business meeting which was made historical by the report of the secretary-treasurer that "all the money paid in for dues had been expended, but that there was \$9 in the treasury for which she was unable to account."

The Dramatic Club opened its first season on the reorganized basis, 1890-1, with the play of "Engaged" at the residence of J. H. Baldwin, with Carrie Farquhar as "Belinda," Margaret Baldwin as "Maggie," Claire Shover as "Parker," Carrie Malott as "Mrs. McFarlane," Belle Baldwin as "Minnie Sympherson," Booth Tarkington as "Cheviot Hill," Horace Hood as "Belvawney," Will J. Brown as "Macalister" and Laz Noble as "Major McGillicuddy." It was unanimously voted great fun, and before the winter the club had grown beyond private residence capacity, and moved into the Propylaeum, where it has since remained except for occasional sallies. The social features of the organization have predominated, and it has always been a "good-time club." This fact, coupled with its critical abilities, has no doubt repressed the tendency to professionalism. The club has always been composed of theater-goers whose critical faculties were highly developed; and the few players who took themselves seriously were lucky to escape open guying—unique if they missed absentee grilling.

The Grand, English's and the Park continued the only theaters of Indianapolis until 1907—or rather the only decent theaters. The city was not without its temple of dramatic obscenity after 1869, when the first one was

opened on Court street between Delaware and Pennsylvania. This was later removed to "The Exchange" building on Illinois street, known as a gambling house, and remained there till March 7, 1871, when the Y. M. C. A. secured the building and converted the hall into a gymnasium. It has had several successors, the longest-lived being the Empire, which was built in 1892.

In 1907 Volney T. Malott decided to build a hotel on his property on South Illinois street, between Maryland and Georgia streets, and in the development of the plans concluded to construct a theater in connection with it; hence the Majestic was built, the entire construction costing about \$250,000. The Majestic was opened on September 2, 1907, with vaudeville, the Avenue Stock Company coming on October 7 for three weeks till the regular Majestic Stock Company was ready. The Majestic Stock Company opened on October 21, with "The Cherry Pickers," and has since held the boards in a very satisfactory way. Both the Majestic and the Grand are now operated by the Anderson, Ziegler Co. as vaudeville theaters.

In the summer of 1909 the Colonial Theater was built at the corner of Illinois and Ohio streets. There is a hotel in connection which was still in process of construction at the close of the year. The theater is a very neat one, seating about 1,400, and is devoted to vaudeville. It is operated by the Colonial Theater Company. A very handsome theater was begun in 1909 by the Mystic Shrine in connection with their new temple at Michigan and New Jersey streets. It was opened on February 28, 1910. It is a fireproof building, of concrete and steel construction, with brick and terra cotta facing, to cost \$365,000. It may be noted that the architect of the Metropolitan—the first theater in Indianapolis—was D. A. Bohlen, and the architect of The Murat—the latest one—is his son, Oscar D. Bohlen. The seating capacity is 2,000; and it is controlled by the "Sam and Lee Shubert, incorporated," syndicate, English's being controlled by the "Klaw and Erlanger" syndicate. With the Park conducted by Dickson & Talbott as a combination house, there will be an opening for any actor or troupe of merit that desires to appear in Indianapolis.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE FINE ARTS.

All of the known stages of the development of the fine arts were experienced in Indianapolis. In the primitive stage, art was not exactly devoted to the gods, but it was specially associated with libations, being confined to the painting of signs for taverns by Samuel S. Rooker, who came here in 1821, from Tennessee, and began business as a house and sign painter. Tradition is not flattering to Mr. Rooker's art. His orthography was unquestionably weak, and his pictures lacked definiteness. It was commonly asserted that the lion which he painted for a tavern-keeper on the national road was in reality a prairie wolf; and that the eagle which he painted for Hawkins' tavern was in fact a turkey-buzzard. But his most notable effort was "General Lafayette in full uniform," which he executed for Major Belles, who had a tavern six miles southeast of the town, on the Michigan road. In this portrait "Sammy" omitted the portions of the legs that usually occur between the knees and the ankles, and attached the feet at the knee joints. The unlearned pioneers had a theory that he started out to make a full length portrait, but, after finishing the head and body, found that there was not room enough for the natural expanse of legs, and therefore cut his picture to fit his signboard; but of course could not grasp the artistic tribute of representing Lafayette as a soldier who simply could not run. A later and more enlightened generation will at least concede the bold originality of his work, and may perhaps rank his anatomical production with the satyrs, centaurs, cherubs, mermaids, etc., of ancient art.

The next step was the advent of the peripatetic portrait painter. The fact that M. G. Rogers "offered his services to the inhabitants of Indianapolis as a portrait painter"¹ in 1831

was noted by Brown,² who says he was "the first portrait painter here." This was followed by Holloway³ and Sulgrove;⁴ but there was an earlier than Rogers. In March, 1828, R. Terrell informed "the citizens of Indianapolis that he is prepared to take the portraits of those who are willing to encourage the fine arts;" and invited inspection of his work at the senate chamber. He added: "He will also execute the followings kinds of paintings in a superior style: Signs for Public Houses, Stores, Shops, or Regimental and Company Colours, together with all kinds of oil gilding and fancy painting".⁵ But these early visitors have dropped out of memory with all their works; and so has the man who appears to have been the pioneer home artist. On December 2, 1837, the *Journal* published an anonymous communication complimenting the portrait painting of "Mr. Ephraim Brown, Portrait Painter of this Place"; and adding: "He has a particular claim upon the favor of the people of this place and this state. In Indianapolis he first commenced, and here he has lived, and, by the force of his own industry and genius, advanced until we have high reason to be proud of him. Let not the people of Indiana fail to encourage the genius of her own soil." But ungrateful Indiana was unmindful of this plea, and tradition does not even tell who Ephraim Brown was. He did not belong to any of the well known families of Browns that were here at the time. The only trace I find of his work is this manuscript note by the late Louis Gibson: "Mr. Ephraim Brown became acquainted with Mr.

¹*History*, p. 22.

²*History*, p. 43.

³*History*, p. 266.

⁴*Journal*, March 27, 1828.

⁵*Journal*, February 2, 1831.

Cox in 1838. He determined to become an artist, studied with Mr. Cox for a time, and afterwards went to Cincinnati, returning to open a studio. He painted portraits of Robert Dale Owen, Thomas Dowling, Hon. A. L. Chamberlain, and other prominent persons of this state."

But the era of the known was at hand. In 1832 Jacob Cox and his brother Charles came to Indianapolis—by boat from Pittsburg to Cincinnati, and thence on foot. Jacob's wife followed a week later by conveyance, and also a stock of tinware and hardware with which the brothers went into business. A younger brother, David, a coppersmith, located here later. Jacob Cox was born in 1810. When he was eight years old his mother was drowned in the Delaware River by the upsetting of a ferry-boat, and two years later his father was drowned in Mobile Bay by the sinking of the vessel on which he was a passenger in a storm. Jacob then went to live with his grandfather and a maiden aunt at Washington, Pennsylvania. Here his art proclivities were manifested in various charcoal sketches on fences, boxes, barns and other possible places for which he was at intervals punished by his unappreciative relatives. At 16 he was bound to a tinner and duly served out his apprenticeship. The Cox brothers' tinshop was on Washington street, where the Bobbs-Merrill establishment now is, and while the boys did a thriving business Jacob still clung to his art tastes. He procured books on painting and practiced it at odd times until 1842, when he went for a short time to Cincinnati and opened a studio with Dr. John G. Dunn, a son of Geo. H. Dunn, Treasurer of State. John Gibson Dunn was an erratic genius who attracted attention by a scheme for lighting the city by one great light placed on an elevation. He was a physician by profession, and wrote poetry of a very fair quality.⁶ His most noted art work was a temperance picture, preserved in the Kiersted family, representing a man hesitating, with pen in hand and the pledge before him, his wife on one side urging him on, while Satan on the other offers him the glass. Cox returned to Indianapolis and resumed the tinshop, with occasional painting until January,

1844, when this notice appeared in the *Journal*, "Jacob Cox, Portrait Painter; room on Washington street, opposite post office, where all are invited to call and examine his specimens of art." This room was in the building just west of the Chas. Mayer establishment, second floor, back, and it was the headquarters for art in Indianapolis for a number of years, as was also his later studio on the third floor of the Talbott & New building, just south of the American National Bank. It was the school for the art students of that period, and the resort for the children of Bohemia who got into this vicinity.

On February 19, 1853, the *Journal*, in an explosively complimentary editorial on Mr. Henry W. Waugh, "the artist actor" who was then performing at Robinson's Athenaeum, gives a glimpse of local art conditions in this: "We could and should have too an Academy of Arts. We have in our old citizen, Mr. Cox, it is generally conceded, one of the very best artists, both in portrait and landscape, known in the West. * * * Elliott, the best portrait painter of Cincinnati, when a ragged boy in our streets, was taken in and received all his instructions from Cox. Mr. C. has three other students at present, one of whom, a young gentleman from Madison, has already got up several landscapes which do credit to him, and if he but persevere, the people of Indiana may ere long be proud of him. Another Indianian, a young Mr. H.⁷ has in progress in this city a temperance panorama. The artist has chosen a wide field for his genius and we trust he may succeed. * * * But we commenced this article to speak of an accomplished actor, artist and gentleman who is now personating various characters at Robinson's Athenaeum, Washington Hall. We refer to Henry W. Waugh, who is not only a good actor, but (as evidenced by specimens of landscape on exhibition at Jones' Music Store and by the excellent scenery used at the Athenaeum from his pencil), an artist of no mean talents. He is of a race of artists. It was his uncle who painted Waugh's Panorama of Italy, a work which we are told by those who have witnessed it is a perfect mirror of the lovely scenes and important views of that classic land."

Harris' panorama was exhibited in Septem-

⁶*Coggeshall's Poets and Poetry of the West*, p. 537.

⁷J. F. Harris.

ber, 1853, and was so great a success that Cox and Waugh also painted a temperance panorama that was presented to the public the next year.⁸ In the summer of 1853, Harris was commissioned to paint a banner for Indiana to mark her space at the "Crystal Palace" world's fair at New York in that year. It was "a silk banner four feet square, with the state seal painted on it".⁹ The climax in panoramas was reached at the beginning of June, 1860, when the papers announced at College hall the panorama of "Kansas City and Harper's Ferry"—the life of John Brown—painted by Aurelius Smith, a boy 12 years of age. The papers praised it highly, too, and predicted a great future for the artist. It is a remarkable fact that this panorama of 37 views, each 6x9 feet, was not only painted by a boy of 12 years, but by one that had never had any instruction. He was a native of Indianapolis, a son of Isaac Smith, a printer by trade, sometime editor of the *Sentinel*, and a member of the legislature of 1851. The panorama was exhibited in various parts of the state to admiring audiences, but art was not for Aurelius. He went out with the Sixth Regiment when it reorganized after the three-months' service, in the capacity of a fifer, and served for two years and a half, when he was forced to quit on account of wounds received at Chickamauga. He is well known in Indianapolis as a salesman for the Sentinel Printing Company.

That Henry Waugh was a sort of universal genius may be inferred from this extract of a notice in the *Journal* of March 3, 1853: "Mr. W. will paint a picture on the stage to music, in ten minutes. This feat has never yet been performed by any other person. A new drop curtain painted by Mr. Waugh will be used tonight for the first time." Tradition records that he usually passed his summers as a clown in Dan Rice's circus, under the name of Dilly Fay, but he was a bright fellow, and had a college education. The Harris panorama of "The Mirror of Intemperance" was an imposing work, starting out with "The Morning of Life" and following the innocent boy on down to a drunkard's grave.¹⁰ That of Cox and

Waugh was localized to the extent of working in a picture of the "Governor's Mansion".

But there were other artists worthy of note prior to this call of the *Journal* for an Academy of Art, the most notable being the first native artist, James Bolivar Dunlap, who was born in Indianapolis May 7, 1825. He and Dr. John Dunlap were children of Dr. Livingston Dunlap, by his first wife, and were notably intelligent and popular men. "Jim", as popularly known to old residents, had all sorts of artistic talent, almost wholly self-developed. He was especially clever in pencil and pen-and-ink work, and would have become famous as a cartoonist in encouraging surroundings. In June, 1851, original cartoons, evidently his work, began to appear in the *Locomotive*, and on August 23, 1851, the *Locomotive* said: "We can recommend any person wanting any wood engraving, or designing, to James Dunlap, of our city. For a specimen of his work see the coffin and bier in the advertisement of Filer & Co." A little later a regular advertisement appeared: "J. B. Dunlap, designer and engraver on wood. Also drafting of patents and machinery. Office over Wm. Smith's clothing store, one door east of the Wright House".¹¹ This continued for some months, but there was no noticeable increase in advertising cuts in the papers, and this part of the venture was probably not successful. Later, Dunlap did some very excellent portrait painting, and also undertook sculpture. His best work in this line was a bust of Capt. John A. Sutter, the man on whose land gold was discovered in California, which is preserved in the State Library. This was made in California, whither Dunlap went in hope of relief from tuberculosis, from which he had suffered for several years.¹² His effort was in vain, and he returned here to fall a victim to the great white plague on September 1, 1861, widely and sincerely lamented.

The bust of Sutter in the State Library was originally white, but in the progress of civilization its nose got smutted, and a lady librarian with an instinct for cleanliness, not being able to remove the stain, had it bronzed. There is another bit of sculpture in the State Library of some interest. It is a medallion bas relief of Lincoln, done by Louis Henri Reed, a

⁸*Locomotive*, September 17, 1853; *Journal*, June 1, 3, 1854.

⁹*Sentinel*, July 15, 1853.

¹⁰*Journal*, April 3, 1853.

¹¹*Locomotive*, March 6, 1852.

¹²*Locomotive*, April 8, 1854.



MR. CHINN.



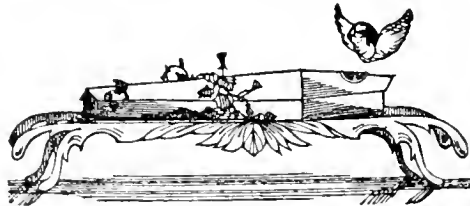
RALPH FULK.



BILL WARREN.



BUST OF SUTTER.



J. B. FITLER & CO.,
 [SUCCESSOR TO JOSEPH I. STRETCHER,]
Undertakers and Coffin-Makers,
And Manufacturers of every Kind and Quality of
 HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE,
 Indianapolis, Indiana.

(Some of J. B. Dunlap's Work.)

son of Enos B. Reed, publisher of the *People*. It was made from a death mask of Lincoln, taken when he lay in state in the capitol, in April, 1865. Reed was a nephew of B. K. Foster, who was State Librarian and custodian of the building, and obtained the privilege through him. Reproductions of some of Dunlap's other work are given herewith, including the advertising wood cut for Fidler & Co. The others are pencil sketches of local notables of an early day. Bill Warren was a ne'er-do-well character who had his arms blown off by a cannon while aiding in firing a salute to the militia company that was about to depart for the Blackhawk war, in 1832. This was the only casualty to the Indianapolis forces in that war, and Warren did not really belong to them, but had temporarily left the prosaic job of digging a cellar to aid in the patriotic demonstration. Representative Geo. L. Kinnard succeeded, however, in getting a pension for him, and he lived on as a veteran. Ralph Fulks was a local "scrapper" of early days, who spent most of his spare time fighting and, according to tradition, was never whipped. Slim and ungainly, resenting anything that could be construed into an affront, he was a terror to the country for miles around. Thomas Chim was notable as the first man who brought any fine breeds of horses and cattle to the region, and also for the great wedding he gave to his daughter Patsy, in 1822, when the dancing continued for two days and two nights.

There had also been some transient artists prior to 1853, and among these the one who later attained most distinction was Thomas Worthington Whittredge, the celebrated painter of American landscapes. He was here for a year as a young man, in the forties, coming from Cincinnati, where he had received his initiation in art. Mr. William Henry Fox, of the Indianapolis Art Institute, kindly furnishes the following extract from a letter of Mr. Whittredge to him concerning his recollection of his art experiences in Indianapolis.

Mr. Whittredge writes, under date of February 3, 1909: "I did live in Indianapolis about one year, but it was before 1858, when, as you say, was formed an Art Association in the town. I do not remember the Art Association, and think it must have come after I left Indianapolis. Still, as I am now a very old man (in my 88th year), and my memory

none of the best, I may not be correct as regards dates. I cannot recall that I ever sold any pictures to an Art Association in Indianapolis or sent any pictures there for exhibition or sale. I went to Indianapolis in the very first days of the Daguerrotype with a camera and plates to take Daguerrotypes. I had been a portrait painter. I took sick in Indianapolis, and this, together with the shimplaster state of our currency, soon brought me and my business to grief. I had known old Dr. Lyman Beecher of Cincinnati all my life, and all his family, and his son Henry Ward came to Indianapolis when I was there and began his preaching, and soon converted everybody in the town, myself among the number. I lay sick at Parker's Hotel for some time, when Henry Ward came for me in a carriage and took me home with him, and I lived in his family just one year, and as I had no money, and wanted to offer some reward for Henry's kindness, I painted his portrait, as well as the portraits of the whole Beecher family except Edward, who was away off in Chillicothe. Whatever became of those portraits, I don't know. A drawing by me of Mrs. Stowe belongs to one of her family in Simsbury, Connecticut, which is all I know of this work in Indiana. I left the country a few years afterwards (1849) and went to Europe, where I remained ten years, and then came home and established myself in New York, where I have lived ever since."

Soon after Whittredge left there appeared in Indianapolis another artist who later attained distinction, in the person of Joseph Orriel Eaton. He was born in Ohio, February 8, 1829, and when he came here was noted as one of the worst dressed young men about the place. He studied with Jacob Cox, and lived with Dr. Abner Pope, of whom he painted a portrait that attracted much admiration. He remained here for a year or two and then, in 1846, went to Cincinnati, where he remained till about the close of the Civil War. He then went to New York and became known as one of the best portrait and genre painters in the country. He visited Europe in 1873, and died at Yonkers, New York, February 7, 1875. When Eaton left Indianapolis for Cincinnati there went with him a deformed young fellow named William Miller, who had been here for some months, and was known as a very clever painter

of miniatures. He had Americanized his name, being a son of Gerhardt Mueller, a Munich art student, who came to Cincinnati in 1840 with Henry Koempel and opened a studio as historical painters. Much of their work is still to be seen in the old Catholic churches of Cincinnati. Indianapolis was in rather close touch with Cincinnati in art matters, and Mr. Cox always contributed paintings to the Western Art Union, which was organized in Cincinnati in 1846, and gave sale exhibitions for several years after.

The *Journal's* call for an Academy of Arts did not bring a ready response, but in 1856 the Indianapolis Art Society was organized, and for several years was an encouragement to local artists. The moving spirit in this was Herman Lieber, at whose book and art establishment the society's affairs were transacted. The members paid fixed dues, not very large, making a fund from which works of art, chiefly by local artists, were purchased; and these were then "drawn" by the members on a chaste lottery basis. Jacob Cox, Peter Fishbe Reed and J. F. Gookins were among the chief beneficiaries. Reed came here in 1859 and remained for three or four years, taking quite an active part in art life. He was born at Boston, May 5, 1819, and was an all-round genius. He said he started in life as a farmer, but had been "a shoemaker, house and sign painter, editor, doctor, photographer, music teacher, and am now an artist. * * * I hope some day to publish a little book of music. I have a work on Decorative Painting ready for the press. I have written a romance, and I look forward to a volume of poems".¹² An address of his on "The Importance of a More General Education in Literature and the Fine Arts" is still preserved.¹³ He was an ambitious artist, and one of his notable paintings was from Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, presenting the scene just before the passage of the River of Death, with the glories of the Eternal City in the background.¹⁴ And in this connection it may be noted that the common impression that the early painters confined themselves to portrait painting is entirely erroneous. They did a

great deal of landscape painting and "figure pieces". Their landscapes usually included figures of animals.

Gookins at that time was located at Terre Haute. He was a son of Samuel Barnes Gookins, a native of Vermont, who was one of the most prominent of the early newspaper men of Indiana, and later a judge of the Supreme Court. He kept up his literary work after he entered the law, and was one of the most forcible Indiana writers of his day.¹⁵ J. F. Gookins was born at Terre Haute in 1840, and took to art naturally. He was encouraged by Bayard Taylor, who saw promise in his early sketches, and advised his parents to educate him in art lines. His literary education was at Wabash College, and he enlisted from Crawfordsville in the Eleventh Indiana, but was forced to abandon military service by ill health. Later he studied painting with J. H. and J. C. Beard, the Cincinnati artists; had a studio for some time at Chicago; and made two trips through the far west with Walter Shirlaw, painting scenery. In 1877 he was associated with John Love in the establishment of the Indiana Art School, and, for two years, in its management. In 1883 he was appointed assistant commissioner to the Vienna Exposition, and wrote the report on art for the commission. After several years of study in Europe he returned to Chicago, where he was one of the directors of the Academy of Design. In 1887 he was elected Secretary by the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument Commission of Indiana, and rendered important service in shaping the policy of the commission in the erection of that notable monument.

Barton S. Hays came to Indianapolis in 1858. He was born at Greenville, Ohio, April 5, 1826, and was self-taught, getting numerous rebukes from his parents for wasting his time sketching on fences, buildings and other flat surfaces. When a young man he removed to Montgomery County, Indiana, residing for several years at Pleasant Hill (now Wingate). While there he painted two panoramas, one of the story of Uncle Tom's Cabin. Panoramas were among the most remunerative forms of work of Western artists of those times, because they were the "shows" most patronized

¹² *Coggeshall's Poets and Poetry of the West*, p. 413.

¹³ *Indiana School Journal*, Vol. 6, p. 343.

¹⁴ *Journal*, February 4, 1861.

¹⁵ Sketch in *Representative Men of Indiana*, Vol. 2.



W. M. CHASE'S FIRST "POT-BOILER."
(Crayon of Capt. Wallace Foster—the "Flag Man".)

by the moral and religious element of the period. On coming here he formed a partnership with William Rummion, and the firm of Hays & Rummion for several years conducted the principal Daguerrean establishment of the city in a building on the site of the present Fletcher National Bank. Hays remained here until 1882, when he removed to Minneapolis, and still follows his profession there. He was notable for his own work and also as being the first art instructor of Wm. M. Chase, of international fame, and of John Love, who played an important part in the later art development of Indianapolis.

William Merritt Chase was born at Nineveh, Indiana, November 1, 1849. He studied with Hays in 1868-9, and might be called a pupil of Cox also, for he spent much of his time in Cox's studio, and Chase had the faculty of absorbing what was beneficial everywhere. They were always warm friends. Chase always visited Cox when he came to Indianapolis, and Cox used often to say, "I am proud of William Chase—but he had it in him." But Chase's actual work here was done in the studio of Hays. He went from here to New York, taking letters of introduction to J. O. Eaton, who was then established there, and remained for two years, studying with Eaton, and in the school of the Academy of Design. In 1871 he went to St. Louis to practice his profession, but there, after a few months, he met John Mulvany, recently returned from Munich, and became convinced that there was more for him to learn. Friends aided him, and in 1872 he entered the Academy at Munich, and spent six years there. The Munich school was then transforming from the spirit of Cornelius, Kaulbach, and Piloty, and taking on the ideas of Dietz and Liebl. Chase soon became known as one of the most original of the young group, but his absorbent faculty caused him to get the good out of all schools, without holding to the bad, and he returned to America qualified for the achievement which has made him famous.¹⁷ The accompanying cut reproduces his first paid work. He had opened a studio in Talbot & News block, and Captain Foster,

who then had a gentleman's furnishing store on the first floor of the same building, gave him the commission that began his artistic career.

Among those who caught the inspiration to paint from Jacob Cox was young Lew Wallace, and he has left a pretty picture of his early visits to Cox's studio and his final emerging from it with various dabs of paint on a tin plate, with which he sought the recesses of the garret at home and opened a studio of his own. Says Wallace: "There I found myself in want of everything else needful, yet my ingenuity was equal to the trial. For brushes, I plucked hairs from the tail of a dog and tied them to a stick. On the floor of a wooden box I made a panel to receive the picture. Then came a loud demand for oil. The servant-girl was sick, and that morning the doctor had left some castor-oil, part of a prescription for her. I stole it; and, fearing the judgment usually attaching to such misdeeds, I pause to say that the patient recovered in despite. Finally, what should I paint? I chose a portrait of Black Hawk, the old chief with one eye, conspicuous in a book of Indians."¹⁸ But Mrs. Wallace discovered the home of art, and Governor Wallace gave fatherly admonition against wasting his time in such pursuits. General Wallace says this was not enough to destroy his aspirations until it was reinforced by a sound thrashing from his school teacher, whom he had portrayed with chalk on the school blackboard in a spirit of ridicule.¹⁹

But in reality General Wallace did not give up art work although he tells nothing more about it in his autobiography. He found recreation in painting in later years, and produced some very creditable canvases. Two of his paintings—"Over the Dead Line" and a portrait of Henry S. Lane—were shown at the Love and Gookins exhibit in May, 1878, which was a really remarkable collection of Indiana art. But of all his paintings the one that attracted greatest public notice was his

¹⁷He probably means the portrait of the Shawnee Prophet, in McKenney and Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes*, which was then in the State Library. He was the conspicuous one-eyed man portrayed. Black Hawk had a full set of optics.

¹⁸*Autobiography*, pp. 48-52.

¹⁷For sketches of Chase, in addition to Cyclopedias, see *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 78, p. 549; *Goddeys Ladies' Book*, Vol. 130, p. 291; *The Studio*, Vol. 21, p. 151.

Purple-winged Cupid,²⁰ which was exhibited in Indianapolis, and aroused the wrath of Alois E. Sinks. Sinks was a peculiar genius who came here in 1876 from New York as an artist and art critic. He was as genuine a bohemian as ever reached this place, and was a source of perpetual entertainment to John W. Love, who maintained that Sinks was out of his proper setting anywhere but in the Latin Quarter in Paris. He was born near Dayton, Ohio, October 5, 1848; and ran away from the farm to enter the Union army as a drummer boy. He rose to a position on General McConnell's staff, but was wounded and discharged before the close of the war. He then went to New York where he studied art, and did a good deal of literary work. In fact he wrote much better than he painted. His critiques were rather arrogant in style, and he had the community pretty thoroughly intimidated when he fell upon Wallace. The idea of a Cupid with purple wings! It was so preposterous, so utterly repugnant to any artistic or classical conception of the God of Love that words could hardly do justice to the incongruity. Wallace replied mildly, regretting that he had not had the advantage of Mr. Sinks' knowledge, and explaining that he had been misled by Milton's lines:

"Here Love his golden shafts employs, here
lights
His constant lamp, and waves his purple
wings,
Reigns here, and revels."²¹

That ended Sinks as an art critic, or rather helped to do so, for he was already a victim of intemperance, and died here July 3, 1881, from injuries sustained in falling from a second-story window.²²

The years 1869-70 were epochal in Indianapolis art. Governor Baker had some excellent ideas about the dignity of a state, and he got the legislature of 1869 to authorize him to secure "a true and life-like likeness of each of the Governors of the State and Territory, including the present incumbent," at a cost not

exceeding \$200 each.²³ There had been a Canadian painter, James Forbes, who visited Evansville, and painted a portrait of John B. Baker, brother of Governor Baker, and impressed the Governor with his ability as an artist. Nothing is known of Forbes here beyond his work, and the fact that he was a typical Englishman in appearance and dress. Governor Baker had Forbes paint his own portrait, and also the portraits of Governors Jennings, Whitecomb, Dunning, and Morton. The portrait of William Henry Harrison was painted by Barton S. Hays. Those of Governors Posey and Hammond were by John B. Hill of Indianapolis. Jacob Cox furnished the portraits of Governors Boone, Ray, Noble, Wallace, Bigger, Wright and Lane. The portrait of Governor Witlard is one that had been painted in 1857 by George W. Morrison, a New Albany artist. Of the portraits since Governor Baker's time, that of Governor Hendricks was painted by W. R. Freeman, a transient here in 1873-4, who stopped at the Bates House and painted several portraits of citizens. That of Governor Williams was painted by a Mr. Colcord—an unknown transient. Governors Gray, Porter, Hovey, Chase and Matthews are by T. C. Steele; and Governor Mount by James M. Dennis, formerly of Indianapolis, now of Detroit.

Mr. Cox continued painting up to the time of his death on January 4, 1892. In his later years his family had a little studio built for him adjoining their home on North Pennsylvania street.²⁴ This was the second building erected for a studio in Indianapolis. There were numerous pupils who had instruction from him at various times. Notable among them is Miss Margaret Rudisill, a native of Montgomery County, Indiana, who later studied seven years in Paris, under Thompson, Bougeureau, Fleury and Alfred Stevin. The care of an invalid mother has prevented Miss Rudisill from giving her full attention to her art, but the excellence of her work, which won her a place in the Paris salon, is seen in all her later paintings. Another pupil of Cox was India Underhill Kirkland—a daughter of Robert Underhill, the wealthy foundryman who

²⁰ Now owned by Mrs. W. A. Hughes, of Indianapolis.

²¹ *Paradise Lost*, Book 4, l. 764.

²² For sketch see *Herald*, July 9, 1881.

²³ *Acts Special Sess.*, 1869, p. 11.

²⁴ Now No. 962—residence of Dr. Henry Jameson.

lived where Shortridge High School now stands. On Cox's advice she turned her attention to modelling, and did some striking work. A bust of Oliver P. Morton by her was in the local art exhibit of 1903. She competed for the Morton monument in 1880, and her model was pronounced the best portrait of Morton in the lot by Jacob Cox and others, though the award went to Franklin Simmons. His work, now standing in Monument place, does not show the lionine character that was in Morton's face, and in Mrs. Kirkland's model. However, others need not complain, for the *Herald* at the time declared that Morton's spirit appeared at a local seance, and stated his perfect satisfaction with the monument, and also with the dedicatory exercises, "excepting Professor Ridpath's poem and Governor Porter's call for a rising vote."²⁵

Among Cox's pupils were two Indianapolis youngsters, later well known in local art circles. They were the children of John F. Hill, an old resident, of the early firm of Drum & Hill, and later a nurseryman and florist. Mary first took drawing lessons of Mrs. Talbott, wife of the Episcopalian rector, and, in 1875, at the age of nine, entered on a two years course with Mr. Cox. She then pursued her studies alone, and became an art teacher—better known by her married name, Mrs. M. H. Culbertson—in which she achieved, and is still achieving success. She went abroad in 1890 and pursued her art and music studies there. Her younger brother, John B. Hill, also took a brief course with Cox, but was largely self-instructed. He had a studio for some time in the old Talbott & New block, but was handicapped by ill-health, and died rather early. His work was largely of portraits. Among those preserved are portraits of Doctor Bobbs and Doctor Mears, and two of the governors. Another pupil of Cox, well known as a local teacher and artist, was Lotta Gullin. She was a Miss Hilliss, who came here to attend Northwestern Christian University. She married Henry Gullin, a promising young lawyer, but he fell a victim to drink, and she was obliged to obtain a divorce.²⁶ Her portrait work is prized for its fidelity.

An artist widely and favorably known in In-

dianapolis after the war was J. M. Dennis, now of Detroit, Michigan. In response to a request for some data as to his stay here, and earlier life, Mr. Dennis writes me: "I was born in Dublin, Indiana, in 1840, and was inclined to make pictures from boyhood. When about eighteen years old, I went to Cincinnati and became acquainted with Alexander Wyant, landscape painter, and studied with him; also studied portrait painting with J. O. Eaton of the same place. I went to Indianapolis in 1865 and became acquainted with B. S. Hays and Jacob Cox; they were prominent at that time. Later I met T. C. Steele, Will M. Chase, also John Love and Gookins. The latter two opened the Art School. In 1873 I went to New York to study, and worked with Wyant and Eaton again, who had both become famous. I again returned to Indianapolis and painted many portraits and landscapes. Some of the portraits that were painted at that time were John C. New, for the Treasury Building, Washington, D. C.; Governor Mount, for the State House, Indianapolis; Jefferson Davis, President of the Southern Confederacy, and Joseph E. Johnson, at Savannah, Georgia, all from life." The professional art life of Mr. Dennis in Indianapolis covers a period of about twenty years, and a large number of his works are still to be found in Indianapolis homes, where they are highly prized. Some of them have been shown in exhibits of the Art Association.

During the Civil War, and for more than a decade afterward, the chief scene-painter in Indianapolis was Thomas B. Glessing, an Englishman, born in 1817, who came here in 1861. His regular occupation was "scenic artist" for the old Metropolitan theater (now the Park), but he did quite an amount of fairly creditable work in regular artistic lines. He was a lover of the beautiful, and his home was not only picturesque within but surrounded by flowers without. When the first "exposition" was held in Indianapolis, in 1873, Mr. Glessing was engaged to paint four large canvases, illustrative of the history of the city. His subjects were the State Seal—which presents the advent of civilization idea; the selection of the site of the city; the new settlement in 1821; and the city in war time, with the State Capitol as the central feature. They were not very artistic, and not very accurate historically, but they have been reproduced so often as illustrations

²⁵*Herald*, January 19, 1884.

²⁶*Saturday Review*, December 11, 1880.

that they have become a part of our local history; and in fact the originals are still preserved by the Indiana Historical Society. Glessing went from here to take the position of scene painter for the Boston Museum in 1873. The call was a deserved compliment to his skill, for he was a scene painter of real merit.

The first "exposition," which opened on September 10, 1873, had an interesting connection with art in Indianapolis through a collection of "Rogers statuary" that was exhibited there. Among the visitors was John H. Mahoney, a young marble-cutter, employed at Carpenter's marble yard, which was then at 36 East Market street, and later at the northwest corner of Ohio and Meridian. Mahoney was a native of Wales, born in 1855. In 1857 his parents removed to this country and settled in Jennings County, Indiana, from where young Mahoney came to Indianapolis in 1868. He was attracted by the Rogers statuary, and after some inquiry decided to try modeling. He procured some clay and began. His work was admired by Carpenter and an opportunity soon came for advance. The Franklin Fire Insurance Company was erecting its building at the southeast corner of Market and Circle streets and wanted a marble statue of Benjamin Franklin for the front. Inquiry of Carpenter brought a recommendation of Mahoney, and he was employed to do the work. It still stands, facing Monument Place, where some of Mr. Mahoney's later work is located. This was completed in 1871, and in 1875 Mahoney was employed to make the marble statue of Gen. Sol. Meredith, at Cambridge City, Indiana. He now became ambitious of further training and by 1879 saved up enough to go to Europe, where he put in eighteen months in desultory study in the galleries and studios; after which he returned to this country and at once entered in competition for sculptural work.

In this he was successful from the start. In 1880 he was selected to make the bronze statue of Morton McMichael, in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. In 1882 he was called to make the statue of Pierre Menard, at Springfield, Illinois. In 1884 he made the granite monumental statue of Charles West, which stands in Spring Grove Cemetery, Cincinnati. In 1886 he was commissioned to make the colossal granite figures of "Freedom" and "Law" for the Pilgrims' monument at Plymouth, Massa-

chusetts. In 1890 he made the statue of Henry Bergh, for the memorial fountain at Milwaukee. He spent 1891 at Atlanta, making statues of the Carpenter family, and then returned to Indianapolis, where he made the bronze statue of W. H. English, which stands at English, Indiana, with replica at Scottsburg. In 1892-3 he was engaged on the art detail of the Soldiers' Monument at Cleveland, Ohio, and it is often noted that while this monument does not compare with the Indianapolis monument architecturally, it is far superior in its ornamentation. From 1893 to 1898 he was engaged in making the three bronze statues of George Rogers Clark, Winam Henry Harrison and James Whitecomb, which stand in Monument Place, and which are easily the best sculptural work about Indianapolis, though competent critics put a very high estimate on O'Connor's statue of Lawton, on the Court House square.²⁷ After MacMonnies threw up his contract for the "war" and "peace" groups of the Soldiers' monument, in a fit of pettishness caused by criticism of the designs he offered, there was a disposition to entrust this work to Mahoney; but he did not hitch with Buddenbaum, the supervising architect, and the work went to Bruno Schmitz, the designer of the monument. This was unfortunate, for while Schmitz is a great architect he is very mediocre as a sculptor. Since the completion of the Soldiers' monument Mr. Mahoney has had no large commissions, the most important being the memorial bronze tablet of Col. Eli Lilly for the Commercial Club building. This is chiefly due to his dropping art for several years in an unsuccessful venture as a railroad promoter; but more recently he has resumed his art work.

At the time of this first Indianapolis exposition a new artist was developing who was destined to leave a deep impress on Indianapolis. John Washington Love was a native of Indiana, born near Napoleon, Ripley County, August 10, 1850. His family removed to Indianapolis, and here he attended the public schools and Northwestern Christian University. After leaving the university he took up the study of painting with B. S. Hays for a year, and then went to Cincinnati to continue his training in the studio of Henry Mosler, who

²⁷*News*, May 25, 1904.

later attained distinction in Paris. In 1872 Love went to Paris for a stay of five years, in which he pursued his studies in the Academy of Design and in the studio of Gerome. He returned to Indianapolis to become its first exponent of the modern school of painting. He was a natural art teacher, and felt the need of an art school here. In conjunction with J. F. Gookins he started one. They were assisted by Ferdinand Mersman, instructor in sculpture and wood-carving, John M. Warder, instructor in mechanical drawing, and H. C. Chandler, instructor in wood-carving. An "art association" was formed in support of the school, with 80 members, whose fees entitled them to admission to all exhibits, and some other privileges. The upper floor of the Fletcher and Sharpe building (now Sak's building) was leased, eleven large rooms; a large line of casts of antiques and other appurtenances of art study were obtained; and on October 15, 1877, the school was formally opened, a largely-attended public reception following on October 19. The prospects seemed excellent. About 75 pupils were promised, and 50 attended in the first year. But the seeds of disaster were present. Gookins and Love did not agree in their art ideals. Gookins belonged to the old school, and most of the Indianapolis people who cared for art had its ideals. After a year Gookins dropped out, and Love remained as sole director. The patronage decreased, for Indianapolis was getting the full pressure of the panic of 1873, and luxuries were dropped first. In 1879 the school was abandoned.

But the art spirit had been awakened in a number of the pupils, and a number of them continued their work, some at Love's studio and some at home, under his guidance, until his death on June 24, 1880. No man ever received warmer tribute than he from his pupils and friends.²⁸ These words from one of them are so just and so prophetic that they call for note: "He was the most thorough teacher of art this city has ever had. His methods were correct, and wherever they have been followed by his pupils, theirs has been the reward. In drawing he was a master. He not only knew how to draw, but he had a very happy faculty of imparting his instruc-

tions to others. His services to the public in creating an art impulse in Indianapolis cannot be overestimated. The fruits of this will be enjoyed in the future. An inherent art appreciation has been properly directed, and Mr. Love is entitled to the credit of its direction. His pupils are carrying out his ideas to their full fruition. Though the young artist is dead his work will live." Among the manifestations of its living may be mentioned here that his pall-bearers and pupils Will Forsyth, Thos. E. Hibben, Charles Nicoli, Fred Hetherington, Frank Scott and Charles Fiseus organized "the Bohé Club", which was devoted to art study for a number of years, and was the chief factor in the Art Association's exhibition of 1885.

There is a notable coincidence in the fact that the *Herald* of June 26, 1880, which announced the death of John Love, contained an address by Rev. N. A. Hyde to the Social Science Association of Indiana on "The Influence of Art", in which he strongly urged the place of art in public education. But the time was not quite ripe, and it was left to the women "to take up the flag that the men pulled down", a little later. In the winter of 1880-1 Mrs. C. D. Adsit, of Milwaukee, came here and gave a series of parlor lectures on ceramics. In 1882-3 she came again, with illustrated talks on engraving and etching. Both visits were on invitation of Mrs. May Wright Sewall, to whom Indianapolis is largely indebted for organized advancement in higher culture. At the last lecture of the second course Mrs. Sewall invited those interested to meet in her parlors to consider the organization of an art association. There was a cordial response, and at that first meeting a committee of ten was selected to prepare a constitution and plan of work. After several weeks of deliberation its constitution and plan were adopted at a public meeting held at the Denison Hotel, on May 7, 1883, and The Art Association of Indianapolis was duly organized. It was incorporated on October 11 of the same year. But the work was going on from the start. It was determined to begin with an art exhibit, and then open an art school. Miss Sue M. Ketcham, a local artist, of one of the oldest Indianapolis families, who had been for a time a pupil in the Gookins-Love art school, was selected to inaugurate the work; and the

²⁸*Journal*, June 28, *Herald*, July 3.

selection was a wise one. Miss Ketcham went first to Chicago, where she secured the cooperation of local artists and engaged Charles F. McDonald of the Chicago Art League as head teacher for the school. She then went to Detroit, where an art exhibit was in progress, and then, in spite of gloomy predictions as to the East, she visited New York. Her success was phenomenal, and by November she had collected 453 paintings, showing the work of 137 artists.

The exhibit was held November 7-29, in the corner rooms of English's hotel—now occupied by the café—and was a decided success, the attendance increasing steadily to the last. The art school opened on January 19, 1881, with McDonald and Miss Ketcham as teachers, in the old Plymouth church building on Meridian street, which has since been replaced by an extension of the English Hotel. There was some trouble in financing the school, and after the first year the Association made the mistake of dropping Miss Ketcham, who turned her attention to art instruction on her own account. For thirteen years she successfully managed summer sketch and travel parties in various parts of America and Europe. The association school was abandoned after the second year, with a residue of debt. The burden of its support prevented an exhibit in 1884, and in 1885 the exhibit took the form of an exhibit of the works of "the Hoosier Colony in München," under the direction of Thomas E. Hibben. From that time there have been regular annual exhibits, usually in the spring, with numerous special exhibits. From 1886 to 1890, inclusive, the annual exhibits were held in Masonic hall except in 1888, when it was at old 33 South Meridian street. From 1891 to 1899, inclusive, they were at the Propylæum, except in 1895, when it was at 821 North Pennsylvania street. In 1900 and 1901 they were at the H. Lieber Galleries. From 1902 to 1905 they were in the old Tinker homestead building of the John Herron Art Institute. From 1906 on they were in the John Herron Art Institute building.

"The Hoosier Colony in München", whose works were exhibited in 1885, consisted of Theodore C. Steele and William Forsyth. Mr. Steele was born in Owen County, Indiana, September 22, 1817. He undertook portrait painting without personal instruction, and

worked at it for two years at Battle Creek, Michigan, and for five years at Indianapolis before opportunity came to him to go abroad. In 1839 he went to Munich where he entered the Royal Academy and remained for five years, for two years a pupil of Julius Benezur, and for two years in the studio of Professor Loefftz. In 1854 his painting "the Boatman" received a medal at the exhibition, and the government desired to purchase it, but he preferred to bring it home. On his return he located at Indianapolis, where he has advanced steadily in popularity. He was president of the Society of Western Artists in 1898-9, and a member of the International Jury of Awards at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904. In addition to much other work, Mr. Steele has painted the portraits of all the governors of Indiana, from Governor Gray to Governor Matthews for the state's collection. William Forsyth was born in Hamilton County, Ohio; and began his art training under John W. Love in 1879. He went to Munich in 1882 and remained for seven years, four of them in the Royal Academy, where he studied drawing under Benezur and Gysis, and painting under Loefftz. While in the academy he won honorable mention in every exhibition in which he took part, and a medal in 1885. He took two medals at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904. He has been instructor in painting at the John Herron Art Institute since 1905.

These two, with three others, John Ottis Adams, Otto Stark and Richard Buckner Gruelle, are widely known as "The Hoosier Group." Adams is a native and resident of Indiana, born at Chestnut Ridge, Jackson County. He studied in London under John Parker, and at the Royal Academy in Munich. He maintains his residence at Brookville. Stark is both a native and resident of Indianapolis, born January 29, 1859. He attended the Cincinnati Art Academy and started in business as a lithographer, but decided to become an artist. He studied at the Art Students' League in New York, at the Academie Julien in Paris, and in the studio of F. Cormon. He exhibited in the Paris salon in 1886 and 1887. His work is notable for its peculiarly American quality. Gruelle is the most absolutely untaught artist who ever did really good work in this vicinity. He was born at Cynthiana, Kentucky, February 22, 1851, his parents removing in 1858

to Arcola, Illinois. He was originally a house and sign painter, and by hard work and study taught himself to paint portraits, and gradually to do landscapes and other works. He took up portrait painting as a profession at Decatur, Illinois, in 1875 and 1876; followed it at Arcola from 1877 to 1881; and at Indianapolis from 1881 to date, excepting two years in Florida and one in New York. For several summers he painted along the coast, about Gloucester, Massachusetts, and one of his finest marines about that point is in the reading room of the City Library.

In 1883 Gruelle visited the art collection of Wm. T. Walters, at Baltimore, and wrote a description of it to Carl Lieber. At that time Joseph Bowles had just started "Modern Art", and Lieber gave him the letter for publication. It fell into the hands of Walters who at once sent for Gruelle and desired him to prepare a description of the collection. Gruelle protested a lack of literary education but Walters insisted. He said: "You are the man I have been looking for for twenty-five years. I have had plenty of men who can write, but you can paint a word-picture." Gruelle undertook the work, and the result was his "Notes Critical and Biographical" on the Walters' collection, one of the most unique and highly-prized art works ever issued in America.

"*Modern Art*", which at once took rank as a very high grade art publication—probably the highest ever known in the United States—was continued for two years at Indianapolis, 1893 and 4, and then taken to Boston by L. Prang & Co., who continued it for two years longer with Mr. Bowles as editor. Joseph Bowles was born at Indianapolis July 1, 1865. His father, Thos. H. Bowles, was a lawyer, who came here from Maryland. His mother was a daughter of Joseph McChesney Moore, an early resident here, who was a cousin of James M. Ray, and was private secretary of Governor Wallace. In the campaign of 1810 he edited a Whig paper called "*The Spirit of '76*", and in 1811 another known as "*The Whig Rifle*". From this grandfather, and his mother, who was a clever writer, Mr. Bowles may have inherited his faculty for writing. His taste ran naturally to art, and when a child he spent much of his time in drawing. As he grew older he entered the art establishment of H. Lieber, where he became familiar with art in

all phases; and he certainly showed a remarkable art appreciation in this ambitious maiden venture.

The title of "The Hoosier Group" came from Hamlin Garland. In 1893, Forsyth sent three pictures to the Chicago Exposition and Steele two, and both were exceptional among western artists in being recognized and favorably placed. They attracted considerable comment in art circles, it being thought notable that good art work was being done in Indiana. In 1895 an Indiana exhibit was being given at the Denison Hotel, when a letter was received from Hamlin Garland asking if it could not be shown at Chicago—that he was president of the Central Art Association of that city, which would guarantee success. The invitation was accepted, and among its results was an unique appreciation of the work. It was prepared by Garland, Lorado Taft, the sculptor, and Charles Francis Brown, the painter; it is also understood that Henry B. Fuller had some hand in it. It was published in pamphlet form and received wide notice. The word "group" had been brought into prominence at the time through the anarchist societies, and it was appropriated, in the easy western way, for these five artistic radicals of the time.

The art school of the association which was discontinued in 1885 was not resumed for some years, but after the return of Mr. Forsyth from Munich in 1889 he and Mr. Steele undertook a private school on a moderate scale which continued until 1891, when it developed into the Indiana School of Art. This was an incorporated institution, the members being mostly members of the Art Association, who contributed from \$5 to \$25 annually to the support of the school. Charles E. Hallenbeck took an active interest in it, acting as treasurer, and managing its financial affairs generally. Its quarters were in the old High School building at Market and Circle streets—formerly Beecher's Church. It was very successful, the attendance averaging over 100 until its close in 1891. Messrs. Steele and Forsyth were the chief instructors in the regular day and evening classes, and there were preparatory and children's classes taught by Misses Mary Robinson, Tempe Tice and Lyda Becker. It was discontinued because the building was to be torn down for the extension of the Eng-

lish Hotel, and was not resumed on account of the expectation of the speedy establishment of a permanent institution under the Herron bequest.

The Herron bequest changed the work of the Art Association from a dragging struggle to gratifying achievement. John Herron was born at Carlton in Craven, England, March 29, 1817, but his parents removed to Chester County, Pennsylvania, in his infancy. In 1847 the entire family removed to Mt. Carmel, Indiana, where the parents, and all of the children but John and one sister died. He was

made his will, leaving the bulk of his property to the Art Association on condition that it should be used in establishing and maintaining an art institute and art school which should be known by his name. He gave the Orphan Asylum \$1,000, saying there was not enough for two institutions in fact not as much as the Art Association needed. Mr. Herron recovered temporarily, but lost his life on April 30, 1895, by an explosion of gasoline, at Los Angeles, California. The will was contested by distant relatives, and a settlement was not finally effected until October 12, 1897.

In March, 1899, the directors of the Art Association divided the bequest into three funds: the Art Treasure Fund of \$150,000; the Art School Fund of \$10,000; and the Building and Grounds Fund of \$65,000. This was a theoretical distribution. The amount actually received from the bequest to October 1, 1909 is \$182,099.05, and the remainder of the estate to come is estimated at \$38,000. The directors next took up the question of a site for the institute, and after a great deal of backing and filling finally decided on "the old Tinker Place"—the square between Pennsylvania street and Talbott avenue, north of Sixteenth (old Tinker) street. The purchase price was \$50,000, and the purchase was on condition that the neighbors secure the vacation of "Coram" or Seventeenth street, immediately north of this square; and purchase and donate the two lots adjoining this vacated street on the north. The Tinker house, or Talbott house, a large brick building, had been occupied by T. C. Steele since his return from Munich, and in the rear he had erected a studio building—the first for that exclusive purpose in Indianapolis. The art school was opened in the studio on January 13, 1902, with 10 pupils and 5 teachers; and the house was revamped and occupied as the art institute, the formal opening being on March 1, 1902. By that date the school had 69 pupils enrolled. J. Otis Adams was the instructor in drawing and painting; Brandt Steele and Alfred B. Lyon gave instruction in applied design; and Misses Virginia Keep and Helen McKay had charge of the children's classes. The school grew steadily, and when it was removed in the fall of 1905 to the Union Trust Company's building, while the new institute building was being constructed, it had an enrollment of 207



SOLDIERS AND SAILORS' MONUMENT.

left wealthy, with no care but the investment of his funds, which was largely intrusted to Ambrose P. Stanton, of Indianapolis, on whose advice, in 1883, he removed to Indianapolis with his wife and sister. In a few years the sister died, and in 1892 the wife. Herron had several times discussed with Mr. Stanton the disposition of his property, which he desired to take some form that would be a monument to himself, and Stanton advised him to divide it between the Art Association and the Orphan Asylum. On his return from his wife's funeral Herron had an attack of illness, and when partially recovered, on October 21, 1892,

pupils. For the fiscal year ending March 31, 1909, the enrollment was 303, and the teaching staff numbered 16 in addition to the director, Mr. Wm. Henry Fox.

The new institute building was a long-drawn-out struggle. The architects were instructed to prepare plans early in 1903, and a campaign was started to raise a building fund of \$100,000. When the plans were submitted for bids it was found that the cost of building on them would reach \$116,000, and meanwhile the subscription fund did not materialize. On November 8, 1904, the directors decided to abandon these plans and erect a building costing not over \$50,000. After much consideration these plans were modified on May 1, 1905, to provide for a fire-proof building costing not more than \$85,000. The building was completed in November, 1906, and dedicated on the 20th to the 22nd of that month. The art school was then located in this building until the school building was completed in 1907. The total cost of the institute building was \$113,890.98, and of the school building \$12,364.94. The legislature of 1909 virtually brought the art school into the general city school system, and gave it a revenue from the school funds equal to one-half cent on \$100 of taxable property annually—now about \$9,000. In return the Art Association is to make and continue as members of its governing board the Superintendent of Schools, Director of Art Instruction, and two other persons chosen by the School Board and also to "give free admission, at reasonable times, to its museum and art galleries to all teachers and pupils of the public, private and parochial schools in said city; and which shall provide free illustrated lectures, on some art or kindred subject, throughout the public school year of said city not less frequently than one lecture a week for school children, the same to be given at its museum or in a public school; and which shall, at half the rates established in other cities for similar service, provide instruction in the teaching of drawing and design for all teachers in said city nominated by the superintendent of schools of said city; and which shall provide throughout such school year free for not fewer than fifty pupils, to be nominated on competitive examination by said superintendent of schools, advanced in-

struction in drawing and in such applied arts as it teaches."²⁹

With this income the Art Association is in comfortable circumstances. Its real estate is valued at \$194,255.92 which is less than true value, being the actual cost to the Association, excepting an estimate of \$18,000 for the two lots donated and the vacation of Coram street. Its art treasures are valued at \$34,360.78, and its library at \$188.35, both of which are low. It has some \$54,000 in cash and securities, and its unsettled interest in the Herron estate. Since 1905 it has had for director Mr. Wm. Henry Fox, who was secretary of the department of art, and also of the International Jury of Awards, as a member representing Russia, at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904, and is well known as an art critic. The curator of the Art Institute is Miss Anna E. Turrell, a niece of the late Mrs. John Herron. The art school is in flourishing condition with Wm. Forsyth, Clifton A. Wheeler and Otto Stark as principal instructors. In addition to the Herron bequests, the Institute has had bequests from J. F. Pratt of \$2,000, and D. P. Erwin of \$5,000; also gifts from the heirs of Henry Schull of \$5,000, and from the heirs of Herman Lieber of \$2,000.

There have been, and are, numerous amateurs and some professionals about Indianapolis who have done creditable work, but it is not possible even to name them here. Some have attained more or less fame elsewhere. Frank Scott, whose early life was passed here, and who has been mentioned as a pupil of the Love Art School and a member of the Bohe Club, afterwards studied at the Beaux Arts in Paris, and has since resided there. He took a medal at the Antwerp Exposition of 1894. Louis Paul Dessar, who has captured numerous prizes and medals, was born in Indianapolis, January 22, 1867. He was the son of Joseph B. Dessar, of the firm of Dessar, Bro. & Co., wholesale clothing merchants. He studied at the National Academy of Design at New York, and later at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris and under Bouguereau and Fluery. He is now located in New York.³⁰ Frederick C. Yohn, who has attained enviable celebrity as an illus-

²⁹ Acts of 1909, p. 89.

³⁰ Sketch in *Brush and Pencil*, December, 1899.

trator, is of an old Indianapolis family. He is a son of Albert Yolin, and was born here in 1875. He began his art study under Steele and Forsyth, and continued it at the Art Student's League in New York, where his work attracted the attention of Harper & Bros. He was employed on "*The Round Table*", and has illustrated numerous notable books as well as magazine articles. His ambition is to paint battle pictures, and his war pictures indicate that he would achieve great success in that line. William Carey Brazington is another pupil of the Indianapolis Art School who has attained note. His pastel work is the subject of an eulogistic notice in the *Craftsman* of October, 1908.

There remain to be mentioned several statues that have been erected in the city. The first of these is that of Oliver P. Morton, in Monument Place, which was unveiled January 15, 1884, and is the work of Franklin Simmons. The statue of Schuyler Colfax, in University Square, was unveiled May 18, 1887, and was made by Lorado Taft. The statue of Thomas A. Hendricks, on the Capitol grounds, was unveiled on July 1, 1890, and was made by Richard Henry Parks. The statue of General Henry W. Lawton, on the Court House Square was unveiled on May 30, 1907, with imposing ceremony, President Roosevelt taking part in the

ceremonies. It was executed by Andrew O'Connor, under the supervision of Daniel C. French. The statue of Oliver P. Morton at the east entrance to the State House, was made by Rudolph Schwartz, who has been a resident of Indianapolis since 1888. He is a native of Vienna, and comes of an old Austrian family, which objected to his becoming a sculptor; but after a course of four years in art at the Imperial Academy at Vienna, he determined on his life work, and went to Berlin, where he became a pupil of Geiger and Eberlein. He also studied with and worked for Bruno Schmitz, who commissioned him to come here and execute the War and Peace groups on the Soldiers' and Sailors' monument. His acquaintance with the city decided him to stay here. His statue of Morton was unveiled on July 23, 1907. The principal American work of Mr. Schwartz, outside of Indianapolis, is the Pingree monument at Detroit. The statue of Benjamin Harrison, in University Square, was unveiled on October 27, 1908, and is the work of Charles Henry Neihaus. This was the last addition to the statuary of Indianapolis. It is to be hoped that before it is too late the city will secure some specimen of the art work of the notable Indiana artists Janet Scudder, Amalia Kussner Coudert, and George Gray Barnard.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE SOCIAL SWIRL.

The social homogeneity that existed in the little village of Indianapolis prior to the coming of the capital disappeared soon afterward, not because the capital came, but because population increased; and by that time conditions were more settled, and people were not so much dependent on each other that they were impelled to overlook the considerations that create social dividing lines. Church organizations had been formed, and had begun to enforce their disciplines, which were vastly more strict then than now. Dancing was not tolerated by any of the early sects, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists or Newlights. If nothing worse, it was frivolous and consequently young people of religious families did not dance or go to dancing parties. Meanwhile the ungodly danced on, and their dancing in the early period was very largely a display of personal agility and vigor. There were no round dances, and none of what are now called square dances, but good old-fashioned reels, and jigs, and contra-dances, in which the man, or woman either, who could cut an artistic pigeon wing, or jump up and crack the heels three times before lighting, was a person who had just cause for pride. A generation passed before there was any break in the old time country dances. There were no dancing masters to make innovations. Every man was the architect of his own terpsichorean fortunes, and danced according to the dictates of his own conscience. Then came a change, which Lew Wallace records thus:

"In the winter of '13, a wandering dancing-master opened school in Indianapolis, greatly to the delight of the young society. Together with the usual Terpsichorean accomplishments, he taught a new science—the Science of Manners. The worthy professor was his own object-lesson. He clung to the old fashions,

wore frilled shirt-bosoms, silk stockings, and pumps ablaze with silver buckles. He also made his own music. The Fisher's Hornpipe with which he sped a quadrille was tearing enough to have quickened the bones of the unknown in a catacomb. He enrolled me as a pupil of his academy; and, simple as the topic looks, I am bound to say there was never such a tempest of fun as when he called us out one by one to practice bowing, hat salutes, and posturing seated and standing. Since the day of his advent, I have read and heard much of Colonial society, Colonial dames, Colonial beaus, and of their stately mannerisms. No one, I yet think, ever reproduced them to the life like our old Do-ci-do. In a minuet he always made me think of France, and the king in a ball-room imposing form upon his courtiers—so solemn and grandiose was his deportment."¹

Austin H. Brown also had vivid memories of this courtly dancing master. He mentions the first attempt at a public ball at the old Mansion, the invitations to which were as follows:

"The managers of the anniversary ball request the pleasure of your attendance on Tuesday evening, February 22, 1838, at the Governor's Circle, at 5 o'clock.

| | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| Isaac Blackford, | W. W. Wick, |
| David Cox, | W. W. McCoy, |
| John S. Bobbs, | H. W. Ellsworth, |
| John Livingston, | S. D. Tomlinson, |
| Thomas A. Morris, | A. C. Hanna, |
| E. K. Foster, | N. West, Jr." |

In connection with this innovation he says: "In those days there was considerable opposition on the part of strict church members to

¹ Autobiography, p. 91.

dancing, and their action influenced many of the young folks not to engage in an amusement they considered sinful. The advent, a year or two later, of the ever-to-be remembered Professor Follansbee, nicknamed 'Doss-do', who opened a dancing school in the dining-room of Browning's Hotel, soon had a tendency to lessen the prejudice against dancing. Myself and sister attended this school, with the full encouragement of our parents, who looked upon dancing as an innocent amusement. At the first meeting of the class lots were drawn for partners. This allotment carried with it not only an assignment of a girl partner for the first dance of each evening, but a condition to accompany her to and from the dancing hall during the entire season. It fell to my lot to have a beautiful black-eyed girl as my partner whose parents lived near Cottontown, on what is now Sixteenth street, near the canal, her father being superintendent of the flour mill of Nathaniel West, owner of the cotton mill in Cottontown. Many a night I had to go out there and escort her to the hotel, and then back again home, both of us walking all the way. Indianapolis was not then blessed with paved streets, and even graded sidewalks were few and far between. Mud was plentiful wherever the pedestrian went, but as the fashion then was to change shoes for dancing pumps or slippers before dancing, it mattered but little if our shoes were muddy. Much of our direct roadway being through woods, I preferred to take the tow-path of the canal for our pathway. We all enjoyed the school, however, as 'Doss-do' was a good fiddler and it was a delight to follow in his footsteps. Some of the more expert girls, notably Cornelia Wood, (who afterwards married Robert L. Browning) and Fannie Browning (afterwards Mrs. Taylor) learned the 'Highland Fling' and 'Fisher's Hornpipe', which specialties they danced to perfection and were made the features of the closing dances."

Mr. Brown's mention of the name of this teacher probably saves him from a pseudonymous memory for nobody else remembered him by any name but "Oh! Doss-do." Possibly this title became to some extent generic, for some of the early dancers say it belonged to a Monsieur de Granville, who came a little later. The first mention of any dancing master that I have found in any of the newspapers is of

this one. On April 22, 1848, the *Locomotive* announced that, "Monsieur de Granville, late of Cincinnati, will open his dancing-school on next Wednesday evening, in the room immediately over Mr. Davidson's store, entrance on Illinois street." This teacher, who was also a notable, took thought for the modesty and bashfulness of the uninitiated by having at the start separate classes for ladies and gentlemen. The ladies' class met at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and the gentlemen's class at 8 o'clock in the evening, and thus they were allowed to work off their primal awkwardness in some privacy. Tradition has it that the climax of the career of Professor Follansbee, the original "Doss-do" was reached in a grand ball on the night of February 29, 1844, at Browning's Hotel, at which Mrs. Browning and Mrs. Charles Stephens acted as chaperones. James Dunlap, who was decidedly clever in several lines of art, made a pen and ink sketch of this happy occasion, now in possession of Mrs. Dr. John F. Johnson, which is reproduced in the adjoining cut. The chaperones are represented seated in chairs. The couples in the foreground, from left to right, are caricature portraits of (1) Isabella Stephens (Mrs. James Russell) and James Wiley; (2) Ann Morrison (Mrs. John Murphy) and Aaron Ohr; (3) Mary Stephens (Mrs. Dr. Johnson) and "Count" Smith; Maria Peaslee (Mrs. John Elliott) and Peter McNaught. James Wiley was afterwards a captain in the navy; and "Count" Smith—his name was Lloyd Smith—was the model of fashion of his day, the best dressed man in the place, and a great beau. As a lady of the time informed me, "He was a good beau, too. He always knew just what to do on every occasion." His nickname was universal, and he is often referred to in the *Locomotive* simply as "the Count". The Stephens family were acquisitions from New Harmony, whither Charles Stephens, an Ohio editor, had gone in the palmy days of the Owen socialistic settlement; and left it after socialism had worked its customary failure.

It must not be imagined that the opposition to dancing died out quickly as the result of these early lessons, but the advocates of dancing attained a more reputable standing, and became more defiant. In 1851, a new dancing school being advertised, "Incognito" attacked it in a newspaper communication, saying, "there

is no greater exhibition of human depravity than for children to be educated in dancing." To this "R. J. B." promptly replied: "I would wager a dish of oysters that your correspondent is one of those who would sit by a fire all night, and ridicule his neighbors, or would go to a chimney corner party and play such as digging wells, measuring tape, etc., or, as our Hoosier boys would plainly call it, 'Gum sucking', and I suppose would think he was acting perfectly consistent and prudent."²

M. de Granville taught the waltz, in its old, slow and stately form—the other round dances had not yet come in—but his most important introduction was the plain quadrille, or as it was then called the cotillion—for the cotillion originally danced here had none of the variations, or the round dancing, that mark the cotillion, or German, of the present. For some years "cotillion parties" were all the rage, though in 1851 a dancing teacher named Taylor located here for a time and taught the polka and other round dances. And it should be added that M. de Granville was not without rivals, for in 1848, Mr. Hoffman had a dancing class, and apparently quite a successful one, for on Saturday, December 30, the *Locomotive* said: "On last Friday evening the pupils of Mr. Hoffman had a public dance at the Ray House, together with a large number of ladies and gents not pupils. There were 5 cotillions on the floor at one time, and, as our correspondent Max has beautifully expressed it, 'The young, the gay, the beautiful were there, engaged right merrily in chasing the glowing hours with flying feet!'"

After these there were casual dancing-masters until 1860, when Ben Gresh and Edward Hines located here at about the same time. Hines taught for several years, but Gresh—he was sometimes called Benjamin, but his real name was Beniville E. Gresh—held his "academy" here for thirty years, and then went out to the Klondyke to seek his fortune. On his return he sought to reestablish his school, but with little success. Not long after Gresh and Hines, Athlick Smith appeared as a dancing master, and was quite popular for a number of years. From 1811 to 1819 Julius E. Heywood conducted a Dancing Academy, located at different times on East Market street,

Indiana avenue, Masonic Temple, and East New York street, which received much of the best patronage. In 1883 David B. Brenneke came to Indianapolis, and he has had almost a monopoly of dancing-teaching since then. He had been teaching at Evansville, and came here by request to take a class that met at Dr. Allen's residence. There had been stipulation for 32 pupils in the class, but there were 52 at the first lesson. His popularity was soon established, and, in addition to ordinary teaching, he had a class of 16 young ladies at the Kappes School, and later was a regular member of the faculty of Mrs. Sewall's Classical School for Girls. He also had large classes at Lafayette, Terre Haute, and other points, and prospered so greatly that in 1895 he put up his dancing academy at North and Illinois streets, which is one of the best appointed buildings of the kind in the country. Aside from his merits as a teacher, Professor Brenneke's popularity has been due largely to the fact that he enforced reason in dancing. Neither his own classes nor anyone to whom he rented his hall were allowed to dance after midnight. There was some protest at first from renters, but they were simply given the choice of going elsewhere, and very few of them went. Nor has Professor Brenneke ever taught fancy dancing or stage dancing. His attention has been given exclusively to society or "ball-room" dancing.

During all these years the custom of dancing was extending to all circles. It is said that Mary Brough was the first of the church girls to break away from church restraints in the matter of dancing. She was a daughter of John Brough, later "War Governor" of Ohio, who was here in the fifties as Superintendent of the old Bellefontaine Railroad. Her levity apparently called for unusual efforts for reform, for Rev. Mr. Cunningham of the First Presbyterian Church married her,³ and she became a very proper minister's wife. But the churches were very slow to lose their restraining influence, and there was no extensive departure from the old customs until after the war. It was not till then that Mrs. General Love convulsed the town—her correspon-

³ Now Hugh McGowan's—northeast corner of Delaware and Thirteenth street.

⁴*Locomotive*, February 25, 1860.

²*Locomotive*, January 11, 1851.

dent really could not keep it--by writing from Europe, "I understand that the ———s are learning to dance, and that to ease their consciences they are using a melodeon for music." In 1867 there was a meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Peace in the Home at the residence of Gen. Benjamin Harrison. The meeting was composed of Mrs. Harrison and Mrs. Fred Baggs, both of whom had young daughters who wanted to learn to dance, and thought their mothers cruel to refuse them. There was nothing at all in the way except the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. The mothers felt that the girls should be allowed to learn, in a private class; "but", observed Mrs. Harrison, "I don't know what to do, Ben would never allow an ungodly fiddle in the house." "Well, I will have it at my house," responded the Methodist delegate; and so the services of Athlick Smith were secured and a private dancing class was inaugurated, very select and very quiet. No reports of its meetings appeared in the society columns of any of the city papers. The members were Mamie Baggs (Mrs. Jos. W. Beck), Mamie Harrison (Mrs. Robert McKee), Mezzie Harrison, Mary Lord (Mrs. Mary Lord Harrison), Nancy Newcomer, and Hautie Tarkington (Mrs. Ovid B. Jameson). The young gentlemen were John Kitchen, Russell Harrison, Walter Bradshaw and George Newcomer. The class proceeded harmoniously and happily, the only cloud being that some of the young men showed a tendency at times to neglect their partners and seek more robust exercise in sliding down the banisters. A year or two later a private class was formed in the northeast end for the Jameson and Wallace youngsters, and from that time forward the movement spread quite rapidly. By the time of the nineties, with their Charity Balls, Assemblies, and the Kirmess, the young person who did not dance had attained something of the Napoleonic condition of "a sceptred hermit, wrapped in the mantle of his own originality."

Cards were tabooed in Indianapolis moral circles. In fact in the earliest period cards were used by men practically for gambling only, and were not played by respectable women at all. This was not due merely to religious restriction, but was a common moral sentiment. As late as 1813 the law of the state provided: "That if any person shall vend, or cause to be

vended, any playing cards, or any obscene book, pamphlet, or print, he shall on conviction thereof, be fined in any sum not less than one nor more than three dollars for every such pack of cards, book, pamphlet, or print vendid." But this gradually wore off, and in the latter forties "the fashionable set", of which the Drakes and the Brownings were leaders, used to play cards socially; but it was shocking to a large part of the community, and it was a long time before church people would tolerate social card-playing. But the rising generation chafed under the restraint. During the war some genius invented a deck of cards in which the suits were swords, drums, flags and cannon, and the face cards generals, captains and goddesses of liberty, a combination which it were almost treason to object to. Then came a flood of other card games, notably "authors", which was received because it was so instructive. But the ingenious frivolous soon found that they could play the simpler card games, like "muggins" and "old maid", with these, and another intrenchment was carried. In my own family, which was Methodist, we broke into real card-playing in the later sixties, until some preacher would come along and fire a sermon at the practice; then father would burn the cards, and we would have a dry spell for a year or so. In reality it was the association with gambling that made card-playing obnoxious, and it was only as people grew to know that there was no necessary connection between the two that it wore off.

The theater, and with it almost all shows except animal shows in the early days, and panoramas later, were not approved. In the territorial period the theater proper caused no concern, because there was none of a professional character. A Thespian Club was organized at Vincennes in 1811, and was apparently received with general favor, though that may be partially due to the fact that the editor of the *Sun* was a member. It was revived in 1819 with still greater success, one of its star performers being the veteran actor, Sol Smith, who was then an apprentice at the *Sun* office. There never appeared any such hostility to amateur theatricals as to professional plays, and the occasional strolling players of

¹ Rev. Stats., 1813, p. 985.

the earlier period joined in with a Thespian Club whenever they had opportunity. From these conditions there is no mention of the theater in the early laws, but in 1824 the law provided that, "Every person who shall exhibit any puppet-show, wire dancing or tumbling, for money or reward, shall be fined three dollars for each offense."⁶ This prohibition continued in effect until 1831 when the law was changed to read that "any person who shall show or exhibit any animal or animals, or other natural curiosity, or any waxwork or other figures, or any feats in tumbling, rope or wire dancing, for gain, without being licensed according to law, so to show or exhibit, shall be fined in any sum not exceeding twenty dollars."⁷ There was more attention given to circuses in the early discussions than to the theater, because circuses were more common, were wholly professional, and were not instructive; while some defended the theater on the ground of education. Amateur performances were not considered so obnoxious as professional, because one of the weightiest arguments against the latter was the character of the people patronized, it being assumed as axiomatic that all actors and actresses were disreputables.

But another objection that had more weight was that the shows took so much money away. It was not merely the expending of the money, but taking it out of circulation locally that disturbed the entire business element; and in an isolated place like Indianapolis this was a really serious consideration. There was a decided sentiment in the forties for absolute refusal of license to circuses, which, however, did not reach the stage of action. There is a scathing article in the *Locomotive* of May 8, 1847, reviling the circus as the extreme of idiocy and folly, which closes with these words: "Such are the pleasures for which Christians, or Professors of Religion, abandoned a good, sensible and learned lecture, by a clergyman, which would cost nothing, and learn them much, to spend \$2,000, see fools, and learn nothing." This appeared over the signature "Timothy Tugnutton", which was the nom de plume of Berry Sulgrove, and yet Berry was always a stalwart champion of the legitimate drama. But all the criticism of the circus

seemed to have no effect in diminishing the attendance; on the contrary it appeared to serve as an advertisement. On one occasion James M. Ray went to a circus with his boy, and was so stricken with remorse when he reflected on the character of the entertainment that on the following Sunday he went to the two Sunday Schools and publicly apologized for his folly. The only effect of his self-abasement was to cause the perverse boys to charge that, having seen it himself, he was now trying to bar others from the privilege.

One of the most delightful bits of local history that has been handed down to us is Mrs. Betsey Martin's account of her removal from Robert's Chapel on account of attending a circus. Her parents had been Episcopalians but there was no organized church here in the earlier days, and after her first marriage to Samuel Goldsberry she went with him to the Methodist Church. After his death, two or three years, she fell from grace, and here is her account of it: "Well, I went to a circus. I had never seen one, and when I got there I saw I had plenty of company from Robert's Chapel. In a few days after I was waited on by Brother Henry Tutewiler, my confessor,⁸ and told that I had to promise I would not go to a circus again, nor let my children go that were under my control, and to be sorry, and I don't know what all he said; and then he said if I did not comply to peaceably retire. I told him I would do neither. I told him when I called on the Methodist Church to support my children, it would be time enough for them to meddle. The next to come was old Brother Foudray, and I told him if they had treated me right I might have listened to them, but not for them, after all that Mr. Goldsberry and myself had done for the church, to have the assurance to come into my house and dictate what I should do or leave the church. Gillett⁹ came next. They didn't want to turn me out for such a trifle, and the first offense in 18 years. I asked Brother Gillett if he wanted me to say I was sorry, and I told him I was not sorry. I told him I had belonged to the church 18 years, and I had never in one instance acted the hypocrite; and he knew I never was much of a Methodist, only to serve

⁶ Rev. Stats., 1824, p. 148.

⁷ Laws of 1831, p. 191.

⁸ *i. e.*, her class leader.

⁹ Rev. Samuel T. Gillett, the pastor.

the church. I said to him again: "Do you want me to say I am sorry when I am not?" He laughed a little and said he was sorry, but he did not want me to lie. I suppose that was it, but he didn't say so. I told them I did not want a letter, for I was not a Methodist, only for convenience; and the Episcopal church would be glad to get me, and it would not recognize them as a church, and they are not. So they read me out "withdrawn". * * * The others that were at the circus were all sorry but myself, and if I had told them I was sorry it would have been all right, but they found out I didn't care for a church that is not a church, and John Wesley would say so if he were here. He never intended another church. * * * The Methodists harped on John Wesley being a Methodist, and all that kind of trash. Well, to satisfy myself I went to the State Library and examined Wesley's Works, and he invariably told them, when they wanted to form another and separate church he would not be their servant, nor leave the old Apostolic Church. But they, after Wesley's death, set up for themselves, without a regular ordained bishop, so you see they are not John Wesley's people, but are secessionists; but if they can do any good let them do it; but they are no Apostolic church. The niggers are ahead of them, for they have the succession in a regular ordained bishop; but some people are so bigoted if they were to read in Wesley's life what I did they would not believe."

Fashion has, perhaps, most to do with the change in such things. It is the great agency for the overthrow of custom, for there is nothing that can withstand it. Even the "plain dress" of the Quaker has finally succumbed to its power. Some thirty years ago I had the pleasure of several chats with Mrs. Priscilla Drake about early times in Indianapolis, and nothing she told me impressed me so much as her account of how the fashionable set used to play battledore and shuttlecock in the corridors of the old Governor's Mansion in the Circle. It seemed so foreign. It had been so transient that it left no trace. But it meant simply that from the forties on there was always a set, or, gradually broadening with the years, several sets, that were ready to take up any fashionable fad. Possibly the horse shows that we had a few years ago, or anything else

that has not linged with American ideas and stuck as a custom, will seem as odd a generation or two hence as the battledore and shuttlecock visitation does now. But prior to the forties the people here were not so sensitive to outside influences. Few of them had either the time or the money to be fashionable, and those who had, shrank from the odium of being considered "stuck up". And then the community was so isolated that one who went out into the world and came back with novel ideas was somewhat in the condition of the educated Indian returning to the reservation. Quite recently a gentleman who came here from another city undertook to send his boy to school in a carriage, but he soon discontinued it, at the boy's request. The other young Indians would not stand for it. The easiest way out, and the most rational, was to conform to the custom of the country, and be with the crowd.

But, to return to the early social divisions, the church element soon began to split on the lines of dignity and frivolity, and perhaps the line was best indicated by those who played kissing games and those who did not. The latter class was small indeed at first, but it grew, like Mr. Finney's turnip, until we have reached an era when kissing games are frowned on even in children's parties. No doubt the changed views of matrimony have had much to do with it. In the early period marriage was recognized not only as honorable and right in all men, but also as a consummation devoutly to be wished for, and there was not so much shying away from the subject of "sensibility" as there is nowadays. And the games kept this object in view. One of the oldest and most popular of these games was "Sister Phoebe", which had numerous variations, but is best remembered here in this form:

"O! dear Sister Phoebe how happy were we,
The night we sat under the juniper tree;
We put on our night-caps to keep our heads
warm,
And two or three kisses, they did us no harm,
They did us no harm, heigh ho!

I am a poor widow a-marching around,
And all of my daughters are married but one,
So rise up my daughter and kiss whom you
please,
And kiss whom you please, heigh ho!"

Scarcely less popular, and perhaps more convivial was:

"Come Philanders, let's be a marching,
Every one his true love a searching."

These were common in almost every part of the country, and so were almost all of these games, though with some local changes in the words. Thus "Threading the Needle" is recalled here thus:

"This needle's eye
That you pass by
Was made for to go through,
And many a lass
Have I let pass,
But now I have caught you.

And "Quebec" has its little variation:

"We are marching onward to Quebec,
And the drums are loudly beating;
The Americans are gaining the day,
And the British are retreating.

"The wars are o'er and we turn back,
To the place from whence we started,
We'll open the ring, and choose another in
To relieve the broken-hearted."

A very interesting game given me by Mrs. Kellogg, daughter of Nathaniel Cox, one of the earliest settlers here, is the following variation of the game of "Marriage", which was played in Puritan New England more than a century ago:

"Here comes my true love, and how do you do,
And how have you fared since last I saw you,
Come my dear partner, and give me your hand;
I want me a wife and you want you a man;
So married we will be, if we two can agree,
And we'll journey on to Scotland, and ever
happy be."

Then comes a sort of anthem for the wedding ceremony:

"If you want a kind companion
To insure the cares of life,
I'd advise you for to marry,
Therefore rise and choose a wife."

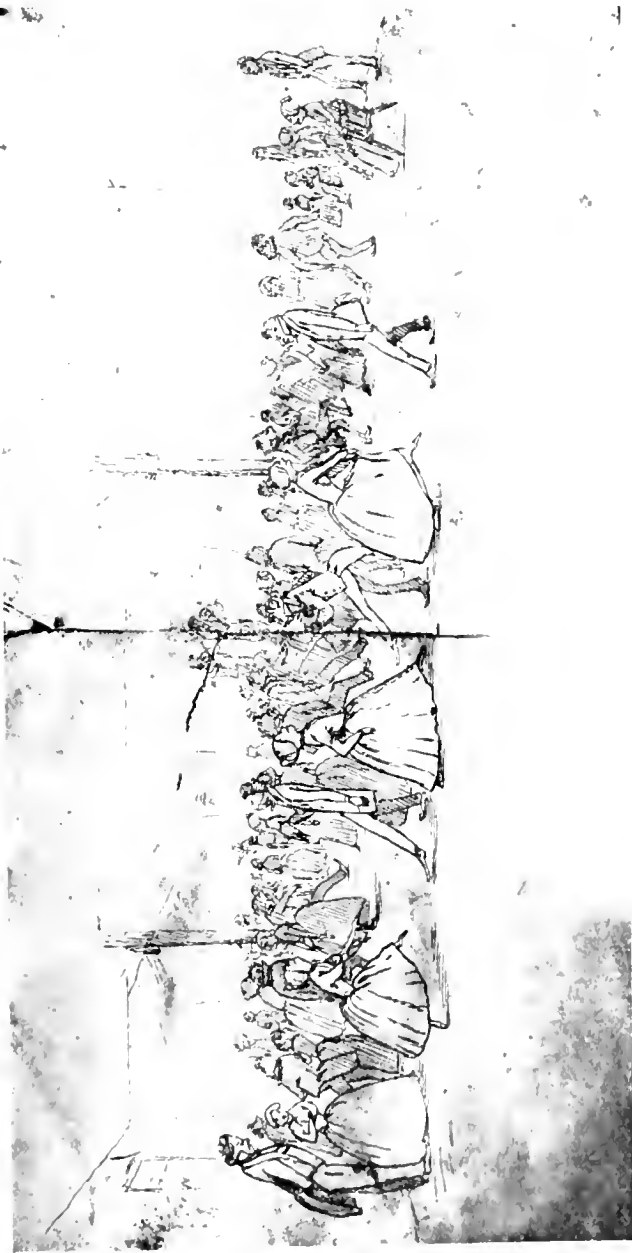
And finally the triumphal refrain:

"Now you're married, joined in wedlock,
Love her as you do your life,
Hug her, kiss her, promise to protect her,
Long as she remains your wife."

And then there were the forfeit games that introduced an element of humor, in which the sorrows of the condemned were alleviated by the pleasures of "measuring tape", "digging a well", "building a bridge", and the rest. But there were those who objected to such levity, and it does seem a trifle undignified to the present generation, but we should remember that this generation was shut off from most of the social amusements to which we resort with no compunctions of conscience. I once asked an old lady of the stricter class what they did for amusement, and she answered: "Why we talked; and we had a good time, too. A girl that was bright enough to carry on a conversation always had plenty of attention." No doubt; and this is still true; but conversation as a steady diet is liable to pall on one's taste, and some of it must have been rather solemn. There is a local tradition of a very dignified beau who used to enter a parlor, adjust himself in a chair; assume the upright position of a member of the order; and begin, "Let us converse." And then he would cut loose with edifying discussions. Of course that sort of thing tends to intellectuality. It calls for some effort to lay in topics of conversation, and to have something rational to say on them when one is making a habit of society. But it cannot be called restful, and it is obviously a more trying thing at a function, where you must talk to dozens of people, than in a limited company of those with whom you have much in common. There are very naturally many intelligent people who have a lurking sympathy with that character of Gelett Burgess's, who remarks:

"There is nothing in Five O'clock Tea,
To appeal to a person like me,
Polite conversation
Evokes the elation
A cow might enjoy in a tree."

And so there was naturally a tendency away from this strictest form of social life. One



W. H. Bass (Photo Company)

PROF. FOLLANSBEE'S GRAND BALL.
(Pen & Ink sketch by James B. Dumlup)

line of relief was found in music, not indeed of the highest order, but it would not have been amusement if it had been, for that sort of music means work. The singing school was instituted at the beginning, in the old log school house at Kentucky avenue and Washington street, and was kept up under various auspices for many years. It was devoted largely to church music, but it was a recognized amusement as it has been everywhere in the country. The principal secular music was rounds, or catches, among which "Scotland's burning", and "Three Blind Mice" were notable favorites. It is surprising that, with the start they have had on church music, the American people do not sing more than they do. Most of them enjoy it, and will join in a song at a religious or political meeting with pleasure, if they have any conception of the air or the words, and yet social singing, for entertainment is comparatively rare. When they assemble for a musical entertainment it is for the purpose of hearing one or more persons sing at a mark. Outside of colleges, jovial chorus singing is a rarity. Possibly the reason of it is that in our intellectual development "giving" has been developed to an abnormal extent, and consequently the average American hesitates to undertake anything unless he thinks he can escape sarcastic comment; and that is a high standard for we have numbers of bright Americans who, if they ever get to heaven, and hear the angels will assert that they "flatted terribly", if not something more unkind.

But there was quite a little music of a social character in Indianapolis, in the small sets, for music was always taught in the schools, and individuals here and there gained amateur acquaintance with various instruments. Mrs. Thos. Elliott (Maria Peaslee) informs me that at the beginning of the fifties music was quite a social feature. Among others Dr. Robert McClure played the guitar, John and James Dunlap the violin, George Hunt (the dentist) the banjo, and Washington Peaslee the cornet. Several of the young ladies played the piano, and nearly everybody joined in singing such popular songs as "Ben Bolt", "The Pirate's Serenade", "A Life on the Ocean Wave", "Lily Dale", "Old Dan Tucker", "Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep", and Mrs. Bolton's "Paddle Your Own Canoe". And there were other

diversions. The church social and the church supper came into popularity. The church fair sprang up, and notwithstanding the croaking of the unregenerate at the lottery features of the "grab bag", and "Rebekah at the Well" it has persisted and grown to this day. And then there were a number of games that were conceded to be innocuous. All sorts of guessing games were popular, but most of all "charades", which in addition to their intrinsic merit had the attraction of English fashion.

The most notable blow at the old barriers came in with Governor Wright's receptions. Governor Whitcomb undertook to entertain with quite elaborate refreshments, which were furnished by Parisette, the popular confectioner and caterer of the period, and in consequence his guests were invited, and rather limited. This caused criticism among the absentees; and Governor Wright, who was strong on Democratic principles and agriculture, substituted a series of public receptions, to which a general invitation was extended. The Governor's House—the one in which all the governors lived for over twenty years—occupied the eastern part of the present south end of the car sheds of the Traction and Terminal Station. The main entrance was from Market street to a hall on the east side of the house, and on the left were the double parlors, connecting with the hall at side and rear. At the back of the hall, behind the staircase stood a table laden with red apples, to which the guests helped themselves, on the cafeteria basis. Here it was that "the promenade" came into existence. Society grew weary of conversation seated or standing. It sought relief in motion. A couple started on a progress through the rooms, back through the hall, and through the rooms again. Others fell in, and soon a veritable procession would be circling around. It was a great invention. It had all the display capabilities of a refined cake-walk, and was a delightfully wicked approach to a grand march. The promenade came to stay for a long time, and indeed traces of it may be noted in many gatherings of the present.

The Civil War was a great social amalgamator. Governor Morton enlisted society to help care for the soldier, and the Sanitary Fair became the social feature of the period. When Governor Morton made his appeal "To

the Patriotic Women of Indiana", on October 10, 1861, he asked only for donations of surplus blankets, woolen shirts, drawers, gloves and socks, and that the women then undertake the manufacture of more. He said: "The sewing societies of our churches have a wide field for exertion, wider and grander than they will ever find again. Will they not give their associations for a time to this beneficent object? The numerous female benevolent societies, by giving their energies and organizations to this work, can speedily provide the necessary supply. Let women through the country, who have no opportunity to join such associations, emulate each other in their labors, and see who shall do most for their country and its defenders in this hour of trial." There was no need of a second appeal to the women whose sons, brothers and sweethearts had gone to the front. The response was so prompt and so liberal that before the winter was over notice was given that the supply was sufficient.¹⁹ But the demand continued and broadened to cover medicines and delicacies for the sick and wounded, and to provide for the families of soldiers. The experience of the women with church fairs had taught them that the most effective way to accomplish results was to provide some sort of entertainment for the men, and coax the needed funds from them. And so the sanitary fair was evolved. Says Terrell: "One prolific source of the supply of money as well as of goods, was the fairs", which, for the last two years of the war, constituted a feature of social life that a stranger might have easily mistaken for a fixed national habit. Neighborhood fairs, county fairs, state fairs, were constantly soliciting public attention in one quarter or another of the whole country, and nowhere more generally or successfully than in Indiana. It is true we had no gigantic displays like those of Chicago or Philadelphia, for we were working only in a humble way, and depending solely upon ourselves; but the aggregate results make as creditable a showing as any state can boast. * * * The State Sanitary Fair held at Indianapolis, in the fall of 1863, at the time of the State Agricultural Fair, was eminently

successful. The proceeds amounted to about forty thousand dollars."²⁰

This first fair at Indianapolis, called at the time the "Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Festival" was held November 18-25, 1863, at the Skating Rink, and was the great social event of the winter, though no social lines were drawn. Women who had never met socially found themselves shoulder to shoulder in a common cause. They found that when it came to working the men "the Eternal Feminine" ran through all of them. Staid church matrons found among frivolous society women some of the most efficient workers, and the society women found that their sisters were not at all slow. There had been numerous donations to the fair, of all sorts of articles, and every one of them was raffled off, the prize list being almost as long as that of the Louisiana Lottery. Moreover there were charades, and tableaux vivants, and other attractions of a near-theater character.

In 1864 the mix-up was much more striking, for the opening attraction of the fair was an address by Bishop Ames, and the closing one, on October 7, was a fancy dress ball. In the notice of the ball it is explained at some length that an erroneous impression has got out that it is to be a masque ball, but that in fact nobody in masque will be admitted. Moreover, in the course of the year an amateur dramatic association had been formed, with Mr. Edwin A. Davis, editor of the *Revised Statutes of 1876*, at its head, and it contributed to the entertainments of the fair during the week, the plays "Money", "The Serious Family", "Used Up", "Box and Cox", and "The Limerick Boy". Among the characters that attracted special commendation were Mr. Davis, as "Aminalab", Mrs. Fred Baggs as "Lady Sowerby Creamly", and Mr. and Mrs. John S. Tarkington (parents of Booth Tarkington) as "Mr. and Mrs. Torrens" in "The Serious Family"; Professor Wheeler as "Sir Charles Coldstream", and Captain Hill as "Ironbrace" in "Used Up"; Oscar Stone as "Stout" in "Money"; and Ezekiel McDonald as "Paddy Miles' Boy". Later additions to the club were Major Thatcher, Coleman R. ("Tad") Patterson, W. H. McCurdy, John Pomeroy, Austin H. Brown, Mrs. Abby Cady, Mrs. Stephenson and Mrs. Houston.

¹⁹ Terrell's Report, *Indiana in the War*, Vol. 1, p. 319.

²⁰ *Indiana in the War*, Vol. 1, p. 326.

In 1865 the society came on again with "Still Waters Run Deep" and some smaller efforts, and the fame of the performers spread abroad to such an extent that they were invited to Terre Haute, to give a performance there. Of course all this did not go on without attracting some notice in church circles, and one incident connected with it is notable as illustrating the changing sentiment of the time. Mrs. Fred Baggs, who had attracted attention by her histrionic ability, was a prominent member of Roberts Chapel, and two or three of the older ladies of the church who were not reconciled to such "goings on" thought she ought to be brought before the official board, and persuaded one of the members to bring the matter up. It is probable that no proposal for discipline ever caused more consternation in an Indianapolis church board. The members were all aggressive Union men, who felt that it was hardly possible to do too much for the soldiers and their families, and, moreover, Sister Baggs was too earnest and effective a factor in church and Sunday School work to be lightly assailed. There was some discussion of the matter, in a spirit of disapprobation, and then Mr. Baggs, who was a member of the board, arose and asked to be heard. He quietly took the full responsibility upon himself, saying that his wife had taken no step without consulting him, and that he had told her, if she could do anything to help the soldiers and their families, to go ahead. If the brethren felt that he had done wrong, his resignation as a class leader and a member of the board was at their command. Then John W. Ray, who had been restraining himself with difficulty, arose and stated that he thought such a proposal a disgrace to the church, and moved that all mention of it be eliminated from the board minutes, which was duly done. And there the matter ended.

The dramatical entertainments went on, and in fair week, 1868, "The Drummer Boy of Shiloh" was given, for the benefit of soldiers' widows and orphans, by "two hundred ladies and gentlemen of Indianapolis". And thereby hangs a tale. In the winter of 1858-9, the new Metropolitan Theater was not doing very much business, owing chiefly to the hostile attitude of the churches towards theaters, although it had some high grade attractions—Hackett, the Florences, Adah Isaacs Menken,

Matilda Heron, and others. At the same time the Widows and Orphans Society got short of funds. Mr. Sherlock, the manager of the theater, was struck with the happy thought of tendering a benefit to the society, and did so. The society considered the matter; consulted with its brothers, and its cousins, and its uncles; and then published a card declining the offer on the ground that it "could not accept money from such sources". The *Journal*, being on a low moral plane, was reckless enough to criticise this position in an editorial leader. Then Rev. George P. Tindall took up cudgels for the society in a lengthy communication, and the *Journal* undertook to demonstrate that the Reverend George did not know what he was talking about. But Tindall belonged to the church militant, and was not to be intimidated. On January 27, 1859, he fired a sermon at the theater that set the whole town to talking. One of the actors replied to this from the stage, and then the entire church population mixed in. On February 6, Mr. Tindall repeated his sermon, by invitation, at Wesley Chapel, Methodist church; and on February 12 the *Locomotive* published it in full, at the request of several citizens, at the same time charitably charging that the *Journal* and the *Sentinel*, which had sided with its political foe in this matter, were subsidized by the theatrical octopus. By this time the situation was getting so warm that the yellow press subsided, and left Tindall and the society in possession of the field.

Ten years later, when The Drummer Boy of Shiloh was put on the boards, the night of October 1 was set aside for a special benefit to the Orphan Asylum; and Widows and Orphans Society accepted the proceeds without a murmur. On October 7, in its notice of the last performance of the play, the *Journal*, which had evidently been nursing its wrath all these years, stated that "curiosity has triumphed over prejudice so far in this city that each night large and brilliant audiences have assembled within the rink to patronize a noble charity". In fact Berry Sulgrove never got over the affair, and in his history he refers to it twice, with scorn and contempt breathing from his words.¹²

While all this was going on at home, many

¹²*Hist. Indianapolis*, pp. 91, 260.

of the church boys were learning to play cards in the army—happy those who learned nothing worse! And they were learning that card-playing did not necessarily involve gambling. There were, of course, abundant opportunities for gambling if one had any desire for it, and they were not restricted to cards. Comrade Harry Adams relates an instructive legend of one of the boys who started a chuck-a-luck game while his regiment was at New Orleans. For counters he used a box of buttons, purchased of a cheap-clothing man who solemnly assured him that there were no other buttons like them in the city. But one day one of the players held out a button, and succeeded in matching it; whereupon he invested in a box, and at the first opportunity ran them in on the unsuspecting chuck-a-luck man. The victim noticed nothing unusual until he closed his game and undertook to put away the buttons in the original box, in which he kept them. With bulging eyes he viewed the pile of buttons around the overflowing box, and then in astonishment and despair ejaculated, "My God! How that box have shrank!"

Unquestionably the candid historian of 1870, looking back over the past decade, would have to admit that Satan had made some very serious breaches in the old church barriers. And yet it is not apparent that the church was at all damaged, for these were theological rather than religious barriers, and from the viewpoint of this age the church in the last century gave undue attention to theology, notwithstanding its many unquestionable virtues. Every sect went about with a theological chip on its shoulder, and the preserved sermons and other publications give one the impression that a large amount of the satisfaction of religion was found in the theological Donnybrook. And the most singular feature of it all was that nobody seemed to realize that practically all of these controverted theological positions were based not on express teachings of the scriptures but on human deductions from them, and especially on deductions from the writings of Paul, "in which", as good old St. Peter himself said, "are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction". The last century preacher, like Hudibras,

"Was in logic quite a critic,
Profoundly skilled in analytic;
He could distinguish and divide
A hair 'twixt North and Northwest side."

And yet, trained logicians as they were, nobody grasped the evident fact that every dogmatic theological position that is based on deduction involves the implied absurd premise that the finite mind can fathom the infinite. A popular old time formula for demonstrating the supremacy of logic was the proposition that "God, himself, could not make two hills without a valley between them". But in reality the world is full of disproof of this statement, conclusive as it may seem. There is no valley between Bunker Hill and the Mount of Olives. There is no valley between hills rising from a common plain, like the buttes of the Bad Lands. And we may indulge the presumption that almighty wisdom and power might find other modes of accomplishing this alleged impossibility. To illustrate the old church situation the command, "Thou shalt not steal", is express and plain. There was never any sectarian controversy about it, nor even any individual difference of opinion, though it has been charged in more recent times that ministers of wealthy congregations have sought to apologize for some of the refined modern methods of larceny. Equally explicit is the promise, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved", and all sects admit it; but when you pass to the time and exact mode of baptism you find all shades of creedal position, based on deduction, from the Quaker doctrine that, water-baptism is not essential at all to the hundred and one specifications of the proper form for the sacrament. It is perfectly safe to say that in the last century there was ten times as much discussion of the mode of baptism as there was of the sinfulness of stealing.

For his time, I presume there was no evangelical preacher who had more of what is called liberality than Henry Ward Beecher; but it is a far cry from his "Lectures to Young Men", delivered in this city in 1844, to the common church sentiment of today as to amusements. For theater-going his denunciation was as unsparring as of gambling, and dishonesty, though he maintained that Shakespeare was not so impure as Bulwer. Of dancing he said

nothing except an incidental condemnation of promiscuous public balls. Card-playing was referred to only as an introduction to gambling, and in these words: "It begins thus: Peeping into a bookstore, he watches till the sober customers go out; then slips in, and with assumed boldness, not concealing his shame, he asks for cards, buys them, and hastens out. The first game is to pay for the cards. After the relish of playing for a stake, no game can satisfy them without a stake." Just imagine anyone buying a deck of cards in that style today.

There are two recent expressions of sentiment that are noteworthy. In the spring of 1908 the question of teaching dancing in the public schools was brought before the Protestant Ministers Association of Indianapolis. A committee was appointed to investigate, and on June 1, 1908, it reported that the polka, waltz and other dancing steps were being taught as a part of the physical training, but the boys and girls were taught separately, the boys by a male instructor and the girls by a female. On these facts they reported this conclusion: "We believe that the object aimed at by the physical culture teaching and training in our schools is the development of our boys and girls into strong, graceful and healthy young men and women, and with this purpose we are in fullest accord. We are likewise in entire agreement with the school authorities in the belief that Indianapolis deserves and must have the very best system possible to bring about this desired end, but we caution and urge those in charge of the work to see to it that they do not either by direct teaching or by simple suggestion create in the mind of the child a desire that can find satisfaction only in the ballroom."

This was comparatively easy, and was adopted without serious opposition, but one brother was not satisfied as to the high school gatherings, at which the boys and girls danced together, and which, by the way, they had been doing for a number of years without attracting any comment. He offered this resolution: "Believing that the modern dance is a subtle foe to the highest and best development of our young people during the formative years of adolescence, we hereby express our conviction that dancing should not be permitted at the social functions of our high schools." This presented a much more perplexing problem, but

after discussion the resolution was lost by the narrow margin of a vote of 21 to 22. From a purely historical point of view, it is hardly questionable that similar action by a similar body, sixty years ago, would have caused a number of ministers to be requested to listen for a call to some other locality. The second incident was the presentation of the matter of the introduction of billiard and pool tables in the new Y. M. C. A. building which came up on February 22, 1909, at the Methodist Ministers Association. After a brief discussion, a resolution was adopted by an almost unanimous vote, "that it is the sense of this meeting that we as Methodist ministers heartily approve of the action of the Y. M. C. A. in seeking to bring to young men healthful and sane recreation".

It is noteworthy that while there have been concessions in social customs from the church side, there have been others of really greater importance from the other side. One of the most striking of these is the social use of intoxicating liquors. In 1883, Rev. Thomas A. Goodwin wrote, and without exaggeration, "Fifty years ago social drinking was common; today there is but little of it. The sideboard of the rich is not decorated with cut-glass decanters, and the cupboard of the poor does not contain the jug or big-bellied bottle of fifty years ago; and the merchant's counting-room has no barrel on tap for the gratuitous use of customers. Fifty years ago members of churches drank as others drank, and preachers drank also; and drunken lawyers, and drunken doctors, and drunken school-teachers abounded, and drunken preachers were not wholly wanting. Fifty years ago good men engaged in the traffic. But all this is changed."¹³ And it is a fact that atheism and other forms of hostility to Christianity have lost much of the aggressiveness and respectability that they had fifty years ago. They have been wrecked on American common sense, which says to the free-thinker, "Suppose you are right. Suppose Christianity is a mere delusion. What difference does it make to you? It is doing no harm, and it is causing thousands of people to become better citizens. It is lessening crime and wrong-doing of every kind. You profess to

¹³*Seventy-six Years' Tussle with the Traffic*, p. 34.

believe in free thought. Why then do you combat the belief of others when that belief is not harmful?" And so aggressive free-thought is not popular—it is not considered good form in polite society. Even the brilliant eloquence of Bob Ingersoll was effective only to give it a brief temporary standing. Free thought still exists, in abundance, but it is far more tolerant than it was. Even our free-thinking Germans have very little of the aggressive characteristics of their fathers.

The evident fact is that we have been amalgamating socially and morally as we have racially; and as communities and nations have always done from the beginning. We have been rubbing the rough corners off each other, and borrowing some characteristics one of another. And in the matter of social amusements the tendency has been steadily towards the standard set by St. Paul concerning meat sacrificed to idols. It is a waste of time to hunt up excuses for amusements. People do not dance or play billiards for exercise; they do not play cards or go to the theater for instruction. They do these things for recreation, and the desire for recreation is just as firmly im-

planted in mankind by the power that makes us as any other passion. It characterizes all the higher animals, and it is not confined to lambs and colts. You may see an old, spavined, wind-broken horse prance about and kick up his heels in a period of temporary good-feeling. It is useless to attempt to persuade or compel mankind to abandon what is natural. The utmost that can be done is to restrict natural propensities to rational and harmless bounds. And are the changes that have come in these matters here beneficial or detrimental? As to that you are confronted by these considerations: If you do not believe in Divine guidance in worldly affairs, to say that the change is not beneficial is to say that our civilization is a failure. If you do believe in Divine guidance, to say that the change is not beneficial is to question the success of the Almighty in attaining His purposes. And whatever your belief, you may rejoice in the growing realization that nobody is obliged to solve all the mysteries of the Divine plan, or to lay down with specific exactness the lines on which individual souls will be saved or lost.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE LITERARY ATMOSPHERE.

The muses must have lurked in the forest where Indianapolis now stands, for the tendency to poetry as well as prose composition was manifest from the first. At the first election, in 1822, not only did Morris Morris issue a "pamphlet" or hand bill, but his opponent for County Clerk, James M. Ray, was the object of a poetic eulogy including the lines--

"Full many a Jem of purest Ray serene
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear."¹

From that time on there were occasional original contributions in the newspapers, and occasionally something like Dr. Cool's ode to Dr. Coe, which did not get into the newspapers. These efforts were seldom classic, and in the earlier period reached their highest point in "The Hoosier's Nest," by John Finley, of Richmond, which appeared as the New Years Address of the *Journal*, in 1833. It has been supposed that this was the first use of the word "Hoosier" in print, but it occurs in the "carrier's address" of the *Democrat* just one year earlier, where, in advising the legislature as to its attitude towards Congress, it says:

"In favor much of large donations
Ask for our hoosiers' good plantations,
Urging each scheme of graduation
As justice to the common nation."²

But by this time Indianapolis had acquired a resident poetess, Nathaniel Bolton, who had been associated with George Smith on the

Gazette, the first paper of the new town, had met at Madison, Sarah T. Barrett, a young girl who was attracting more than local notice by her poems. She was of New Jersey and Pennsylvania parents who came west and located on a farm near Vernon, when she was a small child. Later her father moved to Madison, to give his children some education. Sarah was already proficient in the arts of frontier housewifery, and she rapidly mastered the learning of the schools. From the age of fourteen she was composing almost continuously. On October 15, 1831, she married Mr. Bolton and they located at Indianapolis, living first for two years at their Mt. Jackson farm, where the Insane Hospital is now, and then for three years in town, where Mr. Bolton edited the *Democrat*.

In 1836, having met financial reverses, they returned to the farm and opened a tavern, where for nine years they labored to better their circumstances and save their farm. Mrs. Bolton during this time was usually "her own housekeeper, chamber-maid and cook, besides superintending a dairy of ten cows, caring for the milk, and making large quantities of butter and cheese for the market." But little things like these did not sour her disposition, or interfere with her social and literary life. Vivacious and affable, she was known to her intimates as "Tittle," which was her middle name; and she was always a social magnet. The Bolton tavern became the great resort for parties of young people from the town, and there were always parties given there for the members of the General Assembly during its sessions. Nor did the Boltons miss any of the town functions. If the weather was bad she would come in to the residence of Nathaniel Cox, and there don her party finery. Society

¹*News*, May 10, 24, 1879.

²*Democrat*, January 3, 1832.

then was largely on an intellectual basis, and she won the respect and friendship of most of the prominent men of the state. In fact, it was as much due to her as her husband that he was elected State Librarian by the legislature of 1851 over John B. Dillon—in the election two votes were cast for her. The office was of no material financial value, having a small salary and no perquisites but work, as the librarian was custodian of the capitol. Mrs. Bolton helped in all departments of the new office; and it fell to her to sew the carpets for the House and Senate chambers when they were refitted in 1851 for the assembly of the governors of the western states, on invitation of Gov. Wright. It was during the week or more of this sewing that she composed "Paddle Your Own Canoe," which was set to music and was for some years a very popular song.

Mrs. Bolton's interests were not merely domestic, social and literary. She took an intelligent part in politics as well. She was a Democrat, and maintained her faith in both prose and verse; but she labored for reforms as well as party victory. Robert Dale Owen gets the credit for Indiana's early legislation for the separate property rights of women, and deserves much of it; but Mrs. Bolton, while he was making the notable fight in the constitutional convention of 1851, was "writing articles setting forth the grievances resulting from woman's status, as under the common law, and the necessity of reform; and scattering these articles through the newspapers over the state to make public opinion." The fight did not win in the convention, but it did later in the legislature. The women first showed their spirit in this cause, by presenting Mr. Owen a silver pitcher, on May 28, 1851, through an organized movement of which Mrs. Bolton and Mrs. Priscilla Drake were the moving spirits.³ It was just at this time that the "Bloomer" costume was attracting the ridicule of the country, and even rational recognition of women's rights fell under the general condemnation, but the fight went on. I have before me a letter of Robert

Dale Owen to Mrs. Bolton, of July 6, 1851, in which, referring to this matter, he says: "It must be confessed that the whole affair has been eminently successful, and promises to leave behind it important results. To whom the credit is due of effecting these I, at least, know, if the public does not. I think it will always be a pleasant reflection to you that by dint of perseverance through many obstacles, you have so efficiently contributed to the good cause of the property rights of your sex."

Indianapolis was always fortunate in its women of intellect and high character who wielded an influence for its uplift, and naturally there were some of especial prominence. Contemporary with Mrs. Bolton and Mrs. Drake—who was a notably intellectual woman—was Mrs. Zerelda G. Wallace. She was one of "the beautiful Sanders girls"—the five daughters of Dr. John H. Sanders, who came here from Kentucky in 1829 and was one of the leading physicians of the place. He built the house at Market and Illinois streets that was later purchased by the state and was for years the residence of the governors. Zerelda, the eldest, at the age of nineteen, became the second wife of Gov. David Wallace, on December 26, 1836. The others became Mrs. McCrea, of New Orleans; Mrs. Robert B. Duncan, Mrs. David S. Beatty, and the youngest the wife of Dr. Richard J. Gatling, inventor of the Gatling gun. Mrs. Wallace was a thoroughly domestic woman, devoted to her family, as testified by her step-son, Gen. Lew Wallace,⁴ but her domesticity extended to intellectual affairs, and she joined as critic and student in the labors of her husband and the education of the children.⁵ She took an interest in politics when young, but did not participate publicly until past three-score, when she became noted as a temperance speaker, and still later, on account of woman's lack of influence for temperance, a champion of woman's suffrage. My father told me that the strongest temperance speech he ever heard was in the nature of a sermon, by Mrs. Wallace, on the moral responsibility

³ Mrs. Bolton's letter, in *Woolen's Biog. and Hist. Sketches*, p. 296.

⁴ The speeches are in full in the *Sentinel*, May 30, May 31, June 3, 1851.

⁵ This letter is owned by Mrs. Chapin C. Foster. As to Mrs. Bolton see *Journal*, February 22, 1880.

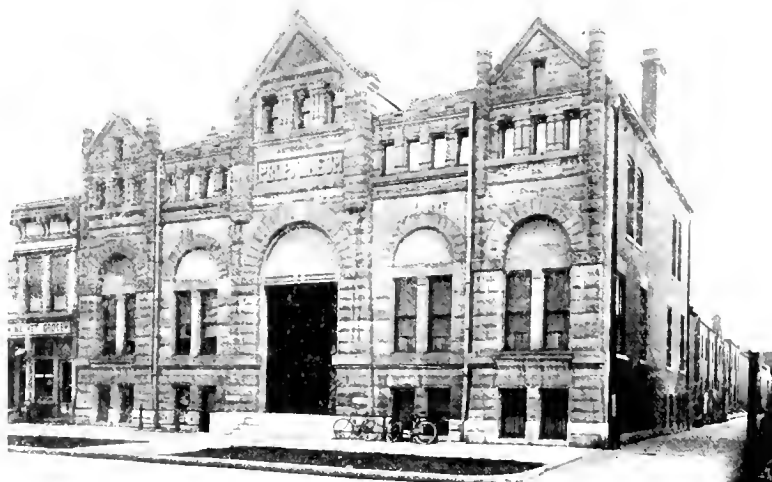
⁶ *Autobiography*, Vol. I, p. 46.

⁷ *Journal*, May 17, 1881.

of the community for the license system, in which she took for a text Exodus 21, 28 and 29: "If an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die; then the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten; but the owner of the ox shall be quit. But if the ox were wont to push with his horn in time past, and it hath been testified to his owner, and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned, and his owner also shall be put to death."

In the period since the war the intellectual influence of woman has been largely exercised

in a memorial volume that bears its own testimony to her ability. Mrs. Sewall was put in various offices of honor and trust, reaching finally the international stage. She was president of the National Council of Women from 1891 to 1899, and president of the International Council of Women from 1899 to 1904, besides representing the government at several foreign expositions and congresses. Although not at all similar, both were charming socially, and both left a lasting impress on Indianapolis. It may be added that Mrs. Sewall edited the "women's page" of *The Sunday Times* while that paper ex-



THE PROPYLAEUM.

through the numerous literary clubs. The first of these was the Hesperian, which probably attracted public notice most because it made an excursion to Mammoth Cave, and the member delegated as historian of the event wrote that it was "a very remarkable curiosity, but badly out of repair." But the club life got past such erudities, and became an intellectual force of vast importance. Of the hundreds who have borne honorable part in it, none will grudge special mention of two—Miss Catherine Merrill and Mrs. May Wright Sewall. Both were teachers of rare ability, who have left their direct impress on many pupils now living. Both received notable recognition from their sisters. Miss Merrill's admirers preserved her literary work

isted, and at the same time Mrs. Florence Atkinson edited that of the *Scout*.

Although the first two newspaper offices were prepared for book work of plain character, there was little call for their services in that line except for official publications, and none of that till the coming of the government in 1825. Rev. J. C. Fletcher states that "the first book of any consequence published in central Indiana" was printed by John Douglass at the *Journal* office in 1828, and bore the title: "Polemical Discussions on Four General Subjects, viz. I. On the unity of the church in a lecture from Matt. xxxvi, 18-20. II. Strictures on the Independent Scheme of Church Government. III. A lecture on the subject of Covenanting, from

Psalm 105, 6-10. IV. An essay on Creeds and Confessions of Faith. By James Duncan."⁸ There were, however, several similar publications before that time. On April 5, 1824, the *Censor* advertised: "Just published for the author and for sale at this office, 'The Christian's Duty, Stated, Proved and Applied.' By Isaac Reed, A. M." On March 1, 1825, the *Journal* advertised: "Just published at this office, and for sale at the stores of Mr. Givan and Mr. Hawkins, A Discourse on Baptism by the Rev. Benjamin Barnes." On September 19, 1826, the *Journal* advertised: "Just published and for sale at this office, Animadversions on the principles of the New Harmony Society, together with a Dialogue between an Atheist and a Theist. By James Duncan. Price 25 cents." Isaac Reed was a Presbyterian minister, at that time preaching at Bloomington and Indianapolis. Benjamin Barnes was a local Baptist preacher, who was then serving the newly organized Baptist congregation. For a number of years the literary product was theological, official and political, outside of newspaper articles. Nowland says that in 1832 Capt. John Cain "published a book of miscellaneous poems, the first book of any kind, published in the place."⁹ I find no contemporary mention of this, but in 1832, Cain, who was then postmaster, published "The Officer's Guide and Farmers' Manual," a popular legal treatise on the duties of minor public officers, with legal forms of various kinds, the Declaration of Independence, state and national constitutions, etc.¹⁰ Books of this kind had been published long before this. One called "The Indiana Justice and Farmers' Serivener" is advertised in the oldest preserved copies of the *Gazette*, as published at that office.¹¹

In fact, I find no evidence of the publication of anything on a purely literary basis in a very early day. The earliest book of original poetry known to be published at Indianapolis was a somewhat pretentious effort in the style of Lalla Rookh, entitled "Gulzar,

or the Rose Bower. A Tale of Persia." It was published at the *Scout* office, and was by John S. Reid, of Union County, who used to contribute poems occasionally to the *Scout*. He had a "Monody on the Death of Gen. Jackson" in its issue of July 9, 1845. "Gulzar" was published that same summer, and in quantities that exceeded the demand. Thirty years later A. L. Hunt, the East Washington street auctioneer, used to vary the monotony of life by putting up a volume, with "I will now give you an opportunity to secure a copy of that thrilling poem, Guzzler, or the Horse Power. How much, etc." In 1846 John D. Defrees published "The Ohio," a heterogeneous collection of prose stories, of 140 odd pages, "compiled and abridged by Enoch May," father of Edwin May, the architect of the State House. In 1850 Defrees also published in pamphlet "A Few Poems," which were selections from current verse. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the Indianapolis original book product prior to the Civil War was on a basis strictly utilitarian, or at least intended so to be.

While books were scarce in the early days as compared with the present, they were in reach of the earnest seeker in Indianapolis. At the beginning of December, 1821, Mrs. Fletcher recorded in her diary: "Today I finished the Vicar of Wakefield," and "I commenced to read the life of Washington." On December 27, 1821, she says: "Mr. Fletcher was reading Robertson's History of America." On February 12, 1823, she mentions reading "The Horrors of Oakendale Abbey, a romance," and in January, 1824, speaks of receiving three copies of *The Casket*, a popular magazine, which she enjoyed. Mr. Fletcher also mentions in his diary, in 1821, reading "the life of Daomon, who was hung in New Albany this year, which I read without much acquisition of knowledge." In November he speaks of reading "a novel called Emma, by some person unknown;" and "on the 20th of November I commenced Duncan's logic, which I have read once before." And again, "December 4, 1821, I began reading the travels of Mungo Park in the interior of Africa." In 1879, Rev. J. C. Fletcher wrote: "Col. Blake James was the first in Indianapolis to have a non professional collection of miscellaneous works that might be

⁸*News*, August 16, 1879.

⁹*Reminiscences*, p. 209.

¹⁰*Democrat*, October 13, December 29, 1832.

¹¹*Gazette*, June 8, 1824.

called a library. My father and Mr. Merrill were next in the list of literary works, Mr. Merrill's being the largest. Mrs. James Blake informed me last summer that she still possessed many of the volumes that her late husband first brought with him to Indianapolis. Some of these books, such as a finely illustrated edition of Goldsmith's *Animated Nature* and the *Arabian Nights Entertainment*, were the first, except the Bible, read to me by my mother, that made an impression upon me."¹²

Mr. Fletcher mentions elsewhere, however, that Harvey Gregg had "2,700 volumes in his library" when he came to Indianapolis in 1821,¹³ and not all of these were law books. And G. J. Johnston, with whom Mr. Gregg formed a partnership in 1823, also had quite a library, as shown by this advertisement soon after: "Books Lost. Many of my books have been taken out of Mr. Gregg's office without leave or license, and have not been returned; among others are the following: 2d and 12th vols. Johnson's Works, 3d vol. Bingley's Useful Knowledge, 3d vol. Massillon Sermons, 1st vol. Gil Blas, 1st vol. Universal History. I hope those who have them or any other of my books, will please return them immediately, as the sets are of no value without them. G. J. Johnston."¹⁴ At this time most of the books not brought in by the immigrant settlers were bought at Cincinnati, but soon there began to be book auctions at Indianapolis. The first of these recorded was on January 13, 1825, "at the door of Washington Hall," at which "political, historical and miscellaneous works" were sold, and "gentlemen who wish to become politicians are requested to attend particularly."¹⁵ A little later some books began to be carried in the stocks of general stores. In July, 1829, McCarty & Williams advertised a special consignment from Philadelphia, "at very reduced prices for cash," including "Rollin's Ancient History; Spectator, new edition, in 2 volumes; Buck's Dictionary, gilt; Shakespeare's Plays, 8 vols.; History of England; Godman's Natural History, in 3 volumes;

Wilson's Hymns; Songs in the Night; Coquette; Peter Wilkins; Lady of the Lake; Devil on two Sticks; with a great variety of useful and interesting books too numerous to be inserted in a newspaper advertisement."

It was not until 1833 that Indianapolis had a regular bookstore of its own. On June 1 of that year, Hubbard & Edmonds, of Cincinnati, announced that they, in connection with W. E. Dumbar, had established a branch store "near the Post Office, two doors west of H. Porter & Co.'s store, where they offer for sale a general collection of books, and a good assortment of stationery." This store was known as "the Indianapolis Book Store," and it advertised very freely from the start, showing that practically all the books of the day were on hand; not only school books of all kinds, law books, religious and standard works, but also all the novels available. Miss Austin's were among the first listed.¹⁶ This firm continued until August 1, 1834, when Dumbar bought out the others and continued the business himself until March 26, 1835. The stock was then bought by M. M. Henkle, who made additions to it and opened a store "on Washington street 3 doors east of the bank." It is notable that most of the books sold in the West at this period were reprints of European works and the classics. This was partly due to the fact that there was comparatively little American literature, and partly to the fact that there was no copyright on such books, which were "pirated" freely by American publishers and sold at fairly low rates. On February 1, 1837, Wm. G. Wiley announced a new book store "at the storeroom lately occupied by B. I. Blythe & Co. in Washington street, next door to H. Porter's store." From that time competition was brisk, and the supply of books for sale good. On June 23, 1851, the *Journal* congratulated its readers that, "We have in Indianapolis, among our advantages, four book stores, that will compare favorably with those of any town in the west," and added that "the condition of the book stores in a place is a sure index to the intelligence of its people." The booksellers at that time were Ross & Ray, John O'Kane, C. B. Davis and Samuel Merrill.

¹²*News*, April 4, 1879.

¹³*News*, June 14, 1879.

¹⁴*Western Censor*, November 24, 1823.

¹⁵*Gazette*, January 11, 1825.

¹⁶*Journal*, June 15, 1833.

The first library in Indianapolis of a public character was the State Library, which was established in 1825¹⁷ from "the books now in the office of the Secretary of State, together with such as may be added to the collection in pursuance of this act, or any other law, or by donation, exchange or otherwise." An appropriation of \$50 was made for the purchase and binding of books, and \$30 a year thereafter. This was increased in 1831 to \$100 a year, and there were occasional extra provisions, as an order in 1833 for a full set of Niles Register. And on the same date the Secretary of State was directed to make no "expenditures of the Library Fund in the purchase of novels or romances."¹⁸ This policy, which was strictly followed for some years, resulted in the acquisition of some of the more notable publications of the time that otherwise would not have been in public reach. The library was in charge of the Secretary of State until 1841, when it was made a separate institution, and the librarian was made custodian of the state house and grounds. The passage of this law was due to John Cook, who became the first librarian. At this time the library had about 2,000 volumes, but it was a mixed law and general library, and continued to be so until 1867, when the law books were put in a separate library under charge of the Supreme Court.

Cook lasted three years, and was followed by Samuel P. Daniels for one year, after which John B. Dillon, the historian, was librarian for six years; Nathaniel Bolton for three years, and Gordon Tanner for three years. In this period the library was really an influential factor in the intellectual life of the city. It enabled Henry Ward Beecher to edit the *Indiana Farmer and Gardener*. He says: "In the State Library were London's works—his *Encyclopedia of Horticulture, of Agriculture, and of Architecture*. We fell upon them and for years almost monopolized them. In our little one-story cottage, after the day's work was done, we pored over these monuments of an almost incredible industry, and read, we suppose, not only every line but much of it many times over. * * * We have had long discus-

sions in that little bedroom at Indianapolis, with Van Mors about pears, with Vibert about roses, with Thompson and Knight of fruits and theories of vegetable life, and with London about everything under the heavens in the horticultural world."¹⁹ And Lew Wallace was equally benefited, but in another way, for he testifies of this library: "In the most impressionable period of my life I was introduced to Washington Irving and Fenimore Cooper, or, more plainly, to their works; and I reveled in them, especially Cooper's, whose subjects were better adapted to my opening mind. For months and months after that discovery my name figured on the receipt register of the library more frequently than any other."²⁰

Wallace gives a good picture of the place: "The library in the state-house was just across the rotunda from the executive office. Two west windows, though frequently muddled by the festoonery of intrusive spiders, lighted the room of afternoons, but not of mornings. In the latter it was pervaded with a gleam which, while somewhat troublesome to a visitor anxious to get a volume quickly that he might sooner be gone, was yet in harmony with the delicious silence of the place." This quality adhered long after, when several rooms had been added, and the place had become the depository of trophies of the Mexican and Civil Wars. In fact, it rather increased, for as the building grew older, and the stucco got knocked off the bricks of the great pillars, and the floors wore in ruts, it was really quite ruinous, and gave the local mind something to grasp when reading Irving's description of the Alhambra. When the legislature was not in session the building was a charmingly dreamy place, and the library was the climax of it. But the library itself got into a rather ruinous condition in the war times, and the years following; and the reform efforts of Mrs. Oren, who took charge of it in 1873, vigorous as they were, only put it in a state of visible repair.

The truth is the appropriations were too small to keep up repairs, never getting above \$400 a year for books and binding until 1889. In 1888 I determined to try for an improve-

¹⁷Acts of 1825, p. 47.

¹⁸Acts 1833, p. 232, 240.

¹⁹Biography, Beecher & Seoville, p. 198.

²⁰Autobiography, p. 51.

ment. The recently reorganized Indiana Historical Society readily agreed to devote its efforts to building up the State Library instead of a separate one of its own, and adopted a memorial to the legislature asking an appropriation of \$5,000 for one year, and \$2,000 a year thereafter, for books and binding. Other state societies—the State Board of Agriculture, Horticultural Society, Horse Breeders, Sheep Breeders, Jersey Breeders, Short Horn Breeders, Hog Breeders, Bee Keepers, etc., were glad to join in the movement on condition that the literature of their various lines be put in the library, and when the legislature met there was so strong an influence for the proposed measure that it was readily adopted. But one other factor in the influence was added. I had to take the position of librarian and look after the interests of the Democratic party, which I did for four years. The same law transferred the battle flags and emblems to the care of the State Geologist. With the increased appropriation it was possible to put the library in presentable condition and make reasonable additions to it. In 1895 the legislature put the library under care of the State Board of Education, giving it power to elect the librarian; and in 1903 largely increased the appropriations. The library has now reached a condition where it is creditable to the state, and is hampered only by lack of room. This the present efficient librarian, Prof. Demarecus C. Brown, is actively endeavoring to remedy by securing provision for a library building.

But to return to early Indianapolis, the development of the State Library was neither rapid enough nor popular enough to suit the pioneer readers of the place, and in 1828 they organized a joint-stock institution called the Indianapolis Library, with shares at \$5 each. On July 9, 1828, the directors met to perfect the organization and arrange for opening the library in the "library room at Mr. Cain's, opposite Washington Hall". The association had at that time collected "between two and three hundred volumes". Brown says that during most of its existence the library was kept in the "mansion" on the Circle, and that Obed Foote, Sr., was librarian.²¹ This was kept up for four or five years, and went

to pieces probably in part because the members had read all the books and lacked money for more, and in part because in 1834 Hubbard Edmonds & Co. opened a circulating library in connection with their City Bookstore.

In February, 1835, Rev. James W. McKenney came to minister at the First Presbyterian Church, and a few weeks later delivered a lecture at the Athenaeum on "Self Improvement" in which he laid especial stress on reading. The *Journal* followed with a long editorial of indorsement, and asked what had become of the Indianapolis Library, and called for its resuscitation.²² This was not done, but a new organization was formed, called the Young Men's Literary Society, and for fifteen years it was the popular medium for culture of the younger men of the town. It collected a library of several hundred volumes, and in addition to debates and literary exercises of its own it gave a series of lectures each winter from home and imported talent. It was incorporated in April, 1847, under the general law, as the Union Literary Society, and continued until 1851. In 1854 its library was turned over to the Young Men's Christian Association, which was organized in that year, and which continued the work of providing lectures for the public, and maintained a considerable library.

But the farthest reaching of the library influences of the early times was that of the Sunday Schools. The library was a leading feature of the Union Sabbath School in Indianapolis, and when the Indiana Sabbath School Union met in this place August 3-6, 1827, it adopted the rules of the Indianapolis school as models for the state. They made the issuance of books rewards for memorizing scripture, and thus worked doubly for the culture of the pupils. This work of furnishing literature—particularly juvenile literature—was continued by the Sunday Schools until long after the Civil War, and indeed until after the city had established its free public library. In 1827 the State Sabbath School Union established three "depositories", from which the Sunday School books were distributed, at Madison, New Albany and Indianapolis, so there was always a full supply here to select from. And it may be

²¹*Hist. Indianapolis*, p. 99.

²²*Journal*, April 24, 1835.

added that while there has been a great deal of fun poked at Sunday School books, they included the best juveniles in the period, and without the strict classification that obtains today. For example, the "Oliver Optics" are very generally excluded from public libraries now, but I was privileged to read all of them from a Sunday School library, and the boys were more than pleased to get them. Owing to the very general attendance at Sunday School in the early days, the circulation of these books was almost universal.

There has been a general misconception as to the beginning of the County Library. Brown says: "The collection of books for the County Library began shortly after the organization of the county, two per cent of the lot fund sales being set apart for that purpose."²² Sulgrove says: "This library was founded in 1844 on a public fund, of which a share was given to each county for library purposes." In reality the first funds were from the two per cent of the sale of lots, which was assigned to that purpose by the act of December 31, 1821, creating Marion County,²³ but this fund was not set aside at the time as provided, the money being turned over to the state. In 1841 Henry P. Coburn became interested in the matter, and at the next session of the legislature a law was passed authorizing him to investigate the matter, and, on the Auditor and Treasurer of State being satisfied of the amount paid over, they were to pay it to him, with six per cent interest, for the Marion County Library.²⁴ At that time there had been lots sold, since the passage of the two per cent law, to the amount of \$91,475.81, and there was due to the library fund \$1,829.51 with interest.

Mr. Coburn accepted the trust, and trustees for the library were appointed by the County Commissioners on September 7, 1842, but there was some delay about getting the money, and no action was taken by these trustees. The law was amended by acts of February 11, 1843, and January 13, 1844, which called for new trustees; and finally, on April 22, 1844, the trustees organized and began to act, there being present at the opening meet-

ing Demas L. McFarland, George Bruce, H. P. Coburn, James Sulgrove and Dr. Livingston Dunlap, trustees. They appropriated \$600 for books, and authorized Mr. Sulgrove to sell \$600 of the scrip in which the state had paid its debt, it being then financially embarrassed by the internal improvement movement. They set aside \$2,000 as a "reserve fund", the interest on which was to be used for the purchase of books. The first lot of books were selected by Mr. Coburn, and well selected. The first announcement of the opening of the library was made in the papers of January 8, 1845. It was to be open on Saturdays from 9 to 12 in the morning, and 1 to 3 in the afternoon. A fee was charged of 75 cents a year for families and 50 cents for individuals. On January 7, 1854, when the first financial report was entered in the minutes, the trustees had on hand \$2,456.60. This library was of great benefit to those who had access to it, but the fee kept out many who needed it most. It was not put on a free basis until after Miss Lydia Blaiich became librarian in 1892. The library now has 5,600 volumes, and has a list of 500 patrons. The earlier librarians were Augustus Coburn, 1845; Napoleon B. Taylor, October-December, 1845; Berry Sulgrove, 1846; P. H. Jameson, 1847; John Caven, 1847-52; John Taffe, 1853-5; Calvin Taylor, 1855-8; John W. Hamilton, 1858-66; James A. Hamilton, 1866-70; J. W. Hadley, 1870-2; Horace Hadley, 1873-5; Lizzie L. Hadley, 1875-80; Mrs. E. W. Hadley, 1880-2; Bertha Witt, 1882-4; Lucy Phipps, 1884-8; Jessie Allen, 1888-92.

The next library that came to Indianapolis was the Township Library of Center Township, formed under the state law of 1852, the first installment of between 300 and 400 volumes being furnished by the state. This was the first absolutely free public library in Indianapolis, and it was well patronized—indeed, so well patronized that the more popular books were worn out, and as there were not funds to buy new ones the library fell into disuse, and was finally stored with the County Library, where it still remains. There were two libraries of a semi-public character formed during the war period. The Ames Institute was a literary and lecture association organized in 1860, chiefly by young Methodists. It collected a library of about

²²*Hist. Indianapolis*, v, 99.

²³*Acts of 1821*, p. 135.

²⁴*Local Laws of 1842*, p. 135.

500 volumes before it went to pieces. In 1863 the Young Men's Library Association was organized. It had a reading room on the third floor of Hubbard's block, and had a small library, though its chief attention was to periodicals.

The war left all library movements in Indianapolis in a discouraging condition, and the new impetus required came in a sermon preached on November 26, 1868, by Rev. H. A. Edson—"A Plea for a Public Library". This resulted in the formation of the Indianapolis Library Association, which was composed of 100 citizens, each of whom subscribed \$150, payable in annual installments of \$25. This library was opened on the second floor of Martindale's Block—where the Lemeke Building now is—in charge of Mrs. McCready, wife of the former mayor. It was hailed with joy by many citizens, but it also was on a fee basis, and did not reach the whole community. In the fall of 1870, A. C. Shortridge, City Superintendent of Schools, called a meeting of a few friends to consider the school conditions of the city. There were present E. B. Martindale, John Caven, Addison L. Roache, Austin H. Brown, Simon Yandes, Thos. B. Elliott and H. G. Cary. Among other things Shortridge urged provision for a free city library for the reference work of the schools. He with Judge Roache and Austin H. Brown were appointed to prepare a bill, which was duly done, Mr. Brown doing the actual drafting. This bill became the school law of Indianapolis of March 3, 1871, and included provision for a tax of 2 cents on \$100 for a free public library—it was later increased to 4 cents. On the organization of the new school board and levy of the library tax, the Indianapolis Library Association donated its collection of books, amounting to 2,000 volumes, and the city library opened on April 8, 1873, free to the whole city. For the year ending June 30, 1909, the number of volumes in the library was 138,852, and the circulation 451,415.

The city library was a great success from the start. The librarians have been Charles Evans, 1873-8 and 1889-92; Albert Yohn, 1878-9; Arthur W. Tyler, 1879-82; W. DeM. Hooper, 1882-9; and Eliza G. Browning from 1892 to date. All of them were excellent librarians, Mr. Yohn and Miss Browning hav-

ing been residents of Indianapolis prior to appointment, and the others having been brought from outside. The imported ones did not get along with the school board, which was usually the fault of the school board. After the second departure of Mr. Evans Miss Browning, who had come into the library in 1881, and had been Assistant Librarian since 1882, was put in charge until the school board could "find just the librarian they wanted", and within a year they decided that they had found her, and have never changed their minds.

In April, 1907, Miss Browning opened correspondence with Mr. Andrew Carnegie for a donation to the city for a main library building and branches; and received the customary reply from his secretary, Mr. James Bertram, that these matters were taken up with the Mayor and City Council. As the library is under the school board, which is independent of the city government, the matter was taken up by the Commercial Club, which requested the school board, to request the Mayor, to request Mr. Carnegie for the donation. This was done and Secretary Bertram answered that Mr. Carnegie was no longer interested in main buildings for large cities, but was interested in branch libraries. Request was then made for \$120,000 for six branch libraries; and, on January 19, 1909, Mr. Carnegie tendered this amount, on condition that sites be furnished, and annual support of \$2,000 be guaranteed for each, which was accepted on January 26. The branches are located, three adjoining school buildings—No. 3, at Rural and Washington streets; No. 49, at Kappes and Morris streets, West Indianapolis; No. 50, at Mount and Ohio streets, Haughville—also at Spades Place; Prospect and Madison avenue; and Broadway and Fall Creek. The first three are expected to be ready for occupancy by the spring of 1910, and the others within a year later. All are to be "neighborhood centers" as well as libraries, furnished with assembly room and club room in the basement, as well as adult and children's reading rooms, work room and delivery room on the main floor.

There were those, even in the fifties, who nursed the delusion that you cannot have a literary atmosphere unless you organize and have someone read a paper. Berry Sulgrove

was one of them, and he delivered a hot roast on the public for the small attendance at Rev. Mr. Fisher's lecture before the Union Literary Society in 1848, closing with the words: "We hope Mr. Fisher and his young friends of the Union Literary Society will find some solace for their mortification in the peculiarities of a state, so low in the scale of intelligence, without common schools, and ignorant of the claims of scientific and literary institutions."²⁶ Three years later he had an article on "Literature in Indianapolis", in which he said: "The complacency with which some editors assume for our city the character of a literary, religious, benevolent city, must look a little ridiculous to anyone acquainted with its character and history. * * * As the illusion is the result of our vanity, it is a very natural illusion. It will require, however, a very slight acquaintance with the various literary enterprises that have been begun, and blown up in this town, to dispel it. Of all the societies and associations that have been formed here, for the cultivation of literary taste and the furtherance of literary objects, few survived long, and all are dead now. The old Historical Society is dead, the Citizens' Library Association is dead, the numerous debating clubs that have been formed have generally died within a year after their creation.

"The Union Literary Society, that has made more and more determined efforts than all others together, is dead. And none know better than its members that for eight years past its existence has been little more than a fitful breathing spell, after which it relapsed into torpidity again. Its lectures, as long as they were free, were well attended; and, as the president of it observed when the last one was delivered, it was because they were free. When Mr. Fisher of Cincinnati was procured to deliver a couple of lectures before it, there could not be enough money raised from those that heard them to pay his expenses, and a few men, who felt that the credit of the town was at stake, raised the balance by voluntary contribution.

"The reading room project, that nobody opposes, only numbers about sixty subscribers, and of that number eight-tenths are

young men, who, to say the least, are not rich. A short time ago a list of fifteen or twenty men was published in our papers, who each owned more than \$20,000 within the corporation, and only two of them have contributed a cent to this enterprise. Its chief support is derived from citizens who have settled here within a few years past. * * * Of that real unmixed liberality that can give a dollar without expecting twenty cents back as a dividend, our town is as destitute as any town. While our county ranks second in population in the state, it ranks third even in the number of its churches, sixteenth in the number of its common schools, and fifth in the number of its libraries. It stands first in no intellectual or moral enterprise. Industry, energy and enterprise it certainly has, but that taste for intellectual pursuits, without which no community has ever become prominent in the history of the world, it certainly has not, and from present appearances is not likely to have."²⁷

Among the educational influences that probably affected literary style, there are two or three that seem to me to be notably prominent. One of these was Professor Hoshour's "Altisonant Letters". Samuel K. Hoshour was a native of Pennsylvania, an orphan, who attained an education by his own strenuous effort. Well established as a Lutheran minister, he became convinced in 1835 of the necessity of baptism by immersion, and adopted the creed of Alexander Campbell. Deprived of his position and support by this act of conscience, he migrated to Indiana, located at Centerville, and obtained a support by preaching and teaching school. In 1837 he began editing the *Wayne County Chronicle* at Centerville. Here he began writing the "Letters to Squire Pedant, in the East, by Lorenzo Altisonant, an Emigrant to the West". As the name indicates, they were in high-flown style, or rather an exaggerated burlesque of it, and included nearly all the rare words in the language at that time. Originally intended for amusement, like Franklin's advertisement for his lost hat, Mr. Hoshour saw that they would be useful in education, and began using them for reading and spelling lessons in the seminary at Cen-

²⁶*Locomotive*, February 5, 1848.

²⁷*Locomotive*, October 18, 1851.

terville, continuing this later in the seminary at Cambridge. He next realized that they served the still more important function of teaching the avoidance of pompous writing, and it was in this respect that they had their greatest value. Among his Wayne County pupils were Lew Wallace and Oliver P. Morton. Wallace makes special acknowledgment of his debt to "Artisanant"²⁸ and no doubt much of Morton's terse and strong style was due to the same influence. But it went far beyond the circle of pupils, for the book was widely read through Indiana for years. It went through four editions, the earlier ones published at Cincinnati, and the last at Indianapolis, whither Professor Hoshour came in 1858 as president of the Northwestern Christian University, and where he remained for years as professor of modern languages. The local edition was printed by the Indianapolis Printing and Publishing House—the establishment of J. M. Tifford at the southeast corner of Meridian and Circle streets—later the establishment of Carlon & Hollenbeck—in which building a majority of all the books published in Indianapolis prior to 1880 were printed and bound.

Another influence which must have been potent was "The Locomotive." This really remarkable—for the time—weekly paper, was started in August, 1845, by three apprentices in the *Journal* office—Daniel B. Culley, John H. Ohr, and David R. Elder. It ran but a short time and died from lack of funds, but there was a call for it, and it came back on April 3, 1847, for another stay of three months. Again it succumbed, but on January 1, 1848, it came back to stay for thirteen years, most of the time under the management of John R. Elder. It filled for that time much the same place that was later occupied by George Harding's *Mirror, Herald and Review*. It was distinctively a local and literary paper—had all the local gossip and published original stories, poems, conundrums and other local product. Berry Sulgrove says, "It was the first paper that the women and girls wanted to read regularly,"²⁹ and there were few of the men who did not read it also. Its files reveal a

wealth of poetic aspiration in Indianapolis that is fairly startling. There was poetry of every class from the most pathetic obituary to the most frivolous doggerel; and poetry on all subjects, from "Autumn" to "Pogue's Run", and, by the way, it may be mentioned that in early times Pogue's Run was a very pretty stream.

But the chief inspiration to song was love, and it was manifested in all phases, but especially in "Lines to Miss J—y S—h," or some equally secret address that was understood by everyone in the place. It would be difficult to mention an Indianapolis girl who did not get a poetic tribute in the *Locomotive* to her overwhelming charms, and finally some disgusted cynic showed his opinion of all of them by this, which was alleged to have come from "the anonymous box of the Union Literary Society":

"COMPARISON."³⁰

"Diamonds that shine on kingly brows,
Pearls that deck the queenly spouse,
Glittering stars that deck the skies
Are not so bright as Sally's eyes.

"The purest rose of ruddy hue
That e'er was filled with morning dew—
The honeyed drink the fairy sips—
Is not so red as Sally's lips.

"The scowling frown o'er Juno's eyes,
The stormy, midnight, wintry skies,
The deepest stain of foul disgrace,
Are not so black as Sally's face."

Poetry came to be a favorite medium of advertisement, as, for example, in an ode beginning:

"Vain are ballads, odes or sonnets,
E'en heroic verse would fail
To describe the splendid bonnets
Mrs. Bradley has for sale."³¹

This continued in use to some extent for many years. Older citizens will recall especially the advertisement of Moses, the Optician, beginning:

²⁸*Autobiography*, pp. 56-8.

²⁹*Hist. Indianapolis*, p. 243.

³⁰*Locomotive*, April 24, 1847.

³¹*Locomotive*, November 23, 1850.

"Oh, say can you see, by the dawn's early light?

Ah! no, I cannot; I'm deficient in sight."

There was dialect poetry, long before Mr. Riley made it famous, as witness this extract from—

"A NODE TO SPRING,"²

By a Endignint Farmer.

"Well, spring, youv cum at last, hev you!
The poit sez youv bin a sittin' in Old Win-
ter's

Lap—now ain't you ashamed of yourself!
I spose the old feller's bin a bussin' you,
I should think he had from your breth
A hein' so cold—but that's the way them
Old fellers hev a doin'.

* * *

"Luk at them shepe a lien in
The fens kornurs a waitin' for grass!
Yis! an' they bin a watin' sum of
Them for weex!—An' ef they wasn't
Pold they'd a bin 'shakin' thur lox
At yu, an sed 'U dun it!' (That thur
Iz from Hamlet, won of Shakspar's plais .
As another poit sez—'Gras diffurd maks
The stumak ake'—so these shepe wil
Never open thur iz onto gras agin' No!
Nur onto fodur."

Even the "drop line", which many seem to suppose a creation of Mr. Riley, in his "Gobblems will git you", is found in

"Yet I swear by all creation,
And this endless Yankee nation,
That

I
love
you
like
tar-
na-
tion."

In fact when one looks over the vast expanse of original work in the *Locomotive*, and some additional in other papers, he is not surprised that when Coggeshall issued his

Poets and Poetry of the West, in 1860, he included the following who had been residents of Indianapolis, in addition to Mrs. Bolton: Granville M. Ballard, Samuel V. Morris, Orpheus Everts, George W. Cutter, Henry W. Ellsworth, Sidney Dyer, John B. Dillon, Peter Fische Reed, Jonathan W. Gordon, Dr. John Gibson Dunn and Rebecca S. Nichols. There were others who did not show themselves till later. It was in this atmosphere that Mrs. Robert Louis Stevenson developed. She went to school at the old Third Ward School—now John Rauch's cigar factory—on New York street west of Illinois, and later to the old high school when it was on University Square. She is remembered as a girl who was clever at drawing and who used to write stories for her "compositions". Her father, Jacob Vandegrift, was a partner in Kregelo Blake & Co., who had a planing mill at the canal and New York street. In 1851, Vandegrift and Colestock built the brick row at the southwest corner of Illinois and Michigan streets, shown in the accompanying cut, and Mr. Vandegrift lived for some time at the second door from the corner

later in the double brick back of the row, as shown in the cut. When Fanny Vandegrift married Samuel Osbourne, who had been private secretary of Governors Wright and Willard, and later deputy clerk of the Supreme Court, her father built them a story-and-a-half cottage at the northwest corner of St. Clair and Tennessee (now Capitol avenue) where they lived till they went to California. The next owner remade the house in two stories. Later it was removed by Thomas Taggart to the southeast corner of St. Clair and Senate avenue to make place for his present residence. It still stands there, but has again been remodeled, and now serves as the United Tabernacle Baptist colored church. The story of the Osbournes after they left here belongs to the world. There were naturally opposing views of the case here,³ but they have no particular connection with the literary atmosphere.

There is another Indianapolis product of the early period who should be mentioned, Rev. James Codley Fletcher. He was a son of Calvin Fletcher, born here in 1823. He

²*Locomotive*, May 9, 1857.

³*Locomotive*, March 27, 1852.

Journal, January 27, 1889.



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

THE CHILDHOOD HOME OF MRS. ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.
(Vandegrift Row; Illinois & Michigan streets.)

was well educated, at Princeton and abroad, and in 1850 went out as a missionary to Hayti. In 1851 he left this field for Rio de Janeiro, to become chaplain missionary of the American and Foreign Christian Union, and remained in Brazil till 1854, returning later for two years more. In 1857, in conjunction with Rev. D. P. Kidder, he published his "Brazil and the Brazilians", which has gone through numerous editions, and is still a standard on that subject. Mr. Fletcher married a daughter of the noted divine Dr. Caesar Malan of Switzerland. Their daughter, Julia Constance Fletcher, has attained note as a novelist, under the pen name of "George Fleming", though her earliest and most striking novels, *Kismet* and *Mirage* originally appeared anonymously in the "No Name Series."

And in this period also may be mentioned a book, rather about Indianapolis than of it, Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher's *From Dawn to Daylight*, which was originally published under the title of *Reminiscences of a Missionary's Wife*. It purported to give actual experiences of the Beechers at Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis, the characters being very slightly disguised, but dozens of impartial witnesses at both places agree that it is essentially a work of fiction, and particularly in its most offensive features. There had been some warmth displayed in Indianapolis over statements made by Mr. Beecher after he went East,³⁵ but they were nothing to the chorus of indignation at both Indianapolis and Lawrenceburg when Mrs. Beecher's book appeared. The first edition of his *Lectures to Young Men* was published here, through the efforts of a number of his admirers, and it was a statement in the preface to a revised edition that gave offense here. It was claimed by his friends that he regretted his wife's book, but he indulged in a few rather harsh remarks himself, such as characterizing Lawrenceburg as "a town with two distilleries and twenty devils."³⁶

There have been periodical revivals of the discussion, in which the falsity and injustice of the book have been shown, though not as

fully as might have been done. One of the most notable of these was in the summer of 1884, when Simon Yandes found a copy of the book on the circulation shelves of the City Library in which some "gifted Alexander" had written a key to the characters, and removed it from the library over the objection of the librarian. The matter was submitted to the school board, which sustained the complaint of Mr. Yandes, and removed the book from circulation. The incident naturally revived the discussion, especially as to the payment of Beecher's salary, and may be said to have settled that matter very conclusively against Mrs. Beecher.³⁷ Mrs. Beecher evidently yielded to the temptation to "make a good story". Some of her most pathetic scenes never occurred at all; and she was not present at some where she represents herself as present. Notwithstanding all this, however, Beecher's Indianapolis friends generally stood by him in his later days of trial, and retained faith in his innocence.

Local literature languished somewhat during the Civil War, possibly because most of the people with proclivities for writing had gone to the front. After the war the city passed into the age of what Meredith Nicholson calls "the cloak poets", chief of whom was Ben. D. House, who maintained a military cloak and a military air during the twenty odd years he lived here. He wrote some very spirited war poetry, and in the early eighties was something of a poetical dictator. At that time Nicholson was giving an imitation of a young man reading law, in William Wallace's office, but devoting most of his time to writing poetry and worshipping House. It impressed me because I indulged in a poem at the time. I dare to mention it because a newspaper syndicate actually paid me for it—an effusion on the death of General Grant—and Nicholson induced me to submit it to House. The oracle read it thoughtfully almost painfully and then pointed at these lines:

"The sword is buried, but the plow
Hangs in the tangled weeds of hate."

³⁵City papers, June 3-15, 1881.

³⁶Scintilla, May 23, 1886.

³⁵*Locomotive*, July 19, 1851.

³⁶*Cincinnati Commercial*, December 16, 1871, p. 12.

"I wish I had written those lines," he said. "I would have built a poem around them." There is simply no resisting that sort of criticism. But of all the local writers of the period after the war, Dan L. Paine is probably the most notable for the quality of his verse. Most of it was just soothing music, but occasionally he attained a stirring height, as in his "At Elberon", written at the death of President Garfield, and widely published at the time, with general praise.³⁸ Collections of poems of both House and Paine were made after they died, but for memorials rather than for commercial purposes.³⁹

When the *Journal* started its Sunday edition in 1880 and James Whitecomb Riley came here as official poet, he undoubtedly brought a lighter vein into the local poetical product, though he did not always sign all of his lighter product, and much of it is not reproduced in his volumes. He was known here before that time from occasional poems, and had made his first appearance here as a reader on May 9, 1879, at a Light Infantry benefit, carrying the audience by storm. He was the most generous of men, and he recited for societies, church socials and all sorts of gatherings until life became a burden, and he had to quit, in self-defense. But with all his popularity there were few who really appreciated his greatness as an actor; and it was that which gave his poetry its great vogue at the start. When Riley went to England in 1891, with W. P. Fishback and Myron Reed, Sir Henry Irving gave a dinner for him, at which he induced Mr. Riley to recite. Among those present was Coquelin, the great French actor, who stood at the farther end of the room, with his hand resting on Irving's shoulder, and listened intently. As Riley concluded he turned and said: "Irving, Nature has done for that man what you and I have been striving all these years to attain."

One of Mr. Riley's most remarkable powers is that of imitation, which has perhaps its most notable manifestation in his story, "A Remarkable Man", but which he indulged occasionally in a more frothy way. To illustrate the entertainment he contributed in

such lines, I venture to reproduce the following illustrated poem from the *Herald* of January 12, 1878:

EZRA HOUSE.

(After the manner of the Sweet Singer of Michigan.)

Come listen good people, while a story I do tell,
Of the sad fate of one which I knew so passing well;
He enlisted in McCordsville, to battle in the South,
And protect his country's union; his name was Ezra House.



"IT'S OH, I'M GOING TO LEAVE YOU, KIND SCHOLARS," HE SAID.

He was a young school-teacher, and educated high
In regard to Ray's arithmetic, and also Algebra,
He gave good satisfaction, but at his country's call
He dropped his position, his Algebra and all.
"It's oh! I'm going to leave you, kind scholars", he said—
For he wrote a composition the last day and read;
And it brought many tears in the eyes of the school,
To say nothing of his sweetheart he was going to leave so soon.

³⁸*Veas*, September 20, 1881.

³⁹Nicholson's *The Hoosiers*, pp. 265-7.

"I have many recollections to take with me
 away,
 Of the merry inspirations in the schoolroom
 so gay;
 And of all that's past and gone I will never
 regret
 I went to serve my country at the first of
 the outset!"

He was a good penman, and the lines that
 he wrote
 On that sad occasion was too fine for me to
 quote—
 For I was there and heard it, and I ever will
 recall
 It brought the happy tears to the eyes of
 us all.

And when he left, his sweetheart she fainted
 away
 And said she could never forget the sad day
 When her lover so noble, and gallant and
 gay,
 Said "Farewell, my true love!" and went
 marching away.

He hadn't been gone for more than two
 months
 When the sad news come—"he was in a
 skirmish once,
 And a cruel rebel ball had wounded him
 full sore
 In the region of the chin, through the can-
 teen he wore".

But his health recruited up, and his wounds
 they got well.
 But while he was in battle at Bull Run or
 Malvern Hill,
 The news came again, so sorrowful to hear
 "A sliver from a bombshell cut off his left
 ear".

But he stuck to the boys, and it's often he
 would write,
 That "he wasn't afraid for his country to
 fight".
 But oh, had he returned on a furlough, I
 believe,
 He would not, today, have such cause to
 grieve.
 For in another battle the name I never
 heard
 He was guarding the wagons when an acci-
 dent occurred

A comrade, who was under the influence of
 drink
 Shot him with a musket through the right
 cheek, I think.

But his dear life was spared, but it hadn't
 been for long
 Till a cruel rebel colonel came riding along,
 And struck him with his sword, as many do
 suppose,
 For his cap rim was cut off, and also his nose.

But Providence, who watches o'er the noble
 and the brave,
 Snatched him once more from the jaws of the
 grave;
 And just a little while before the close of
 the war,
 He sent his picture home to his girl away
 so far.



"HE SENT HIS PICTURE HOME."

And she fell into decline, and she wrote in
 reply,
 "She had seen his face again and she was
 ready to die";
 And she wanted him to promise, when she
 was in her tomb,
 He would only visit that by the light of the
 moon.

But he never returned at the close of the
 war,
 And the boys that got back said he hadn't
 the heart;
 But he got a position in a powder-mill, and
 said
 He hoped to meet the deam that his country
 denied.

Mr. Riley contributed almost as much to the life of the city in private as in public, for with his friends he would often drop into dialect and say as funny things as he ever put in his published articles. In fact they seemed more so for they were so apparently unstudied, while his published work, though it has the art of seeming unstudied, is in fact the result of the most painstaking labor. I recall serving with him, on November 17, 1904, on a committee that was sent to Vincennes to meet the Liberty Bell, and escort it to Indianapolis. We were waiting there on the depot platform quite a time, and meanwhile a fussy little switch-engine was chasing up and down through the large crowd, in a seeming effort to run over someone. I turned to Riley and said: "Jim, how'd y' like to have a leg cut off by one o' them things?" In an instant he dropped into his hoosier facial expression and drawled out, "Wal, I'd kind o' hate to spile the set." And there was often a broad wisdom in Riley's jokes. Once, coming down Pennsylvania street, I saw him standing on the eoping before the Denison hotel, apparently lost in thought. "What y' thinking about?" I asked. He stepped down, took my arm, and, as we moved on, said in most thoughtful air: "I was just thinking what an awful humiliation it must be to an Almighty God to create a universe, and then have to submit it to Ambrose Bierce and Bob Ingersoll for criticism." Just think how many sermons are condensed in that observation.

The chief literary development in Indianapolis for more than a quarter of a century has been in the clubs. However it may have been before the war, the literary organizations have not proven ephemeral in this later period. The Indianapolis Literary Club, an organization for gentlemen only, was started in 1877, and is still flourishing, in-

cluding in its past and present membership nearly every man of any real prominence in the city in that period. The Women's Club was organized in February, 1875, and has practically the same record among the women. There are numbers of others of later date which could only be named here, and that is not worth while. At the present time there are forty regular and recognized literary clubs in the city. Whether they make a stimulating literary atmosphere is hard to say. Our younger novelists, Elizabeth Miller (Mrs. Orin Haek), Meredith Nicholson and Booth Tarkington are emphatically not club products; and indeed it would be hard to name any literary influence that was common to all of them except access to books and schools. When you come to seek the causes of literary development, you usually fail, and leave it as Albert Bushnell Hart does in his query: "Where did William Cullen Bryant find his model, when, in the year when Sydney Smith asked 'Who reads an American book?' he burst forth with:

'Whither midst falling dew,

While glow the heavens with the last steps
of day,

Far through their rosy depths dost thou pur-
sue

Thy solitary way?"

"And why, in the six years from 1831 to 1837, should Whittier, Longfellow and Oliver Wendell Holmes have made their first essays as poets?"⁴¹ These are questions that will never be answered. About all that can be said is that if the soil be not too unfriendly the literary spirit will develop, but it comes not from planted seed, nor from any known means of cultivation.

⁴¹*Slavery and Abolition—American Nation Series*, Vol. 16, p. 30.

CHAPTER XL.

THE SOUL OF MUSIC.

There was some music in Indianapolis from the start. We have the records of Sidney Maxwell's leading the singing at the time of the sermon by Rev. L. P. Gaines in 1821; Mrs. Fletcher's mention of the violin playing of Col. A. W. Russell and James Blake in the winter of 1821; Mrs. Martin's reference to the singing school in the old log school house at Kentucky avenue and Washington street; and Nathaniel Bolton's account of the young people taking moonlight rides in a scow on the river, when "our bark floated over the waters to the sound of sweet music". The first record of any organized musical instruction, though evidently in progress before that date, appears in the *Gazette* of August 24, 1824, in this notice: "To the members of the Society for the Cultivation of Church Music: Those who are learners, or just commencing lessons in Church Music, and who are anxious to learn, will attend at the usual place, on Saturday next, at 3 o'clock p. m. Those whose knowledge of music will render a performance in concert 'interesting' will please to attend at 4 o'clock p. m. Learners will embrace a majority of those who have hitherto attended. - Precise punctuality is expected. Bring books; they can be had at Phipps & Co.'s store." That is all that is left to us of that first movement for musical culture, but it shows that the settlers were striving for the attainment of the ideal of heavenly joys in the old Methodist hymn

"Where a Fletcher unites
With the old Israelites
In singing God's praise,
While the angels sing bass."

From here there is a lapse in musical history until the Fourth of July, 1828, when a

new organization burst full-fledged on the public view. In the announcement of the program it is mentioned as "the band of music", but the *Gazette's* account of the celebration says it was "interspersed with suitable odes and other music from a select choir of singers, accompanied by instrumental music from the members of the Indianapolis Handelian Society". Beyond this we have no record of this magnificently titled organization except the airs it played on this occasion, which were "Hail Columbia", "Auld Lang Syne", "Yankee Doodle", "Pulaski's March", "President's March", "Jefferson and Liberty", and "Haste to the Wedding".

From this time on to the forties the development of music was slow and uneventful, but in 1840 an epoch was marked by the organization of The Indianapolis Band. It was incorporated by special act of February 15, 1841, the charter members being James McCready, Emanuel Haugh, Thos. M. Baker, Allison, E. S. A. Tyler, Wm. Karne, Wm. Jones, D. P. Hunt, John Gilliland, James Vanblaricum, James Hodge, James G. Jordan, James Sharpe, Nicholas N. Norwood, Aaron D. Orr, John Hodgkins, Lafayette Yandes, Thos. D. Miller, Wm. Hoald, Wm. Gaby, Abraham Byrd, Jacob Smith, Samuel Delzell, Krominitzky,

Bottlis, John D. Morris and James R. Nowland. The leader of the band, not included in the incorporation, was Abraham Protzmann, a German, who in addition to leading played the E flat clarinet. McCready, who was later mayor of Indianapolis, played the bass trombone. D. P. Hunt, James G. Jordan, and James McCord Sharpe - commonly known as "Cord" Sharpe - played the piccolo. Emanuel Haugh and Thos.

Baker played B flat trombones. Wm. Karne and E. S. A. Tyler - the latter sometimes known as "Spefford" but more commonly as "Ned" - played the E flat cornet, then usually called the bugle. Louis Walk, John Gilliland and James Vaubaricm played the French horn. Aaron D. Ohr played the B flat clarinet, and Nicholas Norwood also played the clarinet. Lafayette Yandes and Thos. D. Miller (familiarily known as "Dave") played reed instruments, the names of which are now lost. James R. Nowland manipulated the bass drum. John McDougall, who was a member but not an incorporator, played the ophicleide. He afterwards went to California and became very wealthy there - was at one time Governor of California. His brother George also went West and drifted down to South America, where he was found some years later, by Admiral Brown, chief of a tribe of Indians.

The band was quite a gorgeous organization with its green coats, tight-fitting white pantaloons, and black velvet caps with gold bands. When it came to getting material for the coats for so large a company it was found that no store in town had enough cloth, and in consequence the cloth was bought from three different stores, and there was a slight difference in the shades. However, it was not noticeable in different uniforms, and McCready, who was the tailor, got along very well till he came to Louis Walk, who was the last man to come in. Louis was a good-sized man, and it took all the cloth left to fit him out. When he came in to try his coat on, he buttoned it up, and as he surveyed himself, a rueful expression came over his face, and he exclaimed, "Py chimney! Mac, dots too many differences!". He refused to be pleaated until he was supplied with a uniform that had more uniformity. Several of the charter members were with the band but a short time, and most of them learned to play their instruments after joining. A few were fair musicians to begin with, among them "Ned" Tyler, who was deputed to go to Cincinnati to buy the instruments. He stayed so long that some of the members became fearful that he had decamped with the money, but it was only a case of bad roads. Tyler played the bass viol in a flute and string orchestra that was introduced in the

First Presbyterian church in 1846-7. The innovation caused some objection in the church at the time, and a few of the members would not come in to services until after the music was over.¹

The band was nonpartisan politically, playing for any party that paid. Its first service was a trip to the state line east of Richmond to meet Henry Clay, in 1840. Although just organized it made the trip in its own band-wagon. It also gave concerts now and then. On one occasion it was scheduled for a concert at Greencastle on the same day that a man was hanged there, and the jokers averred that it went over to play for the hanging. It gave a concert at Danville on the way over, but at Greencastle the weather turned very cold and the instruments froze up, so that the concert had to be called off. This was unfortunate, for there was a tremendous crowd there for the hanging. However, it is an ill wind that blows nobody good, and one man did well at the time. J. W. Smith, an Indianapolis baker, had foreseen the opportunity, and went to Greencastle and baked gingerbread for two days steadily before the great event. He sold every bit of it.

As a general rule, the band's undertakings were very successful, and it was quite a feature of the town life, during its existence of something over five years. But it wore out gradually. If an instrument got broken it was not usually replaced, and the player dropped out. Others tired of the occupation, and when it was finally discontinued there were only half a dozen active members, who did not feel equal to perpetuating the former glories of the organization. Its place was filled by a new band - the German Military Band, which was incorporated on January 13, 1845, with Chas. Youngerman, Ferdinand Smith, Otto Schatter, Conrad Youngerman, Frederick Schiltmeier, Joseph Blickey, Andrew Cramer, Charles Heyerhast, Wm. Wismeier, Andrew Protzman and Jacob Wise as charter members. For some reason this band was not long-lived, and the town had to depend on imported music for its functions and displays. On June 9, 1849, the *Locomotive*

¹As to Tyler, see *News*, June 2, 1902; *Scout*, June 3, 1902; *Nowland's Prom. Citizens*, p. 205.



(W. H. Bass Photo. Composite.)

S. E. TYLER IN UNIFORM OF INDIANAPOLIS BAND

said: "Why is it that Indianapolis cannot establish and support a Band, to play for the numerous public celebrations that take place in this city? Is it because we have no persons capable of being instructed, or because we are too indolent to undertake it? Country towns, with one quarter the population, can support good bands, and they are brought here at an expense of from \$30 to \$60 to play, when if we had a band in the city it would get this money. Think of this, and especially let the Germans consider on it, for they are celebrated as musicians, and see if it would not be a profitable business to establish a band here. On the 4th of July alone \$50 might be made."

This mercenary appeal was apparently effective, for the Saxe Horn Band, of twelve pieces, was organized, and incurred the criticism of the *Locomotive* by asking \$50 for its services on July 4, 1851. The members of the band replied by card in the *Journal*, stating that they had paid \$247 for instruments, and had played gratuitously on several occasions, but now were for reform—no pay, no play. The patriotic citizens rebelled, and got up "a band of martial music"; and John R. Elder, editor of the *Locomotive*, gave the toast: "Our band of martial music.—The same kind our forefathers followed to the victories we celebrate".² The Saxe Horn Band gave place to Henry Hahn's band, which was started as a string band, but added wind instruments. Among its members was John Philips, who came here from Cincinnati and played a silver bugle that he had won in a contest. The brass band part of the organization became the National Guards Band, and was the lineal predecessor of the present City Band. In the militia revival preceding the Civil War, each of the companies had its band, that of the City Grays being under the leadership of Jesse Baker, until he went west in the Pike's Peak excitement.

The Civil War practically disbanded these organizations, as most of the musicians followed the companies into the army, and went out as the Eleventh Regiment Band, twenty-five strong, under Carl A. Biedenmeister.

²*Journal*, July 1, 1851; *Locomotive*, June 28 and July 12, 1851.

Most of them were mustered out after a year's service, when it had been learned that a band was of little service in actual war. From the musicians left in the city there arose an informal sort of organization under the business leadership of Reinhold A. Miller (it was Mueller, but he Americanized because everybody called him Miller). He is a native of Saxony, who came to Indianapolis in 1855. He was a member of the Hahn-Philips band, and played in the orchestra at the Athenaeum. When the Metropolitan (present Park) was built, he went there as leader of the orchestra, in 1859. In 1861 he was succeeded by Bernhardt Vogt of Cincinnati, and played under him at the Metropolitan and the Academy of Music. In 1876, when the Grand was built, he went there as leader, and has since been in charge of the orchestra there as well as most of the time at the Park and English's; his actual leadership being chiefly at the Grand. From 1861 he has been the business head of the somewhat disjointed organization known as the City Band, calling in what musicians he needed on various occasions. In this way most of the music used on public occasions, and many of a private character, has been supplied in the last half century. The City Band played when Lincoln went through Indianapolis on the way to his first inaugural. It played when his remains were brought here on the way to their last resting place. It played in the funeral processions of Governor Willard, General Custer, and many other notables, and it played for all sorts of celebrations, balls, and parades.³ It bids fair to continue for some time longer.

There is no room to doubt that a new era in musical culture in Indianapolis began about the middle of the last century, or that the influx of Germans had considerable to do with it. Before that time there had been nothing beyond elementary individual instruction in vocal music, except for choir-singing, and in that line the choir of the Second Presbyterian Church was considered the best in the place, at least during Beecher's pastorate. This developed later into a society for the study of music—or at least the

³*Press*, May 24, 1900; *News*, September 21, 1907.

society was composed largely of former members of this choir—in which Prof. P. R. Pearsall was the instructor. Pearsall was a pioneer in higher musical culture, and laid very creditably the foundations for discriminating musical taste. If we may take the year 1851 as the beginning of the new period, Pearsall had then been teaching for some time, and that summer advertised that he would open a new term of vocal music on July 7 "at the Indianapolis Female Institute, on Pennsylvania street, west side, north of Market street" (Miss Axtell's school) and would also give instruction on the piano, organ, melodeon, etc. The *Journal* commended this instruction, with this forcible argument: "Singing is very beneficial to the lungs, and especially so at this time of the year when the rarity of the atmosphere weakens their power. Singing will strengthen the lungs of the young misses and cheer their spirits, great desideratums at this unhealthy season."⁴ At the same time Prof. Wm. H. Currie announced his location here and his readiness to give similar instruction. He was located at Mrs. Goldsberry's just across the street from his rival.

The piano was common enough at that time. The first one was brought here in 1831, by James Blake when he married, and brought his young wife (Miss Eliza Sproule, of Baltimore) to this isolated frontier town. No doubt it was a solace to her, as well as a source of pleasure to those who heard her play; and it was destined to make music long after it knew her touch, for it inspired Dan Paine's poem "Da Capo", which ranks among the best of local productions, and which deserves perpetuation here:

DA CAPO.

She sat at the old piano,
Her fingers, thin and pale,
Ran over the yellow key-board
The chords of a minor scale.

Her hands were withered and shrunken,
Her form with age was bent;
They seemed twin spirits in look and tone,
Herself and the instrument.

For the instrument, quaint and olden,
With its single tremulant strings,
Was little more than a spirit,
And its tone seemed a whirl of wings.

And she—the keen chisel of sorrow
And the cruel burin of care
Had cut in her dear old features
Deep furrows, here and there,

Till all that was gross and earthly
Had been chipped and smoothed away,
And disclosed the patient angel
Behind the thin mask of clay.

She paused; and with upturned features
And reminiscient eyes
Was translated in one brief moment
Back to young life's Paradise.

* * *

No strain from the old tone-masters,
No burst of harmony grand
Sprang from the old piano
At the touch of that magic hand;

But the simple airs of her girlhood
Rippled in melody sweet
As in days when her sky was all sunshine,
And the hours were as happy as fleet.

And sparkled the light that vanished
From eyes long dried of tears,
And twinkled feet to her music
That have moldered in dust for years.

And as we watched and listened,
She seemed to our moistened eyes
Already within the portals
That open towards the skies.

Nor seemed it longer a marvel
That when in the morning gray
The disciples came to the tomb of the Lord,
To bear the body away,

They found but his cast off garment
With its odor of aloes and myrrh,
And the stone rolled away from the open door
Of an empty sepulchre.

Other pianos followed this one, and, in 1843, Mr. Parmelee undertook the manufacture of pianos at this place, and produced

⁴*Journal*, July 1, 1851.

some whose tones, according to the *Journal*, were "equal, if not superior to those of eastern instruments, such as are generally intended for the western market."⁵ This enterprise, however, did not attain any material success; nor did another piano factory started some twenty years later at 161 E. Washington street by Traeyser & Robinson, though the pianos of this firm took premiums at the State Fair of 1865, not only for the best piano made in the state, but also for the best square piano made in the United States, and this over twenty-seven competitors. In 1851, A. G. Willard, who was conducting a dry goods store, opened a piano ware-room in connection with it, opposite the Palmer House, for the sale of Gilbert & Co.'s pianos.⁶ His success invited competition, and, in January, 1852, Albert E. Jones opened a music store under Masonic Hall for the sale of all sorts of musical instruments and supplies, and as the special agency of Chickering's pianos. This firm was comparatively short-lived, as was also the music store of A. G. Crane & Co., which was established in 1855, and Willard—or, as the firm became, Willard & Stowell—had a practical monopoly of the business until 1865, when the Benhams established their store. They were enterprising and popular, and gave vigor to local musical sentiment by starting, in 1867, the *Western Musical Review*. They were succeeded in 1878 by J. B. Cameron, and in the same year the firm of Theo. Pfafflin & Co. was started. Prior to 1878 there had been several other music stores established—Charles Soehner, in 1869; D. H. Baldwin & Co., in 1872; and Emil Wulschner in 1877.

There was a notable manifestation of local musical aspiration in 1851; for in that year The Handel and Haydn Society was organized, and, on December 2, gave its "first public rehearsal" at Concert Hall. The *Sentinel's* announcement of it says: "The programme embraces a great part of Haydn's sublime Oratorio of The Creation, and songs, overtures, etc., from the most popular operas. Among them is Russell's song, 'Man the Life Boat', which, if well executed, as we doubt not it will be, will alone be worth the price

of admission. The Society has a very powerful chorus, supported by an orchestra composed of musicians who are among the best in the West. We hope, as this society is composed of our friends and neighbors, that our citizens will give them a liberal support."⁷ Unfortunately the local papers which should have given accounts of the concert, and something about the society itself, were filled with tiresome messages of the Governor and President, which came along just then, and so this announcement is the chief contemporary record. However, I have found one surviving member, Mrs. S. L. Hall, of Terre Haute (Miss Sarah Mears), who was the youngest member of the organization, and she writes me, on January 31, 1910:

"As I recollect, Messrs. Downie and Currie organized the society, and it continued about two years. They were music teachers in Indianapolis. Mr. Downie married Melissa Goldsherry, and Mr. Currie married Mary Switzer. I think the members of 'the Beecher choir' were all members of this—Mrs. Ackley only a short time because of her leaving Indianapolis. The Misses Bassett were most enthusiastic members, and Miss Julia Bassett took Mrs. Ackley's place as our best mezzo-soprano, her sister being one of the leading contraltos. I think that Mr. Love Jameson was one of our most enthusiastic members. Mr. Albert Willard, son of A. G. Willard, was also a member. Mr. Edwin Coburn, Dr. Newcomer, and a Mr. Bowes, of Michigan City, were members, as I remember. I was the youngest member, and left Indianapolis in 1852 to go East to school, and so can tell nothing of its passing away."

The society gave three more concerts that winter, on January 13, February 21, and March 2, all of which received flattering notices, but without much information except as to the reporter's ideas of the music. Occasionally these appeal to the uneducated of later date. One of the popular numbers in these concerts—it was repeated in all of them—was "Man the Life Boat", in which Professor Downie sang the leading part. The *Journal* critic said of it: "I am no judge of such pieces as 'Man the Life Boat,' par-

⁵*Journal*, October 4, 1843.

⁶*Journal*, November 29, 1851.

⁷*Sentinel*, December 2, 1851.

ticularly when the boat has to stop and make reconnoitering of matters, whilst the man at the helm sings three or four times over

'Ah, see, one stands
And wrings his hands
Amidst the tempest wild,
For on the beach
He cannot reach
He sees his wife and child.'

There are others who have wondered why, at the most critical moment, the movement of an operatic tragedy is made to stop while somebody sings a song, or the chorus takes a turn. But the notices usually were altogether complimentary, the singers who were particularly mentioned being Mr. and Mrs. Downie, Miss Mears, the Misses Bassett and Love Jameson. The membership of this society was between forty and fifty, and included most of the musical talent of the city. The selections given were chiefly from the best oratorios and operas, interspersed with popular songs of the better class, especially duets, trios and quartets. On one occasion the society sang three of the poems of Mrs. Bolton, which had been set to music by Professors Downie and Currie. The Beecher choir, most of whose members were also members of the Handel and Haydn Society, was quite a notable organization itself. A. G. Willard was the leader. The leading soprano, and bright, particular star, was Mrs. Dr. Aekley, who was a daughter of Professor Baldwin, the first president of Wabash. Among the men who were members were John E. Ketcham, Alex. Davidson (son-in-law of Governor Noble) and Lawrence Vance.

In musical criticism, Berry Sulgrove was, at this time, monarch of all he surveyed, as also in art, architecture and literature. He wrote for both the *Journal* and the *Locomotive*, and was almost certainly the author of the unsigned articles on musical affairs that appeared in them. There was a state assembly of brass bands on February 22, 1853, in which twelve bands gave a joint concert, and then contested for a prize. It was a great occasion. Lieutenant-Governor Willard made the welcoming address, and William Wallace presented the prize banner in a speech "which drew the breathless attention of the

entire audience", and is published in full in the *Locomotive* of February 26. On this occasion Berry was one of the judges, and probably wrote most of what appeared in the two papers concerning it. He appears to have been the sole judge at a similar contest held on November 29, of the same year. A good idea of the local musical advancement may be had from two or three extracts from critical articles, all apparently from his pen. First a notice of Jenny Lind's concert at Madison:

"On last Friday we went to Madison, in company with about forty from this city, to hear Jenny Lind sing. We expected to hear singing that surpassed anything we had ever heard—perhaps we did, but we have been better pleased at concerts by singers of less note. Jenny has a powerful, musical voice, with complete command of it, and possesses the power of warbling, with all manner of variations. She is good-looking, without being particularly attractive—a little above the medium height, fair hair, light complexion, blue eyes, and very graceful. When she appeared, she looked as if it required an effort to sing before so large an audience, but this soon wore off after she commenced. She was dressed richly, without many ornaments.

"The orchestra, fifteen in number, were of the best musicians they performed to perfection—but music lost its charm in the 'Jenny Lind Hall' they saw this they knew it—and their frequent glances at the roof, the sides, the posts and cross-ties, and their laugh whenever the eye of one would detect the other examining these, plainly showed that they pitied the city and people that could not afford a better building for them to exercise their talents in.

"Of the building we must give a description—it was built for a pork house, and was used for such. It is a large frame building, composed of the frame, outside weather boards, and shingled roof, unceiled and without plastering. Along the centre is two rows of rough posts, held together by cross-ties as rough, supporting a roof with rafters still rougher. Back and over the stage, and for ten feet from it on each side, was papered

⁸ *Locomotive*, December 3, 1853, *Sulgrove's Indianapolis*, p. 263.

the balance was white-washed, inside and out. The only building it will compare with in this city is Browning's stable—if the mow and stalls were taken out, they would look very much alike—our readers can form some idea of the effect music would have in such a building".⁹

This includes every word that was said about Jenny Lind's singing. On November 24, 1851, Madame Anna Bishop and troupe appeared at Masonic Hall, on her "farewell tour," and the high grade of the performance was guaranteed by "admission, \$1; reserved seats, \$2." The *Journal's* critique of the performance said:

"We were disappointed in Madame Bishop's personal appearance. She is decidedly coarse in appearance, and does not produce at first a very favorable impression on an audience. There are various opinions in relation to her voice.—Some take exceptions to certain peculiarities, but we think all will agree that in the whole round of operatic and ballad singing Madame Bishop is excelled by very few contemporary vocalists—that the defective features in her voice are more than counterbalanced by the sweetness, steadiness and strength of most of her tones, and her musical skill. Many of her pieces were loudly applauded and most of them encored.—Her 'Sweet Home' was enthusiastically received, though some say it lacked sentiment. The artistic execution was very fine. We must confess that we do not like her style of ballad singing as well as that of Madame Ablamowicz, and, perhaps, one or two other vocalists we have heard. We will not attempt to criticize her operatic performances, for the simple reason that we are not entirely capable. They produced as good an effect on the audience as we anticipated, considering that musical taste is not cultivated generally in our new city sufficiently to fully appreciate the highest descriptions of music. We will only say that our best musical amateurs were highly delighted with 'Casta Diva,' 'Lucia di Lammermoor,' 'The Mexican Girl,' and 'Linda di Chamouni'.

"Signorina Lavinia Bandini, the young violinist, wielded a magic bow, and brought such music from her 'Cremona' as would

make a cross-roads fiddler 'back square out'. Mr. Boehsa, director for the troupe, presided at the piano. He ably assisted the other performers in their parts with this favorite instrument, and in his 'Bagatelles Improvisées', or, as near as we can translate it, his Extemporaneous Trifles, he brought down the house in a torrent of applause, as a medley consisting of 'Yankee Doodle', 'Hail Columbia', 'Star Spangled Banner', etc., etc., with brilliant variations, leaped from under his facile fingers. Such tunes are 'household words' to most of us Hoosiers, and we can appreciate them either on the fife and drum or highly embellished with variations. Last, though not least, comes Herr Julius Seide, the flutist. He played several pieces in a manner that has never been heard in this 'wooden country'. It is useless to attempt a description. With no apparent effort he called music from the flute which we have never heard equaled".¹⁰

The Madame Ablamowicz referred to sang at Masonic Hall March 16-18, 1852, and the *Journal* said: "This lady achieved a complete triumph on Tuesday evening, commanding the enthusiasm of a large, fashionable, and discriminating audience. She labored under the disadvantage of having no other vocalist to assist her. The programme, too, was a difficult one. Here an Italian piece from an opera, there a Scotch war song—here a favorite piece of Carrie's (local music teacher) and there a merry Scotch or Irish ballad. Success in such a varied field certainly could hardly be anticipated, yet success Madame A. certainly had. Her Italian pieces elicited, from the best musical critics present, unqualified eulogy. Of her ballads, our judgment is that her equal has never appeared before our public. In the 'Vale of Avoca', every syllable that she utters gushes, it would seem, from her very heart, and the hearer that thrills not with emotion beneath the spell must be more insensible than marble itself. This ballad, though we never liked it before, was here rapturously encored; and when, in its stead, she playfully substituted another Irish ballad, 'Rory O'Moore', it produced an excellent effect. But of all her ballads, the singing of the 'Lass O'Gowrie'

⁹*Locomotive*, April 19, 1851.

¹⁰*Journal*, November 26, 1851.

pleased us most. Madame A.'s voice is remarkable for its power and sweetness, and has been cultivated to perfection. To this is added a courteous desire to oblige, as evidenced in the repetition of pieces, and a perfectly composed and refined demeanor."¹¹

But one competent laborer had already appeared in this almost virgin field, and that was Prof. Peter Roebuck Pearsall, who for over thirty years instructed Indianapolis in music, though he was 57 years of age when he came. He arrived in Indianapolis Feb-



PROF. PETER ROEBUCK PEARSALL.

ruary 9, 1847; his last concert was on February 9, 1878. On the 18th of the following month he was stricken with paralysis, while in Benham's music store, and died on the 23d, mourned by the whole community. Not only a competent musician, but a man of high character, and a Chesterfield in manners, he had won his way to many hearts during his long residence. He became the organist at Beecher's old church in 1848, and in 1854 went to Christ Church, where he re-

mained while in active work. While he played other instruments, the organ was the one at which he excelled. He began its study when he entered Nazareth Hall, Nazareth, Penn., in 1798, a boy of eight years, and at the age of fourteen was made organist of the school. He went back there to a reunion in 1873, being then the oldest hall boy living, and played on the instrument on which he had learned to play. His concerts were the chief local musical events for more than twenty years. Added to his talent, and his charming personality, he was a veteran of the War of 1812; and altogether it is very natural that "Father Pearsall" holds a warm place in the memories of the older residents of Indianapolis.

The development of musical culture from 1851 on was a thing of slow growth, with several contributing causes. The early work of the German musical societies is mentioned elsewhere, and it no doubt had an inspiring effect in other than German circles. The opening of railroad communication with the outside world gave the town a higher grade of musical entertainments. The first of these that caused special note was a concert by Ole Bull, on his first western tour, on December 6, 1853. With him were Maurice Strakosch as pianist, and Adolina Patti, his sister-in-law, then only ten years old, who was astonishing the country with her singing. Later came numerous musicians, vocal and instrumental, who were touring the country, and probably none attracted more notice than The Black Swan. She was a very dark brunette, otherwise known as Miss Greenfield, who had made quite a sensation abroad as well as in the East, and whom Harriet Beecher Stowe mentioned as having won high commendation by her singing at the Duchess of Sutherland's. She sang here first on May 2, 1855, and the critics noticed her remarkable compass "from a deep bass to a high treble". A Sandusky paper having questioned the propriety of her title; and having asked whether swans ever sing, and whether she was a "negress of beautiful form and graceful mien", the *Locomotive* replied:

"There is an Australian swan which is black, and this Miss Greenfield is so black that charcoal will make a white mark on her. The music of a swan, as we understand it, is

¹¹*Journal*, March 18, 1852.

a cross between the quacking of a duck and the hissing of a goose, but this black swan can pour out musical sounds like an ebony musical box—and with just as much genius or soul. Her form is of the squat order, and her mien of the waddle style. The editor in the interior, who said that the Black Swan rivals Jenny Lind, forms his estimate of music from quantity, not quality. The Swan, like many other good singers, has any amount of music in her lungs, with but little in her soul".¹²

A notable evidence of higher musical aspiration came at the beginning of May, 1856, when a committee composed of L. H. Jameson, J. L. Ketcham, A. G. Willard, Chas. N. Todd, H. F. Smith, J. J. Drum, and G. S. Braum, announced a musical convention, with sessions of four days and four nights, beginning May 18. Prof. Geo. F. Root, then of New York, was secured as director and instructor, and music teachers, choir leaders, and friends of music generally were invited; the course charge being \$1 for ladies and \$2 for gentlemen. It was specially noted that "attention will be given to vocal training, time keeping, intonation, style and expression, in connection with choir and congregational singing, and glee and chorus practice". The convention was very successful, and wound up with two concerts, in which the solo singing of Miss Twining, of Crawfordsville, and Miss Bassett, of Indianapolis, were particularly complimented. But the convention was not repeated, and there is no record of any other attempt at concerted work, beyond choir and class practice, for more than a decade. In the spring of 1859 Indianapolis had its first performance of full opera by Cooper's English Opera Troupe, at the Metropolitan. Annie Milner was the prima donna; and the company gave Bellini's "La Sonnambula" on April 2, Donizetti's "Love Spell" (L'Elisir d'Amore) on April 4, and his "Daughter of the Regiment" on April 5. The performances were kindly noticed, but do not appear to have been as well patronized as either Christy's Minstrels or The Peake Family of Swiss Bell Ringers, which followed in the same week.

There were various teachers of instru-

mental and vocal music, most of them not tarrying long, until Prof. P. R. Pearsall came in 1847. He contributed materially to musical progress by private lessons for a number of years, and his daughter, Mrs. Fleming, who sang in the Episcopalian choir, was one of the best amateurs in the city. But, with the exception of the convention of 1856, the work was almost wholly personal, the choir work being the widest divergence, until Prof. J. S. Black came to the city in 1867. Professor Black is a native of Vermont, and had attained rank as a musical instructor at New York, Philadelphia and Rochester before coming here. His classes were popular, and concerts given by them in 1868, 1869 and the spring of 1870 were hailed as great successes, the prominent feature being the concerted singing. In October, 1870, Prof. R. W. Seager came here and on the 19th, 20th and 21st gave the Oratorio of Esther at the Academy of Music, with local talent, there being 70 adults and 50 children in the company. Professor Black joined enthusiastically in the enterprise, taking the part of "King Ahasuerus", and nearly all of his pupils participated. Mrs. H. C. Hopkins was "Queen Esther"; Miss Nellie Ballard, the prophetess; Oscar Stone, "Haman", and E. C. Mayhew, "Mordecai"; while Mrs. Alice Porter, Miss Hester Cox (Spades), Miss Grace Wilson, and Mrs. J. J. Lodge won many compliments. The affair was so satisfactory to all concerned that a month later the Choral Union was organized, with Professor Black as director until 1877, when he went South, and remained ten years before returning to Indianapolis. After his departure Emil Wulshener was director for a year; Professors Leckner and Ernestinoff for a year, Professor Beissenheiz for a year.

The Choral Union was the great training school of Indianapolis in concerted music. The first year it studied glees, opera choruses, Ries's cantata "The Morning", and Romberg's "Transient and Eternal". The second year was devoted to Haydn's "Creation"; and the third year to Handel's "Messiah". In 1874 there was a notable activity in local musical life. On May 6 was Professor Black's seventh annual concert, in which not only present pupils took part, but also his former pupils, Mrs. H. C. Hopkins, Mrs. E.

¹²*Locomotive*, May 5, 1855.

W. Halford, and Miss Jennie Bull, of New York. On May 19 came "Father Pearsall's benefit", in which all musical Indianapolis participated. One of its features was a duet "Carnival of Venice" by "Charles Soehner and Father Pearsall, music teachers in this city 25 years ago". Strakosch was here on May 28 and 29 with Pauline Lucea in grand Italian opera. On June 2, 3 and 4 came the first "Music Festival" of Indianapolis, given by the Choral Union, with the orchestral music by the local Philharmonic Society, the only outside attraction being the Boston Quartette, Mrs. H. M. Smith, Mrs. Flora E. Barry, J. Nelson Varley, and M. W. Whitney. These last took the solo parts in "The Creation", which was given the first night, and the "Messiah", on the second night; and on the third night gave a grand concert.

The festival was a pronounced success, and the Choral Union gave another on May 17, 18 and 19, 1875, at the Academy of Music. The opening night was devoted to Haydn's oratorio "The Seasons"; the second to selections from the "Messiah"; and the third to a concert by the solo artists, Mrs. H. M. Smith, Miss Emma Crauch, Wm. J. Winch and M. W. Whitney. While a complete success from a musical point of view, the festival was a failure financially. In consequence the Union contented itself in 1876 with the production of Handel's "Judas Maccabeus" at the First Baptist Church, on May 26, with no imported singers but Mr. Whitney and M. L. Wheeler, of Chicago. This year also there was a split in the Choral Union, a number of members withdrawing and organizing the Harmonic Society with Prof. W. H. Clarke as director. This society produced the oratorio of Naaman at the Grand Opera House, on May 30, assisted by the Indianapolis Orchestra which had been organized a few months earlier by Prof. Ora Pearson. Mrs. Barneier, Miss Sallie Bingham, and Messrs. Peters, Vaughan, Williams and Professor Loomis took the leading parts. Immediately after came what were practically two rival concerts, that of Pearson's Indianapolis Orchestra on May 31, and Professor Black's annual on June 6. The natural tendency of the rupture to injure the success of all these efforts was added to by the presence of Miss Oates with her comic opera troupe, which was

then at its best, and at its best was extremely popular here. In fact, this company may be said to have introduced opera bouffe to Indianapolis, and many theater-goers of that period maintain that there has never since been one that equaled it.

In 1877 music was in the air. The local effort opened with a benefit to Professor Clarke by the Harmonic Society, on May 15. The *Journal* said "the audience was painfully small, but exertingingly select"; and that Professor Clarke explained that "the party on the stage were the performers, for fear of mistake". On the 25th the Cecilian Glee Club gave a complimentary benefit to its leader, Frank Scott. On June 1 the operetta of "Genevieve" was given by a company of forty local singers, under Prof. Ora Pearson, at the Grand. This occasion was notable as the debut of Miss Lavonne Kackley (a sister of Margaret Reid Kackley, now Mrs. Stem), who took the leading character, though then a miss of only sixteen years, and carried it with great success. On June 12 the Choral Union gave Mendelssohn's oratorio of "Elijah", at the First Baptist Church, with Mr. Whitney as "Elijah" the other outside singers being W. H. Fessenden and Miss Laura M. Cooke. In 1878, Professor Black having gone South, and Professor Clarke having resigned, the two societies got together for a joint concert at Roberts Park Church on June 28. They took up Haydn's "First Mass", under the leadership of Emil Wulschner of the Choral Union, and had rehearsals at Harmonic Hall—old Trinity Church, corner of North and Alabama streets. The concert was "a great success in everything but attendance". The truth is that "hard times" was having a very marked effect in Indianapolis in the later seventies, and people did not squander much money for amusements. Nevertheless, both societies came to the front in 1879, the Choral Union giving Haydn's "Creation" at the Grand on June 2, and the Harmonic producing the cantata of "St. Cecilia's Day" on June 3 at Harmonic Hall, which performances may be regarded as the "last words" of the two organizations.

In 1880 the chief musical event was the Maennerchor's festival of June 18-20, in celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary. This was done on an impressive scale, the in-

ported talent being Lillian Stoddard, Mme. S. J. Friedenheimer, Emma Cranch, H. A. Bisehoff, J. F. Rudolphsen, and Ecborn's Louisville Orchestra of 48 men. In this year also began a new era in Indianapolis music with the amateur production, on February 13 and 14, of "The Frog Opera", for the benefit of the Orphan Asylum. A number of the performers were members of the Light Infantry, and under the influence of the "Pinafore" craze, which had then set in strongly, this military organization took on an opera bouffe existence. On January 13-15, 1881, the Light Infantry gave "Pinafore" at English's, the characters all being taken by men, and "Pink" Hall, Jud Colgan, Bert Eddy and others added to their luster as star performers. It was a great success, and a return engagement followed, in which, however, there was a slight change. At the last moment Mr. O. W. Williams, the "Josephine" of the company, contracted quinzy, and a telegram to Chicago brought Mrs. McWade ("Ada Somers"), who took the part.¹³ December 8-10, 1881, the Light Infantry gave "The Pirates of Penzance" at English's, but this with ladies in the cast, Mrs. Spades and Mrs. Bailey singing the leading parts. This was repeated on January 2, at a benefit for Prof. Ora Pearson.

By this time the light opera furore was almost universal, and Professor Pearson organized the Indianapolis Opera Company, on a more ambitious basis. April 18-19, 1882, it gave "The Chimes of Normandy" at the Grand, with Mrs. Enrique Miller, Mrs. Leon Bailey, Professor Pearson and O. W. Williams in the leading parts. This organization held together for some time. Most of the members took part in "The Naiad Queen", which was produced through the week beginning April 9, 1883, under direction of Arthur C. McKnight of Washington City. But the company had its own enterprises also, and on May 11 and 12 produced "Fra Diavolo" at the Grand, bringing Wm. Castle, of the Abbott Company, from Chicago, to do the musical bandit. The other leading characters were as in "The Chimes of Normandy", and the others would be lost to fame, but that Mrs. Leach, the custodian of the Grand, has

preserved the old programmes. Among the characters are the well-known Indianapolis names of Dudie McGuire, Julia Elliott, Nettie Johnson, Blanche Dollens, Jennie Goldthwaite, Mrs. Ida Gray Scott, Mamie Wallack, Adele Wallack, Sam Carey, Ferd L. Mayer, Chas. B. Foster, W. DeM. Hooper, Sam D. Miller and Thos. Eastman. After this there was a lull in light opera, but it was revived later under Professor Ernestinoff. On March 5-6, 1886, "The Mikado" was given with Lulu Burt ("Helen Bertram"), Mrs. Bailey, Fred Loomis and Sam L. Morrison in the leading parts; and February 22-23, 1889, "The Pirates of Penzance" was given with Mrs. Bailey and Leonore Snyder as leading ladies.

During all this time there was an organization that clung to higher musical culture, and that was the Matinee Musicale, which was organized in 1876, and which has kept steadily on with its fortnightly meetings, stimulating musical taste, and encouraging young musicians to persevere. It also promoted acquaintance and friendliness among the musical, and that is important: for though music may have charms to soothe the savage breast, it does not seem to have that effect on its producers. Musicians, on the average, are "scrappy" enough to be considered natural Democrats. The clergyman was both wise and witty who referred to his choir as "the Department of War". It was this tendency that made every musical organization in Indianapolis comparatively short-lived, except the Maennerchor; and it survives, after some troublous times, most probably because it had outside animosities to engage the attention of its members, and draw them together. Next to it, the Matinee Musicale is the oldest musical organization in the city, and the influence of its early years no doubt contributed largely to the conditions that made successful the first May Music Festival. Of course there were many other elements in the production of that result, and among them may be suggested the constant cultivation of choral singing in churches and Sunday Schools, and the teaching of singing in private and public schools. The public school work, up to that time, had been done chiefly by Prof. Geo. B. Loomis, and had been

¹³*Herald*, January 22, 1881.

an important aid to every child who had any taste or talent for music.

The first music festival in 1886 was chiefly an enterprise of the Grand Army of the Republic, which had undertaken to raise funds for a soldiers' monument, and was giving every energy to this enterprise. It held a great soldiers' reunion in Indianapolis the week following Memorial Day, which fell on Sunday in that year. Tomlinson Hall had just been completed, and the plan was evolved of dedicating it with a music festival for the benefit of the monument fund. The idea was pleasing to everybody, and with very little difficulty a chorus of 650 voices was organized, and an orchestra of 60 pieces. The only imported artist, and the only paid one, that season, was Lilli Lehmann. The leader was Carl Barus, who had been identified with the musical life of the West since 1852, and who made his first appearance here as director of the German music fest of 1858. He came here for residence in 1882. The festival opened on Tuesday, June 2, with Misses Adam and Hessling, Mrs. J. P. Frenzel, Mrs. H. Schurmann, Mrs. F. H. Levering, Mrs. U. J. Hammond and Messrs. Lipmann, Levi and Loomis, as stars, in addition to Miss Lehmann. On Wednesday night the festival was a "campfire", with addresses by Generals Sherman, Logan, Bennett and Gibson, and patriotic songs with Miss Annie Abromet, Mrs. U. J. Hammond, Mrs. W. C. Lynn, Mrs. Sam Morrison, Andrew Smith, Burgess Brown and John G. Blake as soloists. Mr. and Mrs. Spades, Miss Lulu Burt, Mr. H. J. Schonacker and Miss N. P. Johnson also appeared as soloists on other evenings, the festival closing on Friday night. Miss Lehmann received \$800 for the three evenings she sang, and the profits of the festival were about \$5,000. The monument fund also received a lift the week following from the American Opera Company, which included the Theodore Thomas Orchestra, and gave benefits to the G. A. R. on June 7 and 8.

On motion of W. C. Smoek, the Grand Army had decided to repeat the festival annually, but this was not done because the legislature of 1887 varied the monotony of its great senatorial fight by passing the law for the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, and thereby took the work off the Grand Army's

hands. Two years passed without festivals, but the success had been too pronounced, and the memory of it was too pleasing for the matter to be dropped. In January, 1889, a May Music Festival Association was organized, chiefly through the efforts of Carl Barus and J. H. Stem, and active preparation was begun for a festival that year. Gen. J. R. Carnahan was elected president, A. Kipp vice-president, Henry C. Rogers secretary, E. B. Porter treasurer, and Carl Barus director. Nearly 700 names were enrolled in the chorus, and the members rehearsed faithfully on Monday nights at High School hall, with Julius Kohl as accompanist. The festival was May 27-29, with Emma Juch, Mme. Herbert-Foerster, Margaret Reid (Kackley), Miss Von Doenhoeft, Miss Pierce, Jules Perotti, Signor Campanari and Emil Fischer were the solo vocal artists; while Max Bendix appeared in a violin solo, and Adele Ausder Ohe as a piano soloist.

The festival was a great success, and everybody favored its continuance as a permanent institution. In 1890 it was held May 13-16. The orchestra of 50 pieces was from the Metropolitan Opera House, New York. The notable vocal soloists were Mlle. Clementina De Vere, Mme. Theresa Herbert-Foerster, Mrs. Zelda Seguin-Wallace, Jules Perotti, Emil Fischer, Charles Holman Black and Charles Knorr. The instrumental soloists were John Cheshire (clarinet), Franz Wilezek (violin), and Victor Herbert (violin-cello). In 1891 the chief vocal attractions were Emma Juch, Mary Howe, Clara Poole, Wm. Lavin and Emil Fischer; and the instrumental, Wilezek and Max Bendix. The orchestra was that of Theodore Thomas, conducted by him. In 1892 the star singers were Mme. Fursch-Madi, Lena Little, Margaret Reid, Mrs. S. E. Ford, Campanini and Heinrich Meyn, accompanied by Damrosch and his orchestra. The instrumental star was the violinist Brodsky. This was the last year that the chorus was conducted by Professor Barus, he being succeeded by F. X. Arens in the following year. The festival in 1893 was a fizzle. The directors had made a contract with Charles E. Locke for the Seidl orchestra, and a complement of soloists, while a separate contract had been made with Mme. Nordica. A few days before the time set for the festival the directors

received a demand for about \$3,000 increase on their contract; and also for one day's postponement of the opening. This was refused, and the festival was off. The only consolation offered was a concert on May 22, for the benefit of the festival fund, at which Madame Nordica, Margaret Reid, Sadie Walker and Schliewin, the violinist, appeared.

In 1894 there were enough attractions in the session, May 15-17, to make up for the loss of the preceding year. The notable artists were Emma Eames, Emma Juch, Antoinette Trebelli, Clara Poole-King and Gertrude May Stein, with Ben Davies, Max Heinrich, Watkin Mills and E. C. Towne; also Henri Morceau (violin), V. V. Rogers (harp), Felix Winternitz (violin), and Fritz Giese (cello). There was a change in the business management of the association this year, in which Mr. O. R. Johnson had become secretary, and Mr. Ferd Mayer was put in charge of local contracts. For the first time receipts of the festival equaled the expenses, since the organization of 1889. The orchestral music in 1894, as also in 1895 and 1896, was furnished by the Boston Festival Orchestra, with Emil Mollenhauer as director. In 1895 the stars were Melba, Nordica, Gertrude May Stein, Julie L. Wyman, Rose Stewart, Mrs. Jennie Patrick Walker, Max Heinrich, W. H. Rieger, Ben Davies, Wm. H. Clarke and Watkin Mills. In 1896 Nordica was here again, with Mme. Lohse-Klafsky, Miss Stein, Katharine Bloodgood, Marie Brema, Mme. Lillian Blauvelt, Signor Campanari, Evan Williams, E. A. McDowell, Barron Berthald, D. M. Babcock and Van Vechten Rogers. In 1895 the festival was on May 13-16, and in 1896 on May 25-27.

In 1897 the festival was held May 20-22, with Mme. Calve as the chief attraction, and also as soloists Ella Russell, Mme. Clementine de Vere Sapio, Sarah Layton Walker, Ffrangeon-Davies, Barron Berthald, Evan Williams, Oliver W. Pierce and Morris Meek. Professor Arens conducted the chorus, and Frank Van der Stucken directed the orchestra—the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, which was also engaged in 1898. The last year of the festival was 1898, and Van der Stucken conducted both chorus and orchestra. There was also a children's chorus of 800 voices, which was trained by Professor Er-

nestinoff and Miss Wilkinson. The festival was held May 4-7, and the chief attractions were Mme. Jacoby, Mme. Gadski, Mme. Juch, Geo. Hamlin, David Bispham, Paul Haase and Ysaye, the pianist. At this festival Benoit's "Lucifer" was given for the first time in America. As it was just after Dewey's great victory, the festival took on a patriotic tinge. As spokesman, on the opening night, Bispham requested the audience to join in "The Star Spangled Banner", Mmes. Jacoby and Juch leading the singing. On the last night "America" was sung by the chorus, the audience joining; and on Thursday night Bispham sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic", the audience joining. The great drawing card proved to be Ysaye, on the closing night.

Notwithstanding its success in other respects, the festival of 1898 was a dismal failure financially, leaving a deficit of about \$3,000. This was so discouraging that the directors abandoned the festival enterprise. There was an effort in the fall of 1899 to revive it for 1900, but in December it was finally given up. There may be some difference of opinion outside, as to why the festival was a financial failure, but there is not much among the directors. One says: "The world did not produce musical celebrities fast enough". Another puts it: "The American public does not care for music; it pays to see celebrities. The star who draws one season is not a star the next, and consequently does not draw". A third says: "You haven't an adequate hall here. You must make your money on stars; and when you have a real star, Toulinson Hall is not large enough, and has not enough good seats". To the proposal to cut out the stars it is answered that, "if you did you could not even get a chorus to serve without compensation".

Of course, there have been few traveling musical organizations in the United States since the Civil War that have not visited Indianapolis; but since the last May festival the principal effort to bring high-grade musical talent here has been by a woman—Ona B. Talbot. She began by bringing Theodore Thomas with his orchestra, and Frederick A. Stock in choral work, in 1901-2; and since then has brought Damrosch's New York Symphony Orchestra twice, Emil Paur's Pitts-



(W. H. Buss Photo Company.)

MME. CAHIER AS "ORPHEUS."

(Sarah Layton Walker.)

burg Orchestra three times, Dr. Karl Muck's Boston Symphony Orchestra twice, the Kneisel Quartet four times, and the Heermann Quartet once. Under her management the city has had visits from noted singers, Ailee Nielsen, Melba, Calve, Schumann-Heink (three times), Gadske, Bispham and Campanari; and of instrumental artists, Mielos, Busoni, Paderewski (twice), Rosenthal, Camero, De Pachmann (twice), Bernthaler, Arthur Rubinstein, Kubelik, Ysaye, Elsa Ruegger, Gerardy, Bromsen, Arnold Dolmetsch and others. Since 1906 the People's Concert Association has done a good work by providing high grade concerts at reasonable prices at Caleb Mills Hall (Shortridge High School) and has had large audiences. Perhaps its largest undertaking has been bringing annually the Theodore Thomas Orchestra. In 1895, Karl Schneider organized the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra, which gave concerts here with noted soloists, 1904-6. Perhaps the most notable musical event since the close of the May festivals was the meeting of the thirty-second National Saengerfest at Indianapolis June 17-20, 1908. They had as soloists Marie Rappold, Schumann-Heink, Adolf Muehlmann and David Bispham; with Danrosch's New York Symphony Orchestra.

Indianapolis has been blessed by excellent music teachers from an early time, so much so that those pupils who went elsewhere for higher study had very rarely to "unlearn" what they had been taught here. The names of Professors Pearsall, Owen, Black, Scholtz, H. J. Schonacker, Karl Schneider, Leckner, Newell, Ernestinoff, Beissenherz and Bahr, Professor and Madame Heine, Professor and Madame Jaillet, the Schellshmidts, Mr. and Mrs. McGibeny, O. W. Pierce, John Geiger, Edward Nell, Mr. Peck, Mrs. Hunter, and others, are widely remembered for their work of instruction. And they have had pupils who did them credit. There has not been a time in years when the city did not have a dozen talented amateurs, who could be called on for genuine musical work. And the city has produced some professionals that have attained notable success; and others who deserved greater success than has yet come to them. One of the first to attain fame was Albert Ross Parsons, President of the American College of Musicians of the University

of New York since 1893. He was a pupil of Professor Pearsall here, before the war, and went East as a "boy wonder". He pursued his studies at Buffalo, New York City, and, for five years, in Germany, under Carl Tausig and Prof. Theodore Kullak. President Parsons is an all-round genius, archaeologist, genealogist, composer, author and lecturer, as well as musician. He has published a number of volumes dealing with the subjects in which he ranks as an expert authority, some of which are of exceptional interest as demonstrating the connection between music and other arts and sciences.¹⁴

Another juvenile prodigy is Thad Rich, son of W. S. Rich, and present Concert Master of the Philadelphia Orchestra. He is of a musical family, and displayed musical talent very early. His father bought him a small violin and gave him his first instruction; his first appearance in public was at a school exhibition, at the age of nine, and within three years after he was astonishing and delighting audiences in various parts of the state and at Chicago and Cincinnati. He became a pupil of Richard Schliewin, Charles Ehricke, and later Professor McGibeny, and afterwards put in six intermittent years in Germany, with Arno Hilf, Joseph Joachim, Hans Pfitzner and Arthur Nikisch. His first appearance in Indianapolis after going abroad was on October 5, 1899, at the age of 14, and his last was in a recital at Caleb Mills Hall on March 19, 1907. In addition to playing the violin, Mr. Rich is a violin maker of marked ability.¹⁵ It seems probable, however, that even Rich will be surpassed by Eddie Brown, now 13 years of age, the son of Jacob Brown, a Washington street saloon-keeper. He was one of McGibeny's pupils, and for the last three years has been at Budapest with Jenő Hubay, the Hungarian maestro. He is now under contract with Daniel Mayer, who managed Kubelik, Elma, and Paderewski, and he holds that Eddie Brown is the greatest violinist of his age in the world. Eddie made his first professional appearance in London, England, October 3,

¹⁴*Who's Who, and Biographical Encyclopedias.*

¹⁵*News*, September 28, 1899; April 3, 1907.

1907, with great success.¹⁶ Ellis Levy, another Indianapolis boy of extraordinary talent, is now studying with Caesar Thomson, in Brussels, and there are others coming on, among whom may be noted two girls, Marie Dawson, now studying here, and Vera Verburg, who goes out next season with a concert company.

One of the most talented violinists Indianapolis has produced is Jeannette Orlopp—or, as the name is sometimes written Orloff, which was probably the original form. She showed early musical talent, and was given her early instruction by Professor Beissenherz, who recognized her ability and urged her higher study. She then went to the Cincinnati College of Music, and studied under Leandro Campanari. In graduating from this institution she won a gold medal and a post-graduate scholarship. Soon after she visited Italy with the Campanaris, and while at Genoa received a remarkable honor. The violin of Paganini which had been kept sealed, under a glass cover, since the death of his only pupil Sivori, needed restringing, and the work was delegated to Campanari. The violin was unsealed in the presence of the civil authorities and a concourse of musicians. After putting the violin in order, Campanari played two or three selections on it, and then called on Miss Orlopp, who played one of Beethoven's romanzas to a delighted audience. From Italy she went with strong letters to Wilhelmi, at London, and became his pupil for more than a year. He was negotiating for her appearance under his direction when his untimely death occurred. Miss Orlopp has appeared several times in Indianapolis, and is recognized by all who have heard her as an artiste of very high grade.¹⁷ For some months Miss Orlopp has been in negotiation with David Bispham for appearance in a novel musical play contemplated by him.

The first Indianapolis singer to achieve real fame abroad was Margaret Reid (Kackley), now Mrs. Harold Swain. She was born at Maysville, Ky., and her parents moved here in her infancy. She probably learned to sing from the birds, for she made her first

public appearance at the age of seven, at the Home Avenue, or Third Christian Church, of which she later became the leading soprano. With no special musical instruction but her choir practice and that of the public schools, she went to study at the Boston Conservatory of Music in 1884-5; and in the winter of 1886-7 went to Paris, where she studied with Mme. Leonard. She became favorably known as an artiste, and, among other engagements, sang at a large reception by Whitelaw Reid, in the presence of the official and diplomatic society of Paris. Returning to this country, she sang at the Indianapolis May Festival in 1889, and received a great ovation, not only from the audience, but also from the local and foreign singers. She sang at Washington at a memorable reception of the Brices, at which Mme. Scacchi and Edward Lloyd, the noted English tenor, also sang. Mrs. Harrison invited her to 5 o'clock tea at the White House, and President Harrison escorted her to the Green Room, where she sang at his request. Her debut in opera did not occur until 1892, when the managers of the Metropolitan Opera Company, of New York, were thrown into consternation by their prima donna Marie Van Zandt, who avowed she was sick, and refused to sing. Managers Abbey & Grau determined to try Miss Reid. It was a solemn proposition to take a young girl who had no experience in opera, and put her before the footlights as "Ophelia", in Ambroise Thomas' "Hamlet"; but they risked it, and the result on February 10, 1892, was more than a success. The audience, always ready for offense at a substitution, was skeptical and critical at first, but it surrendered; and it closed the evening by calling her before the curtain half a dozen times, amid tumultuous enthusiasm. The following month she sang at the May Festival here, with great favor; and later in the year traveled as soloist with the Seidl Orchestra and with Campanini. She was engaged for the May Festival of 1893, and appeared at the concert which took the place of it. In the season of 1893-4 she was with the Bostonians, and in the fall of 1894 went abroad, where she remained for eight years. Two seasons were spent in London in an engagement at Covent Garden, and the remainder in opera on the continent. In 1902-3 she had an engagement

¹⁶*News*, October 4, 1909.

¹⁷*News*, May 5, 1898; *Press*, March 23, 1900.

with the New Orleans Opera Company, but became dissatisfied with their methods and withdrew from the company and from the stage. On September 9, 1893, she had married Harold Swain, a childhood lover, and since 1903 they have been living quietly in New York City, where Mr. Swain is a successful attorney.¹⁸

Another Indianapolis singer who has attained international fame is Marguerite Lemon. She is a native of the city, and of old Indianapolis stock; descended on her father's side from Jonah F. Lemon, who located northeast of Millersville in 1837, and on her mother's side from Thomas Wyatt, of English descent, who came to Indianapolis in 1835. She brought her musical talent into the world with her, for she made her first appearance at three years of age in a song at a Christmas entertainment at St. Paul's Church. She was educated in the local schools, finishing at Mrs. Sewall's Classical. She had no special vocal training here, but became an expert pianiste under the instruction of Professor Bahr, and sang for some time in the choir of the First Presbyterian Church. She went to New York to study, and was engaged for the First Presbyterian Church choir there, and also appeared in concert. Her voice attracted the attention of Couriel, who made a three years' contract with her for soprano parts at the Metropolitan Opera House. But Miss Lemon, after winning laurels in New York, decided to go abroad to perfect her foreign accents, and first went to Germany. An appearance in one of Henry Hadley's recitals brought several offers for opera, and she soon appeared as Marguerite in "Faust", Eva in "Der Meistersinger", Elsa in "Lohengrin", and Elizabeth in "Tamnhauser".

Her principal engagement was in Mayence, but she has sung in gastspiele in all the principal German, French and Italian cities. In the spring of 1908 she created a furor by her "Madame Butterfly", of which the *Mainz Journal* said: "Miss Lemon impersonated the deceived and abandoned Butterfly with delicate feeling in both singing and

acting. The artist, indeed, seemed in attitude and gesture a real Japanese, and gave intense delight with her well schooled voice, which is capable of every modulation, and is now at the climax of its expressiveness. The singer acted with a conception of such clearness and unity that one could not but feel the full agony and despair of the innocent victim. With no straining for superficial effects she shows the two qualities of effective art". Later Miss Lemon scored other successes in Marta, in d'Alberti's opera of "Tiefenlands", and as Nedda in "Pagliacci". In the spring of 1909 she was selected to create the title role in Henry Hadley's opera "Satie". Her career has been one of steady advance, according to the musical critics of Europe, who, as is well known, are not inclined to view American artists with friendly eye.¹⁹

Cora Layina Isham (Eastburn) was an Indianapolis singer whose future seemed assured. She is the niece and foster-daughter of D. J. Eastburn. She had her early musical training here, and went on the stage in 1896, with the Jefferson De Angelis company. Later she was with Alice Nielsen, and in 1900 was her understudy. While everything looked bright, she found evidences of incipient lung trouble, and left the stage, and devoted herself to saving her health. About a year ago she was so much improved that she went to Paris and took up advanced musical study, in which she is still engaged.²⁰ Charles Holman-Black, son of Prof. J. S. Black, grew up in Indianapolis. His early instruction was from his father. As he grew older, and his voice changed from a soprano to a baritone, he became a pupil of Signor Severini, who became much interested in him, and traveled with him in Germany, Denmark and Norway. On his return he went into opera for two seasons, after which, his friend and teacher Severini having died, he went to Paris. Here he became acquainted with the distinguished maestro Faure, who took him for a pupil for four years, during which he also followed the course of M. Du-

¹⁸*Press*, May 2, 1900; *Journal*, May 15, 1892; *News*, February 11, 1892; and Festival dates.

¹⁹*Musical America*, January 25, 1908; April 17, 1909; *Munsey's Magazine*, December, 1908; *Star*, July 5, 1908; August 9, 1908; May 2, 1909; *News*, May 9, 1909.

²⁰*Press*, March 3 and April 24, 1900.



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

MARGUERITE LEMON
(as "Eva" in "Die Meistersinger".)

vernoi at the conservatory. He was the first American invited to sing in the concerts of "La Fropmeppe", and soon was singing in the most exclusive salons of Paris, in which congenial occupation he still continues. He has also appeared in concert elsewhere, notably in London, at the Promenade concerts, Crystal Palace, St. James Hall, the People's Palace, etc.

Perhaps the highest rank attained by an Indianapolis singer is that of Mme. Cahier, who grew up here as Sarah Layton Walker. Though born at Nashville, Tennessee, she is of old Indiana families on both sides, and her parents returned here when she was a child of six years. Her family had natural musical tastes, and her mother, Mrs. I. N. Walker, and aunt, Mrs. Emswiler, of Los Angeles, California, were exceptionally good amateurs. Mrs. Emswiler had a knack of getting music from children, and her imitations of children's singing were vastly entertaining to her friends. Before Sarah was three years old she was singing self-composed alto to two dozen airs, while Mrs. Emswiler sang soprano. Her music teacher here was Ernestinoff, and to him she owes her method and the broadening of her compass from one octave to three, without affecting the quality of her voice. From here she went to Cleveland to take a position in the leading quartet choir; and while there she made two trips to Europe to perfect her musical education, studying on the first with Amelie Joachim, in Berlin, and on the second with Fidele Koenig, in Paris. After the second trip she was married to Morris Black, of Cleveland, law partner of James Garfield, who died of appendicitis about three months after the marriage. Thrown on her own resources, the young widow went to New York City to sing at All Souls Unitarian Church (Dr. Slicer's), and was soon singing in salon for the leading families. She made another trip to Paris, and coached in singing with Koenig, and in acting with Vietor Capoul, the famous tenor and actor of the Paris opera. Her fourth trip to Europe was to study with Jean de Retzke, for some fifteen months, after which she made her debut at Nice, on February 12, 1904, as Orpheus in Orpheus and Eurydice. Her success was overwhelming with both the

audience and the critics, who praised her acting as highly as her singing.²¹ One of them, speaking of the air "I have lost my Eurydice", in which the pathos of the opera reaches its climax, said: "The tragedienne was the equal of the singer. * * * The three verses of the theme were sung splendidly by her—the first at half voice, with a constrained sorrow, the second with a voice strangled and broken with sobs, and finally the third with a violent and tumultuous expression, and a veritable explosion of despair. This was art, and grand art, and I have no words to express the admiration that the audience felt for this eminent artiste." After this she sang through France in soirees, and through the German provinces in "gastspiel" (i. e. as star for local companies), as also at Paris and Berlin. At Berlin she was called to the royal box and complimented, and invited to sing at the queen's church. This high honor being accepted, the queen attended and received her afterwards. While at Frankfort on the Main, Gustave Mahler—now of the Metropolitan Opera, New York; then Director of the Royal Opera at Vienna—came to hear her, and engaged her for three gastspiels at Vienna. On her appearance there she was offered a contract for six years as the leading contralto, which she accepted.

When she made her debut at Nice, Mrs. Black met Dr. Carl Cahier, a native of Stockholm, who was conducting a sanitarium at Nice, and about a year later they were married. In 1907 and 1908 she visited Norway and Sweden with her husband, and there received notable ovations. Being in Christiana on "children's day", 1908, when everybody does something for the aid of poor children, Dr. and Mme. Cahier took a piano in a wagon, dressed as gypsies, and went out in the streets singing for the children's fund. After this her every public appearance was the occasion for an outburst of applause. At Christiana the students unhitched the horses from her carriage and drew it through the streets—the first time such a demonstration has been made for any artist since Jenny Lind except Christine Nielsen.

²¹*News*, March 3, 1904.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

The first practitioner of medicine in this vicinity was the old French half-breed, Jean Baptiste Bruett (possibly Brouillette) who was located on White River at the Hamilton County line. Like other Indian doctors his system was quite uniform. He first dosed the patient with vegetable emetics and cathartics, and then put him in a sweat-house until perspiring freely; after which he had him jump in the river for a bath. As most of his patients were malarial the treatment was usually beneficial—his patients ordinarily looked a trifle emaciated when he got through with them, but obviously if there was a microbe left in them it was concealed in their bones. There was quite an extensive adoption of Indian root and herb remedies by the early settlers, and they were held in quite as high esteem as some of the remedies of the white doctors. Robert B. Duncan, who was a very observant and reflective man, says of the early practice:

"As might have been expected, there was some sickness in those early times, which, as I have always believed, was greatly aggravated by the ignorance of some of the earlier doctors. The physicians who first came amongst us seemed to be wholly ignorant of the malarial diseases peculiar to the country. They generally provided themselves with a goodly supply of the largest and most approved lancets and unmeasured quantities of English calomel. With these evidences of medical skill, a flaming sign, painted on a clapboard, was hung out, and as opportunity offered these men of science and great medical skill went forth first to take from the unfortunate patient all the blood that could be extracted from his veins without killing on the spot, then was dosed out calomel enough to kill the largest sized gorilla, which the patient was required to take in doses indicated. He was to be

kept confined in a close room so that not a breath of pure, cool air could fan his cheeks or kiss his lips, and was to have neither meat nor drink, warm water alone excepted. This practice, while it lasted, greatly aggravated disease. It killed quick but cured slow. It was far less skillful than that practiced by the Indian doctors. Happily this ignorance was not winked at and soon gave way to a more intelligent and health restoring system; not however, until some of those practicing it had justly subjected themselves to the sobriquet of 'Death on the Pale Horse.'"¹

In reality it was not for years that reform came. The first physician here who made much protest against the extensive use of calomel was Dr. Jonathan Cool, but he fell a victim to intemperance and lost weight as a medical man. In 1849 Dr. David Funkhouser raised one of the greatest rows ever known in Indianapolis medical circles by a paper read before the Marion County Medical Society, attacking the use of mercury and bleeding in continued fevers, and recommending instead the moderate use of quinine, opium, mild laxatives and alcoholic stimulants, with the use of turpentine or nitrate of silver in case of ulcerations. This assault on the prevailing practice of the time, sanctioned by Watson and Wood, the latest and most approved authorities on practice, called for rebuke. In his account of it, Dr. P. H. Jameson says: "Of course it met with a storm of disapproval. It was deprecated, ridiculed, approved, denounced, according to the humor of the assailant. It was branded as Thompsonianism, a low form of quackery then prevailing, although capsicum and lobelia had not been mentioned."²

¹*Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol 2, p. 101.

²*Ind. Med. Journal*, Vol 12, p. 133.

There were no white doctors here until 1821, and then they came in abundance. The first was Dr. Samuel G. Mitchell, in April. He first built a log house at the southwest corner of Washington and Tennessee street, and later a frame house at the northwest corner of Washington and Meridian, where he lived and had his office. He was a native of Kentucky, and came here from Paris, in that state. He was a very corpulent man, and never rode beyond a walk. At the time of the Blackhawk War, in 1832, he was made surgeon of the battalion that was raised here; and he then had made a heavy leather belt, reaching from breast bone to the hips, to facilitate rapid transit. His wife died in 1829 and his daughter in 1832. In 1836 he had a paralytic stroke, and was poor and helpless; but he had befriended an orphan boy, named Palmer, who had become a successful physician in Ohio, and he took the old doctor and cared for him till his death in 1837. The second physician was Dr. Isaac Coe, who arrived in May, from New Jersey. He located on Fall Creek, near where the City Hospital stands, and gardened extensively as well as practising medicine. He was active in the religious and benevolent life of the village, and is also remembered for his free use of calomel and the lancet. Mrs. Ketcham, who was one of his patients in childhood, says: "It is no exaggeration to say that his pills were as large as cherries; twenty grains of calomel was a common dose, and antimony till one was sure he was poisoned. He bled equal to any Italian, till his patient fainted away". Mrs. Ketcham still carries the mark on her arm where he bled her. But he changed. In 1837 he was one of the Fund Commissioners of the state, and spent much time in New York, where he became a convert to homeopathy. He tried to practice it here, but it was not popular at that time. People did not think they were getting enough for their money. Dr. Coe spent most of his later years in the Northwest with his sons, but on his death his remains were brought here for burial in the Crown Hill Cemetery. His memory is cherished as the founder—or chief one—of the first Sunday school.

In July came Dr. Livingston Dunlap, from Cherry Valley, New York. He formed a partnership with Dr. Mitchell, and lived at his house. He was the only surgeon in Indian-

apolis until 1830, when Dr. Sanders came. Dr. Dunlap was a student, and kept at it after he entered the practice, taking his degree from Transylvania Medical College, at Paris, Kentucky, in 1830. He was appointed Adjutant-General in 1825; was elected town trustee in 1834; was physician of the Deaf and Dumb Institute for several years; was postmaster from 1815 to 1819. He served in the city council from 1853 to 1859. In all these positions he served efficiently, and at the same time attended to a large practice, and was a close student. At the organization of Central Medical College, in the summer of 1849, as the medical department of Asbury University, he was made professor of the theory and practice of medicine, and was very successful as a teacher. He died in 1862, at a ripe old age, widely lamented.

At about the same time as Dr. Dunlap came Dr. Kenneth A. Scudder, a young man of 22. He was a native of New Jersey, and was very popular socially, and gave promise of a brilliant professional career. In the winter of 1828-9 he had an attack of measles, and was convalescent when he ventured out to call on some patients, and suffered a relapse, from the effects of which he died on March 6, 1829. The general sympathy was accentuated by the fact that he had married only three months before his death. The physicians of the city and "the Indianapolis legislature" adopted resolutions of regret, and wore crape on their left arms for thirty days, and the papers published eulogistic articles on the deceased.

In August, 1821, Dr. Jonathan Cool arrived. He was also a native of New Jersey, and the best educated of the earliest physicians. He was a classmate of Judge Blackford, at Princeton, graduating with the highest honors of his class; and then attended medical college and took his degree. He received an appointment as army surgeon, and was stationed for some time at Newport Barracks, Kentucky. He was the first physician to protest against the excessive use of calomel, and his controversy with Dr. Coe on that subject, together with his downfall by intemperance, are detailed in the chapter entitled "The Demon Rum". Although he became a hopeless drunkard, the testimony to his intelligence and

Journal, August 20, 1825.

uniform gentlemanly character is unanimous. He lived with his mother, in the northeast part of the town till his death in 1840, and he was buried by the side of that devoted and heart-broken mother in Greenlawn Cemetery.

These were the only doctors resident in Indianapolis for the four years following 1821. On July 1, 1825, Dr. Mitchell announced that he had "associated himself in the practice of Medicine and Surgery with Dr. W. R. Ross, who has lately come to this place well recommended".⁴ A year later Dr. Ross announced that he had "settled himself permanently at Indianapolis" and gone into business for himself—"His shop is two doors west of Mr. J. Hawkins' Inn".⁵ He was a young man of promise, but he had an aversion for wild animals and snakes, and some six months later returned to the more civilized region of Ohio, whence he came.⁶ In December, 1825, the city received a visit from "Dr. L. B. Bartle, Surgeon-Dentist" who pulled teeth without pain, made false teeth, and also gave an entertainment "consisting of a variety of new and incomprehensible experiments".⁷ There were also several other doctors who located here in 1824-6, probably temporarily, as no special account of them is preserved. Among them were Doctors Laughlin, Saxton, and Morris.

William H. Lilly, who was Auditor of State from 1816 to 1828 was a practicing physician, and devoted more time to that than to auditing, the latter being done by a competent deputy. Dr. W. H. Wishard says that he came here in the fall of 1824, and formed a partnership with Dr. Jones, who came here from Kentucky about the same time. This date is too early. On May 9, 1826, an article appeared in the *Gazette* inquiring whether the state had an auditor, and suggesting that as Mr. Lilly had "his family, property, etc., in Kentucky always, and is only absent one-third of the year in the sister state of Indiana" he could hardly be considered as coming within the constitutional requirement of residence. This pointed criticism seems to have had some effect, for six weeks later Dr. Galen Jones offered his services to the people of Indian-

apolis,⁸ and the next week was announced in the partnership of doctors Jones and Lilly, whose office was "in the small frame building on Washington street, near Mr. Henderson's Tavern".⁹ This firm was wrecked by intemperance of both members. Lilly died in 1829, and Jones was at that time a dilapidated sot. He was saved, however, by the efforts of his wife, who got him back to Kentucky and straightened him up. He afterwards maintained an excellent practice there. He was a large, fine-looking man, and both he and Dr. Lilly were creditable practitioners.

In 1828 Dr. Chas. McDougall came to Indianapolis from Ohio, for a stay of four years. He formed a partnership with his brother-in-law, Dr. Dunlap, and they made a strong firm. Dr. McDougall was appointed a surgeon in the United States army in 1832. He served in the Blackhawk and Seminole wars; was made a major in 1838; and served at West Point in 1846-8. At the beginning of the Civil War he was made medical director of the Army of the Tennessee, and in September, 1862, was put in charge of the Medical Director's office at New York City. He was brevetted Brigadier-General, for meritorious service, in 1865; retired in 1869; and died on July 25, 1885. The next doctors after him were Dr. John H. Sanders, who came in the winter of 1829-30, and Dr. John L. Mothershead, who came in 1830. They were both from Kentucky, and both graduates of Transylvania Medical College. Dr. Mothershead formed a partnership with Dr. Mitchell for about a year, and then with Dr. Sanders. They remained together till 1839, a very popular and competent firm, when Dr. Sanders went to Missouri for two years. On his return he formed a partnership with Dr. Charles Parry, and later one with Dr. P. H. Jameson. He died April 1, 1850. Dr. Mothershead practiced alone for some time, but for a period before his death, in November, 1854, was associated with Dr. Bullard.

These were the medical pioneers of Indianapolis and though we ridicule their system of treatment, they were quite as fearful that someone who was ignorant of correct principles might practice medicine as the physicians of today. By the act of December 21,

⁴*Gazette*, July 5, 1825.

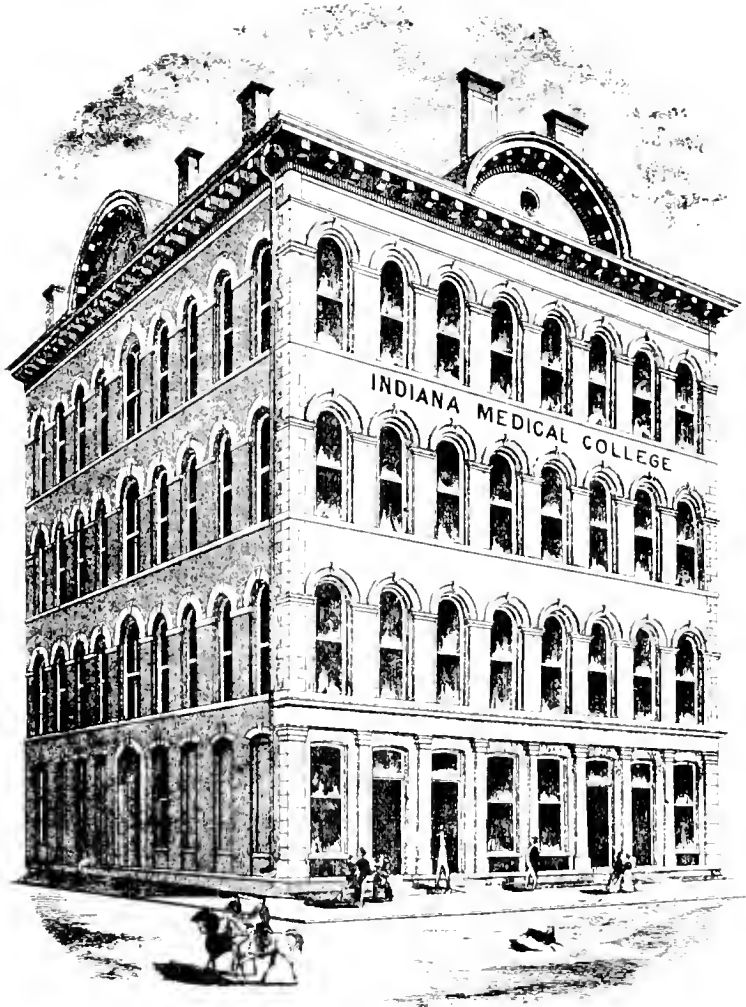
⁵*Journal*, July 11, 1826.

⁶*Ind. Med. Journal*, Vol. 11, p. 202.

⁷*Gazette*, December 27, 1825.

⁸*Journal*, June 20, 1826.

⁹*Journal*, June 27, 1826.



OLD INDIANA MEDICAL COLLEGE.

1816, each judicial district of the state was made a medical district, and five censors for each district were named by the act. These were given power to examine applicants, and to grant license to practice on satisfactory showing of ability and moral character. They were also empowered to exclude from practice for immorality or intemperance. A curious provision of this law was the restriction of mileage charges to $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents a mile, going to and coming from a patient in day time, and double that sum at night. On January 1, 1819 an act was passed creating a state medical society, composed of delegates from the district societies, which were to meet at Corydon on April 10, following, and elect officers, and adopt a constitution and by-laws, "not inconsistent with the laws and constitution of this state nor of the United States". The state society was empowered to fix the boundaries of the districts, and "to settle finally all differences between the district medical societies, and also between individuals and the respective societies in case of appeal".¹⁰ By act of January 18, 1820, the state society was authorized to create as many local societies as it deemed expedient.

Question arose as to the regularity of these associations, and on petition of a number of physicians, a law was passed on February 12, 1825, for the incorporation of state and district societies—each judicial district constituting a medical district. To organize the state society "not less than five" were necessary, and in the districts not less than six physicians were to meet and elect officers, including three censors. The state society was composed of delegates, from one to five from each district, and was empowered "to establish a uniform system of the course and time of medical study, and the qualifications necessary for license"; also to levy a tax of \$3 per year on each member of the society. Candidates for license were examined by the censors, who granted diplomas or refused. In the latter case there was a right of appeal to the district and state societies, the decision of the latter being final. The censors were enjoined not to give license to anyone of immoral character. This was slightly amended by the act of January 30, 1830, and

all actions of the societies in the past were legalized. It was continued in force till repealed by the revision of 1843.

In the spring of 1823 the Central Medical Society was organized at Indianapolis, with Dr. Mitchell as president and Dr. Livingston Dunlap as secretary. On December 19, 1823, at the meeting of the State Medical Society at Corydon, Dr. Livingston Dunlap was elected secretary. The first meeting of the state society at Indianapolis was on January 19, 1825. But the most notable meeting was that of the Central Medical Society on November 6, 1824. The county government was then in the hands of a board of justices, and the board had cut doctor's bills, offering amounts "which can be considered in no other light than as intended not to compensate but to insult". Dr. Scudder had attended a pauper, at the request of the overseers of the poor, from August 5 to September 23. "His bill was \$24.50, and the justices allowed \$5 in county orders, worth not more than $83\frac{1}{2}$ ". Dr. Coe had been called in consultation in this case, and his bill of \$3 was refused entirely. Dr. Dunlap was employed by the overseers of the poor to attend an old soldier. He called on him five times, "a distance of 5 or 6 miles, and furnished medicine for the whole time of his sickness. His bill was \$13.75, for which the board allowed \$3, in county orders, equal to $84\frac{1}{2}$ ". On this showing the society adopted stirring resolutions that until these bills were allowed as presented, with no deductions, no member of the society would attend any pauper supported by the county, without a written assurance of reasonable compensation, "except in sudden and dangerous emergencies".¹¹

No account is preserved of the results of this defiant stand. The county board did not allow the bills, however, and there is no mention of a doctor's bill in its proceedings for the next five years. On July 6, 1829, it allowed \$6.50 to Dunlap and McDougall "for four days attendance and medicine on Abijah Smith, a pauper". There may be some connection in the fact that on the same day they fixed a price for pauper Collins of 50 cents a lineal foot. The probability is that the employment of doctors for paupers was turned over to the overseers of the poor, *i. e.*, made

¹⁰*Acts of 1819*, p. 36.

¹¹*Gazette*, November 16, 1824.

a township expense instead of a county expense. That appears to have become a custom, for in 1849, the Supreme Court decided that the county was liable for attendance on a pauper, by a physician, on order of the overseers of the poor, although the primary liability was on the overseers.¹² The laws at the time were not very clear. Paupers were "farmed out" or "sold" to the person who offered to care for them cheapest, and who was required by law to furnish them the "common necessities of life". At the same time the overseers were authorized to look after transient sick poor, and "grant such temporary relief as the nature of the case may require".¹³

The earliest provision for medical treatment for resident paupers was by the act of February 17, 1838, which authorized the overseers, in case of sick paupers to get "such physicians to attend to them as the sick shall prefer, and in case no preference is signified, the said overseers shall employ such best physician in the county as can be procured". There was no provision for employment of a physician by the county to attend to all the poor, until the act of May 27, 1852.

A new State Medical Society was formed under the law of 1825, and pursuant to a resolution by it, the physicians of the fifth judicial circuit met at Indianapolis on May 1, 1826, and organized a district society, whose annual meetings were to be on the first Monday in May, and semi-annual meetings on the day preceding the meeting of the State society. Dr. Isaac Coe was made president; Livingston Dunlap, secretary; Kenneth A. Scudder, treasurer; Drs. Laughlin, Saxton and Morris, censors, and Drs. Mitchell, Coe and Saxton, delegates to the State society.¹⁴ This system of voluntary organization of societies by physicians, with absolute power over granting of licenses to practice medicine appears to have continued until the law authorizing it was dropped in the revision of 1833. Under it all practitioners who were not "regular" seem to have been shut out—at least none advertised—until 1836, when "botanic" and "Indian" doctors began to appear. The first of these

was S. H. Selman, an Indian doctor, who was located at Columbus, but toured the state, and advertised widely.¹⁵ In fact there was an unusual amount of medical advertising in the spring and summer of 1836. Among the Indianapolis regulars who had cards in the papers were Drs. Luke Munsell, J. S. Bobbs, E. Helfenstein, J. L. Richmond and George W. Mears, McCluer & Jordan, and Sanders & Mothershead.

On June 19, Dr. Abner Pope—he had a diploma from the Botanic Medical Society of Maryland—announced that he had a full stock of "Thompsonian Botanic Medicine, at his new store on Washington street, two doors east of the post office". It may be added that there was a notably large proportion of "vegetable remedies" among the patent medicines advertised at this time, and on July 9, Morrison & Tomlinson, the regular druggists, advertised a stock of botanic medicines. The term "Thompsonian" refers to Dr. Samuel Thompson, of Massachusetts, the leader of the new cult, who was a philosopher as well as a doctor. He maintained that man was composed of four "elements, earth, air, fire and water"; that the taking of mineral drugs carried him downward to the grave, while the use of plants, whose tendency is upwards, carried him in the opposite direction. Possibly not all who used the medicines adopted the philosophy, but they were quite popular. Pope maintained his store for fifteen years or more, and was a well-known resident of the city after that. Two years after Pope came William Kelly Frowhawk Fryer, an Indian doctor, who was at least "great in that strange spell, a name". He showed his faith by offering to buy, or exchange medical treatment, for roots of "colunbo, rattleroot, white snakeroot, sarsaparilla, angelica, ginseng, black snakeroot, eclecampane, and poplar root bark".¹⁶

There was not a little conflict between the regulars and the botanics, the latter urging that the regulars were murdering people with mineral drugs, and the former denouncing the botanics as absurd ignoramuses. Many stories were put in circulation on both sides, some possibly with no foundation, and some very well founded. Oliver H. Smith records a

¹² Board vs. Wilson, 1 Ind., p. 478.

¹³ Act of January 30, 1824; *ib.*, February 10, 1831.

¹⁴ *Gazette*, May 2, 1826.

¹⁵ *Journal*, April 9, 1836.

¹⁶ *Journal*, May 10, 1838.

story of a root doctor who could not cure one of his patients with his regular stock of roots, and, confusing calamus with calomel, thought to try the system of the regulars by giving her a decoction of calamus root. He stated the result thus: "She drank it with some difficulty, turned over in the bed and died. Still, I don't think it was the calamus that killed her, as all the calamus doctors are giving it in heavier doses than I did."¹⁷ There was enough of truth on both sides to make the public

"Hesitate to draw the line
Between the two, where God has not."

as Joaquin Miller puts it, and the controversy no doubt had a beneficial effect in producing the present situation in which the use of remedies usually is dictated by their effects, and not by their sources. After 1843, Indiana was a free-for-all medical state until 1885. In that year the legislature passed a law prohibiting the practice of medicine without a license from the County Clerk, to whom, as a preliminary, proof had to be made of graduation from "some reputable medical college", or that the applicant had "resided and practiced medicine, surgery and obstetrics in this state, continuously, for ten years immediately preceding the date of the taking effect of this act"—July 18, 1885. The *Indiana Medical Journal* for April gave the law a rather feeble indorsement, but said, "It will probably make a few of the hundreds of quacks who now infest Indiana seek more congenial climes, and if enforced will prevent quacks from other states from settling within our borders".

The serious question was what was a "reputable medical college", which was left to the judgment of the clerk; and as his fee came only on admission of the applicant, he was usually liberal in his views. The law was amended in 1891 by making the license good for the entire state instead of for the county only, as originally. There was a great deal of discontent among the profession over the situation, but not until 1897 could a basis for a law be reached by the several "schools". After much negotiation, the societies of the four leading schools appointed committees to act

jointly, and on December 19, 1896, these met at the office of Dr. W. N. Wishard, 18 East Ohio street, and agreed on a law. The "old school" were represented by Drs. W. N. Wishard and George F. Edenharter of Indianapolis, G. W. H. Kemper of Muncie, T. C. Kennedy of Shelbyville, and A. M. Owens of Evansville; the homeopaths by Drs. O. S. Rannels and F. C. and W. D. Stewart; the eclectics by Drs. W. E. Curreyer, Henry Long and C. G. Winter; and the physio-medicals by Drs. E. M. Haggard and A. W. Fisher. The basis agreed on, which was formulated and passed by the legislature, was for a State Board of Medical Registration and Examination, to control all future licenses. The board was to be composed of five members. Each school was to nominate two, and the Governor was to select one from each school, and the fifth at discretion. The wording of this provision was changed in the law as passed, by dropping the nominating feature and providing that the Governor should appoint five from the four schools having the largest numerical representation in the state which were the four named—but no school should have a majority of the members. Applicants must be graduates of a medical school that complies with the minimum requirements fixed by the board, or pass an examination by it. There was a good deal of opposition to the bill but it passed, on March 3, 1897, and is still in force, except that in 1905 the membership was increased to six, and the osteopaths were taken in on the same basis as the other schools.

Indianapolis had no medical college until 1818. On November 4 of that year the trustees of Asbury University established one here.

The Indiana Central Medical College, as the medical department of that school, for the first year it occupied the third floor of the Johnson building, and the next year it was moved to Matthew Little's building at the southeast corner of Washington and East streets, a two-story brick. The faculty the first year was announced as composed of John S. Bobbs, M. D., Professor of General and Special Anatomy; E. Dunlap, M. D., Professor of Surgery and Surgical Anatomy; T. W. Cowgill, M. D., Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine; C. G. Downey, A. M., Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy; G. W. Aberts, M. D., Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of

¹⁷*Early Indiana Trials*, p. 12.

Women and Children; J. S. Harrison, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica, Therapeutics and Medical Jurisprudence; R. Curran, M. D., Professor of Pathology and Physiology.¹⁸ This program, however, was not fully carried out. Dr. Bobbs was made Dean of the medical faculty, and held the above chair till 1850, when he took the chair of Principles and Practice of Surgery which was originally held by Dr. A. H. Baker, instead of Dr. Dunlap, whose chair was Theory and Practice of Medicine. Dr. Dunlap served till 1851, and was then succeeded by Dr. E. Deming. At the same time Dr. Mears was succeeded by Dr. S. E. Leonard, Dr. Harrison by Dr. C. G. Comegys, and Dr. Bobbs by Dr. Daniel Meeker. Dr. Cowgill did not serve at all; and Dr. David Funkhouser was Demonstrator of Anatomy for the first year. Dr. Curran had been Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, and Professor Downey had held the chair of Natural Science at Asbury before the medical college was established.

The college was continued for four years, the first class graduating in 1850 and the last in 1852. There were ten graduates in 1850, eighteen in 1851, and twelve in 1852. Most of these were from outside points. Among those known in Indianapolis as practitioners afterwards were J. W. Hervey and Delaney Wiley of the class of 1850, J. M. Tomlinson, R. N. Todd, J. W. Gordon and L. A. Butterfield of the class of 1851, and T. M. Stevens of the class of 1852.

There was some opposition to the school on the ground that it was a Methodist institution—so much so that a friend of the institution explained that several of the faculty did not belong to any church.¹⁹ In fact the only intolerance shown in the school was strictly professional, and the only special case was that of David J. Lee. David had been studying with Dr. L. Abbott, who was a botanic, but decided to acquire the learning of the Egyptians, and procured a regular ticket for the college lectures. His fellow students, however, disturbed his peace by yelling "steam", "yarks" and other derisive epithets when he appeared. Dr. Meeker rebuked the class, and tried to give Lee a fair showing, but in vain. On January 24, the faculty adopted a resolution

that Lee had not matriculated properly, and therefore was not a member of the class. On the same day Dean Bobbs notified him to return his ticket and his money would be refunded, adding, "It is hoped Mr. Lee will understand that the harmony of the class renders this step necessary." Lee closed the incident with a warm card to the public, in which he said that all the botanics asked of the allopaths was that "we may be placed on an equal footing with them, and our 'School' will leave theirs as far behind as the cantering horse, with blacksmith bellows for pill-bags, freighted with lobelia, cayenne pepper, and other coarse fodder (according to Professor Curran), can leave a go-cart laden with calomel, opium, antimony, and other death-dealing articles used by the Scientific Murderous Quacks."²⁰

Indianapolis has seen the birth of many medical colleges, which "like snow upon the dusty desert space, have lingered a little hour or two and gone". Among those that followed the Indiana Central Medical College, were Indiana Eclectic Medical College, organized in 1880, lasted ten years; Beach Medical College, organized in 1884 and merged with the preceding Eclectic Medical College in '86; Indiana College of Medicine and Midwifery, chartered in 1878 and discontinued; Eclectic College of Physicians and Surgeons, organized in 1890, extinct in '95; American Medical College organized in 1894, graduated one class; University of Medicine, organized 1887, graduated one class; College of Liberal Medicine died a-bornin'. These, it will be noted, with all other like institutions, were organized presumably to fill a long felt want, that was subsequently discovered to be not a vacancy, but a satiety.

The first medical college in the state was the University of Medicine of New Albany, which was organized in 1833, and was a failure. The institution next in order of priority was the Indiana Medical College of Laporte, Indiana, which was organized in 1844 and continued until 1848, at which time it began a migratory career, going to St. Charles, Illinois, thence to Rock Island, Illinois, in 1849, and finally to Keokuk, Iowa, where it remains as the College of Physicians and Surgeons.

¹⁸*Locomotive*, December 9, 1848.

¹⁹*Sentinel*, March 14, 1850.

²⁰*Locomotive*, February 8, 1851.

The principal colleges of the state, however, have been what were familiarly known as the Medical College of Indiana and the Central College of Physicians and Surgeons, which latter in effect reappeared as the State College of Physicians and Surgeons. The Medical College of Indiana was organized in 1878, when the Indiana Medical College, organized in 1868, and the College of Physicians and Surgeons, organized in 1873, were united to form this college. It was formerly the Medical Department of Butler University, but severed its connection with that institution in 1883. In 1905 it consolidated with Purdue University, the Central College of Physicians and Surgeons, and the Ft. Wayne College of Medicine, forming the Indiana Medical College, the School of Medicine of Purdue University.

Dissatisfaction amongst the medical profession in Indianapolis through the outcome of this consolidation, coupled with the desire of the State University at Bloomington to have a Medical College of its own, as a complement and fulfillment of the premedical course, which was a part of the curriculum of the State University, lead to the establishment in 1907 of the State College of Physicians and Surgeons, which was organized and run as a branch of the State University. The rivalry existing in this particular, between the State University at Bloomington on one hand and Purdue University on the other, led to one of the most spectacular fights, in the legislature of 1907, that the medical profession of the state had ever seen. Both of these large universities, endowed by the state, went before the legislature asking for enactments legalizing the plans that they had already started to carry out.

Each side had good grounds for its claims, but the legislature felt that it would be a mistake to divide the medical education of its students between two universities. The consequence was, that neither university got the coveted plum. Subsequently the matter was adjusted by compromise and mutual agreement, and at present the medical education of the state is centered in the University of Indiana, passes through its jurisdiction, and is conducted by one of the largest and best equipped plants of the country at Indianapolis. With true catholicity and breadth of view, the legislature in passing the enabling act for the

above mentioned consolidation, provided that other recognized schools of medicine should be provided for in the curriculum of the university as occasion might arise.

The requirements of medical education, in the present day and age, are so exceedingly rigid and based on such high standards, that it is exceedingly unlikely that in the future any so called private or independent colleges can be established and successfully maintained. Indiana, through her Board of Medical Registration and the laws behind it, is in the forefront as to educational requirements on medical subjects.

The hospitals of Indianapolis did not come early, and have been due chiefly to the urging of the medical profession. The founders of the Indianapolis City Hospital were leaders in the profession of medicine during the decade preceding the war. Dr. John S. Bobbs, the "father of cholecystotomy", and Dr. Livingston Dunlap, with a number of citizens, memorialized the city council, presenting the city's needs in 1851, when the population was less than 20,000. The proposal did not arouse enthusiasm, but in January and February of 1855 there was considerable small-pox, which caused a panic, and on March 10 the council ordered the erection of a hospital. Grounds were bought northwest of the town, the present site, plans were prepared, and a building was begun. But the small-pox disappeared and the panic with it, and the erection of the building was suspended repeatedly. It would probably not have been finished at all but for the efforts of Dr. Livingston Dunlap, who was councilman from the Fifth Ward, and who finally succeeded in getting it completed in the spring of 1859, at a cost of some \$30,000. Then came a halt on account of the expense of furnishing and conducting it. The council had an elephant on its hands. Proposals to sell it, and to turn it over to the Sisters of Charity were defeated, but, on July 21, 1860, it was granted to a society of ladies for a home for friendless women, and would probably have been devoted to that use but for the coming on of the Civil War.

When the volunteers began assembling here at the new State Fair Grounds (Morton Place) the first hospital in Indianapolis was opened in a barracks, 40 x 20 feet, under charge of Dr. W. B. Fletcher until he went off with his

regiment. It was soon outgrown, and it is averred that the sick were in some cases housed in the cattle stalls. On May 18, 1861, the city turned its hospital building over to the United States government, which used it as a military hospital until July 1, 1861, and then four months longer as a soldiers' home, surrendering it to the city in November, 1861. The national government, during its occupancy, added two 3-story ells to the building, and also put up fences, out-buildings and wooden barracks for wards. After an effort to sell these, it turned them over to the city in lieu of rent.

In the spring of 1866 preparations were made for occupancy, by partially furnishing it, and on June 29, 1866, the Hospital Board of the Council, of which Dr. John M. Kitchen was president, elected Dr. Green V. Woolen, the first superintendent. It was opened for patients on July 1. The old buildings were used until the present south wing was constructed under Dr. W. N. Wishard's superintendency, from July 1, 1879, to January 1, 1881. Dr. Woolen's surgical staff comprised Dr. John S. Bobbs, Dr. J. S. Athon, Dr. L. D. Waterman and Dr. John A. Cominger, the latter resigning after a continuous service of a quarter of a century. The medical consultants were Dr. James H. Woodburn and Dr. J. M. Gaston, and Dr. Robert N. Todd and Dr. T. B. Harvey, who served the hospital up to their respective deaths. Dr. Woolen's house physicians were Drs. W. W. Foley and E. Hadley.

The first civic patient treated in the City Hospital was a man who fell from a hotel window in Indianapolis, and was taken to the hospital when it was used as a United States military hospital, with Dr. J. Kitchen, of Indianapolis, as military surgeon of the post, and Dr. Milton M. Wishard medical officer in charge. The man died, and rumor has it that the \$60 found on his person was expended (as he had no heir) in planting the sixty soft maples which now embellish the hospital grounds.

Dr. Wishard's services as superintendent were marked by the rebuilding of the hospital and the establishment of the Training School for Nurses, under the auspices of the Flower Mission. It was during his service, also, that the antiseptic methods were introduced, mainly

through the instrumentality of Dr. John Chambers. Of Dr. Chambers's relation to this innovation, Dr. Wishard has furnished the following note:

"To Dr. John Chambers belongs the credit of first introducing antiseptic methods in treatment of wounds in the city of Indianapolis and in the City Hospital. In the spring of 1884, Dr. Chambers made an amputation at the hospital, using antiseptic methods, and subsequently did a number of other operations in which antiseptic dressings were used. In the beginning Dr. Chambers used carbolized gauze and applied 'protective' as an outer dressing, and also used a carbolic acid spray during the time of the operation, following the general methods then in vogue with the advocates of antiseptic surgery. Dr. Chambers soon modified his technique, but continued from that time to follow antiseptic methods, and they were adopted in the hospital. About this time Dr. W. N. Wishard, who was then superintendent of the hospital, was influenced by the reports of the Emergency Lying-in-Hospital of New York to adopt antiseptic methods in the obstetric ward, with the result that deaths from puerperal sepsis were practically done away with. Dr. W. N. Wishard subsequently reported the results in the lying-in wards to the Marion County Medical Society, and great skepticism was shown by some of the members; it was claimed that the new building, and clearing away of the old building accounted for the disappearance of puerperal peritonitis.

In the summer of 1886, Dr. Wishard and Dr. Marsee visited the hospitals of the Missouri Pacific Railroad system, where the antiseptic treatment was in full use. The results in the different hospitals visited were highly gratifying, and from this resulted Dr. Marsee's conversion to antiseptic surgery, referred to by him in his remarks before the Marion County Medical Society. With great seriousness of manner he said: "Brethren, I would not know a microbe if I were to meet one coming down the street; but I do know that whereas I was once blind, thank God I now see." And then he detailed how his eyes had been opened by seeing the results in other hospitals of the new method of treating wounds. From that meeting, now historical, microbial derision ceased in the Marion County Society, and the opponents of the germ theory of wound in-



W. H. Bove Photo Company

THE CITY HOSPITAL.

fection and contagious diseases became a silent and rapidly decreasing minority.

During the Civil War there were four Sisters of Charity who devoted themselves, free of charge, to nursing the sick at the Indianapolis hospital. When Sisters Athanasius, Henrietta, Frances Ann and Helena had finished their work for the soldiers, they established themselves in a little frame house near the rolling-mill on South Tennessee street, but shortly moved to a larger house on Georgia near Tennessee, where Sister Henrietta had charge; then as quarters became too narrow they procured a double frame house where the South Tennessee street car-stables are now located. Thus it remained until St. Vincent's Hospital, at Vermont street and Liberty, was erected for them, in 1880-1. They remained here until the present hospital was opened in 1889. The Sisters of Charity have never limited their ministrations to the professors of a particular creed, or to the members of any special occupation. The walls of creed and of prejudice have, therefore, fallen at the approach of a tenderness so gentle and universal.

The present hospital building is at the southeast corner of South and Delaware streets, adjacent to the Union Station, and accessible by the street cars. The location is central to the railroad and manufacturing interests of the city. After twenty years of occupancy at this location the Sisters purchased a large tract between Illinois street and Capitol avenue, on the north bank of Fall Creek, and are even now breaking ground for what promises to be one of the finest and best equipped hospitals in the country. In the latter part of May, 1910, the Sister Superior, Bishop Chatard and Dr. Pfaff, head of the surgical staff, collectively drove the first pick into the ground and threw the first spadeful of earth, which marked the beginning of this mighty and noble enterprise for "sweet charity's sake".

The Protestant Deaconess Society of Indianapolis was organized on January 2, 1895, with 147 members. It began its work by acquiring the northwest corner of North Senate avenue and West Ohio street, then occupied in part by two two-story frame residence buildings, one on North Senate avenue, the other fronting on Ohio street. The former, containing eighteen rooms, was immediately ren-

ovated, and with the aid of various societies of the Protestant churches and the German Ladies' Aid Society, was furnished for the temporary use as a hospital and Deaconess's Home. The latter building served to accommodate infectious cases and house the sisters isolated to nurse the same. The hospital proper was opened on October 1, 1895, with a capacity of fifteen beds. Repeatedly was this capacity increased through voluntary surrender of their private rooms on part of the sisters, until finally lack of room demanded refusal of admittance to many.

As applications for treatment became more frequent, the management found itself forced seriously to consider the erection of a permanent building, possessing all modern conveniences for the treatment of the sick and the care of the aged. Ground was broken in May and the corner-stone laid with proper ceremonies on Sunday, July the 3d. The building is 195 feet on Ohio street by 135 feet on Senate avenue and constitutes a hollow square open to the north. It is four stories high including an eleven-foot basement. This hospital, like St. Vincent's, is crowded to the doors; another evidence that the increasing demand for hospital facilities in Indianapolis surpasses the accommodations.

At the close of the Epworth League International Conference held in Indianapolis, in 1889, the Committee on Entertainment found in its hands a surplus of about four thousand dollars. After careful consideration it was decided to appropriate this money toward founding a hospital and nurses' training school. A legal corporation was formed in which the three Annual Conferences and the Women's Home Missionary Societies of the State were represented, and, later all these several bodies elected trustees and pledged themselves to the support of the organization. In this way the enterprise of the Methodist Hospital was launched and the entire Methodism of the state fully committed to it.

On February 16, 1902, a "hospital service" was held in all the Methodist Churches in Indianapolis, and offerings of thirty-two thousand dollars were made, which sum was afterward increased to nearly fifty thousand dollars. Other subscriptions taken through the state since then brought the aggregate amount

of pledges up to about one hundred thousand dollars.

At the present time the efforts of the Methodists have crystallized in the shape of a large hospital building, thoroughly modern and up-to-date in every respect, with provision for charity patients and also those of means. The success of the institution has been such that

plans have been drawn and funds raised for the erection of an additional building to accommodate the overflow, and it is no idle prediction that their present spacious location on the corner of Capitol avenue and 16th street, will at no very distant date be covered with many buildings all devoted to the care of the sick.

CHAPTER XLII.

COURTS, BENCH AND BAR.

Judge Wick took his oath of office before Judge Miles Eggleston, of the Third Circuit, on February 12, 1822, but as the associate judges were not elected in time for the spring term, no session of court was held in Marion County until Thursday, September 26, 1822. On that day the court assembled at John Carr's house, but it was too small for court sessions, and all that was done there was to organize formally, in compliance with the law, which called for sessions there "until a more convenient room can be had". Court was duly opened in the presence of Judge Wick and associate judges James Melvain and Eliakim Harding. The judges, Clerk James M. Ray, and Sheriff Hervev Bates, presented their commissions and took the oaths of office, including the oath against duelling, which was very stringent. Fourteen rules of practice were adopted, and the following attorneys were admitted to practice: Calvin Fletcher, Hiram M. Curry, Obed Foote, Daniel B. Wick (a brother of the judge), Oliver H. Smith, James Noble, James Rariden, James Whitecomb, Lot Bloomfield and Harvey Gregg. All of these except the first three and the last were non-residents. It has often been stated that Calvin Fletcher was "the only lawyer" in the early settlement, but in a letter written by him on January 17, 1822, he says: "We have two attorneys here besides myself—one was here when I came, and one has come since". Rev. J. C. Fletcher conjectures that the one who came first must have been Curry, as he understood that Foote came shortly after his father. This is probably correct. Mr. Fletcher came here first in August, 1821, and went back to Ohio for his wife, returning for settlement on September 28 of that year. The exact date of Foote's arrival is not known, but he was here at the sale of lots in October,

1821. Curry did not appear much in practice, as he took the position of deputy clerk under James M. Ray, and went farther west at an early day. Mr. Fletcher mentions meeting Harvey Gregg here on December 31, 1821, on an investigating visit, and says that he returned the next spring for settlement. But Nowland says that Gregg was here at the sale of lots in October, and gives a family tradition of his hiding some money under the carpet at Nowland's Tavern, where he lodged, and forgetting about it.¹ In the afternoon of the first day, John A. Breckenridge of Kentucky was admitted to practice "ex gratia". He located here soon after, and was for a time a partner of Mr. Fletcher.

After the admission of the lawyers, the Court adjourned to meet in the afternoon at the house of Jacob R. Crumbaugh, the second justice of the peace at Indianapolis, which was at the southwest corner of Market and Missouri streets, and the remainder of the session was held there. The first business of the afternoon was the presentation by the sheriff of "good and lawful men and discreet householders to serve of grand jurors", in the persons of Joseph C. Reed, who was made foreman, Jeremiah Johnson, Isaac Wilson, George Smith, Asahel Dunning, Daniel Patingale, Wm. D. Rooker, Alexis Jackson, Peter Harmonson, Aaron Lambeth, James Givan, Thos. O'Neal, Archibald C. Reid, Daniel Yandes, and John Packer. The machinery for criminal business was completed by appointing Calvin Fletcher prosecuting attorney.

The court next gave its attention to the establishment of "prison bonds" for insolvent debtors, an important matter at that time, for

¹*Reminiscences*, p. 113.

the state had a system of imprisonment for debt, though it was not a very oppressive one. It was chiefly designed to prevent debtors from leaving the state with their property, to the confusion of their creditors; and the debtor could be released by giving up his property subject to execution. If he were not able to support himself in prison the county took care of him and charged the cost to the complainant. If the complainant refused to pay the debtor was at once released. The debtor was allowed to roam outside of jail, within prison bounds, which were not more than 600 yards from the jail, on giving bond that he would remain "a true prisoner", and not try to escape. The bounds established for Marion County began at the northwest corner of New York and East streets; thence west on the north line of New York street to the west line of Meridian street; thence south to the north line of Ohio street; thence west to the west line of Illinois street; thence south to the south line of Washington street; thence east to the center of Meridian street; thence south to the center of Georgia street; thence east to the south line of North Carolina street; thence northeast to the west line of East street; thence north to the point of beginning.

Following this came the naturalization of Richard Good, "lately from Cork, in the Kingdom of Ireland", which description would indicate that he repudiated the "Union", and renounced allegiance to George IV, with all his heart. Next the court granted a tavern license to John Hawkins—the first liquor license granted in Marion County—for his hotel on the north side of Washington street, midway between Meridian and Pennsylvania. It was also one of the comparatively few licenses granted by a court. Originally licenses were granted by the county commissioners, but the act of January 5, 1824, transferred this power to the Circuit Court, and this system was in force until the power was restored to the Commissioners by the act of January 20, 1824. The same act required the grand jury to investigate the tavern business and they indicted John Wyant, Samuel McGeorge, Peter Monse, James Paige, Moses Cox, Jeremiah Johnson, Jacob B. Reid, Jacob Landis, Robert Siddell, Jeremiah Collins, and Henry Ogden for selling without license. The indictments against the last six were nolleed on the ground that they

had paid their tax and received permits from the Clerk, which was the lawful mode between sessions of the County Commissioners under the old system. The others' cases were continued to the next term when Wyant's indictment was quashed; Moses Cox stood trial and was acquitted; and the remaining indictments were nolleed.

The process of obtaining a license from the court was the same as obtaining it from the commissioners. The applicant had to file the certificate of twelve reputable citizens that he possessed the statutory qualifications, and that it was desirable to license him for the convenience of travelers. He then gave bond to obey the law and paid his license fee of \$40. In addition to John Hawkins, the court licensed Thomas Carter, Robert Siddell and Asahel Dunning at this term. At the next session the grand jury reported that John Hawkins, Thomas Carter and Asahel Dunning had complied with their bonds as tavern-keepers, but that Robert Siddell "has not since he opened a tavern kept two spare beds nor a sufficient stable, and has suffered and permitted gambling and other disorders in his house kept as a tavern". Robert was indicted for his shortcomings, but apparently the lesson was not heeded, for he kept on being indicted and fined, until his creditors also fell upon him, and it was not until October 11, 1824, when the sheriff made the tell-tale return: "Nothing found in my bailwick of which to make the amount required herein" and thereafter Robert had another vocation.

At the first session, Daniel Yandes, who had been returned on the grand jury was excused for "indisposition", and at the same term he, with Andrew Wilson, John McCormick and Wm. Foster, all millers, were indicted for "obstructing White River", which was then unquestioned as a navigable stream. There was a warm fight made on these cases, for none of the defendants had dammed White river entirely, but had only erected "wing dams", or had dammed one channel, leaving another open. Public sentiment was with the defendants, for mills were essential to the existence of the community. Foster's case came to trial first, at the May Term, 1823, and he was found guilty and fined 1 cent, whereupon his attorneys filed a motion in arrest of judgment. At the November term John McCormick was

wise tried, found guilty and fined one cent. At the same term Yandes and Wilson were tried and found not guilty. The court then suspended judgment in the Foster and McCormick cases, and that was the last of the obstruction of White River at this point.

At the close of the first term the court allowed Crumbaugh \$7.50 for the use of his house, and adjourned to the next session, which ended the distinction of Crumbaugh's house as court house. The second session began May 5, 1823 at Carr's and adjourned to Henderson's Tavern, where the New York Store stands. The third session opened at Carr's, November 3, 1823, and adjourned to Harvey Gregg's house, where the City Library now stands. The fourth went from Carr's to John Johnson's house—about 114 East Market street, on April 12, 1824. The fifth, on October 11, 1824, went from Carr's to the new court house, which was sufficiently advanced for use. At the May session, 1823, Charles Test, Philip Sweetzer and Bethuel F. Morris were admitted to practice, and at the November term Martin M. Ray, Amos Lane, James Dulaney, Craven P. Hester, Gabriel J. Johnston and James Forsee. Mr. Johnston settled here and formed a partnership with Harvey Gregg. At the spring term of 1824, Moses Cox and Josiah Polk were added to the list, and these were all the attorneys of record until the court was settled in the new court house.

The business of the court was chiefly civil, and not involving large amounts. The criminal business was chiefly in the line of affrays, assaults and battery, and violation of the liquor laws. On November 3, 1823, the *Western Censor* proudly called attention to the fact that "there has not been a single trial for felony before the court in three terms". There was, however, an indictment and conviction of one Robert Massey, at the spring term of 1823, for a challenge to fight a duel, which was close up to the felony grade under the rigid laws that had been enacted to stop duelling. Robert was evidently not considered a grievous offender, for he was fined one cent and costs and imprisoned for sixty days. The absence of crime was very notable; so much so that Nowland says: "For the first fifteen years after the settlement of Indianapolis, we had neither fire engines nor police officers, and during that entire time there was but one fire, one burglary

and one homicide. * * * The burglary was that of Jacob Landis's grocery, by an old man named Redman and his son-in-law Warner. Suspicion pointed to them, and a search warrant issued to Sheriff Russell to search their house. The missing articles were all found there with the exception of a bolt of brown sheeting. The sheriff had noticed that Mrs. Warner was much larger in front and more rotund in person than she was but a few days before, and suspicioned that there was 'something more than meal' concealed there, and asked for an examination. She was very indignant that a gentleman should wish to examine a lady in her condition; but the sheriff could not be put off; he had seen too many women in that situation, and never knew one to assume so large proportions in so short a time. The search disclosed the missing goods."² At the April term, 1826, Timothy N. Warner was indicted for larceny, and Samuel Redman, Peggy Redman and Sally Warner for receiving stolen goods. Peggy was found not guilty, and a nolle was entered in Sally's case. Samuel was tried, convicted and sentenced to a year and a day in the penitentiary and a dollar fine. On April 29 Warner entered a plea of guilty and was given fifty dollars fine and two years in the penitentiary.

But this was not the only offense of this class. A year earlier, at a special session in June, 1825, David Ross was convicted of larceny, and sentenced to one dollar fine and one year in the penitentiary. On November 26, 1826, Archibald Crawford was convicted of larceny, and sentenced to one dollar fine and one year in the penitentiary. At the September term, 1833, "William Johnson, a person of colour", was convicted of larceny and sentenced to five dollars fine and four years in the penitentiary. The addition of these, however, leaves the record a remarkably clean one, and there was but the one homicide, as Mr. Nowland says. This was almost phenomenal in an American frontier town, at a time when drinking was almost universal, and when fighting was very common. But in the frontier fighting of that period the use of weapons was the exception and not the rule. It was almost a point of honor to rely on the means of combat that nature supplied, and though the con-

²*Reminiscences*, p. 273.

tests were sometimes brutal it was rare indeed that one was fatal. And there was no pressing obligation to fight. In this community, at least, it was no disgrace to have a threatening enemy put under bond to keep the peace. There are several traditional cases of gentlemen who reached the point where they "had to have it out", and went off into the woods by themselves and pummeled each other to mutual satisfaction.³ This may have been due to unusual sensitiveness, or possibly to regard for the law, for fighting was usually punished promptly, and no favoritism was shown. When Calvin Fletcher was prosecutor he became exasperated one day with Squire Foote, and undertook to chastise him, in which he did not succeed as fully as he probably anticipated. But he performed his official duty by having himself indicted, and on May 8, 1823, pleaded guilty to assault and battery and paid his two dollars fine, and costs, like any other freeman.

The homicide referred to occurred on May 8, 1833, while the National Road bridge was being constructed. William McPherson, who was clerking for Wernwag, the contractor for the bridge, asked Michael Vanblaricum to take him across the river in his boat. Vanblaricum consented, but when out in the river, where it was eight or ten feet deep, intentionally upset the boat. The traditional accounts of the affair are somewhat varied, and none agrees exactly with the statement in the local paper at the time, which was as follows: "The names of the persons who were in the boat were a Mr. Lewis, Michael Vanblaricum and William McPherson. The two first named succeeded in gaining the shore, and the latter in climbing on the canoe, which lay bottom upwards. After this some conversation of an unkind character passed between Vanblaricum, who had overturned the boat, and McPherson, who was sitting on it in the water when Vanblaricum again swam towards McPherson in a seemingly angry manner, and McPherson in attempting to reach the opposite side was drowned." There was no doubt more in the case than this, for the account adds, "We forbear further comment and publication of circumstances and evidence as detailed, for the reason that great ex-

citement prevails at present."⁴ Nowland says that Vanblaricum grabbed McPherson and went down with him, and that finger marks were found on McPherson's throat; also that he had manifested a dislike to McPherson formerly, and said he would drown him when he got into the boat.

The affair was a tremendous shock to the town. McPherson had been here for about three years and was very popular with the young people. In fact his social standing is said to have been the cause of Vanblaricum's ill-natured animosity. The young men of the town held a meeting, at which J. L. Mothershead was made chairman and J. M. Moore secretary, and passed resolutions of regret and sympathy for his relatives. They also resolved that "we will wear crape on the left arm for thirty days, and unite in forming the funeral procession". The funeral was very large, and the services impressive. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of murder, and Justices Bradley and Wingate bound Vanblaricum over to the Circuit Court. He was indicted for murder and tried at the fall term; and on October 2 was convicted of manslaughter, and sentenced to twenty dollars fine and five years' imprisonment in the penitentiary. This verdict can be understood on the theory of Nowland, who says: "Although he had said he would drown him, and did, there were none who believed that he intended to do so, but only to scare him, and went farther than he intended; indeed he told the writer so himself after he had paid the penalty of his crime, and could have no inducement to lie." The defendant could not testify in his own behalf at that time, but it was an age when "horse play" and rough practical jokes were common, and there was probably something in the surroundings of the case that gave it that color. There was no manifestation of public disapproval of the verdict. Tradition has somewhat conflicting explanations, including one to the effect that McPherson was not a Joseph, and that Vanblaricum had occasion to resent his attentions to his wife.⁵ On February 9, 1835, Governor Noble issued a full pardon to Vanblaricum, to take effect April 1, following.

The Circuit Court was the only state court

³*Indiana Democrat*, May 11, 1833.

⁴*Holloway's Indianapolis*, p. 45.

⁵*Sulgrove, Hist.*, p. 77.

in Marion County, excepting of course the Supreme Court and the Justices' courts, until 1829, when by act of January 23, provision was made for probate courts in all the counties. The object of this law was to have some continuous mode of transacting probate business, which was much interrupted by the intermittent sessions of the Circuit Court. The law provided for a probate judge in each county, elected by the people, for a term of seven years. These courts were given exclusive jurisdiction of all probate business, with direct appeal to the Supreme Court, but in 1838 this was changed by provision for appeal to the Circuit Courts. The law also provided that "No person shall be elected such judge, or receive a commission therefor, until he shall first obtain a certificate from either one of the president judges of the Circuit Courts, or from one of the judges of the Supreme Court, that he is qualified to discharge the duties of such office, but that this condition shall not be so construed as to require any such applicant to be a professional character." In consequence of this provision, and of the very small salaries allowed, very few of the judges were men of any legal training, except what they may have obtained as justices of the peace, or in some other indirect way. This system was continued until 1852.

In the Constitutional Convention of 1850-51 there was a notable sentiment against lawyers and high-salaried courts among the members who were not of the legal profession. It resulted in some absurd provisions, among which the most stupid was Article 7, Section 21, that "Every person of good moral character, being a voter, shall be entitled to admission to practice law in all courts of justice". In reality this has been much more injurious to the public than to the lawyers, though the lawyers have made nearly all the complaint about it, and properly so, because it brings reproach on the profession. But at the same time there has not been the sympathy with the profession in this matter that there might have been if the profession had shown more zeal in enforcing the provision for "good moral character". There is not much encouragement to respect for a profession when the people see, as they have seen in Marion County, a man admitted to practice who had been disbarred in a neighboring county, and another who had just re-

tained from a term in the penitentiary for complicity in a burglary; and both on the motion of reputable attorneys, who had allowed their generosity to outrun their sense of public duty. But in the Constitutional Convention, with all its diversity of sentiment, there was universal agreement that the probate court system was very bad, and ought to be changed.⁶ There had developed a state in which it was said that "in a majority of cases where an estate has passed through the probate court, it is found to be insolvent"; and this although it had been supposed that the decedent was leaving something for his wife and children. This was partly due to an oppressive fee system, and partly to the incompetency of the judges, who were necessarily called upon to decide all sorts of questions in chancery and real estate law that might well puzzle a learned judge. It was claimed that the system had resulted in defective land titles all through the state. After considerable discussion the Convention concluded to leave the matter to the legislature, which, by the act of May 14, 1852, transferred all probate jurisdiction to the Court of Common Pleas.

In 1848 there had been a special Court of Common Pleas created for Tippecanoe County, and Marion County decided that it wanted one also, and one was created by the act of January 1, 1849. The object of these courts was to relieve the pressure of business in the Circuit Courts; and they were given concurrent jurisdiction with the Circuit Courts in all civil cases, but no jurisdiction of criminal or probate business. This law was repealed by act of January 12, 1852, and the business transferred to the Circuit Court; but by the act of May 14, 1852, a general system of Courts of Common Pleas was established. Under this law the Court of Common Pleas had exclusive jurisdiction of probate business, except that the Circuit Court had concurrent jurisdiction of actions against heirs, devisees, and sureties of administrators, executors and guardians, and also in suits for the partition of real estate and assignment of dower. It also had concurrent jurisdiction with the Circuit Court in civil cases, in criminal cases for less than felonies, and in cases of felonies not punishable with death, if the accused voluntarily submitted to

⁶*Constitutional Debates*, pp. 1665-70.

the jurisdiction of the court prior to indictment. These courts continued until abolished by the act of March 6, 1813.

Before that time the pressure of legal business had been relieved by the organization of two other courts. By the act of December 20, 1865, Marion County was made the Sixteenth Judicial Circuit, and the Criminal Circuit Court was created. The Governor was authorized to appoint a judge and prosecuting attorney to serve until the next general election, and Governor Morton appointed George H. Chapman judge, and William W. Leathers prosecuting attorney on December 27. The constitutionality of this act was vigorously attacked, but it was sustained by the Supreme Court, and the Criminal Court has since been a fixture. By the act of February 15, 1871, the Superior Court was created, with concurrent jurisdiction with the Circuit Court and Court of Common Pleas in all civil cases except slander and the probate business, of which the Court of Common Pleas had exclusive jurisdiction. It consisted originally of three judges, each with a "room", who were to be appointed by the Governor until the next general election. Governor Baker appointed Frederick Rand, Solomon Blair, and Horatio C. Newcomb, and the court opened with a general term session on March 6, 1871. A fourth judge was added in 1877, but the law for this was repealed in 1879.

The State Supreme Court and the U. S. District Court were removed to Indianapolis immediately after the completion of the court house and the removal of the capital. The first session of the Supreme Court at this place began on May 3, 1825, with James Scott, Jesse L. Holman, and Isaac Blackford as judges, and Henry P. Coburn as clerk. The first session of the U. S. District Court began on May 2, 1825, with Benjamin Parke as judge, Henry Hurst as clerk, and John Vawter as marshal. There was no session of the U. S. Circuit Court at Indianapolis, or, for that matter, in Indiana, until 1837, the first session being opened on December 1 of that year with Justice John McLean of the Supreme Court sitting with Judge Jesse L. Holman of the District Court. This manner of holding U. S. Circuit Court continued until 1869, there being no Circuit Court judges till May 10 of that year. On the passage of the law of 1869, Thomas H. Drummond was appointed

Circuit Judge for this circuit. Prior to that time, the Justices of the Supreme Court, following Judge John McLean, who were assigned to Circuit Court duty on this circuit, were Noah Haynes Swayne, David Davis, John Marshall Harlan, Melville Weston Fuller, John Marshall Harlan, and David Josiah Brewer, in the order named.

The first U. S. District Judge was Benjamin Parke, who was appointed to the office March 16, 1817, and served till his death on July 13, 1835. He was a native of New Jersey, who located at Vincennes in 1801, and soon took high rank as a lawyer. He served as a captain at the battle of Tippecanoe, was the leading member of the first constitutional convention of the state, and in disinterested public service was one of the most useful citizens the state ever had.⁷ The first case heard by him at Indianapolis was on January 5, 1825, entitled "United States vs. Sundry Goods, Wares and Merchandizes". It was a libel for the confiscation of liquors and other goods of Wm. B. Wallace, charged with illegal trading with the Indians on Tippecanoe River, which was filed by Charles Dewey, then District Attorney, and later one of the ablest judges of the state supreme court. It resulted in judgment of forfeiture of the goods seized, one-half to the United States, and one-half to the informer, Edward McCartney.

The second District Judge was Jesse Lynch Holman, a native of Kentucky, who was commissioned September 16, 1835, and served till his death, March 28, 1842. He read law in the office of Henry Clay, and removed to Indiana in 1808, where he was a territorial circuit judge, and from 1816 to 1830 one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Indiana. Following him came Elisha Mills Huntington, commissioned May 2, 1842, and serving till his death on October 26, 1862. In his term was heard the notable fugitive slave case of Vaughan vs. Williams. Vaughan, a citizen of Missouri, sued Williams, in 1835, for rescuing Vaughan's fugitive slaves, which he had found and arrested in a cabin near Noblesville, in Hamilton County. Williams demurred on the ground that the Ordinance of 1787 required the return of fugitive slaves only to one of the

⁷*Hist. of Indiana, Am. Concinnatth. Soc. Press, p. 329.*



THE COURT HOUSE.

(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

thirteen original states; but the court ruled that the constitution superseded this, and that plaintiff was entitled to recover if he proved title to the negroes. On trial it appeared that Vaughan had bought them of one Tipton, who previously had taken them into Illinois, and kept them till he gained residence, and voted as a citizen of Illinois, which made them free under the law of that state. The jury, as instructed by the court, returned a verdict for the defendant.⁸

Judge Huntington's successor was Caleb Blood Smith, a native of Boston, who studied law at Cincinnati and Connersville before locating at Indianapolis. He was a noted orator; and was influential in securing the nomination for the presidency of Abraham Lincoln, in whose cabinet he served as Secretary of the Interior. He resigned this position to accept the position of District Judge on December 22, 1862. His service was terminated by death a little over a year later; and he was succeeded by Albert Smith White, of Lafayette, who also had a short term, dying on September 4, 1864. President Lincoln then appointed David McDonald, one of the ablest of our federal judges, who took office on December 13, 1864. He was a professor of law at Indiana University, which conferred on him the degree of LL. D. His monument, however, was his "Treatise" on powers, duties and procedure of Justices of the Peace, which is the best known and most widely used law text book ever produced in Indiana. Since its publication, in 1856, it has gone through six revisions by various authors, the last in 1910. It was during Judge McDonald's term that certain members of the Knights of the Golden Circle were tried for treason by a military commission, which met in the U. S. Court room. After the conviction and sentence to death of Lambdin P. Milligan, application for a writ of habeas corpus was made to U. S. Circuit Court. Judge McDonald and Supreme Justice David Davis, who sat with him on the Circuit bench, being unable to agree on the three main questions involved, certified them to the Supreme Court, which decided them in favor of Milligan, holding the military commission unauthorized.⁹

Judge McDonald died on August 25, 1869.

and was succeeded by Walter Q. Gresham, who was commissioned on September 4, 1869. He was not considered a profound lawyer at the time of his appointment, but he was a man of ability, and President Grant, who appointed him, had known him as a good soldier, and as such had made him a brigadier-general. He developed as a judge, his chief failing being an impetuous nature, which caused him to administer what he considered justice like a road-roller when he once got his head set. The business of the court increased largely during his administration, due largely to the hard times of the seventies with their crop of bankruptcies, receiverships and foreclosures; added to which were the Whiskey Ring cases, the first election cases, and others. The most notable decision of this period, however, was by Judge Drummond of the Circuit Court in the receivership of the I. B. & W. Railway. It had become a fashion of railroad companies controlled by bondholders to pile up floating debt preparatory to receivership and foreclosure. This caused great hardship to employees and material men, and John M. Butler, of the firm of McDonald & Butler, made a determined fight in this case for a modification of the old equity rule which gave the mortgagee absolute priority in such cases. Judge Drummond recognized the justice of the plea, and announced the now celebrated "six months rule", which gave precedence to claims for labor and material, for six months prior to the receivership. The decision was warmly contested but the rule was sustained by the Supreme Court,¹⁰ and has since been established law. It is doubtful if any decision in this country ever brought larger and more just relief to a large class of men.

In April, 1883, Judge Gresham resigned to accept the position of Postmaster General in President Arthur's cabinet. He was succeeded by Wm. Allen Woods, a native of Tennessee, who had been elected to the Supreme bench of the state in 1880, and resigned to take this position. He was commissioned on May 2, 1883. The most notable events of his term were the election cases which are presented in the chapter entitled "A Political Epoch". Judge Gresham managed the Postoffice Department with vigor. There were no Star Route

⁸Vaughan vs. Williams, 3 McLean, p. 559.

⁹In re Milligan, 4 Wallace, p. 2.

¹⁰Fosdick vs. Schall, 99 U. S., p. 235.

or other scandals in his term; and he also excluded the Louisiana Lottery from the marks in spite of strong opposition. On the death of Secretary Folger in 1881, he was made Secretary of the Treasury, but served but a short time. He resigned from the cabinet in October of that year, and on December 9 was appointed U. S. Circuit Judge. This position he held until March 5, 1893, when he was made Secretary of State by President Cleveland. As Secretary of State he was kept busy by the Samoan and Hawaiian complications, the repeal of the reciprocity treaties by the Wilson bill, and the smaller affairs of San Domingo and Bluefields, but he handled them all with conspicuous ability till his death, on May 28, 1895.

From the District bench, Judge Woods was nominated U. S. Circuit Judge by President Harrison, and commissioned on March 17, 1892. He served in this capacity until his death on June 29, 1901. He was succeeded as District Judge by John H. Baker on March 29, 1892. He served for ten years, and, having attained the age of 70 years, resigned under the provisions of the law providing for retirement on full pay, under those conditions. Judge Baker was a general favorite, and on his retirement he was given a banquet by the bar, on December 30, 1902, the first occurrence of the kind in the history of the court since its organization in 1817. His successor, Albert B. Anderson, was nominated by President Roosevelt, and was promptly confirmed by the Senate on December 8, 1902. He did not take office for 40 days, however, as Judge Baker was engaged in trying the case of one Jennings against a number of whitecappers who had assaulted him, and the expense and trouble to the parties of a new trial was considered all around as sufficient reason for delaying the change of judges. Judge Anderson took the oath of office and began his duties on December 18; and in his service has impressed the public as a judge both competent and upright.

The character of the legal profession divides its history naturally into three periods. The first was when the lawyers "traveled the circuit", riding horseback from county-seat to county-seat as the court held its sessions in the various counties of the circuit. At times they would be absent from home for weeks; and occasionally, when on the move, stopping at

farm houses, or even camping out. Usually, however, the evenings were passed in company around the fireplace of some tavern, and this developed a capacity for self-entertainment in story-telling and practical jokes. There were few law libraries, and but few books could be carried. In consequence there was a greater reliance on the application of commonly recognized principles of law in argument; and there were now and then instances of cases won by sharp-witted lawyers before the unlearned justices of the peace of those days, by adroit twisting of the law. This feature of pioneer history has perhaps been more fully recorded than any other, and for this vicinity, it is preserved so well in Oliver H. Smith's "Early Indiana Trials and Sketches" that it would be unnecessary repetition to say much of it here.

It may be noted, however, that readiness and wit counted for a great deal under those conditions, and that the sharpest-witted of our early lawyers was Hiram Brown, a Pennsylvanian, who took up the study of the law at the age of 28, in the office of and by the advice of the noted "Tom" Corwin, after failing financially in mercantile business. Of the many stories preserved concerning him, one by Rev. J. C. Fletcher is worthy of note, as it probably furnishes an explanation, in part at least, of why Simon Yandes did not attain a brilliant legal career. He had graduated with high honor at Harvard and began the practice here, in connection with Calvin Fletcher, with every promise of success. But he was quite eccentric, and especially so in the matter of forming theories for action under various contingencies. One of these was that the best way for a young lawyer to attract public notice, and win success, was to attack older and established attorneys personally, in trials, when opportunity was presented. Unfortunately for him he first put his theory to the test with Hiram Brown, and Mr. Fletcher gives the story thus:

"Mr. Yandes, though still young, was extremely tall, loosely jointed, and somewhat slow in movement. His audience comprised all his young compeers, who closely watched the results of his eastern training, and gauged the caliber of their future opponent. The knowledge that they were so watching him spurred him to the utmost, and he became very bitter toward Mr. Brown. His tall form swayed back and forth, while his voice rose to a roar in

earnest denunciation of his opponent, who, seemingly cowed, hid his face in his hands on the table. Apparently contented with himself and his effort, Mr. Yandes paused a moment to take a drink of water and note the effect on the jury, when, to his horror, Mr. Brown slowly raised his head, a wicked twinkle shining in his eyes as he glanced sidewise at the jury, and in a clear, sharp whisper said: "If that young man should ever live to get his growth he will make a very severe man." The head dropped into the hands once more, Mr. Yandes, utterly confounded by the suddenness of the retort, and the roar of laughter from judge, bar and jury, dropped the further prosecution of his speech.

In connection with this Mr. Fletcher adds: "James Russell Lowell, the poet and diplomatist, once told me while visiting me at Naples, Italy, that Simon Yandes was in his class at Harvard, and that he (Yandes) was the first man in the class. 'While we,' said Mr. Lowell, 'were playing at law, Yandes studied law and improved every advantage afforded by Harvard. The recollection of him at the Dane law school give me the highest respect for the man'. Similar views concerning Mr. Yandes were expressed to me in Paris, France, by George Bemis, Esq., of Boston, who is in some respects our first authority on international law. Bemis was also a classmate of Mr. Yandes."¹¹ It may also be mentioned that the tendency of Mr. Yandes to "play theories" stood him in good stead, for he developed a theory of the recurrence of panics and financial depressions that made him a handsome fortune. It was based on the proposition that "good times make bad times, and bad times make good times."

i. e., when times are flush people become extravagant, go into debt, and create the conditions that produce panics; and in hard times they economize and produce the conditions that cause prosperity. It worked like clock-work, at least until after the demonetization of silver upset the ordinary economic movement; and by buying real estate in what he had deemed would be years of lowest prices, and selling in years of highest prices, he amassed his wealth.

He put his fortune to good use, too; not only in handsome benefactions at his death, but in his life. He was extremely secretive in his

good works, and it is quite certain that he was the chief support of John B. DeVan in senior age; and when "Uncle Jim" Blake had practically bankrupted, and his home property passed to Mr. Yandes, he managed to let Mrs. Blake live in it the rest of her life without even suspecting that she did not own it. There is another fact about Simon Yandes known to but few, and that is that he drafted, and, although not a member of the legislature, secured the passage of the "year of redemption" law. Before 1861 holders of junior incumbrances, who had not been made parties to foreclosure, or in general on sheriff's sales of real estate, were not affected by a sale, and could redeem while their liens existed, but the owner had no right of redemption at all. The attention of Mr. Yandes was drawn to the matter by a hard case, where a mortgagor was unable temporarily to protect his property, and he at once prepared the bill. There are few laws, indeed, that have given so great, so equitable, and so rational relief to embarrassed debtors.

But, to resume: the tendency of the early period was to make ready lawyers, and "all-round" lawyers. There were no specialists. As the country settled, and railroads were built, the necessity for riding the circuit disappeared, libraries increased; decided cases multiplied. No matter what his logical abilities, a lawyer had to keep in touch with the rulings of the courts. Under these conditions the old time circuit lawyer came to his best, and it may fairly be said that the golden age of the Indianapolis bar was the twenty years following the Civil War. Legal business was abundant and profitable. The line was beginning to be pretty clearly drawn between civil and criminal practice; but there were few lawyers who aimed at civil practice who were not qualified to try a criminal case if they liked. About the first specialization beyond that was by John A. Finch, who took up insurance law as a specialty, and made a notable success of it.

There were three firms in this period that were prominent in the volume of their business and the standing of their members: Hendricks, Hord & Hendricks; McDonald & Barber; and Harrison, Hines & Miller. The membership changing somewhat from time to time. Governor (later Vice President) Hendricks,¹²

¹¹*News*, August 25, 1879.

¹²*Acts of 1861*, p. 79.

senior member of the first, retired and was succeeded by Gov. Conrad Baker, a lawyer of the same class. Senator Joseph E. McDonald and John M. Butler were the leading members of the second firm, but a large part of the work was done by George Butler, a younger brother of John M.—in fact he worked himself to death, and was cut off from the promise of a brilliant professional career at a comparatively early age. Benjamin Harrison and W. H. H. Miller—later Attorney General of the United States—are known to the whole country. Judge C. C. Hines, their partner, was a fine lawyer who retired from the practice largely to give his attention to his invalid wife. He was succeeded in the firm by John B. Elam, still one of the ranking lawyers of the city. Close up to these firms were a number of others, largely of younger men, Dye & Harris, Claypool, Newcomb & Ketcham, Taylor, Rand & Taylor, Smith & Duncan—later joined by John R. Wilson, Byfield & Howland, Byron K. Elliott, James R. Mitchell, Gordon, Lamb & Sheppard, Judah & Jameson, Finch & Finch, Hanna & Kuetler, Herod & Winter, Ayres & Jones, McLain & Baker, A. G. & G. T. Porter, Ritter, Walker & Ritter, Young & Pritchard, John E. Scott, Thomas L. Sullivan, Caleb Denny, David Turpie, Charles W. Fairbanks, Vinson Carter, McMaster & Boice, Buskirk & Nichol, Wm. Wallace, T. S. Rollins, and others, who made up a bar of high quality.

The first law school in Indianapolis was that of Northwestern Christian University, opened in 1856. It was not much of a school, the instruction being given by John Young, then president of the institution, and there being four graduates to the time of his resignation in 1858. He was succeeded by Judge Saml. E. Perkins as "Professor of Law", and the school grew under his administration—it being made a department with a faculty, of which Judge Perkins was a dean. There were 18 graduates in the three years ending in 1861. The shock of civil war did not leave much of the law department, though it was continued in a small way with Judge Perkins and Judge David McDonald as instructors. At the beginning of the seventies it was revived and reorganized, opening January 16, 1871, with Byron K. Elliott, Charles H. Test and Chas. P. Jacobs on the faculty. Later Judge H. C. Newcomb succeeded Judge Test, but the school was dis-

continued after a few years. The next school, organized through the efforts of Judge Elliott, was known as the Central Indiana Law School, and was a wholly private undertaking. It was incorporated July 1, 1879. Judge Elliott was a great student, with both the desire and the ability of imparting information. He had an indomitable will that carried a frail body through a life of hard work, and gave him an enduring monument as a jurist and a legal writer. Associated with him in this school were Judge James B. Black and Charles P. Jacobs, with some special lectures by John R. Wilson and F. J. Van Vorhis. The school was quite successful, but went to pieces after the election of Judge Elliott to the Supreme bench in 1881, and the appointment of Judge Black to the Supreme Court Commission in 1882.

John R. Wilson was a large factor in local legal instruction. Coming here from Virginia, a young man of limited means and almost unknown, he made his way by application and ability to the front ranks of the profession, and at the same time to the affectionate respect of all who knew him.²³ He was one of the men that God made; and there was never a person in Indianaapolis to whom so many young men were indebted for friendly aid and counsel as to him. About 1877 the law students of the city organized a moot court—it was probably the first successful effort of A. F. Potts at promotion. At first, one of their number was chosen to act as judge, but John L. Griffiths was then reading law with Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Wilson was persuaded to join the organization and serve as judge. He gave as much care to the preparation of his decisions as a Supreme Justice—sometimes more. After the moot court disbanded he had law classes for several winters, usually going over some new law book. These were entirely free to any of the law students of the city, and were well attended. It may be mentioned here that Mr. Thaddens Rollins also gave this same kind of gratuitous instruction for a year or two.

In 1894 the desire for a law-school again became imperative, and the Indiana Law School was organized. The chief factors in the movement were Byron K. Elliott, John R. Wilson, Addison C. Harris, Charles W. Fairbanks, and

²³*News*, July 16 and 18, 1907.

W. P. Fishback. It was opened on October 2, 1894, on the basis of a two-years course, and a senior class was formed the first year from advanced students, chiefly from Indianapolis offices, so that the first class graduated in the spring of 1895. In addition to the five gentlemen named, who formed the faculty, the first regular lecturers were James B. Black, Charles W. Smith, Wm. H. H. Miller, Wm. P. Kappes, Wm. F. Elliott, John A. Finch, Charles F. Coffin, John L. Griffiths, Charles W. Moores, Thaddens S. Rollins, Evans Woolen, and Miss Laura Doman. Special lectures were given by the judges of the Supreme and Federal Courts, and also by Charles A. Korbly, Daniel P. Baldwin and Gus O'Bryan—the last-named on probate practice. Instruction in elocution and oratory was given by Prof. T. J. McAvoy.

The school was successful from the start, and in 1896 an alliance was made by it with The Indiana Dental College, The Medical College of Indiana, and Butler College, by which The University of Indianapolis was formed. Thus far, however, the University has been little more than a name, each member preserving its individuality very completely. In 1899 the need of an executive officer who could give full attention to the law school was felt to be urgent, and the plan was amended, Mr. James A. Robbuck being made Secretary and Professor of Law, with the active management of the school. In 1901 he was made dean, on the death of Mr. Fishback, who had served in that capacity from the beginning of the school. The institution is now in a flourishing condition, and apparently on a permanent basis. The average attendance is about 75, the graduating classes usually consisting of from 30 to 50 members.

In the last quarter of a century there is generally conceded to have been a lowering of the dignity and standing of the legal profession, not due so much to its members, as to changed business conditions. In the process of systemizing many corporations have their stall attorneys, who are in a sense simply officials having in charge a department of the business. In fact there seems to have grown up a need of attention to business details that tends to a universal making of barristers with no counselors. The change is hard to define, but there is a feeling among the older practitioners that the profession is not as inde-

pendent as it formerly was. Possibly, the large increase of lawyers, and the competition for business that has arisen to some extent may be factors in it. If this idea of a change in the relative position of the legal fraternity is true, it of course applies to the whole country, and is not peculiar to Indianapolis.

There was a "Law Library and Bar Association" organized at Indianapolis in the early seventies, but it did not prosper, and it was decided to begin anew. On November 30, 1878, forty of the leading lawyers of the city met at the office of Dye & Harris and organized The Indianapolis Bar Association. Napoleon B. Taylor was made president; John T. Dye and Livingston Howland, vice-presidents; John A. Henry, secretary; John M. Judah, treasurer. The executive committee was composed of Solomon Claypool, W. H. H. Miller, John M. Butler and John S. Duncan; and the committee on "admission", or membership, of Oscar B. Hord, Lewis C. Walker, Wm. Wallace, H. C. Newcomb, C. C. Himes, Ferd Winter, and Samuel H. Buskirk. The dues were made \$5 a year, and the membership increased very rapidly. The old association met and donated its property—consisting of 58 volumes of Maine reports and \$54.95—to the new association, after which it disbanded.

Special attention was given to the accumulation of a library. On February 11, 1879, it was ordered that \$600 be invested in books; and on April 8 it was reported that the reports of Iowa, Michigan, California and Ohio had been purchased. On June 10 the dues were raised to \$20, and a committee was appointed to solicit donation to the library fund. On September 13 it reported \$950 subscribed, which was duly invested in books. The library grew steadily until 1899, when a special impetus was given. Mrs. Susan W. Butler, widow of John M. Butler, died in the spring of that year, and by her will left a large interest in real estate, estimated at \$60,000, in remainder on the death of her daughter Margaret Butler Snow, to the association, for the erection of a building, to be known by her husband's name. Immediately after this, Mr. and Mrs. Snow donated to the association the entire law library of Butler, Snow & Butler. On March 5, 1900, the law library of Lucian Barbour was donated to the association by his daughters, Mrs. Mary B. Jackson and Miss Sallie W.

Barbour. On May 28, 1902, Wm. Watson Woolten presented to the association his collection of Indiana legal publications, including annotated reports, statutes, etc., the gift to become effective at his death. Exclusive of this, the library now has over 7,000 volumes. It is much used by students of the Indiana Law School, to whom this privilege was extended on June 1, 1900.

The association has had quite an active existence, and has been instrumental in securing numerous reforms connected with court procedure. Its most notable back-set came in 1897. The street railroad company was then controlled by Verner and McKee, and had made a large increase in capitalization. E. Dwight Church and others, who had been induced to buy some of the new stock on advertisements of it that were made, brought suit in the Federal Court for the appointment of a receiver, the cancellation of 70 per cent of the stock, and the winding up of the company. Their right to any remedy being questioned on the hearing, Judge Baker was reported to have said: "If the law does not give any relief, and I do not know that it does, there ought to be by popular subscription a lot of lamp-posts provided for hanging up the fellows who go into such business."¹⁴ The next day the argument was continued, and Judge Baker again warned up sufficiently to observe, as reported, "So far as McKee is concerned, if the truth is set up here in this bill it would be no injustice to him to hang him". Mr. Ferd Winter, counsel for the defense replied: "It has been a long time since men have been hanged for such things;" to which Judge Baker rejoined: "I confess that with these Napoleonic systems of highway robbery I have no sympathy. These fellows will go on until finally they will induce the people of this country to lynch them." Mr. Winter, with some warmth, then said: "I think it hardly legitimate for the court to make such comments as these, which are caught up and published in the newspapers. The *Scimitar* this morning had a great deal of this. The remarks the court is making here are being used in the

legislature for the purpose of wiping out this street-car company;" and the interchange of observations continued until the court instructed Mr. Winter to sit down.¹⁵ The reports published by the morning papers were substantially the same.

Naturally the episode created some excitement outside of the court, and on March 4 the Bar Association, by a vote of 10 to 2, adopted a motion offered by W. A. Ketcham for a committee to investigate the matter and report whether the language was used as reported. Judge Baker declined to receive this committee, on the ground that he was not a member of the association; and the committee reported that there was some question as to the language used; and recommended that no further action be taken, and that it be discharged. Instead of this, the matter was referred back to the committee with instructions to ascertain whether the language was used, and report. On May 3, the committee finally reported that the language "was used by him substantially as reported", but "was not intended to advise or counsel lawlessness in any manner", and was used "for the sole purpose of expressing his condemnation of the dealings which were described in the bill". The committee again recommended no further action, and asked for discharge. The members were out in some force that evening, and the report was adopted by a vote of 25 to 16. And so the incident closed, leaving the layman to wonder whether judges should say what they really think, or whether Indianapolis lawyers are unduly sensitive. It was only two years earlier that W. P. Fishback in his account of his visit to Lord Coleridge mentioned that in discussing the Mafia riots at New Orleans his lordship said that "there were times when the swift methods of Judge Lynch became necessary in a community where crime is influential and powerful enough to debauch or intimidate courts or juries". And Mr. Fishback adds: "This language from the Lord Chief-Justice of England, while he was assuming the wig and gown, surprised me."¹⁶

¹⁴*News*, February 11, 1897.

¹⁵*News*, February 12, 1897.

¹⁶*Recollections of Lord Coleridge*, p. 9.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE CHURCHES.

The question which was the first church in Indianapolis is one whose answer depends on the definition given to the word "church". Perhaps the priority should be given to the Baptist organization, which was officially pronounced "a regular Baptist church" on October 10, 1822; although the Methodist "class" had been established as a "station" on a "circuit" in 1821; and the Presbyterians had engaged a preacher for intermittent service for the year beginning October 1, 1822. An account of these early movements has been given in the chapter on "The Moral Foundation". John Hobart, who is known to fame as "the first native poet of Indianapolis", commemorated the establishment of the Baptist Church in some lines, beginning:

"In twenty-two a humble few,
Who did the Scriptures search,
In Jesus' name, together came,
And formed a Baptist church."

John was not very inspiring as a poet, but he was always strong in his presentation of facts. The Baptist church was handicapped by lack of funds for a number of years, and might not have lived through but for aid from the Home Mission Society. As it was, its pastorate was much broken. Benjamin Barnes served in 1823 and 1824, and then there was an intermission of 18 months with no regular pastor, and occasional services and preaching by brethren Fassett, Barnes, Smeek and Fisher. In December, 1826, Abraham Smeek was called to preach, and served until 1830, with the exception of six months in the winter of 1827-8. In 1829 the congregation purchased the lot at the southwest

corner of Meridian and Maryland, and put up a one-story brick church, which was used for nearly twenty years.

From July, 1830, to February, 1834, there was no regular pastor, but services were held quite regularly with brethren Byron Lawrence, Jameson Hawkins and Ezra Fisher officiating. In 1834 Ezra Fisher accepted the pastorate, and held it for a year, when, in July, 1835, he was succeeded by Dr. John L. Richmond, who officiated regularly until 1839. Dr. Richmond was highly esteemed, both as a clergyman and as a physician. He was not only a man of ability but also one with a sense of humor, and a readiness of expression that are almost essentials for a popular speaker. Among the anecdotes preserved relating to him is one of his overwhelming a boaster who was enlarging on the fertility of his farm by telling of a farm where, "the pumpkins grew so thick all over one of the fields that if a man would kick one on one side of the field it would shake those against the fence on the other side." In November, 1839, Rev. George E. Chandler was called to the pastorate and served until May, 1843, when he resigned to accept the presidency of Franklin College, and was an efficient agent in the upbuilding of that institution.

For the next three years the situation was not encouraging. C. B. Phillips preached occasionally, and in October proposed to preach regularly for a salary of \$350 and board. This the congregation was obliged to decline for lack of resources. It is interesting to note that at this time Henry Ward Beecher was getting the salary of \$600 at the Second Presbyterian Church, of which his wife complained later. Then Mr. Phillips undertook

to establish a new Baptist Church, and disorganization was becoming serious, until a council of the churches of the Indianapolis Association was called, which condemned the Phillips movement, and the danger was averted. In September, 1844, James Johnson was called as pastor for a year, but resigned after six months, and the church had no regular pastor till 1846. Meanwhile Dr. Richmond preached occasionally and administered the offices of the church.

In 1846 the Baptist Church in Indianapolis was started in a more stable epoch by the coming of Timothy R. Cressy. He was one of those men in whom the union of business sense with religious fervor makes the composite essential for the effective aid of struggling congregations in all sects. Born in Connecticut, a graduate of Amherst and Newton Theological, he pledged himself to missionary work in the West, and for thirty-five years prosecuted that work in Ohio, Indiana, Minnesota, Illinois and Iowa, until called to his reward in 1870, at Des Moines. Before coming here he had been agent of the American and Foreign Bible Society, for nearly two years, in Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana. In that capacity he first visited Indianapolis, and found here in the Baptist Church Mrs. Burkitt, who, as Miss Ellick, had been in his bible class in Boston. She took an active interest in securing his location here, and so did Nicholas McCarty, Sr., who got up a subscription for the purpose, and thereby secured an equal contribution from the Home Mission Society.

Mr. Cressy wrote of his service here: "July 3, 1846, I arrived in Indianapolis to take pastoral charge of the church. They had a little old cracked and dilapidated meeting-house, about as large as a Yankee school-house, which it was dangerous to occupy in a storm; also a bell hung on a frame in back of the meeting house. As there was a divided church to be reunited, a meeting-house to be built, and a reputation to be earned for the church, I had previously told the brethren that I could not undertake so desperate a case unless they would settle me for five years and the Home Mission Society commission me for the same length of time. This was done, and I remained the five years and one more. While at Indianapolis, I baptized

seventy into the fellowship of the church, and received a large number by letter; also the church was enabled to build on the site of their old structure a brick house of worship, seating some four hundred, with basement rooms for prayer meeting and other purposes." At this time there was little interest in mission work in Indiana among the Baptists, and in 1845 the State Convention had raised only \$150 for Home Mission work. Says Cressy: "With such a field before me, both in Indianapolis and throughout the state at large, every religious enterprise moving tardily, I determined, by the help of God, to make some things move. And some things did move. Within three years the Convention raised over \$3,500 for state missions, and had over thirty missionaries in the field; I, meantime, writing many articles for the local, state and national press, and dealing my best blows in favor of missions, Sunday-schools, ministerial education, and ministerial support. Meantime I endeavored not to neglect my pulpit and pastoral work."¹ By 1852, the church at Indianapolis had advanced so far that it lost interest to Cressy, and on May 2, he preached his farewell sermon, and two days later started to St. Paul, to take charge of an invalid congregation there.

Great as the progress was that had been made, his successor Sidney M. Dyer did not feel that the position was a "flowery bed of ease". This was largely due, no doubt, to a pathetic misfortune which befell him at the start. He preached his introductory sermon here on October 18, 1853, and on Monday returned to Louisville, whence he came, to settle his affairs there and forward his goods. On Tuesday afternoon he received a dispatch to return, as his wife was dangerously ill. On Wednesday he arrived and found her dead, of cholera. He was left with three young children, the youngest but a few months old, and the oldest in feeble health. His first inclination was to seek some other field, but he overcame it, and labored on for over four years. But it is easy to understand how he wrote forty years later: "In trying to get a clear conception of the work before

¹Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, First Baptist Church, pp. 84-5.

me I found matters in a very unsatisfactory condition. The new house was occupied, but with some heavy bills to meet, with surroundings, unsightly and appalling. The stumps from the foundation were piled against the building, and were the refuge of a number of vagrant swine. The membership was reported as above a hundred, but a careful canvass of the roll found only seventy odd in active connection with the church, being about equally divided between the North and the South; many of them holding the extreme views of the sections from which they came. This was the occasion of constant heated faction, and led to two or three efforts for a division, only prevented by the firm yet prudent action of the pastor and more thoughtful brethren. The salary was \$600 from the church and \$200 from the Baptist Home Missionary Society, to be paid quarterly; but at no time did the pastor receive more than \$25 (i. e., in cash) during any quarter, the pay being orders on stores or produce, and his wood mostly of refuse from a factory. Disheartened and sad, I certainly should have resigned, but the Lord was blessing my work, and nearly every month from one to six were baptized. This state of things continued, more or less marked, for the near five years of my pastorate. That progress was made is shown from the fact that in this time the actual membership had doubled, over sixty by baptism, and the church was able to pay my successor \$1,500 a year—each quarter's rate deposited in bank to be drawn at the pastor's option. My hardest and most trying experiences of life were met during my ministry in Indianapolis; but now, as I look back, some of the recollections are redolent and precious."

Sidney Dyer was one of the best known Baptists ever called to Indianapolis. Born at Cambridge, N. Y., in 1814, he was largely self-taught. He entered the army as a drummer boy, and served for ten years, the Blackhawk War falling among his experiences. He began studying theology in 1836, and was ordained in 1842. He first went as a missionary to the Choctaws, but was soon called to Louisville as secretary of the Indian Mission Board, whence he was called to Indianapolis. He filled a large space here. It was a time when serious poetry was appreciated, and in

his grief he found a solace in song. His contributions to the local press were very frequent, especially to the *Journal*. Many of them were songs; and one, "The Grave of Lily Dale", which was set to music by W. W. Currie, a local music teacher, became one of the most popular songs of the day. He wrote while here several hymns and songs for special services in his church and Sunday school. In 1851 he had published the "Southwestern Psalmist", at Louisville, for the use of Baptist churches, which contains 16 of his hymns; and in 1850 a small volume of poems, entitled "Voices of Nature". He resigned his charge here in 1857, and in 1859 was made secretary of the American Baptist Publication Society, which position he held for a number of years, and was then made critic of the society. His work was at Philadelphia, but he resided first at Woodbury, N. J.; then for 6 or 7 years in Florida; then in Germantown, where he died December 22, 1898. After leaving here he published numerous volumes, prose, poetry, and musical compositions—a cantata of "Ruth" being the best known of the last. His daughter Mattie Mrs. J. H. Britts, of Ladoga, Ind. is widely known as an author of juvenile books, and a writer for periodicals and newspapers. She was educated at the Baptist Seminary in Indianapolis.

After some correspondence, in which he stipulated for a larger church building "so soon as directed by the Providence of God", Rev. James J. Simmons, of Providence, R. I., accepted the pastorate, and entered on his duties in November, 1857. After considering several sites, the congregation decided on the northeast corner of Pennsylvania and New York streets, and it was purchased in June, 1858, for \$6,750. The payment of this, and the erection of the mission at South and Noble streets, were heavy burdens; and another was added. About 5 o'clock on the morning of January 27, 1861, the old church at Meridian and Maryland streets was discovered to be on fire, and in a short time was in ashes. Mr. Simmons, who had taken a radical stand on slavery, wrote, in 1897: "Our meeting-house was burned because the doctrine of emancipation was preached within its walls." The trustees at once rented Masonic Hall for public meetings and Sun-

day school purposes; and prayer and covenant meetings were held at private residences and the seminary. In October, 1861, Mr. Simmons felt called to another field, and his resignation was accepted with expressions of regret, and commendation to his new charge.

About this time Rev. Henry Day came to the city to rest and recruit his health. He was called to the pastorate and accepted, preaching his first sermon on January 5, 1862. He remained for fifteen years, longest in service and most loved of the Baptist pastors here. He was devoted in his pastoral labors, and was brought in closer sympathy with the people through his wife—Suzanna McCarty, a daughter of Nicholas McCarty, who had been an active worker in the church and Sunday school almost from childhood, and who was married to Dr. Day, December 7, 1857. His first labors were largely for the erection of the church—to which he contributed generously from his salary—but this was impeded by the calls for special service brought by the war, and it was not until May 4, 1864, that it was dedicated. The cost for lot, building and furnishing was about \$35,000. When the church's own affairs were cared for its energies were redoubled in mission work both at home and abroad. The church was built up under Dr. Day, and in the words of Dr. Martin: "When he resigned the pastorate on December 8, 1875, the church was prosperous, united and happy". Dr. Day resided in Indianapolis until his death, on August 1, 1897, and frequently preached and performed pastoral work in vacancies of the pastorate. He was a man of fine education, and before coming here had, in addition to pastorates at Providence, Philadelphia and Ashland, Mass., held the professorships of Mathematics and later Physical Sciences at Georgetown, Ky., and of Natural Philosophy, Astronomy and Civil Engineering at Brown University.

After considerable search, the congregation extended a call to Rev. Warren Randolph, D.D., who accepted, and began his service on January 1, 1877. He was a man of national prominence. A native of New Jersey, he graduated at Brown University in 1851; and had filled pulpits at Pawtucket, Providence, Germantown, Boston and Philadelphia. He was secretary of the International Sun-

day School Lesson Committee from its start in 1872; and was secretary of the American Baptist Publication Society from 1871 to 1877, resigning it to come here. On account of his connection with it, the International Lesson Committee met here in March, 1877, and on March 28 a public meeting was held, with addresses by Dr. John U. Vincent, B. F. Jacobs, and Dr. John Hall. Dr. Randolph was especially energetic in Sunday school work, and in organizing church work of all kinds. On January 3, 1879, he tendered his resignation, to take effect on April 1. He went from here to Newport, where he served till his death, in 1899.

On June 5, 1879, the church extended a call to Rev. Henry C. Mable, who had just closed a successful pastorate at Brookline, Mass. He accepted, and began his work in September. He was an energetic pastor, and a notable effect was the organization of the Yoke-Fellows Society by the young men of the church in May, 1880. It reached a membership of over 100, and was active not only locally but also in organizing societies throughout the state. A state convention was held at Lafayette in 1882. The organization was kept up for about five years, and then dropped out of active existence. In June, 1882, Mr. Mable received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Chicago. Mr. Mable had at the time gone to Europe for his health, which was much improved; but he did not wholly recover, and on May 8, 1884, resigned on account of failing health. Afterward he was with the Missionary Union for a number of years; and he is now a lecturer to Baptist seminaries on Foreign Missions.

The church was without a regular pastor for the rest of the year, but at the beginning of 1885 Dr. Reuben Jeffery accepted a call. He is generally conceded to have been the ablest, intellectually, of the Baptist pastors here. Born in Lancaster, England, February 15, 1827, he came to this country at the age of 10, and at 20 began his clerical work at Nantucket. He had filled important pulpits at Brooklyn, Albany and Denver, his most notable work being at Marey Avenue Church, Brooklyn, which he built up from a struggling congregation of 40 to 1,000 members.

Under his service there were notable revivals in the springs of 1885 and 1886; and the church was usually filled when he preached. He tendered his resignation September 13, 1888, but at the request of the church continued his service to the end of the year. He engaged in no active work after leaving here, but lived with his son at Brooklyn, where he died on December 14, 1889.

After four months' vacancy, the pulpit was filled by W. F. Taylor, who was called from East Orange, N. J. In addition to excellent pastoral work, Mr. Taylor secured an exten-

sive remodeling of the church, adding handsome stone porticos at the front and side, new seating and new windows, all at a cost of over \$22,000. He served until the middle of May, 1894, when he resigned, and the pulpit was vacant until the close of the year. Dr. D. J. Ellison, who had been called from Jersey City then began his service of three years, which was a period of prosperity and blessing to the church. He was followed in 1898 by Thomas Jefferson Villers, who served for eight years. He is a Virginian, born May 23, 1861, and ordained in 1888. He had successful pastorates at Gloucester, Mass., and Syracuse, N. Y., before coming here; and

went from here to Peddie Memorial Church, Newark, when he left here in 1906. Following Mr. Villers came Frederick E. Taylor, who is still in charge. He is a graduate of Colgate Seminary, ordained in 1888. He served as assistant pastor at Peddie Memorial and the Second Baptist Church of St. Louis, and was pastor of Central Church, Brooklyn, from 1899 to 1903. He was with Dr. Chapman in evangelistic work from 1903 to 1906.

All of these later pastors have been comparatively young and energetic men, and under them the prosperity of the church has



FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH.

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been continuous. On January 3, 1904, the church at Pennsylvania and New York streets was destroyed by fire, supposed to result from a defective furnace. The congregation decided to rebuild elsewhere, and secured the present site at Meridian and Vermont streets. The handsome stone edifice there is a model of convenience in modern church architecture. The corner-stone was laid on Thanksgiving day, 1905, and the church dedicated in November, 1906. The cost was \$75,000 for the lot and \$150,000 for the building. The membership of the church is now 1,120, and the Sunday school enrollment 1,200. And scattered over the city are other churches, its

mission children, some of them in almost as flourishing condition as the mother church itself.

In the year 1856, there was some consideration of organizing a second Baptist society in Indianapolis, but after the resignation of Mr. Dyer in 1857 the project was abandoned. The church, however, pledged its support and cooperation to a mission Sunday school which had been conducted for over a year, opposite Little's Hotel, on East Washington street, by brethren Joseph Sutton, Louis Moss and A. G. Wallace. In September, 1859, an offer was made of a lot 80x126 feet at the corner of South and Noble streets, for church and Sunday school purposes, by Messrs. Calvin Fletcher, Stone, Witt, Hoyt and Taylor. This was accepted, and though the parent church was then in the struggle of building a new house for itself, a little chapel was erected there, and the East Washington street school was removed to it. This was continued as a mission until August 31, 1869, when a church was organized with a membership of 76; and received the property as a gift from the parent church. This, the South Street Baptist Church, worshipped in the chapel until 1882, when, having attained a membership of over 300, the corner-stone of a new edifice was laid. The new church was dedicated and occupied in 1883. The pastors in charge have been, William Elgin, 1869-71; H. Smith, 1871-3; G. W. Riley, 1873-4; J. S. Gillespie, 1874-7; I. N. Clark, 1878-85; C. H. McDowell, 1885-8; A. B. Whitney, 1889-94; C. E. W. Dobbs, 1895-7; F. G. Parrish, 1898-9; J. A. Knowlton, 1899-1904; L. D. Bass, 1904-7; Cromwell P. Kirby, 1907 to date. The church has at present a membership of 380, and 262 enrolled in its Sunday school.

The second swarm from the hive went to the North, where an inviting field was presented. It began by a number of Baptists renting a hall over a grocery at the southeast corner of Broadway and Cherry, on January 1, 1870. On March 22 the North Baptist Mission Sunday school was organized; and officers elected; and on March 27 its first school was held, with 13 teachers and 29 scholars, in addition to the 6 officers. Within two weeks the lot at the northeast corner of Cherry and Broadway was bought for \$1,000, and a contract made for a building 32x45

feet. It was completed at a cost of \$2,600, and occupied by the school on July 3. On September 19, 1871, the North Baptist Church was organized, 32 of the members coming from the First Baptist, and on October 16 the church building was dedicated. It was occupied for 20 years, and then the society decided to move still farther north. A lot was purchased at Fifteenth and College avenue; the corner stone was laid in 1892; and the church dedicated in November, 1893. The name was then changed to College Avenue Baptist Church. The new building was partially destroyed by fire in February, 1906; but was speedily rebuilt and rededicated in September of the same year. The pastors have been E. K. Chandler, 1871-3; J. B. Shoff, 1873-5; I. N. Carman, 1875-8; G. H. Elgin, 1879-82; D. D. Reed, 1882-3; R. E. Neighbor, 1884-9; J. F. Williams, 1890-5; C. A. Hare, 1895-8; W. C. Taylor, 1899-1903; H. N. Queisenberry, 1903-7; W. G. Everson, 1908 to date.

Prior to this northward movement, in 1864, another mission school had been started in the old Apollo Garden at Kentucky avenue and Tennessee street. The home of beer and theatricals was transformed by Mr. and Mrs. Uriah Gregory, Mr. and Mrs. Milton Huey, Miss Anna Jones into a place for instruction and worship, and others quickly rallied to their aid, Mr. Henry Knippenberg being made the superintendent of the school. It remained a mission of the First Baptist until 1872, when the Garden Baptist Church was organized. The mission Sunday school, in the meantime had removed, first to the corner of Washington and Missouri streets, and then to Bright street above New York, where the church still preserves its name. The pastors in charge have been, successively, Samuel Cornelius, Philander Shedd, Cyrus B. Allen, B. F. Patt, John Sheppard, A. B. Charpie, G. W. Terry, Chas. L. Berry, John L. Beyl, Halle P. Fudge, E. M. Ryan, Jos. E. Sherrill, and Wm. H. Harris. Twenty-three members of the First Baptist Church were dismissed to join this church at its organization.

The First German Baptist Church, corner of Singleton and Iowa streets, developed from a mission started by the First Baptist Church in 1872 at North and Davidson streets. In 1883 the church was organized, and in 1901

it sold the old property. In 1902 the present church was built and dedicated. The pastors in charge have been G. Koopmann, 1873-6; E. Tschireh, 1877-80; A. Boelter, 1881-3; F. A. Licht, 1883-7; A. M. Petersen, 1887-91; A. Heinz, 1892-6; A. Freitag, 1896-1900; E. Schueller, 1900-1; R. M. von Miller, 1901-5; H. Sellhorn, 1906 to date. It had in 1909 a membership of 62, with 110 in the Sunday school. On May 1, 1888, the First Baptist Church organized a mission school on Twenty-second (now Thirtieth) street, and it grew so rapidly that on July 11, 1889, eleven members of the First Baptist were dismissed to join in organizing University Place Church, which is now located at Meridian and Thirty-third streets.

In September, 1888, a few Baptists living on the East side determined to start a Sunday school, and on September 16 it was begun in a part of the large house south of the arsenal grounds which had been built and occupied by Herman Sturm. This school prospered greatly, and on March 3, 1902, was made a station of the First Baptist Church. On March 15, 1904, an independent church was organized under the name of Woodruff Place Baptist Church, which is now located at Michigan and Walcott streets. In the preliminary period C. A. McDowell, A. B. Charpie, and A. D. Berry served as pastors. After organization the pastors were A. D. Berry, 1894-1904; Frederick Donovan, 1904-5; Fred Glendower Kenney, 1905-9. The church was badly damaged by fire in June, 1909, but was at once rebuilt and enlarged. The society is in flourishing condition with 348 members and 323 in the Sunday school. When organized in 1894, there were 120 members of the First Baptist dismissed to join it.

West of White River, the first mission of the First Baptist Church was in 1878, in West Indianapolis. The ground was donated by Julius F. Pratt, and a sum of money by Nicholas McCarty. This developed into the River Avenue Baptist Church. The Haughville mission was established in 1890, with J. G. Holmes as superintendent. It developed into the Germania Avenue Church. In October, 1892, twenty scholars and teachers organized in Greenleaf hall, North Indianapolis, with Henry Fitch as superintendent. In June, 1901, the corner stone of a church

building was laid, and it was completed in November. In June, 1907, the Thirty-first Street Baptist Church was organized on this foundation. Its pastors have been H. A. Belton, 1897-8; Chas. West, 1898-9; R. E. Neighbor, 1899-1903; S. A. Sherman, 1903-6; R. D. Licklider 1906 to date. This is a prosperous church, with 225 members, and 140 in the Sunday school.

Emmanuel Baptist Church is a swarm from South Street Baptist Church, in March, 1899, the new church organizing on April 9, 1899. The society bought a double store building at Woodlawn avenue and Laurel street, and remodeled it for its purposes. The pastors have been C. H. McDowell; P. H. McDowell, and, since February 1, 1900, John R. Henry. This is known as a live church. It not only has 225 members, and 175 in its Sunday school, but it has organized five missions. One of these is on Bluff avenue, half a mile beyond the city limits; and one at Whiteland, Ind. Another is at Beech Grove, an Indianapolis suburb, the building there being dedicated on October 18, 1908. Churchman Avenue Baptist Church is a mission from Emmanuel in 1904. Its pastors have been Charles W. Swift and I. W. Stark. It has 70 members, and 80 in the Sunday school. The latest is the Southern avenue Sunday school, which is located east of Shelby street. It was first held in the school house on Shelby street, but on June 13, 1909, it moved into its new building, from which the plasterers' scaffolds had not yet been taken, and opened business with 126 present.

Tuxedo Park Baptist Church, on Garfield avenue, north of Washington street, grew out of a union Sunday school which was organized and conducted independently for several years, but on December 14, 1899, applied to be recognized as a mission of Woodruff Place Baptist Church. This was granted, and the relation continued till it was organized as an independent church on June 15, 1902. It is prosperous, having 155 members, and a total Sunday school enrollment of 314. The pastors have been L. O. Stiering, 1902-7; Allen O. Hess, 1908—3 months; V. O. Clutton, 1908 to date.

The pioneer church of the colored Baptists in Indianapolis is known as the Second Baptist Church, located on Michigan street, be-

tween Indiana avenue and West street. Most of its early history was gathered up by Rev. Moses Broyles, its most noted pastor, and told by him with great frankness. The beginning of the church was in 1846, when Elder Charles Shaeler came here from Cincinnati, and gathered the scattered Baptists into a church, which worshipped usually at the house of Deacon John Brown. In 1848 Elder Joshua Thurman was called from Madison as pastor, and the next year a little church, 20x30 feet, was built on Missouri street, between New York and Ohio. Troubles arose in the church, probably on account of the pastor. Broyles says that "he was an excellent preacher, but that he did not act prudently as a pastor". In the winter of 1851, the church burned, uninsured, and the congregation moved back to Deacon Brown's. In 1852 Elder Jesse Young was called to the pastorate for a year, and in 1853 Elder Joseph J. Fitzgerald. The latter was a young preacher from Madison, who also taught school here. Some slanderous reports about him appeared in the Madison papers, which were brought here and caused him to leave the pastorate. He afterwards acted as a missionary in the West, and for five or six years in Liberia, where he was said to be very successful. He was succeeded by Elder George Butler, from Vincennes, for a year; and then, in 1856, Elder Pleasant Bowles was called from Kalamazoo. He was a good-looking young man, with winning ways, and a good preacher. But the men found that not only "his conduct towards the female sex was unbecoming in a minister, but that he would not do to trust with the money". Added to these weaknesses, Bowles joined the Methodists and tried to break up the church. Then they rose in wrath and fired him.

In 1857 Moses Broyles, who had been of the congregation, was ordained and made pastor. He was quite a notable character. Born a slave, and separated from his parents at the age of four, he had the good fortune to fall into the hands of a kindly master, and among white boys who treated him well. From them he learned to read, and by hard work pushed through the elementary branches; after which he had nearly three years of schooling at College Hill, ten miles below Madison. In the spring of 1857 he came to Indianapolis to

teach school, and he continued to teach for twelve years after he entered the ministry, at a little house on Minerva street, between Michigan and North, which still stands. He had to do so at first because the church could only pay his board for his services, for three years. But he worked ahead, and soon the church began to grow. In 1864, the church had to be enlarged, and it was doubled in size. In 1867 it was again outgrown, and the congregation decided on the substantial building which it now occupies. It was built 63 feet square, with basement and auditorium above, the latter having galleries on three sides. The cost of the building and lot was about \$25,000. Here he preached till the time of his death, August 31, 1882. And he labored much outside. He was the chief factor in organizing the State Association of Colored Baptists, and was the life of their church in this city. Since his day the pastors have been J. M. Harris, J. W. Carr, Charles Johnson and B. J. Prince, the present incumbent. The church is in flourishing condition, with 400 members, and 200 Sunday school pupils.

Early in 1867 came a development that was a sore thorn in the flesh to Brother Broyles. The Central Christian Church purchased a lot at Second (Eleventh) and Lafayette streets, on which was a soldiers' barracks—a relic of Camp Carrington—and started a colored mission church. Elder Daniel Orr, who had come here from Kentucky during the war, and, after some service as a soldier, had been ordained in 1866 as a Baptist minister, joined the Christian (Campbellite) Church and took charge of this mission; and some white brethren assisted in the Sunday school. Broyles says they tried to proselyte the Baptists of the vicinity, but "I took great pains in explaining the difference between the doctrines held forth by that church and that of the Missionary Baptist Church. There were only three members of this church that joined that one. Two of them returned and thanked the Lord that they had once more returned home". The mission did not succeed, and in 1873 it was sold to Mount Zion Baptist Church, which was organized in the previous year. It occupied the church nearly forty years, remodeling it twice. In 1908 the congregation began work on a new brick church, which will cost about \$10,000 when com-

pleted. The pastors of Mount Zion Church have been Wm. Singleton, D. Slaughter, H. Bloodworth, James Morton, B. F. Ferrell, and G. Wm. Ward, who is now serving. The church has 350 members, and 176 Sunday school scholars.

Early in 1874, Elder Jacob R. Raynor began holding prayer meetings and preaching in the northeastern part of the city near the old sewing-machine factory. As a result of his work New Bethel Baptist Church was organized on July 4, 1874. Mr. Raynor was called as pastor, and a church was erected the next year, and dedicated in November, 1875. Raynor served for ten years, and has been followed by J. Franklin and Nathaniel A. Seymour, the present incumbent. The church has a membership of 422, and the Sunday school an average attendance of 60. This church put up a new building in 1901 at 1515 Martindale avenue, at a cost of \$5,000, and has been much hampered by debt ever since. Another of the older churches is Olivet, which was originally organized south of the city as Liek Creek Church in September, 1867. Later it sold its property and moved into the city, locating on Hosbrook street, where Elder Anderson Simmons preached in the seventies. It now has a church building at Leonard and Prospect streets, with Rev. Kimball Warren as pastor.

Barnes Chapel, 927 West Twenty-fifth street, was organized as a church in 1887, and named in honor of A. A. Barnes, who donated the lot, and contributed to the building. It was the outgrowth of a mission. The pastors have been C. T. Lewis, C. H. Taylor, D. W. Heston, C. Jones, T. T. Carpenter, P. J. Smith, H. Dupce, J. C. Jones, C. C. Alexander, and Thos. R. Printiss, now serving. There are 72 members. Trinity Baptist Church, located at Albert and Halbone streets, was organized November 16, 1902, and completed its church building in September, 1907. It has 52 members, and 20 in the Sunday school. B. F. Ferrill, C. C. Wilson and J. Averet have officiated as pastors, and A. H. Marlowe is now in charge. There are about a dozen small congregations of colored Baptists of comparatively later organization, but their pastors are not sufficiently interested to answer requests for information.

The Freewill Baptists are a separate organ-

ization, having three churches in Indianapolis. As the name indicates, they incline to Arminianism, which means that they are "not quite so predestinated as the others". The First Freewill Baptist Church, now located at Colton and Minerva streets, was organized in 1882, and has had a rather strenuous existence. Its church building was completed and dedicated in 1908. It has at present 97 members and 35 in the Sunday school. Its pastor is Rev. Benj. McIntosh. The other two Freewill Baptist churches are St. Johns, at Brightwood, of which Rev. E. M. Turner is pastor, and Fremont, of which Rev. A. Johnson is pastor.

The Presbyterians were not long after the Baptists in their formal church organization. As has been mentioned in the chapter entitled, "The Moral Foundation", this was made on July 5, 1823, at Caleb Scudder's cabinet shop, and a meeting-house was completed and occupied in the same year. At that time Rev. David Proctor was devoting three-fourths of his time to the Indianapolis Presbyterians, and the remaining fourth to those at Bloomington. His year ended October 1, 1823, and he was not recalled. He was regarded as too cold and formal for a frontier preacher, and was never settled as a pastor after leaving here, though he preached quite often. He married a woman of considerable wealth, and settled at Frankfort, Kentucky, where he died on January 18, 1865.

The First Presbyterian meeting house was on Pennsylvania street, on ground now occupied by the Talbott block. The subscription for it was \$1,200, but the cost was \$1,600, and the building committee, Dr. Isaac Coe, James Blake, and Daniel Yandes, arranged to complete it by giving the carpenters orders on Nicholas McCarty for goods, for their work, and paying Mr. McCarty when they could. Most of the lumber was furnished by Hiram Bacon. It was a combination church and school, and Mrs. Ketchum describes it thus: "The first Presbyterian Church was on Pennsylvania street, about half way between Market and Ohio. It was so far back that the rear end, the school room, was on the alley. From the gates it was very pretty rising ground, grassy to the front doors. One smallish window was high up over the pulpit, which was between the two front doors, the

gable end toward the street. Two aisles ran down from the doors. Two rows of seats in the middle, and one on the north and one on the south side. The back part or school room was shut off by a kind of water-gates. When the church was finished these were raised and the aisles ran through little gates. Pews were in the church, but here the seats were without any backs. A row of desks all around the west and north sides dignified it into a school room. The ceiling of the church went to the roof, but this was low, and the space above was open to the church, with seats, but so dark no choir ever sat there. The whole was an original specimen of architecture, especially the bell tower. Surely there never had been so funny a little thing. The steps ran up out of the school room, and it was the delight of the boys to ring the bell, and the girls to hear. The stove in this room was a long high one with the door and hearth in one end. I have seen, for punishment, two standing on the top of this stove and one on the hearth."

After Mr. Proctor's departure, B. F. Morris, James Blake and Dr. Coe were appointed a committee to procure a preacher. They wrote to Rev. Samuel D. Hoge, of Ohio, but he had just accepted a professorship in the college at Athens. They wrote to Rev. Wm. Martin, who had aided in organizing the church, but the letter miscarried, and, not hearing from him, they wrote in March, 1824, to Rev. George Bush, a licentiate of the presbytery of New York. He came out on July 9, bearing a commission as missionary from the General Assembly, and having ministered until September 6, was unanimously called to the pastorate. On March 5, 1825, the presbytery—the church had been transferred to Salem Presbytery—was called to Indianapolis to ordain him. The ceremony was held in the new court house, Rev. Mr. Crow preaching the sermon, Mr. Diekey giving the charge to the pastor-elect, and Mr. Reed to the people. On March 9, Mr. Bush left for Philadelphia, to attend the General Assembly, and when he returned on July 27 he brought with him Mrs. Bush, whom he had married in 1823. She was a daughter of Hon. Lewis Condit, of Morristown, New Jersey, and was much esteemed by the people of Indianapolis.

George Bush was one of the most accomplished scholars that ever located here, al-

though he was a young man. He had graduated with high honor at Dartmouth and Princeton Theological School, and served as tutor for a year in Princeton College. He had several offers of professorships, but preferred ministerial work. His moral character was beyond reproach, and he was a man of progressive character generally. It is recorded that he brought the first wood-saw and the first pair of India rubber shoes to Indianapolis, and these novelties were naturally objects of general curiosity to the community. But he was clearly out of place in the Presbyterian Church, and his ordination as a Presbyterian clergyman can be understood only on the supposition that his views of church government changed materially thereafter. His service was very acceptable to the church until December, 1826, when he stated in a sermon that "there was not a shadow of authority in the scripture for any government beyond the bounds of a single church, from whose decisions there was no appeal but to the court of Heaven".² The elders remonstrated with him, and tried to secure at least a promise that he would refrain from preaching such doctrine, but he regarded it as a conscientious duty. After extensive correspondence and discussion, he submitted his views to the session, on March 3, 1828, in a communication, stating, in substance, "(1) That he believes there is but one Catholic Church, and that all distinct organizations, as Episcopal, Baptist, Presbyterian, &c., are a sinful rending of Christ's one body. (2) That Christ Jesus is not only spiritually but also ecclesiastically the only head of His church, to the exclusion of any visible head, in any shape whatever, and that all appeals from the presbytery of a single church requiring an authoritative decision are to be made directly and immediately to Him. (3) That every individual church, properly constituted, is entirely competent to the final decision of whatever cases of discipline may occur among them". This communication was an explanation of another, a month earlier, in which Mr. Bush stated to the session "the terms on which he is willing to continue to labor with us". These terms were in three propositions: (1) "That the male

²*Minutes*, p. 71.

members of the church be privileged to attend the meetings of the session, but without the right to vote or speak unless permitted." (2) "That the session give their full consent and hearty concurrence in what he conceives his permission from a higher source to talk, write, publish and preach, relative to the constitution, laws, and order of church, whatever, whenever, wheresoever & in what way soever he might deem proper." (3) "That the session should guarantee him \$300 for 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ of his time for one year."

To these terms the session, which was then composed of Elders Isaac Coe, Ebenezer Sharpe, Caleb Scudder, John G. Brown and John Johnson, declined to accede, and on March 4 adopted resolutions, of which the first three are as follows: "Resolved, (1) That so far as we understand the views of our pastor, the Rev. George Bush, relative to church government, we cannot approve them as a whole as being scriptural or expedient. (2) That believing the Presbyterian form of church government to be most conformable in its institutions to the word of God of any in existence, and best calculated in its effects to promote the peace, purity and edification of the Church of Christ, we cannot consent to abandon it for any other, much less for one which we believe not warranted by scripture and untried in practice. (3) That however serious the consideration of dissolving the endearing connection between pastor and people, we feel it to be a solemn duty to God & his church not to use our influence to continue the relations now subsisting between our pastor and this people, if it can be done only on the terms he has proposed." The other resolutions included a determination to bring the matter before the church and the presbytery "for advice and direction", and a letter to the pastor stating his views as they understood them, and refusing to accept them. On March 10 the church members held a meeting in the school room to discuss the matter. Mr. Bush was present, and opened the meeting with prayer. After considerable discussion Robert Gowdy, Alexander Frazier and Noah Leverton "expressed their unwillingness to part with Mr. Bush, & were desirous as they were not well acquainted with the principles of church govt. that Mr. Bush be invited to preach thereon, to which effect

Mr. Gowdy made a motion". To this Ebenezer Sharpe and Doctor Coe objected, saying they were "unwilling to countenance and support the preaching of error with no one to contradict it, which they conceived to be running into temptation, but expressed their willingness if desired to meet a public discussion of the subject". Without further action the meeting adjourned to March 18, "to allow time for further consideration".

On March 18 the church members again met in the school room, and there was another reading of Mr. Bush's former letters, and also of one of that date in which he said he considered himself "as standing in the attitude of a candidate for permanent settlement, the term of his previous engagement having expired and that the true question is not whether the church shall forthwith cease to be a Presbyterian society, but whether it will agree to the three propositions he has made to the session. That he had hardly any hope we should agree to his terms and did not think on the whole there was sufficient ground for a break in the church and therefore wished to withdraw quietly and that the elders and brethren would confirm their love to each other". It was explained verbally that he did not intend "to decline continuing as the pastor of this church", but "wished his proposals to be taken up and acted upon by the members". There were then submitted to vote five questions, prepared by the session, as follows: (1) Are you willing to make the alterations proposed by Mr. Bush in the form of the government of this church? (2) Are you willing Mr. Bush while he continues our pastor should preach on the subject of church government those views which in his correspondence with the session he has stated he holds and shall endeavor to prove? (3) Will you and such as may unite with you guarantee to Mr. Bush three hundred dollars for three-fourths of his time for the present year? (4) Are you willing to continue Mr. Bush as your pastor if by so doing you must break off connection with the Presbyterian Church? (5) Do you approve of the three first resolutions adopted by the session on the 4th instant and which have now been read relative to the proposals of the Rev. Mr. Bush and our referring them to the decision of the presbytery?

On the first two questions Robert Gowdy alone voted "aye" and twenty-one voted "no". Noah Leverton and Ensley T. Gowdy declined to vote on any of the questions. On the last three questions there was no affirmative vote, Robert Gowdy voting with the majority on the 3rd and 5th and declining to vote on the 4th. In addition to the vote, word was received from Phaniel Graham, Mary Carothers, Mrs. Elizabeth Morris and Daniel Yandes that, "We do not wish to continue the services of our pastor on the above named terms (as specified), nor to withdraw from the Presbyterian Church, nor to encourage him or anyone to preach against the Presbyterian form of church government". These members, for various reasons, were unable to attend.

This action would seem to dispose of the case, but on March 20 the session decided to call a meeting of "the congregation" for the next evening, and notice was duly published in the *Journal*: "The members of the Presbyterian Church in Indianapolis request a meeting of the congregation * * * to take into consideration certain propositions of the Rev. George Bush, relative to his continuance as pastor of the congregation". At the same time a notice appeared in the *Journal* calling for a meeting of "the congregation" on the 22nd to elect trustees, etc., which expressly stated that "a general attendance of pewholders and those who contribute to the temporal support of the Gospel therein is requested". The audiences of Mr. Bush averaged about twice the number of church members, and this meeting was captured by the Bush adherents, who did as they liked. The church minutes recite that it was "a meeting composed of the members of the congregation and of persons of other denominations", and that it "passed certain resolutions approbatory of Mr. Bush as a preacher, & of his deportment as a man, evidently intended to compel the church to continue him as pastor. But not considering the doings of the meeting as matter of record which should be entered on the sessional book no copy of the resolutions passed at the meeting is inserted here".

On the 31st the session appointed Dr. Coe a delegate to the Wabash Presbytery, with power to act. The situation was submitted

to the presbytery, which advised that the session ask to have the pastoral relation of Mr. Bush to the church dissolved, and on this request being submitted, appointed a meeting at Indianapolis on June 20 to consider the application. On June 22 the relation was dissolved. Mr. Bush then began preaching at the court house to a congregation composed of a few members of the church and other sympathizers, and appealed to the synod from the decision of the presbytery. The synod sustained the presbytery but made some comments on "heated feelings" and the like, apparently intended as oil for the troubled waters, and thereupon both the session and Dr. Bush appealed to the General Assembly, where, "after considerable discussion and mature deliberation, it was resolved that this business be dismissed on account of informality, and that the papers be returned to the respective parties". And so this matter came around to Mr. Bush's point of view, that the congregation was capable of disposing of its own troubles, and would have to do so.

Mr. Bush resolved to stay. There was a great deal of sympathy for him, especially outside of the church, and this was increased by the death of his young wife on November 9, 1827, leaving an infant child. She was a most amiable and attractive woman, and had won the hearts of all. Mrs. Merrill weaned her own baby and took little Lewis Bush to nurse. The funeral was large and impressive, the school children joining in the procession and marching two and two to the old cemetery on Kentucky avenue. The sermon was preached by Wm. Lowry, a young licentiate who had come that spring to supply the pulpit in the quarter when Mr. Bush was away, and who was drowned the next February while attempting to ferry Driftwood.² The prayer was made by Ebenezer Sharpe; and both sermon and prayer were long remembered by the hearers. Mr. Bush's services were held in the court house, and were well attended, especially while the legislature was in session, but he found that sympathy was a very unstable foundation for a church, and in the spring of 1829 he went back to the East. He there left the ministry and engaged in literary pursuits, erecting a lasting monu-

²*Journal*, February 28, 1828.



REV. GEORGE P. BUSH.



DR. ISAAC COE.

ment to himself in his Notes on the Pentateuch—a work so successful from the start that the first volume had reached the sixth edition before the series was completed. In 1831 he was elected Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature in the University of the City of New York, and later Superintendent of the Press of the American Bible Society. In 1845 he publicly avowed his support of the system of Emanuel Swedenborg. This was not primarily due to any study of Swedenborg but to his own developing views on the nature of the spiritual body, the interpretation of prophecy, and other abstruse subjects. After one of his addresses a lady spoke to him of the similarity of his views to those of Swedenborg, and on examination he found this so true that he allied himself with the "New Church".

The final separation was probably the best thing that could have happened, both for Mr. Bush and for the Indianapolis church, for it would be an absurdity to expect to build up a church of any denomination under a pastor who persisted in preaching against the fundamental principles of the church. It is stated in the life of Prof. Bush, published under Swendenborgian auspices, that in the troubles at Indianapolis "his congregation was severed in twain".¹ This was not true of the church membership, which was 50 at the time the actual separation began in March, 1828. The church had begun with 15 members in 1823, and 51 had joined since that time, 39 of them during the three and one-half years of Mr. Bush's ministry, from October 1, 1824; and 16 had gone out by death and dismissal. In the year to April 1, 1829, there were 36 accessions and 9 dismissions, etc., leaving the membership 77. To April 1, 1830, the accessions were 44 and the deaths and dismissions 22, making the membership 99. This growth was principally due to the efforts of Rev. John R. Moreland, who was called to the pastorate in October, 1828. He was a genuine frontier product, with several years' experience as a flatboatman, who did not learn to read till he was eighteen, and entered the ministry comparatively late in life. Rev. James Green says: "His preaching, naturally, was not charac-

terized by polish of diction or the graces of oratory, but did abound in a rugged and pointed eloquence that was not destitute of impressiveness and effect". Mrs. Ketcham says he was "a real revival preacher, who meant good and was good. He wept with his congregation".

Mr. Moreland died in the pastorate, October 13, 1832, and was followed by Rev. Wm. A. Holliday, who served as stated supply from February, 1833 to 1835; Rev. James W. McKenman, installed June 16, 1835, resigned April, 1839; Rev. Samuel Fulton, stated supply, January to April, 1840; Rev. Phineas Gurley, installed December 15, 1840, resigned November 28, 1849; Rev. Charles S. Mills—principal of a local female seminary—stated supply, November, 1849, to September, 1850; Rev. John A. McClung, installed December 31, 1851, resigned September 29, 1855; Rev. Thos. M. Cunningham, installed May 7, 1857, resigned May, 1860; Rev. J. Howard Nixon, installed April 17, 1861, resigned April 14, 1869; Rev. J. F. Dripps, temporary supply, May to October, 1868, during the pastor's absence in Europe; Rev. Robert D. Harper, D.D., installed October 19, 1869, resigned February 23, 1871; Rev. Jeremiah P. E. Kummer, installed October 1, 1871, resigned September 14, 1875; Rev. Myron W. Reed, installed October 4, 1877, resigned April 1, 1884; Rev. Matthias L. Haines, installed April 12, 1885, and still officiating.

Several of these pastors were of more than local celebrity. Dr. Gurley was called from here to the First Church of Dayton, Ohio; and from there to F Street Church in Washington City, later known as "Lincoln's Church". In 1859 Dr. Gurley was made chaplain of the Senate, and during Lincoln's administration he was his honored friend. He was present at his death-bed, and preached his funeral sermon. Dr. Gurley was always popular as a preacher and as a man, and during his pastorate the old church on Pennsylvania street became too small for the congregation. A new location was found at the northeast corner of the Circle and Market streets—where the American Central Life's building now stands. The cornerstone was laid on October 7, 1841, and the new church dedicated on May 6, 1843. The life of Dr. McClung—like Dr. Gurley, he received his

¹*New Church Tracts*, No. 10, p. iv.

D.D. after leaving here—reads like a romance. Converted at sixteen, and entering the ministry with the highest promise, he found himself unable to answer some of the infidel arguments of Gibbon and, in 1831, asked leave of his presbytery to surrender his license. He took to the law, and followed it for fifteen years, attaining high standing in it and in political life. In 1832, soon after leaving the ministry, he wrote and published the pioneer stories that were printed under the title, "Sketches of Western Adventure", which has been more widely read than any other book of American frontier adventure, and which is the basis of everything since written covering the same period. In 1848 his mind was turned again to the evidences of Christianity by a sermon he heard, and on reading Sir David Dalrymple's reply to Gibbon, he found the objections that had troubled him very fully answered. He then made a careful and exhaustive examination of the whole ground of the evidences, with the result of convincing himself, and returning to the faith and to the ministry.

Soon afterward he was called here. While here he showed an especial interest in prophecy that caused some of the conservative afterwards to doubt his sanity, but he commanded the interest of all. In the winter of 1854-5 he delivered a series of Sunday evening lectures on the prophecy of Daniel that attracted general attention and crowded the church. He left here on account of ill health, first trying residence in the South, then in Minnesota, then again in the South, but with little improvement. On August 5, 1859, while traveling for his health, he came to Tonawanda, on the Niagara River, nine miles above the falls. On the 6th he started to walk to Niagara. On the next day his clothing was found on the pier at Schlosser, six miles above the falls, and three days later his bruised body was found in the river far below the falls. He was an expert swimmer, and fond of the recreation, but unacquainted with the dangerous character of the stream. His death caused many surmises, and it was surely a strange climax that a life which had been so largely passed in mighty mental and spiritual maelstroms should end by this terrible physical power.

Dr. Cunningham was noted as a preacher

at Chicago, Philadelphia and San Francisco. During his pastorate here plans were made for a new church at the southwest corner of New York and Pennsylvania streets, which were carried out in the pastorate of Mr. Nixon, who followed him. The cornerstone was laid on April 22, 1866, and the church was occupied on December 29, 1867, the cost being \$104,117.74. It was not dedicated until after the debt was fully paid, on April 24, 1873. Myron W. Reed was one of the most widely popular preachers Indianapolis ever had. If he did not call sinners to repentance he at least called them to church. His record as a soldier, his non-clerical appearance and manner, and his cordial good fellowship attracted many, while his keen intellect, outspoken courage and pungent wit reconciled all to his lack of conventionality. He went from here to the First Congregational Church of Denver, where he preached for eleven years, and then took charge of an independent congregation at the Broadway Temple until his death on January 30, 1899. A series of his sermons at the latter place was published here in 1898, under the title "Temple Talks". Mr. Reed was as popular in Denver as he was here, and became more widely known through political prominence. Leaving here a Republican, he was nominated for Congress by the Democrats of the Denver district in 1886, and, though the district was normally from 6,000 to 10,000 Republican, lost it by only 803 votes. Later he affiliated with the People's party, and declined the nomination for Congress in 1892, which Lafe Pence, another Indiana man, accepted, and was triumphantly elected.

And Matthias L. Haines—longest in service, and destined to stay for life if his congregation decide the matter—if he were working among the Miami Indians they have a personal name that they would probably give to him—*Al-wa-non-dah*. It is translated, "Everybody loves him". He is a native of Indiana, born at Aurora, in 1850. His ancestors for three generations were physicians. He graduated at Wabash in 1871, and at Union Theological, of New York, in 1874. He was called to the Dutch Reformed Church of Astoria, New York, and served there for eleven years, being called to Indianapolis in 1885. In addition to his church work he

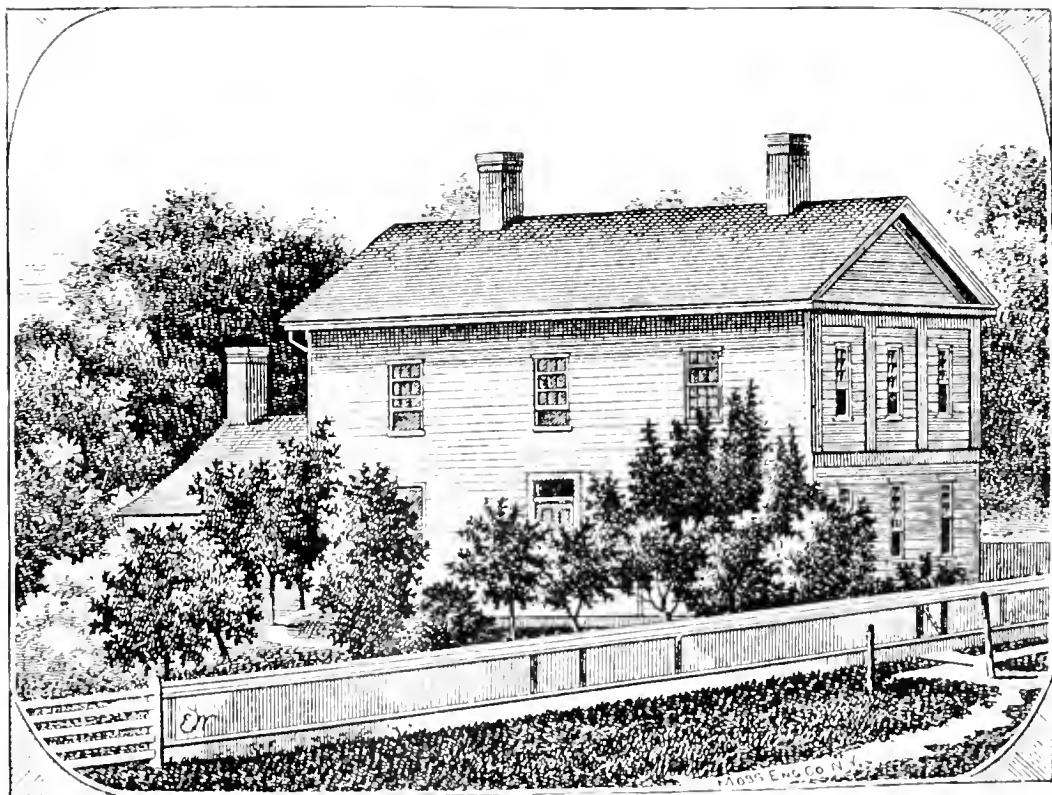
has taken an active and useful interest in the charitable, literary and civic affairs of the city. Under his pastorate came the last move of the church. In 1900 the United States government wanted to buy the church, with other property on the block, to make room for its new federal building. A consideration of the residence location of the congregation showed that its geographical center was far to the north. It was therefore decided to locate at Delaware and Sixteenth streets. The old church property was sold to the government for \$65,000, and the congregation moved to a temporary frame structure on the east side of Delaware street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth while building at Delaware and Sixteenth. The chapel of the present stone building at that point was completed and dedicated on June 7, 1903. The main building was occupied and dedicated October 4, 1903. Its cost, including the ground and the furnishing of the church, was \$114,000. The church has at present 836 members and 740 on the Sunday school rolls.

Few people ever raised more disturbance in this world, unintentionally, than Rev. Samuel Hopkins, of Waterbury, Connecticut. He made some unkind remarks about the doctrines of original sin and the atonement, as to which of necessity no one can speak with authority who has not fathomed the infinite; and also put altruism on a pedestal by declaring that selfishness, of whatever nature, was inherently and essentially sinful. These doctrines spread, and in 1836 Dr. Albert Barnes, who sympathized with them, was tried for heresy by the General Assembly and acquitted. In 1837 the General Assembly ruled out the Geneva Synod, and several others; and also repealed the "Plan of Union" under which the Presbyterians and Congregationalists had been working harmoniously on the frontier for 35 years. In 1838 the commissioners from the excluded synods asked admission and were refused, whereupon they and their friends organized an assembly of their own. There were 140 commissioners who remained in the first assembly, and 136 who went to the new one, both parties claiming to be the genuine assembly. The former became known as "the old school", and the latter as "the new school", and for 32 years the church was thus divided. Presbyterians

all over the country began discovering that they could not be saved under the same roof, and new churches were started in all directions.

In Indianapolis there were fifteen members of the First Presbyterian Church who withdrew, and, on November 19, 1838, organized the Second Church. They were Bethuel F. Morris, Daniel Yandes, Luke Munsell, Lawrence M. Vance, Mary J. Vance, Sidney Bates, William Eckert, Alex. H. Davidson, Robert Mitchell, William S. Hubbard, J. F. Holt, M. R. Holt, John L. Ketcham, Jane Ketcham, and Catharine Merrill—a goodly company. They made three calls for ministers, fortunately for them all unsuccessful, and then called young Henry Ward Beecher from Lawrenceburg. He accepted, and began work on July 31, 1839, by which time the membership had increased to 32, without any pastor. The new church held its services for a year in the county seminary, on University Square, and then moved into the lecture room of its new building at the northwest corner of Circle and Market streets. The church was fully completed and occupied October 4, 1840.

It would be superfluous to attempt a general sketch of Henry Ward Beecher. He came here in the flush of his youth, and with much more liberal ideas than his distinguished father, who had been tried for heresy on account of his "moderate Calvinism" in 1835. The whole Beecher family were of the New School; Mrs. Stowe made Samuel Hopkins the central character in her novel, "The Minister's Wooing". Henry had all of his father's warm antagonism to slavery and intemperance, and was utterly fearless in speech and action. He whacked sinners as lustily as he rebuked sin. His eloquence and wit won him favor with people who did not agree with his ideas. Outside of his pulpit life he was one of the people, not in any affectation but because he was genuinely interested. He talked agriculture with farmers, helped at fires, and labored for improvements. He chatted, joked and romped until he convinced the public that a man could be a Presbyterian preacher and still really enjoy himself. He would alarm the carpenters who were working on his house by "skinning the cat" on the exposed joists; and when exhausted would lie down in the grass and



THE HOUSE BEECHER BUILT—"PAINTED WITH MY OWN HANDS".
(South Side of Ohio, between Alabama and New Jersey Streets.)

work on a sermon. When he left, in 1847, his departure was regretted by the general public as well as by his congregation. There were notable revivals during his ministry, especially in the spring of 1842, 1843 and 1845, and when he left, the membership of the church had reached 275.

For six months after Beecher left, the church was supplied by Rev. Shubert Granby Spees, and then for sixteen months was vacant. In October, 1848, Clement E. Babb, a young licentiate of the Presbytery of Dayton, was installed. He was at the time a student at Lane Seminary. Beecher's was a hard place to fill, but Babb did very well. It is recorded that, "In the spring of 1851, because of the blessing of God upon the labors of C. E. Babb, pastor of the Second Church of Indianapolis, the church edifice became too small for the congregation, and it became a question with the church whether to enlarge their building or to colonize and form another church". The latter course was taken and the Fourth Church was formed. Mr. Babb resigned, on account of failing health, January 31, 1853, and the pulpit was vacant for eleven months. On January 1, 1854, he was succeeded by Dr. Thornton A. Mills, who remained till February 9, 1857, when he was released to take the position of Secretary of the Committee on Education of the General Assembly. On August 6, 1857, Rev. George P. Tindall was called and remained with the church till September 27, 1863. On January 17, 1864, Rev. Hanford A. Edson, who had been preaching at Niagara Falls, entered this pulpit and remained until March 10, 1873. Following him, Dr. John L. Withrow served from October 19, 1873, to July 1, 1876; Rev. Wm. Alvin Bartlett from October, 1876, to June, 1882; Rev. Arthur T. Pierson from September, 1882, to May, 1883; Dr. James McLeod from December, 1883, to October, 1889; Rev. Joseph A. Milburn from June, 1890, to March, 1901; Rev. Owen Davies Odell from April, 1902, to date.

The history of the church has been one of quite steady progress. In 1864 it was decided to remove from the old church on the Circle, and work was begun at the northwest corner

of Vermont and Pennsylvania streets. The cornerstone of the present handsome stone church was laid on May 14, 1866. The chapel was occupied December 22, 1867, and the completed building was dedicated January 9, 1870. The entire cost of the property was \$105,000. The mission at Michigan and Blackford streets (Fifth Presbyterian) was begun in 1864; that at Union and McCarty streets (Sixth Presbyterian) in 1867; that at Christian avenue and Bellefontaine (Memorial) in 1869; that on West Maryland (Twelfth Presbyterian) in 1874; that on West and Norwood streets (Mayer Chapel) in 1894. The membership of the church at the close of 1909 was 700, and of the Sunday school 250.

Mayer Chapel, a flourishing mission of this church, is named for Ferdinand L. Mayer, who furnished most of the means for purchasing the lot and erecting the chapel in 1894. The building was enlarged in 1897, and additional ground was donated by William S. Hubbard in 1895. Regular services, of an evangelistic character, are held every Wednesday and Sunday evening. The chapel has 86 members, and 450 are enrolled in the Sunday school. The primary and class rooms are occupied through the week by the Free Kindergarten; and the trustees of the chapel also give free quarters to the Children's Aid Association for a Pure Milk Station. Rev. A. R. Miles is the pastor in charge of the work, which has largely the character of a "neighborhood house", as well as of a mission. Mothers' meetings and boys and girls' clubs are among the regular institutions of the mission.

In 1851 both of the schools in Indianapolis showed a disposition to spread, and the old got a few days the start. On September 23, eighteen members of the First Church assembled at the house of Caleb Scudder and organized the Third Presbyterian Church, now known as the Tabernacle. Notable among them were James Blake, John W. Hamilton, Caleb Scudder, H. C. Newcomb, Nathaniel Bolton, Dr. W. C. Thompson, and C. B. Davis. The new congregation worshipped for some time at Temperance Hall, on Washington street, but bought property at the northeast corner of Ohio and Illinois streets, and finally completed and dedicated its church there in 1859. The first pastor was David Stevenson,

⁵*Moore's History of the Presbytery of Indianapolis*, p. 83.

who came from the presbytery of Elizabethtown, and was installed in July, 1852. He left in October, 1860, on account of failing health. The pastors following him were George Heckman, 1861-67; Robert Sloss, 1868-72; and H. M. Morey. In September, 1869, came the reunion of the old and new school Presbyterians in Indiana, and on July 5, 1870, the united Presbytery of Indianapolis began its session at the Third Church. All of the seven Presbyterian Churches then in Indianapolis were represented and the occasion was one of rejoicing.

In 1883, the Third Church being without a pastor, and a church being desirable in the rapidly growing northern district, a number of members of the Second Church transferred to the Third, and on July 12, 1883, its name was changed to the Tabernacle. It occupied the old building until December, 1885, when it removed to a temporary frame structure at Meridian and Second streets, while its new church was building. The chapel part of the structure was completed and first occupied on February 24, 1889. It is a whispered tradition that Dr. Arthur T. Pierson, of the Second Presbyterian, had agreed to go to the new flock when the delegation from his church went to it, but he had a loud call from Wanamaker's Church at Philadelphia, and resigned on May 25, 1883, to accept it. The reorganized church was without a pastor until November 9, 1884, when Rev. J. A. Rondthaler was installed, and remained with the church until May, 1896. He was very popular in the church and out, and had advanced practical ideas. In 1892 the church began publishing a little monthly paper, called *The Record*, which continued for two years, and then became intermittent, for special occasions. In 1892 the church also opened a reading room and social parlors for the use of the public as well as the church members. Dr. Rondthaler was the object of some criticism by the pedestrians for his devotion to the bicycle, but he was an effective pastor. He was followed by Dr. J. Cummings Smith, on January 1, 1897, who remained until his death in July, 1904. In December, 1904, Rev. Neil McPherson came to the church from Canada. He was an honor graduate of Queen's University, Kingston, taking the master's degree in arts and the bachelor's degree in the-

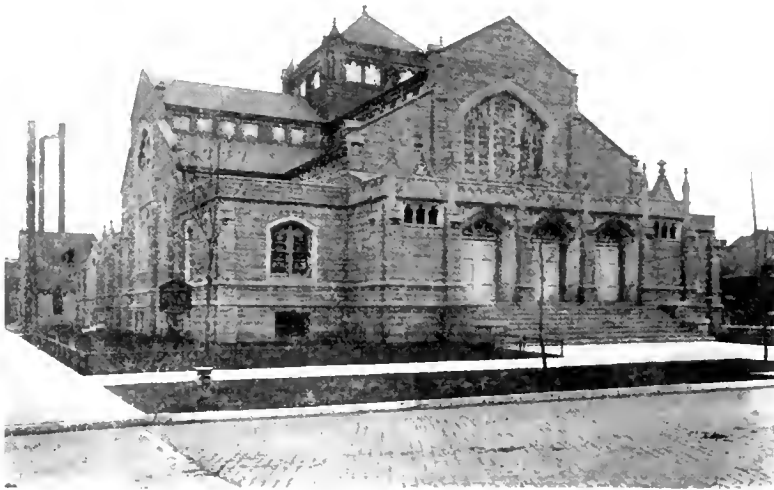
ology. For eight years he served at St. Paul's in Hamilton, and was called from there to the Tabernacle, where he still remains. The church is in flourishing condition. Its membership is 948, and there are 751 on the Sunday school roll.

It was on September 4, 1851, that Rev. Clement Babb reported to the new school presbytery the desirability of another church and the presbytery recommended its formation to the Second Church. On September 23 the Third Church was organized in the old school presbytery, and on November 30 the Fourth Church was organized in the new school, twenty-four members of the Second Church being dismissed to organize it. The new church secured the service of Rev. George M. Maxwell as stated supply, and he remained until December, 1858, when he was released on account of failing health. His pastorate was a time of struggle. The church first held its services in a hall at Pennsylvania and Washington streets, and later in one at Delaware and Virginia avenue. The new church building at the southwest corner of Delaware and Market was finally completed and dedicated on September 13, 1857. It was occupied for sixteen years, when property was purchased at the northwest corner of Pennsylvania and Pratt streets, and the new church erected there was dedicated on April 19, 1874. In January, 1892, the session decided to move farther north. The church property was sold, and the Peck Mission property, on Delaware above Seventeenth, was bought of the Second Church. It was occupied until 1895, when the present building at Alabama and Nineteenth was completed and occupied. The Peck Mission building was removed to the rear of the same lot and is used for a chapel. The succession of pastors, since Mr. Maxwell, has been A. L. Brooks, September, 1859, to March 9, 1862; Charles W. Marshall, July 20, 1862, to October 4, 1870; John H. Morron, December 27, 1870, to 1872; Edward Beecher Mason, March 17, 1873, to March, 1879; Augustus Hart Carrier, November 1, 1879, to July 9, 1885; George Lorain McNutt, January 1, 1886, to April 1, 1889; Edward P. Whallon, May 1, 1889, to May 1, 1891; George Lewes Mackintosh, November 5, 1891, to June 30, 1907; Robert Newcomb Fulton, September 15, 1907, to date. Mr.

Maekintosh was released to accept the presidency of Wabash College. His successor was called from the Congregational Church at Littleton, a suburb of Boston. He is a graduate of Boston University and the Hartford School of Theology. The present membership of the church is 300 and the number enrolled in the Sunday school is 200.

The Fifth Presbyterian Church originated in a mission school started in 1864 by members of the Second Church on the east side of Blackford street, below Michigan. The building was dedicated on May 15. In the fall of

The Sixth Presbyterian Church, or Olivet Church, as it was originally named, was a colony from the Second Church. On June 22, 1867, a committee was instructed to secure a site in the southwestern part of the city, and the corner of Union and McCarty streets was selected. A frame chapel was erected and dedicated on October 20. On November 20 a church organization was formed with twenty-one members, and Rev. J. B. Brandt was called as pastor. The property, which had cost about \$3,000, was donated by the Second Church, and its mem-



FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

1866 it was purchased by the Third Church, which took charge of the school. In October, 1867, the church was organized and Rev. William B. Chamberlain was called from Madison as pastor, and served until 1873. In 1873 a new building was erected at the southwest corner of Michigan and Blackford streets. In 1890 the congregation decided to change this to a Congregational Church, and it has since been known as the People's Congregational Church. The Presbytery of Indianapolis relinquished the property on condition of the new organization assuming the debt which remained on the church building.

bers also contributed largely to the brick church which was erected six years later at a cost of about \$7,000, and dedicated on January 25, 1874. In 1909 this church had 175 members, and 214 in the Sunday school. The pastors have been John B. Brandt, 1867-8; L. A. Aldrich, 1868-70; J. E. Scott, 1870-2; J. B. Brandt, 1872, after whom the pastorate was vacant several years; J. M. Crawford, 1879-80; C. M. Livingstone, 1881; W. A. Patton, 1882-3; Geo. Booth, 1884-7; Chas. E. Evans, 1887-8; J. E. Brown, 1888-93; E. A. Allen, 1893-8; A. R. Woodson, 1898-1901; L. W. A. Lueky, 1901-3; R. F. Soutre, 1903-

6; Wm. McMaxton, 1907-8; Thos. C. McNary, 1908 to date.

The Seventh Presbyterian Church, a mission of the First Church, originated with Wm. R. Craig, a staid old Scotchman whose Sabbath quiet was disturbed by the reprobate youth of the southeast part of the city. A consideration of remedies, from police to divine grace, led to choice of the last, and as an elder of the First Church he submitted the case there. The church was favorable. Mr. Craig and N. M. Wood were appointed a committee to establish the school, and \$130 was appropriated for the work. Peter Rontier's carpenter shop on Cedar street was rented and the Sunday school was opened with seven pupils the first day. Thomas McIntire aided in the organization, and M. M. Wood was superintendent. The quarters proved insufficient, and a permanent home was determined on. James M. Ray secured the donation of a lot on Elm street, north of Cedar, from Calvin Fletcher, A. Stone, W. S. Witt, Elisha Taylor and James M. Hough, who owned the addition. The Board of Church Extension pledged \$500 for the new building, and Thomas McIntire and James W. Brown were made a committee from the First Church to superintend the construction. Subscriptions of over \$3,200 were obtained, and the new building was dedicated on December 24, 1865. The First Church maintained, as missionaries in this field, successively, W. W. Sickles, Thomas Galt and C. M. Howard. On November 27, 1867, the Seventh Church was organized, with 23 members. C. M. Howard served as pastor till October, 1869, and left the church with over 125 members. After him J. B. Brandt served for one year, and then resigned to become Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. of the city. In 1909 this church reported 469 members, and 341 in the Sunday school.

The Eighth Church, now West Washington Street Presbyterian Church, grew from Indianola Mission, which was started July 15, 1870, by H. H. Fulton, E. G. Williams and John G. Blake, three young members of the Third Church. The property had been occupied by the Methodists for several years, but they got discouraged and quit, and the building was rented for the mission. This building was at Lansing and Washington, but a removal was made to "Walnut and Drake

streets," where a frame school house was bought and made into a church. Here, on October 1, 1871, the Eighth Church was organized, with 7 members, and Rev. J. R. Sutherland as the first pastor. This church was burned, and a brick church was erected on the same site. The new church was badly damaged by a cyclone, and the discouraged members sold the property, disbanded, and transferred to Tabernacle Church. In 1892 Dr. Rendthaler got them braced up for another effort. A lot was secured at Washington and Miley avenue, and a chapel erected, which was dedicated September 25, 1892. It was badly damaged by fire on February 12, 1897, but was promptly repaired. Rev. W. B. Dunham served as pastor of the mission from 1892 to 1899. On March 12, 1901, during the ministry of C. L. Lucas, the present West Washington Street Church was organized. Mr. Lucas served till 1903; J. C. Christie, 1903 to 1907; F. W. Kirkpatrick, 1908 to date. The church has 140 members and the Sunday school 200.

The Ninth Presbyterian Church originated in a mission at North and Railroad streets, started by the First Church in July, 1870. Railroad street was then the third street east of East street. The Methodists had had a mission there, known as "the Saw-mill Mission", but abandoned it. The property was purchased and donated by James W. Brown, and the leaders in the mission work were Gen. Benj. Harrison, Dr. C. C. Burgess, Capt. E. P. Howe and others. On February 18, 1872, the Ninth Presbyterian Church was organized with 14 members. L. Faye Walker was the first pastor. The church dissolved in 1881 and was reorganized as a colored Presbyterian church, the only one in the city. The new organization purchased the old Universalist Church on the north side of Michigan east of Tennessee, and moved there in 1881. In the winter of 1907 the building was condemned by the city authorities as unsafe, and in January, 1908, it was sold, and later torn down. The congregation then purchased

—
 "i. e., Ohio and Harding streets. The streets west of the river at that time were named without regard to those east of the river, though the names were in several cases the same.

property at Senate avenue and Fourteenth street, which was remodeled and occupied in December, 1909.

In the winter of 1869-70 the session of Second Church decided to commemorate the reunion of the two schools by a new mission. On March 17, 1870, a committee was appointed which purchased a lot at the southwest corner of Bellefontaine and Christian Avenue. A chapel was built there and dedicated on May 8. The mission was rather unsuccessful, and there was talk of abandoning it, but on October 13, 1870, the session of Second Church decided to go on, and the work was put in charge of the Young Men's Association of the church. The work was pushed with vigor, and, in the spring of 1873, forty members having expressed a desire to unite in a new church, the Tenth Presbyterian, or Memorial Church was constituted on March 12. Rev. H. A. Edson was released as pastor of the Second Church and began service with Memorial in April. Property for a permanent church was bought soon after, at Christian and Ash (Eleventh and Ashland), and the corner-stone was laid on April 7, 1874. The chapel was opened for services on March 7, 1875. Mr. Edson remained with the church for twenty years and retired chiefly on account of illness in his family. He is a man of broad culture, educated at Williams College and the University of Halle. He held but three charges—at Niagara Falls and the Second and Memorial Churches here. The last is a memorial to him as well as to Presbyterian reunion, for his long devotion made it a success. He has another memorial in our public library which was largely a result of Thanksgiving sermon preached by him on November 26, 1868. His successor at Memorial Church was Rev. Frank O. Ballard, D.D., the present incumbent. The church had a narrow escape from destruction by fire on November 22, 1908, but the damage was fully covered by insurance. The church now has 652 members, and the Sunday school 600.

The Eleventh Presbyterian Church, now known as Troub Memorial, was organized April 18, 1875, under the Home Missions Committee of the Presbytery of Indianapolis, with 37 members. The pastors, from the organization, have been C. A. Quirell 9 months, B. F. Woods 1 year, W. B. Chamberlain 4

years, C. H. Raymond 2 years, N. S. Dickey 1 year, Samuel Sawyer 1 year 6 months, John McComb 1 year 6 months, J. T. Orton 3 years, M. M. Lawson 7 years 3 months, Victor Demaree 2 months, Geo. B. Troub 2 years, 3 months, Wm. C. Logan since November 17, 1907. The name of the church was changed to Olive Street Presbyterian Church on April 15, 1887, the church then being on Olive Street north of Willow. The present building is at Cottage and Edgewood. The name was changed to Troub Memorial on March 11, 1908, in memory of Rev. Geo. B. Troub, who was killed by a Shelby street car on August 29, 1907, while riding on his bicycle from the new site to the old one.

The Twelfth Presbyterian Church was the outgrowth of a mission established July 25, 1869, by several young men from the Presbyterian churches, who rented for the purpose an old building on West Street near Georgia that had been originally a soldiers' barracks. The young men in charge of the Sunday school—Henry D. Carlisle, P. L. Mayhew, R. D. Craighead, Leroy W. Braden, and Charles Meigs—also conducted religious services and did some preaching. In 1874, largely through the assistance of Thos. D. Kingan, funds were raised to buy a lot; and in 1875 a chapel was erected on Maryland street, west of West street. On June 14, 1876, the Twelfth Presbyterian Church was organized with 14 members. Rev. E. L. Williams was the first pastor. In 1909 the church had 90 members and 50 in the Sunday school. The present pastor is Rev. Wm. A. Hendrickson.

In 1877 the Second Church started a mission in the Exposition Building on the old State Fair grounds. It grew and in 1881 a new home was needed. A lot was purchased on Delaware north of Seventeenth, and a chapel was erected and occupied on December 25, 1881. The expense, about \$3,300, was met by contributions from members of the Second Church and the Peck fund. This organization has been erroneously called the Thirteenth Presbyterian Church, but it was only a mission Sunday school. The property was sold in 1892 to the Fourth Church, which occupied it until 1895; and also occupied the field of the school.

East Washington Street Presbyterian

Church was organized February 22, 1888. It was a development from a Presbyterian mission which had erected a chapel on Washington street, between State street and Arsenal avenue, which was dedicated on September 4, 1887. The pastors in charge have been E. P. Whallon, December 1, 1887, to March, 1889; T. N. Todd, July, 1889, to July, 1891; F. C. Hood, September 15, 1891, to October, 1896; A. L. Hessler, March 3, 1897, to March, 1898; Alexander Urquhart, August, 1898, to November, 1900; F. C. Hood, March, 1901, to July, 1907; H. C. Calhoun, January 1, 1908, to date. The church has a membership of 225, and the Sunday school of 300.

Home Presbyterian Church, at Thirty-first and Rader streets, North Indianapolis, was organized February 7, 1897; and the church building was dedicated on September 16, 1900. The pastors in charge have been David Van Dyke, 1897-8; E. C. Trimble, 1898-9; J. E. Brown, 1899-1903; A. L. Duncan, 1903-6; Frank B. Stearns, 1906-7; Geo. D. Adamson, August 1, 1907, to date. It is a prosperous organization, with 221 members in the church and 250 in the Sunday school.

Grace Presbyterian Church, at Capitol avenue and Thirty-Second street, was organized September 26, 1897. The corner-stone of the building was laid on September 26, 1898, and it was dedicated on December 10, 1899. The pastors have been Walter M. Elliott, October 9, 1898, to September 12, 1900; R. C. Hunt, December 10, 1900, to December, 1901; C. A. Foreman, January 11, 1902, to September 3, 1908; E. S. Marshall, January 1, 1909, to date. The church now has 150 members and the Sunday school 200. This church has already developed a mission. The prospective fashionable suburb of Meridian Heights had a union Sunday school for several years, which was discontinued early in 1906. In response to a call from the neighborhood it was revived in August, 1906, under the care of Grace Church. In the fall of 1908, the school house at Central avenue and Forty-Sixth street, where it had been held, was found inadequate and a movement was started for a church building. Silas Johnson donated a lot at Park avenue and Forty-Seventh street, and a committee from First Church raised funds for a building. A formal church organization was made on March

15, 1909, and the new building was dedicated on November 14, 1909.

Sutherland Presbyterian Church, at Twenty-eighth and Bellefontaine streets, was organized in July, 1908. It is a growth from a mission Sunday school and Christian Endeavor Society that were established by Memorial Church five years earlier. The First Church has contributed largely to the support of this organization, its donations including the lot and building, which was erected in 1905. The church has 64 members, and there are 150 in the Sunday school. Rev. William Carson, the present pastor, has been the only one in charge.

Irvington Presbyterian Church was organized in June, 1906. The corner-stone of the building, at Johnson and Julian avenues, was laid in April, 1908, and the church was dedicated in December of the same year. Jonathan C. Day has been the only pastor. The church has 240 members, and 150 in the Sunday school.

The United Presbyterians have been represented in Indianapolis for three score years, their first church having been built in 1849. The early pastors were J. C. Steele, 1849-53; Samuel Wallace, 1854-8; Gilbert Small, 1860-7; A. W. Clokey, 1868-9. In 1869 the church went to pieces, and remained so until 1872, when it was reorganized and still continues as the First United Presbyterian Church. The present building of this church is at Park avenue and Twenty-second street, and before locating there it was at Massachusetts avenue and East street. The pastors since the reorganization have been J. L. Clark, 1872-5; H. G. McVey, 1875-6; J. P. Cowan, 1880-92; J. A. Littell, 1893-1900; C. M. Lawrence, 1900-5; D. G. McKay, 1906-8; G. L. Brown, 1909 to date. The church is in a prosperous condition, as are also the other two churches of this denomination in the city.

Woodruff Avenue United Presbyterian Church is located at Arsenal avenue and Twelfth street. It was organized November 21, 1892, and Rev. J. P. Cowan, D.D., has been its pastor from the start. Dr. Cowan is the "oldest inhabitant" among the protestant ministers of the city, having come here in 1880 as pastor of First Church, and remained ever since. He is a native Hoosier, born in Rush county in 1817. He was edu-

ated at Miami University and Xenia Theological Seminary. His first pastorate was at Des Moines, Iowa, after which he came here. Dr. Cowan was moderator of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in 1903; and has served as a member of the Board of Managers of Xenia Seminary since 1883. For twenty-two years he has been

Secretary-Treasurer of the Indianapolis Ministers' Association. The other church of this denomination—Witherspoon United Presbyterian Church—has a colored congregation. It was organized April 30, 1907, and is located at 712 N. West street. C. W. McColl was pastor in 1907-8, and D. F. White, the present pastor, followed him in 1909.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE CHURCHES (Continued).

The Methodists unquestionably had the first religious organization in Indianapolis, which was a "class" that met at Isaac Wilson's cabin in 1821. The old Methodist Discipline defines a church, or "society", as it was formerly called, as "a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation". This would seem to apply to a "class", but a class is by the same Discipline a subdivision of a church or society, for special purposes. Of course there might be only one class in a church, but the two are distinct. In the fall of 1821 William Cravens was delegated by the Missouri Conference, to which Indiana belonged, to organize a circuit, with Indianapolis as a station, and did so. It is quite probable that stewards were elected soon after, but the records are not preserved, and there is no definite information as to this. The first church building—they were always called "chapels" until some years after the Civil War—was built in 1825. In 1824 the Missouri Conference was divided; and Illinois Conference was formed, composed of Illinois and Indiana Districts. Indianapolis remained a circuit station until 1828, when it became a separate charge with a "stationed preacher".

In this earliest period, the pastors, or circuit preachers, were William Cravens, 1821; James Scott, 1822; Jesse Haile and George Horn, 1823; John Miller, 1824; Thomas Hewson, 1825; Edwin Ray, 1826; Nehemiah B. Griffith, 1827. The presiding elders (now called district superintendents) were Samuel Hamilton, 1822; William Beauchamp, 1823;

John Strange, 1824-9. These were mostly strong frontier preachers—men who were engrossed in their work, enduring its extreme hardships gladly, and usually sacrificing their lives, for though they were comparatively young men, William Beauchamp died in 1824; Edwin Ray in 1831; John Strange in 1833; N. B. Griffith in 1834. Beauchamp was a notable orator sometimes called "the Demosthenes of the West",—and of literary ability. He was for some time editor of the *Western Christian Monitor*, published at Chillicothe, the only Methodist paper at the time; and published a volume, "Essays on the Truth of Christianity". But of all of them John Strange was easily first in oratorical power, and his utter devotion to his Master's cause made him almost an object of adoration. He refused to accept as a present from a friend a house and lot, because if he did he could no longer sing:

"No foot of land do I possess,
No cottage in the wilderness."

He swayed audiences almost at will. Says Smith: "By his sudden exclamations he would thrill a whole congregation as by a shock of electricity. Sometimes when speaking of God's love to man in the redemption of the world, the joys of Christ's great salvation, the glory of heaven, his soul would be filled with such heavenly rapture that he would exclaim in his peculiar voice, 'Alleluia! Alleluia! Alleluia!' when the people would catch the spirit, and from every part of the congregation shouts of praise would ascend to heaven. Sometimes, when portraying the torments of those shut up in the prison-house of hell, and describing the wicked as in

crowds they urged their way down to blackness and darkness, the sinners in the congregation would scream out, crying for mercy. Seizing upon the occasion, Mr. Strange would exclaim, in his inimitable way, 'A center shot, my Lord; load and fire again!' The backwoods hunters knew well how to apply such expressions. * * *

His powers of description were of the finest order. He could so describe a scene that you would seem to behold, in undimmed light, that which he was portraying. When he was preaching the funeral sermon of Rev. Edwin Ray, in Indianapolis, toward the close of the discourse, while describing the second coming of Christ, his bringing with him 'them that sleep in Jesus', descending 'in the clouds of heaven', he stood erect for a moment, then, looking upward, cried out, 'Where is Edwin Ray?' Still looking upward, he said, 'I see him; I see him!' and then with both hands raised as if welcoming him, he exclaimed, in a voice that seemed to go up to the clouds, 'Hail, Edwin! Hail, Edwin! Hail, Edwin!' The effect upon the congregation will never be forgotten by those who heard that sermon and felt the power.¹

The obvious fact is that John Strange was a great natural actor, unconscious of it perhaps, but nevertheless an artist of the highest type. And he loved Edwin Ray. They had had their little clash not long before. The village belle, the tavern-keeper's daughter, had been converted at a revival in the little log church. She was active in her church duties, but she retained her worldly dress, with ruffles, flounces, ribbons and rings, in spite of remonstrances from her class leader and sisters in the church. Then the young preacher was instructed to visit and rebuke her. He went and in a few weeks called on John Strange, the presiding elder, to consult him about his marriage. "To whom?" asked Strange. "To Sallie Nowland," meekly replied Ray. "Sallie Nowland! Sallie Nowland! It will never do in the world. Why, she is not even entitled to a ticket to love feast; and if you had done your duty you would have turned her out of meeting long ago. She wears a high-head bonnet, ruffles,

rings, flounces and furbelows—no, you can never have my consent, Brother Ray." "But I did not come to ask your consent, Brother Strange; only to consult you, as the discipline requires. I intend to marry Sallie Nowland, ruffles, rings, flounces and all, and I now ask you to marry us next Wednesday," answered the young pastor. And John Strange married them; but he did not live to know that the ornate convert lived to an old age of good works despite her dress; and that her son John W. Ray, maintained the standard of Methodism long after she was gone.

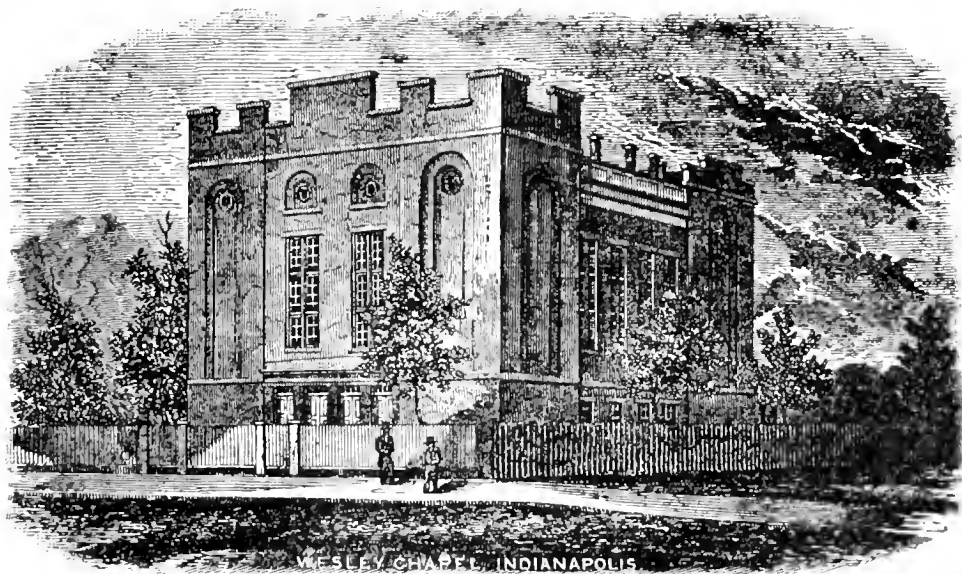
The first of the stationed preachers was James Armstrong, in 1828; and following him, until the division of the charge in 1842, came T. S. Hitt, 1829-30; Benj. C. Stevenson 1831 (died); James Havens, 1831; C. W. Ruter, 1832-3; Edward R. Ames, 1834; J. C. Smith, 1835; Augustus Eddy, 1836; J. C. Smith, 1837; Allen Wiley, 1838-9; W. H. Goode, 1840-1. The presiding elders, after John Strange, were Allen Wiley, 1829-31; John Strange, 1832; Allen Wiley, 1833; James Havens, 1833-6; Augustus Eddy, 1837-9; James Havens, 1840-2. These were all strong men—men whose names are treasured in the annals of Indiana Methodism. Father Havens, Allen Wiley and John Strange are heroes of an hundred stories. Allen Wiley was one of the most learned of them all. He was self-taught but he was one of the most proficient Latin, Greek and Hebrew scholars in the West. W. H. Goode was a man of culture, and served later as principal of the New Albany Seminary and of the government academy for the Choctaws, at Fort Coffee. Augustus Eddy was called to Indianapolis as post chaplain during the civil war. Benj. C. Stevenson, a young man of much promise, died before actually entering on his work in this charge. Edward R. Ames is better known to the country as Bishop Ames. John C. Smith was a forcible preacher, and the author of a volume "Reminiscences of Early Methodism in Indiana". He passed his later years in Indianapolis. It was during his pastorate, in the spring of 1838, that "the great revival" occurred in old Wesley Chapel, which resulted in 265 additions to the church. Among the converts were Morris Morris, Austin W. Morris, Jesse Jones, James Yohn, Samuel Beek, Henry Tutewiler, Judge Wiek,

¹W. C. Smith's *Indiana Miscellany*, pp. 154-6.

Wm. Hannaman, and others that it is hardly possible to think of as ever unregenerate—they were fathers in Israel so long.

The Methodists worshipped in a hewed log building on the south side of Maryland street, at the alley between Meridian and Illinois streets, from 1825 to 1829. Then they erected a brick church at the southwest corner of Circle and Meridian streets, which they occupied until 1846, when the walls cracked, and it was torn down and replaced by a more substantial building, which still stands, remodeled as a business block. The first brick

J. P. Linderman, 1853; J. H. Noble, 1854-5; James Hill, 1856-7; E. T. Fletcher, 1858-9; C. D. Battelle, 1860-1; S. T. Gillett, 1862-3; Wm. McK. Hester, 1864-6; Chas. N. Sims, 1867-9; R. Andrus, 1870. The presiding elders were James Havens, 1842-3; Lucien W. Berry, 1844-5; Edward R. Ames, 1846-9; C. W. Ruter, 1850; James Havens, 1851; B. F. Crary, 1852-5; Wm. C. Smith, 1856-9; James H. Noble, 1860-1; James Hill, 1862-5; S. T. Gillett, 1866-7; B. F. Rawlins, 1868-70. A part of these have been mentioned. Lucien W. Berry was a notable man, both as a



THE THIRD WESLEY CHAPEL, BUILT 1816.

(From an old cut.)

church cost \$3,000; the second \$10,000. In 1842 the conference divided Indianapolis station into two charges, making Meridian street the dividing line; and the Methodists east of it formed Roberts chapel. In 1845 the western charge was again divided, Wesley chapel remaining as the central charge, while Strange chapel was built for the Methodists west of the canal.

The pastors of Wesley Chapel to 1870 were Lucien W. Berry, 1842-3; W. W. Hibben, 1844; Wm. V. Daniels, 1845-6; F. C. Holliday, 1847-8; J. S. Bayless, 1849; B. F. Crary, 1850; W. C. Smith, 1851; John Kearns, 1852;

preacher and an educator. He was made president of Asbury University in 1849, to succeed Dr. Simpson. He remained there five years and then resigned. Within a year he was elected president of Iowa Wesleyan University. From there he was called to the presidency of the Methodist college at Jefferson City, where he died the next year, July 23, 1858. S. T. Gillett, "the sailor preacher", was always a great favorite in Indianapolis, where he resided many years. Further notice of him will be found in the chapter "Some Old Time Religion".

Dr. Sims was in the flush of manhood when

he came to Indianapolis in 1867. He was born in Union County, Indiana, and had not served outside of Indiana at that time. Graduating at Asbury (now De Pauw) in 1859, he served as principal of the Thorntown Academy for some months, and, in 1860, accepted the presidency of Valparaiso College. In 1862 he went to Richmond, Indiana, as a pastor—then to Wabash, Evansville, Indianapolis. On leaving here in 1869 he went to Madison Avenue Church, Brooklyn; then to St. Paul's, Newark; and Brooklyn and Summerfield churches, Brooklyn. On November 17, 1880, he became Chancellor of Syracuse University and remained there for thirteen years, resigning in 1893 to return to his old church at Indianapolis for five years longer. He built up Syracuse University to a great institution, increasing its assets from \$350,000 in 1880 to \$1,800,000 in 1893; and the number of its students from 300 to 900 in the same time.

He urged on the people of Wesley Chapel the need of a new church building, and in 1869 a lot was purchased at the southwest corner of Meridian and New York streets and the corner stone of the new building was laid. With the parsonage, it cost \$100,000. It was dedicated on December 10, 1871. Meanwhile the congregation worshipped in the old Universalist Church, on the north side of Michigan street, between Illinois and Capitol avenue. Here Mr. Sims did some of his most effective preaching. People did not think of him as an orator—he was so natural in his speech but he had an exquisite gift of pathos. One series of four evening sermons at this place, on the crucifixion and the scenes leading to it, will never be forgotten by those who heard them. He was called back to Indianapolis in 1893 and remained till 1898, when he went to the First Methodist Church at Syracuse and remained there until 1906. On account of failing health he then resigned and retired to his farm near Liberty, in Union County; from which he came for some months to act as field secretary for the Methodist Hospital at Indianapolis. He died at his farm home on March 27, 1908; and impressive memorial services were held for him at Meridian Street Church on March 29.

The name of the church had been changed from Wesley Chapel to Meridian Street

Church in 1869; and the new building was occupied until November 17, 1904, when it was destroyed by fire. It was then decided to move farther north, and the present property at the northwest corner of Meridian and St. Clair streets was purchased for \$40,000, and the corner-stone of the new church was laid on November 30, 1905. The Sunday school room was completed and occupied on August 19, 1906. Like its predecessor it is of stone. While it was building the church services were held first in the Propylaeum, and later in Caleb Mills Hall. In addition to the main audience room and Sunday school room the building has a ladies' parlor, six class rooms, pastor's study, with boy's club room, kitchen and dining room in the basement. Its cost, aside from the ground, was \$125,000.

Since the change of name to Meridian Street, the pastors, in addition to Mr. Sims, have been Bishop Thomas Bowman (supply), 1870; Reuben Andrus, 1870-1; H. R. Naylor, 1872-4; G. D. Watson, 1875-6; Stephen Bowers (supply), 1877; W. C. Webb, 1877-9; H. J. Talbot, 1880-2; John Ababaster, 1883-4; J. E. Gilbert, 1885-8; H. A. Cleaveland, 1888-93; Charles N. Sims, 1893-8; Wm. A. Quayle, 1898-1901; Joshua Stansfield, 1901 to date. These were all able preachers. Mr. Quayle is also quite widely known as a lecturer and essayist. Dr. Stansfield was called here from Bay City, Michigan. He is an Englishman by birth, and it is a notable coincidence that two other of the older Indianapolis pulpits—Roberts Park and the Second Presbyterian—are also occupied by men of English birth. At present the church has 753 members and 609 in the Sunday school. In passing, it may be noted that, on July 12, 1909, the north spire of the church was struck by lightning, during a remarkable electrical storm, but no damage was done beyond knocking off a number of the tiles.

When Indianapolis station was divided by the conference, on October 19, 1842, it had about 600 members; and some 60 members at the northwest of the city were added to the eastern charge, to equalize the two. John S. Bayless was assigned to the new charge, and when he came he announced that he was going to preach if he had to do it in the market-house. He was spared this, for the court-house was secured for Sundays, and the so-

cial meetings of the church were held at private residences. At the first quarterly conference, on December 24, 1812, Samuel Beck, Andrew Brouse, Henry Brown, Samuel Goldsberry and John F. Hill were elected trustees and action was taken for a church building. A lot was purchased at the northeast corner of Pennsylvania and Market streets for \$1,300, and in the spring of 1843 the cornerstone was laid by Dr. Matthew Simpson, President of Asbury University, who also dedicated it in August, 1846. The basement was finished and occupied in the spring of 1845. The building cost \$7,000, and the main audience room seated about 500. The church had a bell-tower and steeple; and Rev. T. A. Goodwin says: "It was only by the stratagem of desiring a place for a town clock, and by getting subscriptions for that specific purpose, mostly from non-members, that the trustees enough to allow a cupola upon it. There were probably not ten churches with cupolas in the state at that time." In fact, however, the town clock was not added until ten years later, and was paid for by a special city tax. But a bell was put in the tower in 1848, and is still among the treasures of the church.

In 1843 the church was named Roberts Chapel, in honor of Bishop Robert Richford Roberts, who presided at the conference of 1842, which established this charge, and who died on March 26, 1843. It was always "a working church", punctilious in its class services, and strong in revivals and missions. In 1848 some of its members started a mission Sunday school in the Madison Railroad depot, which developed into, and was organized as the "Depot Mission" on November 17, 1849—later becoming Asbury Chapel, now Fletcher Place Church. In 1853 a Sunday school was organized at J. W. Dorsey's under direction of the Roberts Chapel quarterly conference, which developed into "North Street", later "Trinity", now "Central Avenue" church. In 1860 the Ames Institute was organized by young men of the Methodist Church in Indianapolis, and did extensive mission work in the city. Two of its schools were followed by Presbyterian

churches, "Indianola" and "Ninth"; and two developed into Methodist churches, "Third Street" now "Hall Place", and "Ames". In 1867 John A. Wilkins was appointed to take charge of a mission school which the Y. M. C. A. had started in Spiegel & Thoms' chair factory. The school was removed to Wrights Hall, and in the fall of 1868 was organized as Grace Church by members of Roberts Chapel.

In 1868 the old church was sold to E. B. Martindale for \$40,000, reserving the bell, pulpit and seats. The trustees purchased a lot at the northeast corner of Vermont and Delaware streets and, within 30 days from surrendering the old building, erected a "Tabernacle", at a cost of \$1,785, which was dedicated August 9, 1868, by Bishop Thomas Bowman, then president of Asbury University. Meanwhile the congregation had held their Sunday services in Morrison's Opera Hall, and their weekly services in Wesley Chapel. On May 14, 1870, the cornerstone of the new church was laid, and in that month the name of the church was changed to Roberts Park. The Sunday school room was completed and dedicated on December 25, 1870. The main building was finished and dedicated on August 27, 1876. The cost of the building and grounds was in round numbers \$140,000; and it left the congregation with a debt which was not finally disposed of until 1901, when a jubilee was held in commemoration of the event. For the dedication Sarah T. Bolton wrote one of the most charming of her poems, "The Old Bell", beginning:

"There lives in each bell
As old legends tell
A beautiful Spirit, that laughs and sings,
When the good bell rings
Merrily,
But sobs and sighs,
And troubles the air, with its mournful cries
When the bell rings drearily,
If so, the Sprite in the ancient bell,
Whose voice rose and fell
To-day, in the paths of azure air,
Calling our feet to the House of Prayer,
Has a story to tell."

The pastors of this church were John S. Bayless, 1842-4, John L. Smith, 1844-6; Sam-

The Evolution of American Methodism, p. 16.

nel T. Gillett, 1846-8; George M. Beswick, 1848-9; John H. Hall, 1849-51; William Wilson, 1851-3; Samuel T. Cooper, 1853-4; H. N. Barnes, 1854-6; John W. T. McMullin, 1856-8; Charles W. Miller, 1858-9; William Wilson, 1859-61; Jacob Colelazer, 1861-3; John V. R. Miller, 1863-5; A. S. Kinman, 1865-8; M. H. Mendenhall, April-September, 1868; Fernando C. Holliday, 1868-71; Gilbert De La Matyr, 1874-6; Jeremiah H. Bayliss, 1876-8; S. M. Vernon, 1879-81; Ross C. Houghton, 1882-3; I. H. McConnell, 1884-6; S. A. Keen, 1887-8; C. A. Van Anda, 1889-92; T. I. Coultas, 1893-7; C. E. Bacon, 1897-1903; Albert Hurlstone, 1903 to date. Dr. Hurlstone is of English birth. He was called here from New Albany, and is a popular and efficient minister. Van Anda and Coultas were polished speakers, who drew from the general public. Ross C. Houghton made a tour of the world with Bishop Harris, and was suspected of writing "The Bread Wimmers", but proved an alibi. Jeremiah H. Bayliss was later editor of the *Western Christian Advocate*. Gilbert De La Matyr was a man of great force and intense feeling, whose warm heart carried him out of church work twice. He was so impressed with the right of the Union cause that he helped enlist the Eighth New York Heavy Artillery and went out with it as chaplain in 1862, serving for three years. He was so convinced that the severe hard times of the seventies were caused by the resumption of specie payments and the demonetization of silver that he accepted a nomination of the National party for Congress in 1878, and, being indorsed by the Democrats, was elected from this district, defeating John Hanna by 18,720 to 17,881. After his term in Congress he went to a charge in Denver, Colorado, and has since died. Dr. Holliday was a popular preacher and the author of the standard history of Indiana Methodism. A. S. Kinman was a notable revival preacher; there were 1,000 accessions to the church in his three years of service. McMullin was a notable orator of his day. Charles W. Miller became involved in a scandal while here, and was expelled from the conference.³ The first three pastors have been mentioned heretofore. Roberts Park is one of the strong churches

of the city, having a membership of 1,350, and the Sunday school 722.

In 1845 a second charge was cut off from Wesley Chapel to accommodate members in the northwest part of the city. The society was organized as the Western Charge, but a frame building was soon erected on Michigan street, west of the canal, and it was christened Strange Chapel, in honor of John Strange. The location proved unsatisfactory and in a short time the building was removed to the east side of Tennessee street below Vermont. The membership leaned to "old fashioned Methodism", and on January 12, 1869, the quarterly conference adopted a resolution that "the prosperity of the charge, spiritually and financially, will be promoted by its adherence to the old usages of the church, especially in the seating of the congregation and singing, and that the conference hereby pledge the charge to stand by these usages". In other words the women were to sit on one side of the church, and the men on the other; and there was to be no choir nor instrumental music. This was especially in accord with the views of Alfred Harrison, the wealthiest member of the church, who believed in stability in all departments of religion. Goodwin says that when Daniel De Motte—the first Methodist preacher in Indiana who ventured to wear a beard—came once to preach at Wesley Chapel, his beard so offended Mr. Harrison that he walked out of the church and would not listen to the sermon. This was not unprecedented, for Goodwin says that the cause of the ostracism of Lorenzo Dow by the Methodist Church was his wearing a beard; and also that when Daniel De Mott appeared at conference unshaven, Rev. John A. Brouse offered a resolution of censure. But Brouse wore a wig; and when De Mott in reply, observed that he wore no hair which the Lord had not given him, Brouse saw trouble ahead, and withdrew the motion.

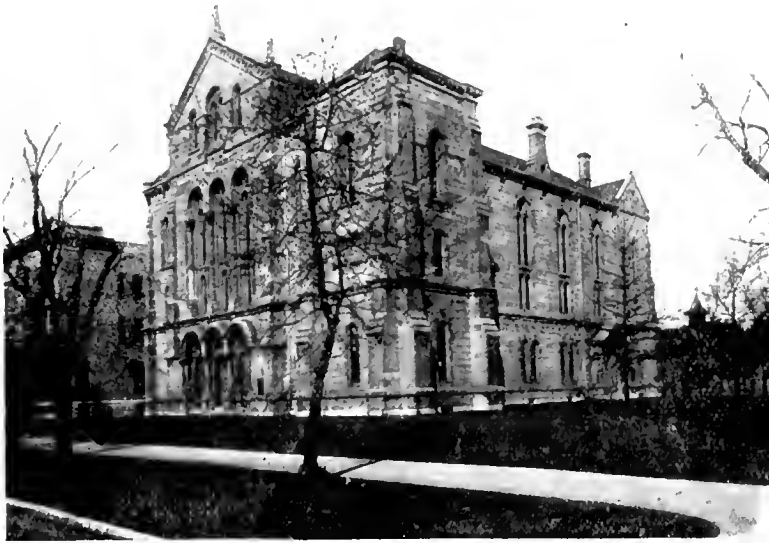
In 1869 the lot on West Michigan street was sold, and a new brick church was built at the southeast corner of Michigan and Tennessee streets. Provision was made in the deed that old time usages should continue. The church cost \$13,000 and was dedicated January 9, 1870. Later in the same year the church split on the question of receiving L. M. Walters, who had been assigned to the

³*Journal*, April 12, 1860.

charge by the conference, and the wealthier part of the congregation withdrew and began worshipping in the old Universalist Church, just across Michigan street, which had recently been vacated by the Wesley Chapel congregation. The remainder continued as they were, with Mr. Walters as pastor until Sunday, January 8, 1871, when the church was destroyed by fire. The congregation then removed to Kuhn's hall. On March 6, 1871, the quarterly conference appointed a committee with full power to buy a lot and build a church. At the same time the name of the church was changed to St. John's Methodist

as California Street Church. Mr. Walters ended his service in 1871, and was succeeded by J. E. Brant, 1871-6; J. H. Ketcham, 1876-8; Thos. G. Beharrell, 1878-80; W. R. Halsted, 1880-1; W. B. Collins, 1881-4; J. A. Ward, 1884-5; F. D. Anderson, 1885-8; Wm. Teller, 1888-9; Morris Woods, 1889-91; R. R. Bryan, 1891-3; Homer Ashcroft, 1893-6; W. S. Riddle, 1896-9; J. W. J. Collins, 1899-1902; John Jeffries, 1902-5; L. S. Knotts, 1905-7; James Hixon, 1907-8; J. L. Stout, 1908 to date. The present membership is 205, and there are 162 in the Sunday school.

The First German Methodist Episcopal



ROBERTS PARK CHURCH.

Episcopal Church. The pastors of Strange Chapel preceding Mr. Walters, were, in order of service, Wesley Dorsey, D. Crawford, Wm. Morrow, T. G. Beharrell, Frank Taylor, E. D. Long, T. S. Webb, G. M. Boyd, Griffith Morgan, William Graham, N. L. Brakeman, J. C. Reed, James Havens, J. W. Green, C. S. Burgner, G. W. Telle, J. W. T. McMullin, T. G. Beharrell is known as the author of a Biblical Biography, which was printed at Indianapolis in 1867.

The new St. John's Church was located at California and North streets, but the name did not adhere, and it has always been known

Church, at New Jersey and New York streets, was organized in 1846, with 15 members. The pastor in 1846-7 was Louis Nippert, the first German Methodist preacher in the city. The first church building was erected in 1850 between New Jersey and East, and in this new building there was a great revival under the fourth pastor, J. H. Barth, who served in 1850-2. The second and third pastors were Charles Baur, 1847-8, and Konrad Muth, 1849-50. Succeeding Barth the pastors have been J. H. Barenburg, 1852-4; G. A. Bremig, 1854-5; J. Bier, 1855-6; H. Lukenmeyer, 1856-7; Max Hohans, 1857-8; G. F. Mueller, 1858-

60; J. Hoppen, 1860-1—died during pastorate; J. Schneider, 1861-2; W. Ahrens, 1862-3; G. A. Breunig, 1863-4; A. Loebenstein, 1864-6; H. G. Lieb, 1866-8; G. Trefz, 1868-71; G. Nachtrieb, 1871-4; H. G. Lieb, 1874-6; R. Bozenhardt, 1876-7; J. Rothweiler, 1877-81; Otto Wilke, 1881-4; J. G. Schaal, 1884-5; J. S. Schneider, 1885-90; J. C. Marting, 1890-5; F. W. Griewe, 1895-7; F. A. Hamp, 1897-1904; Hermann Rogatzky, 1904 to date.

The society prospered, and in 1868 a more capacious church was needed. The site of the present building was purchased December 19, 1868, but the erection of the building was somewhat delayed by lack of funds. The basement was finished and occupied on Christmas, 1869; and by the persistent energy of Mr. Trefz the building was completed, and dedicated on April 17, 1871. Its cost, including the site was \$27,500. This is the parent German Methodist of the city. It has at present 200 members, and 160 in the Sunday school.

Blaine Avenue Church, though recent in Indianapolis, had its origin in the fifties, in a class, with David Johnson as leader, of Methodists living between Eagle Creek and White River. It met for some time in the old schoolhouse on what is now Belmont avenue, and then disbanded; but a Sunday school that had been organized in 1858, by Frederick Reisner continued; and when the school house was built at Howard and Reisner streets it was moved there. Prayer meetings and occasional preachings were also held at this place, and in 1882 the class was reorganized. Four years later a church was erected on what was then Williams street. It cost about \$2,500, and was dedicated on February 6, 1886, by Presiding Elder Halstead. It was remodeled and enlarged during Rev. Zaring's pastorate, and rededicated on July 1, 1894, the first sermon being preached by Rev. Chas. N. Sims. At this time the name was changed to First Church, but during the pastorate of Rev. S. L. Welker the name was changed again to Blaine Avenue Church. Mr. Welker was succeeded in September, 1907, by Rev. Joseph K. Ake, the present pastor. The present membership of the church is 287, and of the Sunday school 241.

Another old suburban church is Mapleton Methodist. It grew from a class formed in

1843, which was composed of half a dozen women, and met at the house of Delanson Slawson; later at the old log school house. The early preachers who visited them and held services were John L. Smith, Lucien Berry, Frank Hardin and H. J. Meek. In the summer of 1855 Rev. H. J. Meek, assisted by George Havens, a local preacher, held a protracted meeting at Sugar Grove; and there, with boards laid on logs for seats, Sugar Grove Methodist Church was organized with 33 charter members. On August 23 the society met and elected trustees, and also appointed a building committee. Thomas Ruark donated half an acre of ground in Sugar Grove for the church; and Noah Wright gave an acre for church purposes, on which a parsonage was built later. A frame building was at once erected, at a cost of \$800; and served the congregation for near half a century, being repaired and refitted in 1884 at about the original cost of the church. The corner-stone of the present building was laid in 1899, and the church was dedicated in June, 1900. The present membership is 205, with 274 in the Sunday school. The present pastor, F. A. Lester, has served for two years.

In 1849, a mission church was formed by members of Roberts Chapel living in the southern part of the city. It was called the "Depot Mission" because at first it met in an upper room of the old Madison depot; and officially it was the Depot Charge, with Rev. Samuel T. Cooper as pastor. In 1850 a lot was purchased on New Jersey street, near South, and a building was begun which was completed and occupied in 1852. It was then named Ashbury Chapel. After more than twenty years at this point a lot was purchased at Virginia avenue and East street, and a brick church was finished sufficiently for occupancy in 1874, when the name was changed to Fletcher Place Church. It was dedicated on December 13, 1874. The pastors following Mr. Couper, in chronological order, have been J. B. De Motte, 1851-2; Samuel T. Gillett, 1852-3; Samuel P. Crawford, 1853-4; Jas. T. McMullen, 1854-6; Joseph Cotton, 1856-7; F. A. Hester, 1857-9; E. D. Long, 1859-60; John G. Chaffee, 1860-1; R. M. Barnes, 1861-2; J. W. Mellender, 1862-4; F. C. Holliday, 1864-6; John H. Lozier, 1866-

S.; Samuel T. Gillett, 1868-70; Charles Tinsley, 1870-3; G. L. Curtiss, 1873-6; John S. Tevis, 1876-9; G. L. Curtiss, 1879-82; John H. Doddridge, 1882-5; J. A. Sargent, 1885-6; John S. Tevis, 1886-9; C. C. Edwards, 1889-93; R. Roberts, 1893-8; C. W. Tinsley, 1898-1900; V. W. Tevis, 1900-2; M. B. Hyde, 1902-5; Geo. David Wolfe, 1905 to date. The church was twice damaged by fire, once from lightning, but not seriously. In 1894 a swarm of bees took possession of the upper part of the spire, and their flight caused an investigation by firemen, who mistook them for smoke. The church is in good condition, with 566 members, and 331 on the Sunday school rolls.

On May 17, 1854, one of the Roberts Chapel classes led by J. W. Dorsey, a school teacher, organized as the Seventh Church. They met in Dorsey's school house, near the corner of New Jersey and Walnut till the end of the year. Meanwhile they purchased a lot at the northwest corner of North and Alabama, and erected a small church on the west side of it. They moved into this, with Rev. Griffin as pastor, and adopted the name of North Street Methodist Episcopal Church. It was more commonly called the North Street Mission, however, as it did not become self-supporting till 1867. In January of that year, under the pastorate of W. J. Vigus, who had come to the church in 1864, a new church was completed and dedicated by Dr. T. M. Eddy, on the east side of the lot. The society now took the name of Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church. In the summer of 1870, a Methodist church was organized by Rev. B. F. Morgan which built a church at Massachusetts avenue and Oak street. There were about 80 charter members, most of them "liberal United Brethren", who had left their church on account of a schism in 1869. Rev. Amos Hanway, one of these, succeeded to the pastorate in September, 1870. In 1877 this church and Trinity consolidated. They leased a lot at Butler and College avenues and moved the Massachusetts avenue church to it; and enlarged it sufficiently for the new society. The name was then changed to Central Avenue M. E. Church. This building was damaged by a tornado on March 1, 1880; but was repaired and occupied until June, 1893, when the present building was dedicated. Its corner-stone

had been laid in May, 1892. The pastors of Central Avenue have been B. F. Morgan, Reuben Andrus, J. N. Beard, Abijah Marine, A. W. Lamport, J. H. Ford, A. Gobin, W. V. Wheeler, H. A. Buchtel, J. R. Lashy, A. W. Kellogg, and Wm. Wirt King, present incumbent. It is a strong church, with 1,082 members, and 1,350 in the Sunday school.

In 1864 a class of 36 members was formed in the northern part of the city with Jesse Jones of Strange Chapel as leader. In the spring of 1866 a site was purchased on the north side of Third street, between Tennessee and Illinois, under the direction of Ames Institute, but the Institute was unable to finish it, and turned the property over to Jesse Jones, who completed it at his own expense. The location was considered disadvantageous, and in December, 1885, on proposal of Rev. J. W. Duncan, then pastor, it was decided to move. A site was purchased at Sixteenth street and Hall Place and the corner-stone of the new church was laid on July 26, 1886. The church was dedicated on November 28, 1886, by Dr. C. N. Sims. The name was changed from Third Street to Hall Place Church. The pastors since Mr. Duncan have been Marshall B. Hyde, George Cochran, J. A. Sargent, George M. Smith, R. E. Vest, George S. Henninger, Festus A. Steele, and John Ragle, the present incumbent. Of these George M. Smith was noted for charitable and social work. He went from here to the Methodist Church at Shelbyville, which he made known throughout the country for work in these lines. The church has 360 members and 275 in the Sunday school.

In July, 1866, Rev. Joseph Tarkington organized a mission in an unfinished building at Norwood and Illinois streets, and services were held there till cold weather caused removal to an unoccupied grocery room on Madison avenue. Meanwhile a lot was purchased by members of Wesley Chapel on South Illinois street, and a small frame building erected. Rev. L. M. Walters was sent to the charge as missionary pastor in September, 1867. A revival meeting the following winter added about 100 to the membership, and the building was too small. The property of the Indianapolis Mission Sunday School, at Madison avenue and Union street was then bought, for \$5,000, and occupied in



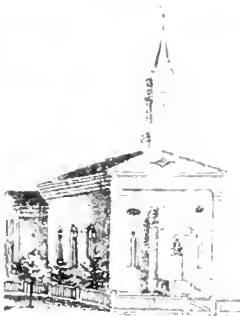
1st Presb Church.



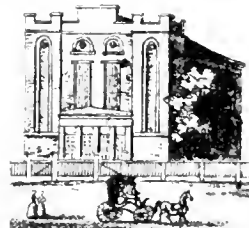
2nd Presb Church.



St. Johns Cath. Church



Episc Church



Wesley Chapel.



Baptist Church.



Christian Chapel



4th Presb Church.



Roberts Chapel

(H. H. Bass Photo Company.)

INDIANAPOLIS CHURCHES, 1854.

June, 1869. It was a substantial brick building, 40x72 feet. The church, which had been Ames' Chapel, was now called Madison Avenue Church. After a long stay here the society bought a new site on Morris street near Madison avenue, and the corner-stone of the present church was laid in 1905, the church being completed and occupied in 1906. The present pastor is Franklin F. Lewis; and the church has 366 members and 304 in the Sunday school. It is now called Morris Street M. E. Church.

Grace Church was practically organized on September 10, 1868, by a number of members of Roberts Chapel, in the eastern part of the city; who petitioned the conference for a preacher, pledging \$5,000 for a church building. In compliance with the request Rev. W. H. Mendenhall was appointed. By September 22 about 100 members of Roberts Chapel had joined the new church, and it was formally organized on that date. A site for a church was obtained at Market and East streets, and a building was erected at once. It was dedicated on February 21, 1869, by Bishop Clark. The church at the present time has 231 members and 198 in the Sunday school. The pastors of the church have been M. H. Mendenhall, J. W. Lock, T. H. Lynch, J. B. Lathrop, G. P. Jenkins, S. Tincher, Gilbert De La Matyr, S. T. Gillett, J. W. Dimean, T. H. Lynch, S. A. Bright, T. B. McClain, C. W. Tinsley, L. D. Moore, L. E. Kennedy, D. A. Robertson, M. L. Wells, U. J. Black, H. N. King, L. G. Knotts, J. L. Funkhouser, J. Machlan, and W. M. Zaring, the present pastor. The church has had two small fires, and was once struck by lightning, with small damage.

Blackford Street Church, at the corner of Blackford and Market streets, was organized in 1869, by Rev. Wm. H. Kendrick, with 30 members. It grew out of a mission of Wesley Chapel, and was for some years later aided by that church. The present site was secured and a small building was erected in 1873-4, under the pastorate of H. N. King. The pastors succeeding Mr. King, with the dates of their accession, are J. Wharton, 1875; Amos Hanway, 1881; T. M. Guild, 1884; W. F. Sheridan, 1885; T. H. Deyall, 1889; T. P. Walter, 1890; W. S. Biddle, 1892; C. W. Crook, 1896; J. T. Jones, 1898;

E. P. Jewett, 1903; H. S. Headen, 1905; Samuel L. Welker, the present incumbent, 1908. The church was enlarged under the pastorate of W. F. Sheridan at a cost of \$2,500. It was badly damaged by fire in 1896, but was repaired; and was again remodeled and repaired in 1900. It has always been known as a revival church; and has now 235 members, and 181 in the Sunday school.

Broadway M. E. Church was organized in 1874, and built a small chapel at Yandes and Seventeenth streets. In 1881 the congregation removed to Sixteenth and Bellefontaine; and in 1894 to their present location at Broadway and Twenty-second. The church then erected was replaced by the present one in 1908. The pastors in succession have been Revs. Reager, Black, M. L. Wells, Wydman, Frank Tincher, John W. Tevis, T. W. Northcott, Geo. H. Murphy, L. F. Dimmitt, V. W. Tevis, C. W. Tinsley, Worth M. Tippy, and Layton C. Bentley, the present incumbent. This is a strong church, with a membership of 740 and 722 in the Sunday school.

The Second German Methodist, at Prospect and Spruce streets was organized in 1874, and the first church, a frame structure was built the same year. The pastors in charge have been G. Nachtrieb, 1874-5; T. Schumberg, 1875-6; J. C. Marting, 1876-9; Theo. Thorward, 1879-82; J. Bier, 1882-3; W. Meier, 1883-4; H. E. Wulzen, 1884-7; M. Georg, 1887-92; J. T. Barth, 1892-5; A. Zarwell, 1895-8; C. E. Ploch, 1898 to date. The first building was partially destroyed by fire in 1882, but was rebuilt and enlarged the same year. In 1902, the present brick church was erected at a cost of \$10,000. The church is free from debt; and has 140 members and 150 in the Sunday school.

Edwin Ray M. E. Church was organized August 13, 1879, and built its church at Woodlawn avenue and Laurel street the same year. The pastors in charge have been Wm. B. Clancy, C. W. Lee, E. B. Rawls, J. R. T. Lathrop, C. C. Edwards, G. W. Smith, and H. C. Clippinger, now in charge. This is a live congregation with 735 members and 565 in the Sunday school. It started Barth Place Church, at Shelby and Martin streets, which now has 132 members and 216 in its Sunday school, as a mission; and also Woodside M. E. Church, at Southeastern and Temple, which

has 142 members and 220 in the Sunday school.

King Avenue M. E. Church, at King avenue and Walnut street, was a colony from Meridian Street Church organized on January 1, 1884. The corner-stone of the church building was laid on March 1, 1884, and it was dedicated November 1, 1884. The pastors in charge have been J. E. Gilbert, S. J. Wilson, E. R. Johnson, W. H. Wooley, J. G. Campbell, H. C. Weston, C. U. Stockbarger, O. B. Rippetoe, A. W. Wood, N. A. Chamberlain, H. H. Dunlavy, J. C. Kemp, and J. F. Rainier, who is now serving. The church has 300 members, and there are 200 in the Sunday school. East Tenth street M. E. Church was organized and the church occupied, without any special ceremonies, in 1888. The pastors have been Rev. Bailey, 1888; Samson Triercher, 1889-93; B. W. Cooper, 1893-5; J. T. O'Neal, 1895-7; Charles Tinsley, 1897-1901; W. E. Edgin, 1901-4; C. W. Crooke, 1904-5; E. A. Campbell, 1905-7; W. J. Collins, 1907 to date. The Sunday school division of a new church building was dedicated on October 11, 1908; and the main part is now in process of construction.

Brightwood M. E. Church was organized in 1886. Its building, at 2402 Station street, was dedicated in 1904. The pastors have been A. A. Jones, 1887-9; T. W. Northcott, 1890-2; W. W. Reynolds, 1893; D. A. Robertson, 1894-5; W. W. Reynolds, 1896-9; H. J. Black, 1900-2; W. J. Collins, 1903-7; E. M. Chambers, 1908 to date. It has 428 members and 473 in the Sunday school. East Park M. E. Church, at New York street and Beville avenue, is a development from a mission school that was started in a store-room at East Washington street, by Mrs. S. C. Heath, of Roberts Park church. The pastors have been W. F. Walker, E. F. Albertson, Miss Mary M. Dennis, E. L. Wimmer, T. K. Willis, D. A. Robertson, H. W. Balbridge, P. A. Lester, and C. C. Bomell, the present incumbent. A woman pastor was a rare exception in Indianapolis, but Miss Dennis served acceptably for a year and a half. The church was organized on March 14, 1893, and its building was erected in 1894—dedicated June 22. It was rebuilt in 1909. The church has 222 members and 273 in the Sunday school.

Capitol Avenue M. E. Church is the suc-

cessor of Hyde Park Church, which was organized in 1894, and built a church that year on Thirtieth street near Illinois, which was dedicated on December 16, 1894. On July 6, 1905, the corner-stone was laid of the present building, at Capitol avenue and Thirtieth street. The new church was dedicated October 5, 1905, President E. H. Hughes of De Pauw officiating; and the name was changed to Capitol Avenue. The pastors have been R. Scott Hyde, 1894-5; J. W. Maxwell, 1895-6; Robert Zaring, 1896-8; W. M. Whitsett, 1898-1900; J. W. Baker, 1900-3; J. T. O'Neal, 1903-4; E. H. Wood, 1904-7; W. H. Wylie, 1907 to date. The church has 535 members and there are 397 in the Sunday school.

Nippert Memorial Church—formerly Fourth German M. E. Church—is an offshoot of the First German Church. A Sunday school was organized February 19, 1893, and the church society on April 9, 1894. The corner-stone of the church building, at Tenth and Keystone streets, was laid on June 17, 1894; and the church was dedicated on September 23, 1894. The pastors have been Henry R. Bornemann, John Claus, Herman C. Beyer, August J. Weigle, and A. C. Bauer, who is now serving. The church has 83 members, and there are 99 in the Sunday school.

Wesley Chapel—the second, and present of that name—was a mission of Blackford Street Church. The society was organized March 22, 1895, and the building at Elder and New York streets was dedicated the same day. The pastors have been Revs. Biddle, Bodkins, Stout, W. W. Reynolds, W. B. Farmer and J. W. Culmer. There are 280 members and 244 in the Sunday school. Riverside Park M. E. Church was organized April 23, 1905. Its building, at Chicago and Harding streets, was dedicated on March 18, 1906. G. F. Hubbarth, the first pastor, served till 1908; and Dr. Alfred Kummer since then. The membership is 100 and the Sunday school enrollment 200.

Tuxedo M. E. Church was the result of a local demand from Methodists residing in that suburb, who called on Rev. Robert Zaring, of Irvington M. E. Church, for assistance. He appointed Thomas E. Smiley, a local preacher, to assist them, and in January, 1904, a mission was organized. A hall

was rented for services, and a Sunday school was started on February 28. The church society was organized on October 1, 1905, and the corner-stone of the building was laid on October 16. It was dedicated on February 20, 1906. Mr. Smiley served for two years, and has been followed by S. L. Welker and James Hixson, the present pastor. The church has 283 members, and 301 in the Sunday school. Thomas E. Smiley was known for a number of years in Indianapolis as a contributor of verse to the local press.

The organization of the Methodist Church among the colored people has long been distinct from that of the whites, and is in three branches: The African M. E. Church, which was organized in 1816, by followers of Richard Allen, for which reason they were formerly called "Allenites"; the African M. E. Zion Church, which was organized in 1820; and the Colored M. E. Church, which was set apart after the Civil War by the M. E. Church, South. The first branch is represented in Indianapolis by eight churches, and the second by four. The oldest of the A. M. E. churches is now known as Bethel A. M. E. Church. It was originally organized in 1836, and for thirty years was the only A. M. E. church in the city. The society was small and poor, and its meetings were held in private houses until 1841, when a small frame building was erected on the north side of Georgia street between Mississippi street and the canal. In 1857, when the original Episcopal Church was removed to make way for the present Christ Church, it was bought by Bethel Church and removed to their Georgia street site. It was used by them until it was destroyed by fire on July 9, 1862. The most notable church events before the war were occasional visits of Rev. Paul Quinn, of Baltimore, later a bishop of the Colored Methodist Church, who was a man of ability, and much esteemed by everybody. These visits were always occasions of revival and building up of the church. During four years of the war, 1861-5, the pastor was W. R. Revels, brother of the Mississippi reconstruction senator, who was also a man of some ability.

Another wooden structure was erected on Georgia street after the fire, and the congregation occupied it till after the war. At this time it was known as "the African M. E.

Church" or "the Colored M. E. Church", there being no other. In 1866 the Allen Mission was started on Broadway between Cherry and Christian, by Rev. Whitton S. Lankford and it shortly developed into Allen Chapel, or Allen A. M. E. Church. At the same time the other church determined to move. They secured a lot on Vermont street west of Missouri, and began the erection of a substantial brick building, which they occupied in 1869, when it was only partially finished. The name of Bethel A. M. E. Church was then adopted. For some time before moving into this church the congregation worshipped in old Strange Chapel, on Tennessee street. These were the only A. M. E. churches until 1875, when Simpson Chapel was organized.

Simpson Chapel is the earliest of the A. M. E. churches that has preserved its records. It was organized by Daniel Ellison, B. J. Wood and C. H. Taylor, local preachers, and an unpretentious frame building was erected at Missouri and Eleventh streets. The pastors have been, in succession, Rev. Dr. Marshall, W. Taylor, Daniel Jones, Simon G. Turner, Charles Jones, A. A. Price, G. A. Sissle, E. D. Miller, T. L. Ferguson, L. M. Hagood, G. A. Sissle, E. L. Gillian, W. H. Riley, N. H. Talbott, W. H. Simmons and J. S. Bailey, the present pastor. The church in time outgrew its quarters, and on August 20, 1899, the corner-stone of the present brick veneer building was laid. The church now has 350 members, and 125 in the Sunday school.

In 1879 the West Mission was organized, occupying a room on Blackford street, south of North, which soon developed into Zion's A. M. E. Church. Others were organized later, there now being eight A. M. E. churches in the city. The A. M. E. Zion Church was not represented in Indianapolis until 1886, when Lovely Lane Church was established at 568 Virginia avenue. There are now four churches of this denomination in the city. It differs from the A. M. E. Church about as the Methodist Protestant does from the Methodist Episcopal, the chief point being that it does not recognize a separate order of bishops, at least not one ordained by "laying on of hands". The Colored M. E. Church had its first congregation organized in Indianapolis in February. The

corner-stone of its church on Drake street, near West, known as Phillips Chapel, was laid on June 14, 1908, by Bishop C. H. Phillips, A.M., M.D., D.D. This denomination is essentially Southern and this church belongs to the Tennessee Conference. It has had two pastors, J. F. Taylor and Thomas A. Wilson. It now has 47 members, and 30 in the Sunday school.

Of the several offshoot sects of the Methodist Church four are represented in Indianapolis. The oldest of these is the Methodist Protestant Church, whose first congregation here was organized in 1880, and established at Hoyt avenue and Dillon (later Shelby), with John P. Williams as pastor. Another church of this denomination was organized in November, 1901, by the Methodist Protestant Christian Endeavor of Indiana. The corner-stone of its building at Villa avenue and Prospect street was laid on January 8, 1902, and it was dedicated in June of the same year. Its pastors have been A. B. Williams, 1901-3; S. S. Stanton, 1903-4; W. C. Reeder, 1904 to date. It has 200 members and 275 in the Sunday school. The Free Methodists have a church at 1114 East Tenth street, which was organized in November, 1907, by Rev. U. E. Harding, and was formally incorporated as the First Free Methodist Church of Indianapolis on January 25, 1909, by Jos. B. Lutz, the present pastor. It has 47 members, and 50 in the Sunday school; and, in addition to the usual church functions, carries on the work of the East Tenth Street Mission, which was established in 1903. It has no church building as yet, but is planning for one. The Original Methodists have a small congregation at 2201 North Arsenal avenue; and the Reformed Methodists have one at 902½ North Belmont avenue, with Rev. Martha A. Swigert as pastor.

The Congregationalists were among the pioneers in Indianapolis, although they had no church organization in the first quarter of a century of the town's existence. David C. Proctor, who visited the city for a week in May, 1822, and later served as the first pastor of the first Presbyterian Church, was a Congregationalist, sent out by the Connecticut Missionary Society. So was Isaac Reed, who on July 5, 1823, "preached as moderator in the formation of the church of Indian-

apolis". The Connecticut Missionary Society was the first home mission organization of the country, and it was very reasonably said in 1827 that "half the Presbyterian churches in Indiana had been planted by its missionaries." The First Presbyterian Church of Indianapolis recognized the obligation on September 20, 1823, by a formal resolution of thanks to the society for sending Mr. Proctor, and expressing appreciation that they, "in addition to their exertions to promote the interests of religion in their own country, and also to spread its light among the nations of Asia and the Indians of America, are doing so much to supply with preaching and the ordinances of the Gospel the new settlements in our Western country". The two churches were acting together in the early period, under what was called "the plan of union", by which the missionaries of either church "settled" churches of the other, and served them. The Presbyterians seemed to get the best of it in Indiana, but when it is considered that this work was merely gathering together persons already church members, it means only that there were more Presbyterians who desired church organization than there were Congregationalists.

There were several unsuccessful efforts to organize a Congregational Church in Indianapolis, but they were usually thwarted by some new missionary enterprise of one of the other churches. Not until 1857 did success come. On August 9 of that year, in the senate chamber of the old state capitol, Plymouth Congregational Church was born. It was an occasion of general interest, and the council that assisted in the organization was composed of Rev. M. A. Jewett, pastor of First Church, Terre Haute; Dr. T. M. Post, pastor of First Church, St. Louis; Dr. H. M. Storr, pastor of Seventh Street Church, Cincinnati; Rev. S. P. Fay, pastor of the church at Dayton, and Dr. Sturtevant, president of Illinois College. The church was organized with 31 members, of whom 5 came in on profession of faith, and the rest by letter from other churches. For several months prior to the organization these members had maintained religious services and a Sunday school in the senate chamber, and they continued to worship there, with the exception

of a short period when services were held at Ramsey's Hall, on Illinois street, until their church building was ready for occupancy.

This first church building was on Meridian street, opposite Christ Church—now covered by the English Hotel. The front part, containing the lecture room, study and social rooms, was completed and occupied in September, 1859. The remainder was finished and dedicated on April 30, 1871. The congregation occupied this building until 1884, under the pastorate of Oscar C. McCulloch, when it built a handsome church at the southeast corner of New York and Meridian. This building was occupied until September 15, 1901, when it was delivered to the United States as a part of the site for the federal building. The selling price was \$48,000, and the sale was consummated in August, 1900, the congregation reserving the right of occupancy for a year. The church then purchased the building erected by the Seventh Day Adventists at Central avenue and Fourteenth streets, and occupied it, after some remodeling, until September, 1908. While the changes were being made in the Central Avenue Church, the congregation was given the complimentary use of the Jewish Synagogue, on Delaware street. On May 25, 1906, the North Congregational Church united with Plymouth Church, the united congregations retaining the latter name. On July 10, 1908, Plymouth and Mayflower Churches united, taking the name, The First Congregational Church. They occupy the former Mayflower building, at the southwest corner of Delaware and Sixteenth streets, and Rev. Harry Blunt, of Plymouth, is the present pastor. This church now has 389 members, and 121 in the Sunday school.

Plymouth Church had nine pastors, in the following order: W. C. Bartlett, May to August, 1858; N. A. Hyde, 1858-67; E. P. Ingersoll, 1868-71; J. L. Bennett, 1871-3; O. S. Dean, 1873-7; Oscar C. McCulloch, 1877-91; F. E. Dewhurst, 1892-9; H. C. Meserve, 1900-4; Harry Blunt, 1904-8. Of these, Nathaniel Alden Hyde was longest identified with Indianapolis. He was born May 10, 1827, at Stafford, Conn., of Pilgrim stock, the "Alden" in his name being for John Alden, of "Mayflower" fame, of whom he was a descendant on his mother's side. He

graduated from Yale in 1847, and Andover Theological in 1851; preached at Central Village and Rockville, Conn., in 1851-3; was assistant secretary of the Children's Aid Society of New York City in 1854-6; preached at Dayton and Cincinnati in parts of 1857-8; and was then called to Plymouth Church. During his service there, on August 28, 1866, he married Laura K., daughter of Stoughton A. Fletcher, Sr. In 1867 the State Association of Congregational Churches asked for a superintendent of missions in Indiana. The American Home Missionary Society told the brethren to name their man. They promptly united on Mr. Hyde, who reluctantly consented to serve. He filled this position most acceptably until 1873, when he resigned and soon after accepted the pastorate of Mayflower Church. He served as pastor there till April 11, 1888, and as pastor emeritus, which he was formally made on resigning; he supplied the pulpit between succeeding pastorates until his death, on July 19, 1901. After his resignation much of his time was devoted to the charity work of the city, the Art Association, and other interests of a public character, as well as the general interests of the Congregational Church.

Mayflower Church had its inception in a Sunday school that was started by the Y. M. C. A. at a private residence on the corner of Jackson and Cherry streets. On May 23, 1869, Mayflower Church was organized with 13 members, 5 from Plymouth, 2 from Third Street M. E., 1 from Roberts Park M. E., and 3 from the Fourth Presbyterian. C. M. Sanders was called as pastor, and served until November, 1870. He was followed by G. W. Barnum in 1871-2, and he by Dr. Hyde. A church building was erected at St. Clair and East streets, which was dedicated in January, 1870. This was occupied until 1894, when the chapel of the church building at the southwest corner of Sixteenth and Delaware was completed and occupied. The main church building was completed seven years later and was dedicated on October 20, 1901. After the resignation of Dr. Hyde, Rev. Frederick S. Huntington was called to the pastorate, but died of typhoid fever before arriving here. The pastors succeeding were Einion D. Evans, 1888-90; John W. Wilson, 1891-7; Henry N. Kinney, January to Feb.

mary, 1898; S. A. Hoyt, 1898-9; R. S. Osgood, 1900-4; Arthur J. Francis, 1904-6; H. J. Van Auken, 1906 to the consolidation with Plymouth.

The most widely known of the Congregational pastors was Oscar C. M. McCulloch, who occupied a large place in the life of the city. Indeed his was a religion of life. He loved to call the church "the house of life"; and he preached eloquently from the text, "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly". He was a native of Fremont, Ohio, born July 2, 1843. His father was a druggist and he learned the business, putting in his spare time reading good literature. On arrival at manhood he went to Chicago and became salesman for a wholesale drug house. While in the city he gave much attention to mission and charitable work. In 1867 he gave up his employment and entered Chicago Theological Seminary to fit himself for the ministry. His first pastorate was at Cheboygan, Mich., where he remained seven years; and from where he was called to Plymouth Church in July 1877. He found it a poor and weak congregation, with an inconvenient building, heavily mortgaged. His preaching and work built up the congregation, and his original genius financed a new church project by an issue of \$25,000 of fifteen-year bonds. The new church was occupied in 1884, and was a new church in its devotion to instruction, charity, helpful recreation, and the general uplift of humanity.

But his work was not confined to the church. On Thanksgiving evening, 1878, he attended the annual meeting of the Indianapolis Benevolent Society—an institution that had existed continuously for forty-three years, and had been a thing of pride and general interest in the earlier years of the place. There were only seven persons present, and they were somewhat discouraged. A motion was made to disband. McCulloch opposed it. He spoke of the work that was being done elsewhere and of the need of and opportunity for work here. The motion to disband was withdrawn, and one to go on was substituted. He was elected president, and he was re-elected to that position annually throughout his life. The work at once began to be systematic and effective. The record

of visits and investigations was opened January 20, 1879, and in April an employment agency was started. In December the work was reorganized as The Charity Organization Society. In the fall of 1880, the Friendly Inn and woodyard was opened, which became a nightmare to the professional tramp and a relief to the needy man. In 1881 a successful campaign was made to reform abuses in the county poorhouse, and in the same year was organized the Children's Aid Society, from which developed the free kindergartens. In December, 1882, preliminary steps were taken for the Flower Mission Training School for Nurses, the active work beginning in the following September. In 1883 the establishment of the county workhouse was secured. In 1885 the Dime Savings and Loan Association was formed.

In 1888-9 the work reached out to the state. Mr. McCulloch formulated bills for the State Board of Charities and Corrections and the Board of Children's Guardians. They fortunately came before the great Democratic reform legislature of that winter, and Mr. McCulloch found an able and vigorous coadjutor in Samuel E. Morss, of the *Sentinel*, by whose aid they became laws; and they have revolutionized charity and correctional work in Indiana. By this time the Associated Charities of Indianapolis had become an organization of national repute, and at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections at Baltimore, in 1890, Mr. McCulloch was made its president, and the annual meeting for 1891 was fixed at Indianapolis. It convened in May, and was a great success in every way, especially as an inspiration to organized charity throughout the state. It was the climax of his public work. In June, 1891, he went to Europe, hoping by rest and change to regain the health he had broken by overwork. On his return, without physical benefit, he preached one Sunday, and then in patience waited the call to lasting health and rest, which came on December 10, 1891. In 1892 a volume of his most striking and characteristic sermons was printed in this city under the title, "The Open Door".

Although the first preacher who delivered a sermon at Indianapolis was a "Newlight", who might be claimed as a "Campbellite", or "Christian", the sect had no formal or-

ganization here for more than a decade later; though several of its members united and rented a log house on Market street, where they held prayer meetings and occasional services. In January, 1833, John O'Kane, a Virginian, who had been doing evangelistic work in Ohio and eastern Indiana, as well as teaching school, made a trip as far west as Indianapolis. No church was open to him, and preaching for three successive evenings in the log house showed that it was inadequate for those who wished to hear; but the legislature, which was in session in the old court house, offered him that building on Saturday evenings and Sundays, and a season of revival followed. He was one of the most noted debaters of his church, locally, aggressive, ready and with a keen wit that often took the form of ingenious invective or cutting sarcasm. A rather pompous "orthodox" minister having declined to debate with him, but intimating his readiness to meet Alexander Campbell, O'Kane leveled his long thin finger and answered: "You! You debate with Alexander Campbell! Why, if one of his ideas should get into your head it would explode like a bombshell." He made one or two visits to Indianapolis in the spring, and on June 12, 1833, "the Church of Christ" at this point was organized at the house of Benjamin Roberts; and Peter H. Roberts and John H. Sanders were chosen the first overseers. The church had no regular pastor for nine years, but O'Kane was among those who visited it and preached at intervals. In 1849 he located at Indianapolis and engaged in the book and stationery business, preaching when occasion offered. He took an active interest in organizing Northwestern Christian University, and in 1851 was appointed general agent and solicitor for it, to its material advantage. In 1859 he removed to Independence, Missouri, and died in that state in 1881.

Among others who visited the church were John L. Jones and Thomas Lockhart, who traveled together as evangelists in central Indiana, Love H. Jameson, Michael Combs, Andrew Prather and T. J. Matlock. Chauncey Butler, father of Ovid Butler, served as pastor for about a year in 1839-40. Butler K. Smith, a blacksmith, who came here in 1829 and was one of the founders of the church, preached occasionally. He devoted himself

wholly to the ministry later. The first regular pastor was Love H. Jameson, who took charge October 1, 1842, and served till 1853. He was a notable example of personal effort. Born in Jefferson County, Indiana, May 17, 1811, with only the instruction of his parents and the country schools of the territory, he became "converted" and was induced to enter the ministry. He preached for the first time on December 25, 1829; and feeling a need for more education he took up the study of Greek, using as a text-book Ironside's Grammar, which was written in Latin. From that time on he was self-instructed, with the exception of attendance at D. D. Pratt's seminary at Rising Sun, in the summer and fall of 1833. He became a good Greek scholar, and proficient in the natural sciences and music. In 1859 the directors of Northwestern Christian University, on recommendation of the faculty, gave him an honorary degree of A.M. He taught school both before and after coming here. He resided in Indianapolis after resigning his pastorate, and was for many years a trustee of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, and one of the active promoters of Northwestern Christian University. In the Civil War he went out as chaplain of the Seventy-ninth Indiana, but was obliged to resign after two years of service on account of ill health. He was noted as a singer, and composed a number of hymns, of which "Gathering Home" was perhaps the most popular. His death occurred at Indianapolis, on April 6, 1892.

During the ministry of Mr. Jameson, in 1851, it was decided to make a change of location, and a substantial brick church was built on the southwest corner of Delaware and Ohio streets, where Butler K. Smith's house had stood. In the spring of 1882, a committee was appointed to build an addition at the west end of this, fronting on Ohio street. This was completed in time for the semi-centennial of the church, which was celebrated on June 12, 1883, with memorable enthusiasm. Here the congregation remained ten years longer. In 1890 it was decided to move farther north, and a lot at the corner of Ft. Wayne avenue and Walnut street was secured. The work was begun in May, 1892, the corner stone being laid on July 26; and the church was dedicated on April 16, 1893.

the dedication sermon being preached by J. H. Garrison, of St. Louis, editor of the *Christian Evangelist*. The cost of this handsome building, with the furnishings and the lot, was \$47,500.

The pastors of the church, now known as Central Christian Church, since Love H. Jameson, have been Elijah Goodwin, 1856-9; Perry Hall, 1856-62; Otis A. Burgess, 1862-9; Wm. F. Black, 1869-77; Joseph B. Cleaver, 1877-8; Urban C. Brewer, 1878-81; David Walk, 1881-5; Edwin J. Gantz, 1885-8; David R. Lucas, 1888-95; John E. Pounds, 1896-8; Allen B. Philpott, 1898 to date. Of these Elders Burgess, Walk and Lucas were especially popular preachers. Elder Black became involved in a scandal and was dismissed from the pastorate. Rev. Allen B. Philpott, the present pastor, is popular both in and outside of his church. He is a native of Tennessee, born in 1856. He graduated at Indiana University, and later studied at Harvard; and then studied theology at the Episcopal Divinity School at Philadelphia. His first call was to Bloomington, Ind., where he remained for six years, during two of which he also served as instructor in the university. He was then called to Philadelphia, where he served for ten years, and from there was called to Indianapolis.

The Second Christian Church is the only colored congregation of the denomination in Indianapolis. It was established as a mission of the First or Central Church in the spring of 1867. The white brethren aided largely in the early work, and especially W. W. Dowling and J. M. Tilford. A modest frame building was soon erected on First (Tenth) street west of Mississippi. Later it occupied a building at old Fifth and Illinois streets for a time, and then went to its present building at Missouri and Thirteenth. It was organized as a church in 1868, with Rufus Conrad as pastor. The present pastor is H. L. Herod, who appears to make no reports to anybody of membership or church work.

The Third Christian Church grew out of a Sunday school that was organized in the spring of 1867 at the Northwestern Christian University, by Prof. A. C. Shortridge and others. The church was organized in the University Chapel on December 10, 1868. It was without a regular pastor for the first

year, and since then the pastoral succession has been, Austin Council, Elijah Goodwin, John C. Miller, Dr. Ryland T. Brown, J. L. Parsons, Wm. Holt, Robert C. Matthews, S. R. Moore, D. R. Van Buskirk, Burris A. Jenkins, Carlos C. Rawlinson, Charles B. Newnan, and Harry G. Hill. The last report of the church showed 1,740 members and 1,250 in the Sunday school. The first building, a frame, on Home avenue near Ash, was dedicated on October 23, 1870. The second was dedicated on January 1, 1888. The congregation is now contemplating a third, to be located at Seventeenth and Broadway.

The Fourth Christian Church began as a mission school in a dwelling on Blake street on June 28, 1868, and in November of that year moved to a room at the corner of New York and Blake. That winter the church was organized, with Elder J. B. New as pastor. In the summer of 1869 the congregation removed to a hall on Indiana avenue, and remained there for a year and a half. On January 1, 1871, a frame church at Fayette and Walnut was dedicated. Its next move was to Pratt and West streets. The present pastor is Wm. H. Smith, and the membership is reported 250. The Fifth Christian Church, otherwise known as Olive Branch, was organized in 1868. Its church building at old Fifth and Illinois was dedicated on December 25, 1870. It lost its building and went to pieces in 1880, most of the members going to the First and Sixth Churches. Later it was revived and established at 1120 S. Meridian street. Fred H. Jacobs is the present pastor and the reported membership is 150.

The Sixth Christian Church, at Elm and Pine streets, was organized February 14, 1875. The corner-stone of its church was laid in 1888; it was dedicated in 1897; the mortgage was burned on October 10, 1909. The pastors have been J. M. Canfield, A. L. Orcutt and C. W. Cauble. The membership is 600, and the Sunday school has 250 enrolled. The Seventh Christian Church is a North Indianapolis congregation, with building at Udell and Annette streets. The present pastor is Clay Trusty. The membership is 432, and the Sunday school has 300 enrolled. Bismarck avenue, or Haughville Church, was organized in the spring of 1889, and its build-



(W. H. Bass Photo Company.)

CHRIST CHURCH.

ing was erected in the same year. Its pastor is S. F. Powers. There are 364 members, and 150 in the Sunday school.

Hillside Avenue Church, at the corner of Hillside and Nineteenth streets, was organized August 26, 1892, and the church was built the following winter. The succession of pastors has been H. L. Henderson, W. C. Payne, Omer Hufferd, M. L. Pierce, E. W. Hammond, S. J. Tomlinson, R. A. Smith, O. E. Tomes, R. A. Smith, and Charles M. Fillmore. The church has 260 members and 275 in the Sunday school. North Park Church, at the corner of Kenwood and Twenty-ninth streets, was organized June 20, 1897. The pastors have been J. M. Canfield, 1897-9; C. M. Watson, 1899-1900; J. P. Meyers, 1900-2; Austin Hunter, 1902 to date. Under Mr. Hunter a new church has been begun, and is approaching completion. The church has 561 members and 300 in the Sunday school.

In 1896 the Christian Church Union was organized—incorporated December 4—"to preach the gospel, organize and maintain Christian churches and Christian Sunday schools". It has 66 members, from the various Christian churches, and has been the active missionary organization of the denomination since its organization. Other Christian churches that have been organized are apparently flourishing. Englewood Church, at 35 N. Rural, has 500 members and 460 in the Sunday school. O. E. Tomes is pastor. Irvington, or Downey Avenue Church, has 490 members and 475 in the Sunday school. Chas. H. Winders is pastor. Morris Street Church, corner of Blaine avenue, west Indianapolis, has 500 members and 200 in the Sunday school.

West Park Church is the outgrowth of a tent meeting held by the Union in 1904. It was organized with 60 members and now reports 240. F. P. Smith is the pastor, and the church is located on Addison street, north of Washington. Columbia Place is a new church organized in 1909, and its building on Forty-second street was dedicated in 1909. Centenary is a new church that has no building yet, and is holding services in Odd Fellows hall at Tenth and Rural streets. It was organized in 1909. South Side Church is another new church with no building, but using a hall at Harper and Cottage. It has had two

pastors, M. F. Reckhoff and B. J. McKane, and reports 20 members and 50 in the Sunday school. Most of the members are from Sixth Church.

The Church of Christ is an independent society, located at 916 W. Twenty-ninth street, whose charter members were "Disciples" who withdrew from the Seventh Christian Church in 1893. The church has no pastor in the ordinary sense, but is served by its two elders, Daniel Sommer and A. W. Harvey. It has no Sunday school. The First Christian Church, at Seventeenth and Columbia, is not a congregation of the "Disciples" or "Campbellites", but of the "Stonewites" or "Newlights" faction that did not unite with the "Campbellites" in 1832. This congregation was organized on June 29, 1898, and built a Sunday school at Martindale and Seventeenth streets in 1907. They were preparing to build a church when the *German Evangelical* offered to sell the building now occupied, and the offer was accepted. J. F. Morris was pastor, 1898-1906; Rev. Wiles, 1906-8; C. O. Brown, 1908 to date. The church has 61 members, and 102 in the Sunday school. John McClung, the first clergyman that preached in Indianapolis, was a member of this denomination. They are sometimes called "Old Christians" by the Disciples.

There is something attractive about Christ Church to most people, and it is the only old building of any size in Indianapolis that is attractive. An ideal of church architecture, nestled down between the big Columbia Club and the big Board of Trade, it strikes one as a step out of the present into the past; and the impression is strengthened if you accept the kindly invitation at the side of the ever-open door—"Come in; rest and pray". It is old—built in 1860—and it stands where its predecessor was built twenty-two years earlier—more than three score years and ten of church occupancy of that site, which is more than can be counted for any other church in the city. In its prime it had abundant company, for the circle was the church center—the First Presbyterian on the east, the Second Presbyterian on the west, Wesley Chapel on the south and Christ Church on the north; and later in that period came Plymouth Congregational just across Meridian street from

Christ Church. Now they are all gone; and in fact Christ Church is the "oldest inhabitant" of the circle, for every one of the old buildings there has been removed, except that the old walls of Wesley Chapel still remain in part in the building at the southwest corner of Meridian street and Monument place. Gone, too, are the Governor's Mansion that stood in the center of the circle, and the Marion Engine House that stood on the north side of it—these gone so long that they are not even memories except to a comparative few of the oldest residents.

As an organization the Episcopalian congregation was not among the earliest, but there were some Episcopals among the earliest settlers, notably George Smith, the first newspaper publisher, but they usually attended the churches of other sects, except on occasional visits of an Episcopalian minister. There were several of these. A Rev. Mr. Pfeiffer preached here about 1823-4 and baptized an infant. Rev. Melancthon Hoyt was here for a time as a missionary; and Rev. Jehu C. Clay, later Dr. Clay, of Philadelphia, came afterwards and was requested to settle, but did not. Rev. Henry M. Shaw also visited the place. In April, 1837, a movement for organization was inaugurated. On July 4, 1837, Rev. James B. Britton located here, and on July 9, the Sunday following, held services. On July 13 thirty resident Episcopals associated themselves as "the Parish of Christ Church", and on August 21, formally organized by electing Arthur St. Clair senior warden; Thos. McQuat, junior warden; and James Morrison, Joseph M. Moore and Wm. Hannaman, vestrymen.

On May 7, 1838, the corner-stone of the first church was laid; and it was occupied on November 18; and dedicated on December 16 of the same year by Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, D.D., Missionary Bishop of Indiana and Missouri. It was a frame building, considered at the time the handsomest church structure in Indiana; though there was nothing especially handsome about it, except that it had a spire when spires were not very common. In 1857 it was moved away to serve as a meeting place for the people of Bethel A. M. E. Church, until it was destroyed by fire a few years later. The present church was completed and occupied in

1860, except that the spire was not added till 1869. The chimes were added in the spring of 1861. Many remember how George Harding used to revile them on the ground that they interfered with innocent Sunday slumber, but he had little sympathy in his onslaughts, for to all Indianapolis people who had any sentiment these chimes serve the essential purposes of the bells of Shandon. Taking it altogether, it is not strange that in 1900, when there was a movement on foot to abandon the old church, and the Columbia Club had an option on the property, there arose a general remonstrance against the proposal. The removal project was therefore abandoned, and the church was repaired and a Sunday school room added. It now has 556 communicants, and 95 in the Sunday school.

The rectors of Christ Church have been James B. Britton, 1837-40; Moses H. Hunter, 1842-3; Samuel Lee Johnson, 1844-8; Norman W. Camp, D.D., 1849-52; Joseph C. Talbott, 1852-60; Horace Stringfellow, Jr., 1860-3; Theodore J. Holcomb, 1863-4; J. P. T. Ingraham, 1864-8; Benjamin Franklin, 1868-72; E. A. Bradley, D.D., 1872-88; J. H. Ranger, 1888-96; A. J. Graham, 1896-1901; James B. Stanley, 1901 to date. Of these Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ranger died in office. Mr. Talbott's service was ended by his consecration as Bishop of the Northwest. Mr. Stringfellow resigned on account of criticism from outside of the church. He was a Southerner, and in the time of the Civil War partisan feeling ran high. Moreover, there were a number of prominent Democrats in his congregation, and no effort was spared by their political enemies to cast odium on them. The *Journal's* mildest term for a Democrat was "copperhead", and, as is usual, there were many who swallowed all their party organ said, and enlarged on it. Under these conditions Mr. Stringfellow and his wife furnished some food to rebel prisoners in the city who complained of a lack of it; and this action called forth bitter criticism. Mr. Stringfellow felt that his usefulness here was ended and handed in his resignation. His congregation unanimously requested him not to go, and his vestry publicly expressed their confidence in him and condemned the injustice of the criticism; but he insisted on his

resignation, and probably under the circumstances he was right.

But he was brought back later. In the spring of 1866 Christ Church had grown overcrowded, and there was consideration of a new parish. Some of Mr. Stringfellow's old friends invited him to visit the city, and he came in the latter part of June, and preached on July 1 at Christ Church in the morning and at Grace in the evening. The new parish movement then took form. Consent was obtained from Bishops Upfold and Talbott on July 7, and on August 9 the name of St. Paul's was chosen, and Mr. Stringfellow was called as rector. The preliminary organization meeting was held at the office of Alford, Talbott & Co., under Morrison's Opera Hall on South Meridian street, and W. B. Thurston, R. L. McQuat, Jos. A. Moore, H. J. Horn, Wm. Edmunds, J. O. D. Lilly and D. E. Snyder were chosen for vestrymen till the Easter election. The old Military Hall, where the Lombard Building now stands, was secured for services temporarily, and Mr. Stringfellow preached his first sermon there on September 2. There was some consideration of the site taken later by Roberts Park Church, but the present site of St. Paul's at New York and Illinois was chosen, and the corner-stone was laid on June 6, 1867, by Bishop Talbott. The chapel had been completed and occupied on December 25, 1866. The completed church was dedicated on May 31, 1868. The original chapel was a frame structure which was destroyed by fire January 9, 1889; and its place is covered by the present parish house, which was built in 1895-6. The parish reports 552 communicants, and 128 in the Sunday school.

The petty political prejudices of the war times were transferred from Christ Church to St. Paul's for several years; and though there was not the open reviling, facetious Republicans used to call it "the Church of the Holy Rebellion", notwithstanding a majority of its original vestry were Republicans. But that wore off in time, as the general war prejudice did, and people who had regarded each other as red-handed monsters came to find each other fairly decent folk. The truth is that in the war time Christ Church was one of the few where a Democrat could worship without being hit periodically with a

religio-political brick, and that was the height of its offending. Rev. Stringfellow remained with St. Paul's till July 1, 1869, and then left his established and prosperous parish to take charge of St. John's Church, at Montgomery, Ala., impelled by the call of conscience that his services were more needed in the struggle of the church in the South. He was in fact a simple, kindly, manly man, and one incident has caused him to be remembered with affection by those who were young when he was here—he was the first pastor who had a Christmas tree in his church in Indianapolis.

The succeeding rectors were Treadwell Walden, 1869-72; F. M. Bird, 1874; John Fulton, D.D., 1875-6; J. Sanders Reed, 1877-81; F. M. S. Taylor, 1881-2; J. S. Jenekes, 1883-92; G. A. Carstensen, 1892-1900; Lewis Brown, 1900 to date. When the main church building was dedicated, Bishop Talbott announced that by agreement the church had been made the Diocesan Cathedral, which relation continued until 1885, when St. Paul's became an independent parish. During the cathedral period the rectors were officially deans, though the cathedral was not consecrated till June 4, 1875, and the first public installation was on June 6. Among the notable events in the church's history were the funeral of Bishop Talbott on January 19, 1883; the funeral services of Vice-President Hendricks, who was Senior Warden at the time of his death, on December 1, 1885; the funeral of Bishop Kniekerbaeker in January, 1895; and the consecration of Bishop John Hazen White on May 1, 1895. On June 25, 1882, the church building was badly wrecked by a tornado—one of the few that ever reached Indianapolis. The tower was blown over and fell through the roof on the north side, and the belfry arch was hurled through the roof of the chancel and vestry-room in the rear. With genuine religion the Hebrew congregation tendered the use of the synagogue on Market street while repairs were being made; and so did Christ Church; but the chapel was not injured and so the invitations were declined with hearty thanks.

In 1865 the parish of Grace Church was organized by a small colony from Christ Church, composed chiefly of Deloss Root, J. O. D. Lilly and Nelson Kingman, with their

families. M. V. Averill was called as rector and remained until 1867, when he was succeeded by Dr. C. B. Davidson. He retired in October, 1870, and James Runcie followed him in 1871. The congregation built a modest frame church at the southeast corner of Pennsylvania and St. Joe streets, and incurred a debt that became a heavy burden after the panic of 1873. After unsuccessful efforts to settle it the property was taken by the diocese, and Bishop Talbott rented the church and the little building back of it, where a girls' school had been carried on, to Mrs. Sewall, for her classical school. When Bishop Knickerbaecker succeeded he was shocked to find that a gymnasium had been installed in the church building; so he got possession as soon as possible, and in 1884 restored it to church uses. The revived parish did very well, and in 1886 Bishop Knickerbaecker announced that he had taken it as the bishop's church. It was never formally made a cathedral, but it went by that name until 1904, when Bishop Francis cut off part of its dignity and added it to its name, making it the Grace Pro-cathedral. In 1888 the building was removed to its present location on Sixteenth street, east of Central avenue, where it was enlarged, and is still in use. The parish has quite a fund for a new building, composed in part of a handsome bequest from Bishop Knickerbaecker, and one of 1,200 acres of western land, which has much increased in value, from Deloss Root; and the erection of a new building is contemplated in 1910. It has now 278 communicants, and there are 103 in the Sunday school.

The Church of the Holy Innocents was developed from a Sunday school mission of Christ Church that was organized in July, 1866, at the residence of James Meade, No. 50 Forest avenue, by Rev. C. C. Tate, assistant rector of Christ Church. The school grew rapidly, and a chapel was built on a lot at Fletcher avenue and Cedar street, which was donated for that purpose by S. A. Fletcher, Jr. It cost \$1,800, and was opened for service on January 6, 1867. Afternoon Sunday services were regularly held by Mr. Tate until the following July, when he accepted a call to Dayton. On January 1, 1868, he was succeeded by Geo. B. Engle, as assistant rector of Christ Church, who served the mission

in that capacity until January 4, 1869, when the parish of the Holy Innocents was organized, and Mr. Engle was called as rector. It reports 75 communicants and 68 in the Sunday school, and E. C. Bradley is the present rector.

St. George's Church was organized in 1872, as a mission of Christ Church, and the corner-stone of a building was laid at Church and Morris streets in 1875. The rectors have been E. A. Bradley, 1872-88; W. H. Bamford, 1888-9; John Brann, 1889-94; J. H. Ranger, 1894-5; A. J. Graham, 1897-1900; J. D. Stanley, 1901-4; Geo. G. Burbank, 1904 to date. This flourishing little church was transferred to the diocese by Christ Church in 1904. A new church was built in 1906-7 and was dedicated on April 28, 1907. It reports 98 communicants, and 171 in the Sunday school.

St. David's Church, at Talbott avenue and Twenty-first street, was organized in 1898, and still worships in a chapel. C. S. Sargent has been rector from the start. It reports 125 communicants, and 105 in the Sunday school. In addition to these parishes, there are two unorganized missions in the city. St. Albans, for deaf mutes, has 35 communicants, who meet at Christ Church. St. Philip's is a mission of St. Paul's Church to colored people, and has 120 communicants. It should be added that the Diocese of Indiana was divided in 1899, thirty-one northern counties being constituted the Diocese of Michigan City, and the remainder of the state the Diocese of Indiana. Bishop John Hazen White, Fourth Bishop of Indiana, was made bishop of the former, and Joseph M. Francis, who had been rector of St. Paul's Church at Evansville, was elected bishop of the latter, and consecrated on September 21, 1899.

The Lutheran Church has found more grounds for internal dissension than any other protestant church which is saying a great deal—and there are now in the United States 25 separate Lutheran associations with separate governments, besides about 150 independent or free churches which flock by themselves. Three of these associations are represented in Indianapolis, known commonly as the "General Synod", the "Synodical Conference" or "Mission Synod", and the

"Joint Synod of Ohio and other states". The first is represented by the oldest Lutheran church in the city, known commonly as the First English Lutheran Church, but officially as Mt. Pisgah Lutheran Church. It was organized in January, 1837, by Rev. Abraham Reek, with 20 members. A building was erected in 1838 at the southeast corner of Meridian and Ohio streets, where the Board of Trade building now stands. Mr. Reek was made conspicuous by the drowning of his son Luther—the first fatality to those who went out from Indianapolis as soldiers in the Mexican War. Mr. Reek had resigned the pastorate in 1840, and his earlier successors were A. A. Timper, 1840-3; Jacob Shearer, 1843-5; A. H. Myers, 1845-50; E. R. Guiney, 1851-3. Mr. Guiney died in office, and after an interim was succeeded by J. A. Kunkleman, who served until 1866. Under his pastorate, in 1861, a new church was built and dedicated at Alabama and New York streets.

Pastors following him were J. W. Stuekenberg, H. L. Baugher, W. W. Criley, J. W. Rumple, M. H. Richards. Mr. Richards resigned on January 1, 1877, to accept a professorship at Muhlenberg College, Pennsylvania, and was succeeded by G. F. Behringer, and he in 1879 by John B. Baltzley. Mr. Baltzley resigned on September 1, 1883, and was succeeded by his son John, who had been assistant pastor since March, 1881. He served until 1890. In 1876 the chapel of a new building at Walnut and Pennsylvania streets was completed and occupied. For ten years no active effort was made to complete the main building, and then a strong effort was made which succeeded. The pastors following Mr. Baltzley have been A. R. Steck, 1891-4; D. L. McKenzie, 1894-7; W. W. Criley, 1898-1905; R. Foster Stone, 1905-6; C. Rollin Sherek, 1907 to date. Mr. Sherek is a native of Michigan, educated at Olivet College, Michigan, and Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ill.; and at Chicago Theological. He filled pulpits at Nokomis, Ill., Harrisburg, Penn., Sioux City, Iowa, and Lincoln, Neb., before coming here. The church has 250 members, and 80 in the Sunday school. There is one other church of the General Synod in the city, known as the Second Evan-

gelical Lutheran Church, on Hosbrook street, near Woodlawn avenue. John W. Neuhauser is the pastor.

The oldest representative of the Synodical Conference in Indianapolis is St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church at New Jersey and McCarty streets. This congregation was organized on June 5, 1844, at a meeting held in the old seminary building. A site was obtained on Alabama street below Washington, and a church was erected and dedicated on May 11, 1845. The succession in the pastorate has been Theodore J. G. Kunz, 1842-50; Charles Frincke, 1850-68; Chr. Hochstetter, 1868-77; C. C. Schmidt, 1877-87; Fr. Wamboganss, 1887-1903; Richard D. Biedermann, 1903 to date. In 1860 the congregation outgrew its quarters, and a new church was built at East and Georgia streets; dedicated November 3, 1860, by Dr. Wynken, President of the synod. This church was destroyed by fire in 1882, and the present church was built, and dedicated on July 22, 1883. It has 1,100 communicant members, and is the "mother church" of the other German Lutheran churches of the city. The Sunday school has an enrollment of 220, which is the same as the enrollment of the parochial day school. There have been three school buildings, practically adjoining the three churches, and built respectively in 1847, 1859 and 1872. The present school teachers are D. Fechtmann, H. Rahn, Theo. Wallis and H. Merz. Both church and school work are conducted in German and English, and the school course is equivalent to the first eight grades of the city schools, but with special attention to religious instruction. The other Lutheran churches of the Synodical Conference are the Trinity Danish Church, at McCarty and Noble, Hans P. Berthelsen pastor; Emmanuel (German and English) Church, at Orange and Laurel, Theodore F. Schurdel, pastor; St. Peter's (German) Church, at Brookside and Jefferson avenues, Carl P. Schultz pastor; and Trinity (German) Church at East and Ohio, Peter Senel pastor. The only representative of the Joint Synod of Ohio is a small church on East Washington street, organized two years ago, with Rev. Hahn as pastor.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE CHURCHES (Continued).

There are seventeen Catholic churches with resident pastors in the City of Indianapolis.¹ In thirteen of these churches the English language is used in the public service; in two German is spoken, and there is one church for the Italians and one for the Slovenians. In the larger churches service is held at different hours in the forenoon in order to accommodate the members who otherwise could not find room; the afternoon or vesper service is not obligatory except for the children who attend the instruction in Christian doctrine. Each church is under the direction of a pastor, aided where necessary by assistant priests, making the number

of clergymen engaged in church work at this time thirty-two. The Catholic population of the city as nearly as can be determined by the best statistics available is not less than twenty-six thousand. This number includes all who have been baptized in the church and have not abandoned the practice of their religious duties. Attached to all the churches are parochial schools attended by more than four thousand children, and conducted by religious communities among whom are the Sisters of Providence, the Sisters of St. Francis, Sisters of St. Joseph and the Sisters of St. Benedict. About ninety teachers are employed in the primary and high schools.

¹This sketch of the Catholic Church in Indianapolis was kindly prepared for this volume by the Rt. Rev. Denis O'Donoghue, whose official service here for more than a third of a century makes him pre-eminently an authority. He is a native of Indiana, born November 30, 1818, in Daviess County, near the present town of Connelton. After the ordinary education of the common schools, he passed three years at St. Meinrad's College in Spencer County, entering at the age of 16; then four years at St. Thomas' Seminary, at Bardstown, Ky.; then three years at the Grande Seminaire, at Montreal. He was ordained at Indianapolis September 6, 1874, and was stationed at St. John's, where he remained for eleven years, filling various offices. He was then made rector of St. Patrick's, where he continued in service until made Bishop of Louisville, in 1910.

Bishop O'Donoghue is widely known as a logician, a linguist, and a clergyman who takes an intelligent interest in public affairs. For a number of years he has been one of the vice-presidents of the Indiana Historical

Society. In 1899 he was made Vicar General, and in 1900 titular Bishop of Pomario. This title comes from the old Roman town of Pomario, which was on the north coast of Africa, where the Algerian city of Tlemcen, or Tiliusan, now stands. It was a cathedral town till the Arabs captured it in 1080, and the see became nominal. In the Roman church, an episcopal see once created never goes out of existence, but continues in title; and the church sometimes has need of two bishops in one diocese, but can have only one bishop of any diocese. Hence this title came to Indiana when an auxiliary bishop was needed here. In February, 1910, Bishop O'Donoghue was made Bishop of Louisville (*Star*, February 10, 1910); and after a few weeks, during which he was the recipient of many testimonials of the high esteem in which he is held, both in and out of the church, he departed on March 28 for his new field, escorted by a large body of the clergy of Indiana and Kentucky. (*Star*, March 29, 1910.)

The principal Catholic church in Indianapolis is SS. Peter and Paul's Cathedral at the corner of Meridian and Fourteenth streets, adjoining the residence of Bishop Chatard. The former bishops of this diocese resided at Vincennes, but on his arrival here, the present bishop took up his residence in this city; and subsequently the name of the see was changed from Vincennes to Indianapolis. Bishop Chatard is a native of Baltimore, where he pursued his early studies; later he entered the Urban College of the Propaganda in Rome, where he was graduated with the title of Doctor in theology, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1862. After serving several years as Rector of the American College in Rome, he was, at the death of Bishop de St. Palais in 1877, appointed to the bishopric of Vincennes. He arrived in Indianapolis August 17, 1878, where he has since resided.

SS. Peter and Paul's congregation was organized in 1891, holding services for the first time on Easter Sunday, 1892. The beginnings of this parish were very modest, not more than fifty families being registered as members. The small chapel used at first as a place of worship was thought sufficiently large to accommodate the people for a number of years, the Cathedral being only a thing thought of in the distant future. But the rapid growth of the parish soon made a larger house of worship imperative, accordingly steps were taken in 1905 for the erection of a Cathedral. Within a year the edifice was completed except the facade, and was dedicated and opened for service on Christmas day, 1906. The church has three marble altars of excellent design and is artistically decorated. The growth of the parish has been remarkable. Whereas in the beginning one mass in the small chapel was sufficient for all the members to comply with their obligations on Sunday, now five masses on every Sunday are well attended. The Rev. Joseph Chartrand, pastor of SS. Peter and Paul's, has been associated with the congregation since his ordination 17 years ago. The parish has schools for boys and girls, and within the last year the Sisters of Providence have replaced the original school building by a brick and stone academy which is considered as one

of the finest educational institutions in the city.

The first Catholic church in Indianapolis, a frame structure known as the Holy Cross Church, situated at the northeast corner of Washington and California streets, was built in 1840 under the direction of Rev. Vincent Bacquelin, who resided in Shelby County. The pastor, who visited his flock once or twice each month, met his death in 1846 by a fall from his horse while returning from a visit to a sick man near Shelbyville. The Catholic population increased, so that in 1850 a new church to replace the Holy Cross was built on Georgia street near Capitol avenue under the direction of Rev. John Gueguen, and was named by him St. John's. The present St. John's church, fronting on Capitol avenue, was erected in 1867 under the administration of the late Monsignor Bessonies, who continued as pastor of the congregation until his retirement from active service in 1890. He died February 22, 1901, in his 84th year, and his remains were interred in a vault erected in one of the side chapels of the church of which he had been pastor for thirty-three years. St. John's Church is a spacious and imposing structure, being one of the largest church edifices in the city. The present pastor, Rev. F. H. Gayisk, chancellor of the Diocese of Indianapolis, has been in charge since 1892, and during his administration extensive improvements have been made. He has three assistant priests to aid him in the parish work. The congregation, although several times divided by the formation of new parishes, numbers more than four thousand souls. Connected with the church are several religious and benevolent societies. The congregation maintains a parochial school for boys conducted by the Brothers of the Sacred Heart, also a parochial and high school for girls under the management of the Sisters of Providence in St. John's Academy, erected in 1873. About six hundred pupils attend these schools.

St. Mary's Church on east Maryland street was begun in 1856, and was opened for service on the 15th of August, 1858. The first pastor in charge was Rev. L. Brandt, who visited the German Catholics once a month from Vincennes, but he was sent to Madison to organize a congregation there before the

church building was completed. He was succeeded by Rev. Simon Siegrist, who continued as pastor of the congregation for 15 years until his death in 1873. He is still well remembered by the older members of the parish as an energetic worker as well as a zealous pastor of souls. Under his administration the congregation grew in numbers and met with success in all its undertakings. St. Mary's was the first church built in Indianapolis for the use of the German Catholics, and the same edifice is still in use. The present pastor of the congregation, Very Rev. A. Scheideler, V. G., has been in charge since 1874, and under his judicious management many costly improvements have been made. Notwithstanding the division of the parish some years ago, also the formation of new parishes near by and the encroachment of business houses in close proximity, Saint Mary's Church continues prosperous and is held as a favorite place of worship by its devoted members. The parish has flourishing schools for boys and girls, and a fine hall for the use of religious and benevolent societies connected with the church. The erection of a new and more elaborate church to replace St. Mary's is contemplated by the management, and a site for this purpose has been purchased in a suitable location.

The formation of St. Patrick's parish dates from the year 1864. The ground, half a square on the southwest corner of Dougherty (now Woodlawn avenue) and Hunter streets was donated by Mrs. Phoebe Dougherty, for whom the street was named. A small brick church was built under the management of Rev. Joseph Petit, and was opened for service June 29, 1865. It bore the name of St. Peter's Church, and served the congregation as a house of worship for six years. In 1870 Rev. P. R. Fitzpatrick, who was then pastor, commenced the erection of the present church, which was named St. Patrick's. The building was completed and opened for service with appropriate ceremonies in August, 1871. A school for boys was built opposite the church in 1878, and the Brothers of the Sacred Heart were placed in charge. The Rev. Patrick McDermott became pastor in 1879, and was succeeded by Rev. Hugh O'Neill, who had charge of the parish for two years. On the retirement of

the latter in 1885, Rev. Denis O'Donaghue, then chancellor of the Diocese of Indianapolis, was appointed pastor and the following year was named permanent rector. Under his administration the present academy and residence of the Sisters of Providence was erected, the boys' school enlarged and a commodious parish residence built on Prospect street. The church, too, has been entirely refurnished and decorated. The Rev. D. O'Donaghue, who in the meantime had been named Vicar General, was in 1900 appointed by Pope Leo XIII to be Auxiliary Bishop, and on April 25 of the same year was consecrated titular Bishop of Pomario. He continued the pastor of Saint Patrick's Church till made Bishop of Louisville, in 1910; being assisted in the parochial work by Rev. Raymond Noll and Rev. William Keefe. The congregation numbers 2,700 souls. Twelve Sisters of Providence teach the children of the parish, about 450 in number.

St. Joseph's congregation was organized in 1873 under the direction of Rev. Joseph Petit, who built a small church on Vermont, near Liberty street, close to where the Home of the Little Sisters of the Poor now stands. The site proving unsuitable, the location was changed in 1879 to the corner of North and Noble streets, where the present St. Joseph's church was built under the administration of Rev. Herman J. Alerding, who continued as pastor of the congregation until the year 1900, when he was appointed Bishop of Port Wayne. This church was opened for service July 4th, 1880. The building is of gothic design, spacious in size and artistically furnished. Shortly after the completion of the church the Sisters of Providence erected a large academy and school for the children of the congregation. In 1881 the parish built a school for boys, with a large and attractive hall on the second floor for the use of societies connected with the congregation. The present pastor of St. Joseph's is Rev. F. B. Dowd, who took charge in 1900. Under his administration a parish residence, costly and elegant, has been built, and other substantial improvements made. Although two churches have been built in recent years within the original territory of St. Joseph's, the congregation is still large and flourishing, the attendance on Sunday taxing the capacity of its house

of worship. The pastor requires the help of an assistant priest, the position being now held by Rev. Vincent Dwyer, whose efficient service is much appreciated.

The formation of a new congregation for the German Catholics in the southern part of the city was commenced in 1875 under the direction of the Franciscan fathers. Ground was bought on the corner of Union and Palmer streets, and a combination building to serve as church, school and residence of the clergy was first built, under the management of Rev. Mardus Andresebek, the first

under the pastorate of Rev. Francis Haase, who had charge of the parish for several years. The church is of spacious size, elegantly furnished and artistically decorated. The congregation numbers 4,500 souls. The Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, Missouri, conduct the parish schools, attended by 750 children. The priests attending this church are from the Saint Louis province of the Franciscan community. The pastor and his assistants are appointed by the provincial, the parish work being carried on under the direction of the bishop of the diocese. Many



INTERIOR OF ST. JOHNS CHURCH.

pastor. The corner-stone was laid September 19, by the Rev. Bede O'Connor, chancellor of the diocese, who on this occasion preached his last sermon. He died the next day in Terre Haute on the way to his home in Vincennes. The congregation of the Sacred Heart numbered at first but few families, but the erection of the church gave an impulse to settlement in that part of the city, so that in a few years the number of Catholics had so increased that a new church became necessary. The present building, a splendid gothic edifice, was commenced in 1883, under the management of Rev. Ferdinand Bergmeyer. It was enlarged and completed two years later

of the members of this community are engaged in teaching, others are employed in parochial work. They wear the habit and follow the rule of the order founded by St. Francis of Assisi, formally approved by Pope Innocent III, in 1216.

By a division of St. John's parish in 1879, a new congregation was organized for the accommodation of the Catholics in the north-western part of the city. Ground was purchased in what was then known as Blake's Woods, on the corner of West and St. Clair streets, and the church of St. Brigid was completed and opened for service in January, 1880. The Reverend Daniel Curran was the

founder and first pastor of this congregation, and it was through his energetic labors that the work was prosecuted with success. He still holds the position as pastor, and is assisted by the Rev. John F. McShane. The congregation at first was not large, but it has gradually grown in size until it is now numbered among the important parishes of the city. A pastoral residence was built in 1881, and later a parish school was established, conducted by the Sisters of St. Francis from Oldenburg, Indiana, attended at this time by 266 children. Attached to the church are several religious and benevolent societies that do effective work in the cause in which they are engaged. A few years ago this congregation was divided by the formation of a new parish farther north, yet it has on its roster of membership not less than 1,600 souls.

St. Francis de Sales congregation in Brightwood was organized as a mission in 1881, and was for several years attended from St. John's by the Rev. Charles Curran. The ground and church on Depot street was bought from a religious denomination who wished to change their place of worship. After the retirement of Rev. Charles Curran, who did most effective work while in charge, the mission was attended from the Sacred Heart Church for several years. The first resident pastor was the Rev. Victor J. Brueker, who assumed charge in January, 1900. Under his administration the parish was reorganized and important improvements made. A brick pastoral residence was built the first year, and later a commodious school building with a hall on the upper floor was erected. The parish school is in charge of the Sisters of St. Francis, and it has proved very acceptable to the people who previous to its establishment had no school of their own. Father Brueker, who is both an artist and a musician, devotes much of his spare time to the dramatic and musical culture of the young people of his congregation.

St. Anthony's Church is situated on Warman avenue near Vermont street in the west side of the city. It was decided to build a church in that part of the city as early as 1886, but the work was not undertaken until three years later. The first pastor was the Rev. Francis B. Dowd, under whose administration a combination church and school was

built, also a pastoral residence. The church was dedicated on February the first, 1891. The congregation, few in number at first, grew rapidly so that soon the church edifice had to be enlarged and a parish school built. Father Dowd had charge of the congregation for nine years until his transfer to St. Joseph's Church in 1900. The present pastor, Rev. Joseph F. Byrne, recognizing the need of a larger house of worship, soon commenced the erection of a new church, which was completed and opened for service November 13, 1904. The congregation continues to increase, so that the present membership is counted at 1,700 souls, with 300 children attending the parish school conducted by the Sisters of Providence.

The Church of the Assumption, situated on Blaine avenue in west Indianapolis, was commenced early in the year 1894, and was completed and dedicated August the 12th the same year. The first pastor, Rev. Joseph Weber, under whose management the congregation was organized, is still in charge. Soon after the church was completed a suitable pastoral residence was built. The parish had at the beginning but few families, but its growth has been uninterrupted, and at present the number of souls is counted at 950. In 1895 the Sisters of St. Benedict erected a parish school building, which has been enlarged within the last year. The school, having 250 children in attendance, is conducted by the Benedictine Sisters from Ferdinand, Indiana. Attached to the church are several societies of religious, benevolent and social character.

The Holy Cross congregation was organized in 1896, under the management of Rev. William F. Quigley, who for many years had been the associate pastor of St. Patrick's Church. He purchased ground on Oriental street near Market and commenced the erection of the church, but the work undertaken was cut short by his unexpected death a few weeks after the corner-stone was laid. He was succeeded by the Rev. Denis McCabe, who continued the work to completion, and later built a pastoral residence. He had charge of the parish for seven years until his death on April 11, 1903. The present pastor, Rev. James J. Wade, was then placed in charge, and under his administration the parish has

prospered, making additional improvements and paying off a heavy encumbrance. The increase in the membership of the congregation, now numbering over 2,000 souls, will soon require the erection of a larger church which will be undertaken at no distant day. The parish schools conducted by the Sisters of Providence are attended by 400 pupils. The several societies attached to the church have always been active in lending aid to the pastor in his work. The Rev. John Costello, a native of Indianapolis, is the assistant pastor of Holy Cross Church.

The Holy Angels' Church is situated at the corner of Northwestern avenue and 28th street. The site was purchased in 1899, but the congregation was not organized until four years later. The building of the church, under the direction of Rev. James L. Carrico, was commenced in 1903, and on October the first of the same year was completed and opened for service. The building is of romanesque style, beautifully situated and finely furnished. The congregation when organized had but thirty families, but at present has over one hundred and fifty, and continues to enjoy a healthy growth. In 1907 the parish built a modern school building, the upper story of which is used as a hall for the societies connected with the congregation. The school, attended by about one hundred children, is under the management of the Sisters of St. Joseph.

In 1906 the Church of the Holy Trinity, situated at the corner of Calvelage and Holmes avenue, in the district formerly known as Haughville, was built by the Slovenian Catholics, under the direction of Rev. Joseph Lavric as pastor. The church, a handsome and spacious edifice, was dedicated by Bishop O'Donoghue on April 28, 1907. The congregation, numbering five hundred members, is now under the charge of Rev. John M. Smoley. The preaching in this church is in the Slovenian language. All the members of the congregation are from a part of the Austrian empire where this language is spoken, and they prefer to hear the gospel preached in their mother tongue.

A Congregation of the Italian residents of Indianapolis was organized in July, 1908, under the management of Rev. Marino Priori, who came to America as a missionary and

was appointed to take charge of his countrymen living here. A large house was purchased on Stevens street near East, the first floor of which was converted into a chapel for use until a church will be built on Stevens street. This congregation is made up of Italians who are not members of other parishes in the city, and numbers about one hundred and fifty families. Service is held in the chapel regularly, the pastor residing there, and the congregation soon expects to build a church of proper size for the accommodation of the Italian people of the city.

The congregation of St. Philip Neri's was organized in the beginning of the year 1909, under the direction of Rev. George Smith as pastor. The church, located at the corner of North and Rural streets, romanesque in style and beautiful in appearance, was dedicated on June 27th, five months after the work of construction began. Adjoining the church is a pretty parochial residence erected at a cost of six thousand dollars. Later the Sisters of Providence commenced the erection of a large school building which is nearing completion. The congregation numbers one hundred and fifty families, and starts out, under the direction of its energetic pastor, with bright prospects of success.

St. Catherine's Parish was organized in the southern part of the city in January, 1909, under the management of Rev. Otto C. Bosler. The corner-stone of the church was laid July 25th, and the work immediately pushed forward to completion. Besides the auditorium for public services, the building as designed also includes four school rooms connected with the main edifice so arranged as to add much to the fine architectural appearance. The people composing this congregation were taken from St. Patrick's and the Sacred Heart parishes, about one hundred and twenty-five families. The older parishes, particularly the former, extended substantial aid to this new foundation. The pastor, a native of Rockport, Indiana, ordained in 1904, had his first charge as assistant priest in Haughville, and for the last four years was one of the associate pastors of St. Patrick's Church.

The Church of Our Lady of Lourdes is a mission recently established in Irvington for the convenience of the Catholics in the east-

ern section of the city. The Rev. Joseph Poethuis, formerly assistant priest at the Holy Cross Church, is the resident pastor in charge. A large plat of ground near the corner of Washington street and Audubon Road, with a fine residence, was purchased in 1909, and a suitable chapel arranged for regular services. This new congregation expects soon to build a church of suitable size for the convenience of the increasing Catholic population in that part of the city.

The Community known as the Little Sisters of the Poor came to Indianapolis in 1873, introduced by the late Bishop de St. Palais. They immediately built a house on Vermont street near East, where they commenced their work of charity. From the beginning they met with much encouragement, and their benevolent work was soon recognized by the people of the city. The original building has since been enlarged and now furnishes a comfortable home for the aged poor, who seek shelter and comfort under its roof. The only requirement for admission is that the applicant be without means and has passed the age when the chances of self support are gone. There is no religious test. The poor of any creed or of no religious profession are received without question, provided they be well behaved. The community has no income from investments of any kind, and depends entirely for the support of the inmates on the alms solicited from charitably disposed people. Individually the Sisters own no property, and receive no salary or recompense for their work except their maintenance in the house they serve. The Community originated in a sea coast town of Brittany in France in 1840. Its inception appears rather an accident than design. A few pious women, led by motives of charity, began the work of providing for the helpless poor by asking alms from door to door. Those engaged in this work were soon formed into a community under the name of the Little Sisters of the Poor. The growth of the little society was rapid, and houses were soon established in many of the countries of Europe and in other lands. The first Home of the Little Sisters in America was founded in Brooklyn, New York, in 1868. They have now fifty Houses in the United States, two being in Indiana. The Indianapolis Home is cared for by fifteen

Sisters, and supports on a yearly average one hundred and twenty-five aged poor, men and women.

The House of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, situated in the southern part of the city, on Raymond street, west of Meridian, was founded in 1873. The purpose of the institution is to furnish a home for females of wayward character who need reformation, guidance and protection, and to reclaim such as have fallen from the pathway of virtue. The Home is not a prison but rather a house of reform and perseverance where subjects, regardless of their religious persuasion, come voluntarily or are sent by parents or guardians. Employment is furnished for those fitted for it, while those of a tender age are taught the common branches of education, and are kept until able to care for themselves. The Home is maintained by charitable offerings, and by the work done by the inmates at some employment suited to their capacity. The professed sisters wear a white habit, and never leave the convent except on urgent business calling them to another city. The outdoor work is done by lay sisters who dress in black, and practically follow the same rule of life as the professed members. The Community of the Good Shepherd was founded in France about the close of the seventeenth century. It numbers a large membership, and has many houses in Europe and America.

The institution known as St. Vincent's Infirmary, was established in Indianapolis in the year 1881, and was located on Vermont street near Liberty. The building there was soon found inadequate, and the location being also objected to by resident property owners, the site a few years later was removed to the corner of Delaware and south streets, where the present St. Vincent's Infirmary was built on the ground formerly occupied by the Ray House. This institution proved a great success. After the City Hospital, it was the first venture of the kind as a private enterprise, tried in the city, and it was then thought generally that it would prove to be of doubtful utility, but experiment soon showed the contrary to be the case. The Infirmary is owned and conducted by the Sisters of Charity from the Baltimore division of that numerous community, whose mother house is in France. These Sisters

conduct hospitals in nearly every country of the civilized world, two being in Indiana.

The Diocese of Indianapolis maintains three asylums for the care of orphans or dependent children, one at Vincennes, one in Terre Haute, and the third, St. Vincent's Training School, at 725 South Alabama street in Indianapolis. This school receives the orphans from St. Ann's asylum who have attained their 12th year and are not called for by relatives or guardians. The pupils are instructed in the lines of manual training at such occupation as suits their capacity, and when of sufficient age, they may obtain outside occupation, still making the school their home. This institution was established by Bishop Chatard in 1890 for the purpose above mentioned, and is in charge of the Sisters of Providence, seven in number, who gratuitously give their service to the work.

The first Unitarian society in Indianapolis was formed on February 13, 1868, at a meeting called by George K. Perrin, J. B. Follett, and others. It was decided to secure the services of a pastor, and Morrison's Opera Hall was secured for holding the services. On April 12 the first services were held, conducted by Dr. G. W. Hosmer, of Antioch College. On May 14 the society organized formally, electing officers, and services were held quite regularly for several weeks in Morrison's hall, after which the society met for a time at the office of Judge David McDonald, of the federal court, who had been a member from the start. In October, 1868, Rev. Henry Blanchard delivered a sermon before the society at the Academy of Music, and was at once called to the pastorate. He accepted, and began his service in January, 1869. He was a popular pulpit orator, and his audiences averaged about 500—the largest being estimated at 1,200. A Sunday school was organized which reached an enrollment of 120. Mr. Blanchard remained for about two years, and after he resigned no other pastor was called, and the congregation dissolved.

After this there was no Unitarian Church in the city until 1903, when All Souls Unitarian Church was organized. Elmer E. Newbert was secured as pastor, and served for three years. His successor was Frank Scott Corey Wicks, the present pastor. The society purchased the frame church building

on Delaware, south of Fifteenth, which had been used by the First Presbyterian Church while it was erecting its present building, and has since occupied it. The present membership is 160, and the Sunday school has 60 on its rolls.

The first Universalist society in Indianapolis was organized in 1844, but it was not a strong organization and soon went to pieces. In 1853 another church was organized under the name of "First Universalist Church of Indianapolis". Rev. B. F. Foster, Grand Secretary of the order of Odd Fellows, and the most eminent clergyman of the denomination in Indiana, was the first pastor. He served until 1860, when he resigned and was followed by W. C. Brooks for one year. Mr. Foster then resumed the pastorate until 1866, when J. M. Austin, of New York, served about six months. Mr. Foster, who was at that time State Librarian, resumed charge until 1869, after which time there was no regular pastor, though occasional services were held for some time. The society never had a building of its own, but worshipped at different periods in the court house, in the old seminary building, in College Hall, Temperance Hall, Masonic Hall, and the hall at Delaware and Maryland streets.

In 1860 the members of the society found that they could not harmonize in this world, and a number of them withdrew. The seceders raised \$3,000 by subscription, of which \$1,000 was from John Thomas, the wealthy manufacturer who led the movement, and purchased a lot on the north side of Michigan street, half way between Illinois and Capitol avenue. Here they erected a substantial brick church, of which C. E. Woodbury and W. W. Curry (later Secretary of State) were pastors for a year. The congregation then went to pieces, and Mr. Thomas took the building for what the congregation owed him, paying also some \$5,000 of other indebtedness. It was occupied by Wesley Chapel congregation while they were building at New York and Meridian streets; later by a division of Strange Chapel, when it split in 1870. This was called the Congregational Methodist Church and had for pastor J. W. T. McMullen, noted for eloquence, and as the first colonel of the Fifty-first Indiana Regiment. Still later the building was occupied by the

Ninth Presbyterian (colored) Church, until it was condemned as unsafe by the city authorities, and torn down. For a long time there was no Universalist Church in the city, but there is now a small congregation with a church at Fifteenth and New Jersey streets.

The advance guard of the Salvation Army landed in New York in the spring of 1880, and there were two or three efforts to establish a station here in the next decade, but none succeeded until 1892. Possibly the reason was that there were no slums in Indianapolis, but the army has found plenty of material to work on since that time. It now maintains three institutions here, its headquarters, in the Baldwin block, which serves the purpose of an intelligence office as well as directing the affairs of the army; an industrial school at 1125 East Tenth street, where transient men are cared for and pay for their board and lodging in work; and a mission hall on South Capitol avenue, where religious services are held every night. The officers, from lieutenant up, correspond in a way to clergymen. None of them are "commissioned" until after a satisfactory course in a "Training Home", or school, of which there is one at Chicago and one at New York. The sergeants and treasurers and secretaries are usually local members who follow their customary vocations, and give what time they can to the army work.

The religious work is independent of all churches but friendly to all. A Salvation Army convert, if he does not feel equal to undertaking army work, is recommended to join some church, making his own selection. None of the officers or workers have any guaranteed salary. Each station is self-supporting, and if receipts are small, expenditures must correspond. There are about 60 active workers at Indianapolis, and about 120 who are counted as regular subscribers to the work. The work here is in charge of Major Wm. Escott, and consists of religious work and practical charity to "the poorest". Special features are made of the Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners, but the really great work is the steady, never-ending relief of the sick, and helpless, and destitute. One of the interesting characters among the workers, who has been here several times in the last ten years, is Adjutant Emma Westbrook,

who was one of the original seven who came to this country with Commissioner Railton, in 1880, and "planted the colors on American soil."

The Volunteers of America were organized in 1896 - incorporated November 6, 1896 - after the rupture between Ballington Booth and his father. There were also attempts to locate a station of this here, before the one in 1902 succeeded. It was in charge of Lieutenant Major F. J. Preston, who has been in charge ever since, except about eighteen months in 1904-5, when Captain Beisner and Adjutant A. O. Hare were in charge. Its work is similar to that of the Salvation Army, except that all its work is done at the Mission Hall, and no lodging house is maintained. The Mission Hall was established at 531 W. Washington street on November 1, 1902, and was removed to its present location at 44 S. Capitol avenue. The Volunteers give a Christmas dinner, and an annual outing for poor children on the last Thursday in June, at Riverside Park. The Volunteers have 38 in their active work here, and about 90 who are counted as sustaining members. The promotions are all on merit, and to reach the rank of major one must pass examinations about equivalent to those of the ordinary candidate for ordination.

Christian Science was introduced in Indianapolis in 1889 when a few persons who had heard of it elsewhere organized a class to study it, and called a teacher for the usual course of lectures. One member of this class, Mrs. Annie B. Dorland, studied later under Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy, and then took up the work of a teacher and practitioner in this city. On May 28, 1897, a permanent organization of church workers was effected, and incorporated under the state law as "First Church of Christ, Scientist, of Indianapolis. This church holds regular services in the east parlor of the Propylaeum, and maintains a public Christian Science reading room at 15 and 16 Lombard Building. The present membership of this church is 140. In August, 1903, another society seemed desirable, and the Second Church was organized. It began holding services in Shortridge High School building, but grew so rapidly that a lot was purchased at Meridian and Walnut streets, and a building seating 500 was erected. This



W. H. Bass Photo Company.

PENTECOST TABERNACLE.

was used for three years, when it became too small, and meetings are now held in the Grand Lodge auditorium of the Masonic Temple. It also maintains a reading room at 611 Odd Fellows Building. The membership of this church is about 400, but the average attendance is twice that number. These churches have "readers" instead of pastors. There are two readers for each meeting, the first of whom reads from the Bible, and the second from "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures". They have their own hymnal for song service. Prayer is silent, followed by the Lord's Prayer repeated audibly, with "spiritual interpretation" by the pastor in responsive reading. In addition to these two churches there are 35 accredited practitioners of healing on the Christian Science system who maintain public offices.

The Pentecost Bands of the World is one of the babes and sucklings among religious denominations, having been in existence only a quarter of a century. It originated in the missionary preaching, in Michigan, of Vivian A. Duke, an Independent Methodist, and in 1885 he and six others incorporated under the laws of Illinois as a religious society under the above name. Their theology is very similar to that of the Methodists, but with the understanding that the effects of faith and prayer are just as great as in New Testament times. They believe in direct answer to prayer not only for healing the sick but also for financial aid when needed. The work of this sect was begun in Indianapolis in 1890 by Thomas H. Nelson, one of the seven original incorporators and directors, and present president of the society. The work here has been remarkable. The large stone church and headquarters, at 223 North New Jersey street, includes a church room, a residence of eighteen rooms back of it, and a printing office in the basement, in which are printed tracts, books, and a weekly paper, *The Herald of Light*, which is the organ of the sect. The printing office has three presses, run by electricity, and there is a fully equipped bindery included in it. The work is done without charge by twenty-five "missionaries" who live at the residence with Mr. Nelson and family. Back of this large building is the Free Shelter House, maintained on a charity basis for the relief of the destitute, which

was built in 1908, and gave shelter to 4,000 persons in 1909.

The remarkable fact is that this church building was erected "without money and without price". The labor was donated; the Bedford limestone of which it is constructed was donated at the quarries; the money for the freight was "prayed for", and was donated with such regularity that the work was never impeded for want of material, although there are 50 carloads of stone in the building. There is no effort to secure members to the church, the work being on a missionary basis, but the Sunday congregations average 250, and the Sunday school about 60 in attendance. Although holding to faith healing, this sect denounces Christian Science teaching, and believes thoroughly in "matter" and "pain". Mrs. Eddy is held up as the prophetic Antichrist.

The church was nine months in building, and was dedicated on January 1, 1902. In January, 1910, the society completed the purchase of 20 acres on West Washington street, between Big and Little Eagle Creeks, to be used as a "camp ground", including the notorious resort known as "Eagle's Nest". All orthodox churches are to be allowed to use these grounds for camp-meetings or other religious meetings. The society also has 210 acres about 10 miles west of the city, near Bridgeport, on which are maintained an Orphanage and an Old Folks' Home. The Orphanage is for children who have lost both parents, and foundlings, the charges being taken with the purpose of rearing them. It is supplied with almost everything needed for the work, and everything is donated. Indianapolis is now the headquarters of this sect, which has branched out extensively, having missions in Egypt, India, Sweden and other foreign countries. The orphanage is a feature of the work, and there are three maintained in the United States in addition to the one in Indiana. *The Herald of Light* publishes no secular advertisements of any kind.

The Society of Friends was not largely represented in the early settlement of Indianapolis, the only one recorded being "Uncle Billy" Townsend, who came here and built a cabin in 1820, preparatory to bringing his family in the following spring. He was

from Guilford County, North Carolina, and would probably be accounted a "Progressive" in the latter day classification of Friends, as he was no stickler for mere forms. It happened that he had put his cabin in what was later laid out for Kentucky avenue, and when General Carr, the Agent of State, told him he would have to move it, Billy remonstrated on the ground that the avenue was "all woods" on both sides of it, and when his protest fell on deaf ears he put off his shad-bellied coat, observing: "Lie there, Quaker, until I administer to the general a gentle chastisement". But the general was a man of peace, and declined to quiet title in that way, so the matter was compromised on a basis of temporary toleration. About 1825 Billy removed to Hendricks County, which he represented in the legislature in the wild-cat currency days; and he then gained wide note by introducing a bill requiring the State Treasurer to issue to each citizen enough paper money to pay his debts. This was set for discussion on a legal holiday, and after a vehement debate was passed by an overwhelming vote, but not until it had been amended by a provision of a heavy penalty for anyone who should call for more money than he needed.

The next accession of Friends was in 1834, when Jacob S. Willets and Robert R. Underhill, with their families, located here. Robert Underhill was accounted the wealthiest man in Indiana in his day - rated at half a million. He brought his family here from New York in a carriage, and after arriving traded the carriage for the entire square on which Shortridge High School now stands. Here he erected a large brick residence on the east half of the southwest quarter of the square. Across Pennsylvania street, on the square below, where the Second Presbyterian Church now stands, he built an iron foundry and operated it for a number of years. Soon after these two came Hugh Smith, a shoemaker, from Cincinnati, and his wife Sarah, who for many years had a school at the southeast corner of Alabama and Market streets. Then came Mary White and Sarah Weaver, with their families, and John Reeve from New Jersey, with his family. A petition was now sent to Fairfield Monthly Meeting, the nearest to this place, for an "indulged meet-

ing" at Indianapolis, which was granted on September 15, 1836. The sessions of this meeting were held at a small frame house just north of Underhill's foundry, under care of a committee from Fairfield Monthly Meeting. It was continued for about two and one-half years, and then discontinued on account of the removal of part of the members and other discouragements.

The half dozen Friends who were left continued to hold meetings at Robert Underhill's. As there were no ministers among them they were usually silent meetings, except that about the middle of the hour Robert Underhill would read a chapter from the Bible. In 1854 he went for a long visit to New York, and the meetings were then held at the house of William and Hannah Hadley, on North Pennsylvania street. The tide of immigration now brought several accessions, among them Alfred Johnson and John and Mary Carter. The meeting grew too large for the Hadley home, so they rented a building at 426 North Pennsylvania, used as a church by the English Lutherans. About this time Thomas and Hannah Pearson came into the meeting, and were especially welcome, for Hannah Pearson was a minister, and the first resident one, in their meeting. In May, 1855, a request was made to Fairfield Monthly Meeting for an established meeting at Indianapolis, which was granted in September, 1855; and from that time dates the organization of the First Friends Church of Indianapolis.

The first step was to provide a church building, and it was decided to go farther out from the center of the city than the other denominations had done. The plan adopted was to buy the triangle bounded by Fort Wayne avenue, St. Clair and Delaware streets, for \$2,800, reserving a lot 100 feet square at the corner of St. Clair and Delaware for the church, and selling the remainder, primarily to Friends who might desire to locate there. It was agreed to erect a two-story building, the lower one to be used for a school. As they lacked about \$3,000 of the money needed they had to seek aid from other meetings, and the two-story proposition was found a serious obstacle in getting donations; as was also the proposal to have seats with backs and ends. Such seats were noth-

ing less than "pews", and the usual Friends' meeting-house of the time was a low one-story building, twice as long as wide, with a movable partition to separate the business meetings of the men and the women. However, the members persisted, and the church was completed and occupied in December, 1856, the first service being conducted by Eleazer Bales, a noted Plainfield minister, who dedicated it to the Lord, free from incumbrance.

The church grew slowly but steadily. In 1859 the Indianapolis meeting was made part of Bridgeport Monthly Meeting, and its membership was then 57. In 1865 the membership had reached 150, and Indianapolis was granted its own Monthly Meeting. The Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings of the Friends are governmental and disciplinary organizations, corresponding in general to the presbyteries, synods and conferences of other Protestant sects. Their ministry, under the old system, was not paid; and called for no special training or education, as all preaching, prayer and other worship was on motion of the Spirit; but ministers were recorded or designated by the meetings as their gifts appeared. In 1827 the Friends divided, part following the teachings of Elias Hicks, which inclined to Unitarianism. These are commonly known as "Hicksites" and the others as "Orthodox". Although the Hicksite movement was quite strong in the East it had few adherents in Indiana, and the church here was Orthodox. Another division began in the forties on the teachings of Joseph Gurney, against adherence to mere temporal forms; the opposition being led by John Wilbur. The former are sometimes called "Gurney", or "Progressive" Friends, and the latter "Wilbur" or "Conservative" Friends. The former, to which the Indianapolis church belongs, discarded distinctive dress, and have usually adopted paid ministers, singing, prescribed services, instrumental music, and revival methods. They have also organized the "Five Years' Meetings", with advisory rather than governmental powers, and most of them have adopted a "Uniform Discipline". Their national organ is *The American Friend*, a Philadelphia weekly publication.

The first resident ministers following Hannah Pearson were David and Hannah Tatum,

who were here from 1858 to 1866. In 1862 came James Trueblood, whose wife, Jane Trueblood, an Englishwoman, was an efficient minister for 30 years in the Indianapolis church, and also a prominent worker in the city's charities. In 1864 came James Smith, whose wife Sarah Smith, also an Englishwoman, and an efficient minister, became even more prominent in charitable work. She made her name Sarah J. Smith, to distinguish herself from Sarah Smith the Friend school teacher. She and her husband began the work among homeless and destitute women which developed into the Home for Friendless Women on North Capitol avenue; and when the Women's Prison and Girls' Reformatory was established she was made its superintendent, and served until the infirmities of age caused her to resign. Other ministers of the early period were Barnabas C. Hobbs, Enos G. Pray, Calvin W. Pritchard, Drusilla Wilson, William S. Wooten, Anna Mills, John Stanton, James Adams, and Joseph John Mills. The regularly employed pastorate began in 1888, when Levi Rees was called, and served until 1893. Following him came Thomas C. Brown, 1893-7; Albert J. Brown, 1897-1902; and Morton C. Pearson, 1902 to date.

The religious work of the Friends in Indianapolis can hardly be separated from their charitable work. During and after the Civil War, Jacob Willits and his son Penn had charge of the Freedman's Aid Society in a one-story building on Pennsylvania street north of Washington—an enterprise of Western Yearly Meeting that was of vast service to the colored refugees. The Orphan Asylum was an object of their special interest. Drusilla Wilson was president of the board of managers from the early sixties till she went to Columbus, Mississippi, to take charge, with her husband, of a colored school there for the Freedman's Aid Society. She was succeeded as president by Hannah Hadley, who served for some 20 years. In 1868, as colored orphans were not admitted to the asylum, she initiated the movement for a colored orphan asylum. Some of the largest donors, who were not Friends, made it a condition of their gifts that the institution should always be controlled by Friends, and it has always been controlled by boards of managers and

directors who were members of the Friends' Church. In 1887 the women of Western Yearly Meeting organized to establish a boarding home for girls, and opened it in August, 1890. It was an up-hill work to maintain it until William Hadley Ballard, seeing the importance of the work, determined to give it a permanent home as a memorial to his little daughter. He accordingly erected the fine building, with all conveniences, known as the Bertha Ballard Home, with accommodation for 60 girls. This was put in the hands of the association, which had been incorporated, and is now self-supporting.

An early mission Sunday school of Friends, in 1866, at East and St. Clair streets, developed into Allen A. M. E. Church. A mission established in 1890 in West Indianapolis grew beyond tutelage, and in 1904 was set off as a new meeting, with 175 members. David Commons is the present pastor. A later mission was established in Haughville, where it has a church on Holmes avenue with 100 members. Josiah Pennington is the pastor. The Friends' Church had no regular Sunday school of its own until 1863, when one was organized with Nathaniel Carpenter as superintendent. A Young People's Christian Endeavor Society was organized in 1889. A small organ was introduced for the Sunday school and Christian Endeavor work; then a piano for the Sunday school; and finally an organ for the church.

The project of a new church building was talked of for a dozen years before it finally ripened into action. Then the site was secured at Alabama and Thirteenth streets, and the present modern and handsome building was erected, at a cost of \$30,000. It was dedicated in the fall of 1895, the dedication sermon being preached by Benjamin F. Trueblood, the distinguished secretary of the American Peace Society, who is a native of Indiana and a graduate of Earlham College. In this church, on June 4, 1905, was celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the church, with appropriate services, including a historical review by Elizabeth Harvey Cox, which is more than a history of the church; it is a history of the Friends in Indianapolis. The church at the present time has 962 members, and 300 on the Sunday school roll; and

is recognized as one of the live churches of the city.

There may have been Jewish visitors to Indianapolis prior to the coming of the railroad, but none settled here until 1849, when Moses Woolf and Alexander and Daniel Franco, of Plymouth, England, came to the city. In 1850 the Knefler family came from Hungary. In 1853 Adolph Dessar, Max and Julius Glaser, and Max Dernham joined the colony. In 1855 Herman Bamberger and Jacob Goldman settled here. Organized congregational life dates from November 2, 1856, when fourteen Jews met at the house of Julius Glaser and organized the Indianapolis Hebrew Congregation. The officers elected were Moses Woolf, president; Dr. J. M. Rosenthal, vice president; Max Glaser, treasurer; Adolph Dessar, secretary; and Max Dernham, Adolph Rosenthal and Julius Glaser, trustees. At the same meeting enough money was subscribed to buy three and a half acres of land south of the city for a Jewish burial ground. In 1857 a room on the third floor of Blake's block, opposite the Bates House (now Claypool Hotel) on Washington street, was rented by President Woolf for divine worship. In the fall of that year Rev. M. Berman was engaged for the holidays, and remained with the congregation for a year, holding services on Saturday mornings.

But others of the faith were coming to Indianapolis, and the congregation found their quarters too small, so, in 1858, they established themselves in a hall on Washington street, across from the court house, and the noted Dr. Isaac M. Wise came to dedicate the hall to its new use. The dedication was on October 24, and on the night of the 25th a dinner was given at Parisette's, the leading caterer of the time, with prominent people as guests, toasts, and all the accompaniments of a gala occasion.² In a short time Rev. Judah Wechsler was engaged as Rabbi, and remained in that capacity till 1861. Meanwhile there had been a considerable influx of Jews from various European countries, and with somewhat conflicting ideas of church usage, so that there was a difference of opin-

²Best account is in *The Citizen*, October 26, 1858.

ion as to a successor to Rabbi Wechsler; but finally Rabbi Max Moses was secured. He was of the progressive type, and first introduced singing by a choir in the congregation. In 1863-4 Rabbi Kallish was in charge; and after him Judah Wechsler came again, and remained until 1867. During his rabbinate the congregation decided on permanent quarters. On Thanksgiving day, 1864, a committee with Morris Solomon at the head was appointed to hold a fair and raise funds, and the work was prosecuted thereafter with such success that in 1865 the corner-stone of the Temple on Market street was laid by Rabbi Lillienthal and Governor Conrad Baker.

Following Rabbi Wechsler, came Rabbi Mayer Messing, on October 21, 1867. For a stay of forty years. He is a native of Germany, born in Gostyn, Posen, December 10, 1843. His father was a Rabbi, and so are his brothers, Henry J. Messing of St. Louis, and A. J. Messing of Chicago. His father was also a writer on religious topics, and the preface of one of his books was written by Sir Moses Montefiore. Mayer Messing was carefully educated, and after receiving his degree, in 1860, he was chosen Rabbi of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Four years later he succeeded his father as Rabbi at Gostyn. He served in the German army during the Austro-Prussian war, but secured his release after its close, and came to New York in 1867. He was called from New York here, and began his work at once on arrival, officiating at the services for the Holy Days, which began the day after his arrival. He was an enthusiastic worker and educator, and made his congregation the foremost reformed congregation of the state. On his arrival he instituted Friday evening services, and started a daily Hebrew class and a Sabbath school for the children on Saturday mornings, after the services. Later he took up departmental work on Sunday mornings, in which the young people took part gladly, and the Temple has long had the unique feature of a Sunday school.

His work has not been limited to his church, but has reached out in all charitable and humane lines. Attention has often been attracted by his work, hand in hand with Father Bessonies and Oscar McCullough in the charities of the city. He is on the boards of the Industrial Home for the Blind, the Fresh

Air Mission and the Indiana Red Cross. He was the first president of the local Humane Society. At the same time he has always taken an active and stimulating part in the special charities of the Jewish church; and in his service he has gone out to all parts of the state. He came here in time to join with Dr. Wise, of Cincinnati, in dedicating the Market Street Temple, and had the satisfaction of aiding in the dedication of its successor. There had been some advocates of a change of site, and in 1897 when the Ohav Zedek Hungarian congregation offered \$10,000 for the old Temple it was decided to accept it. A new site was purchased at St. Joe and Delaware streets, where the corner-stone of the new Temple was laid on June 5, 1899, and the handsome building was dedicated on November 3, 1899. In 1907, at the close of his forty years of labor, Rabbi Messing retired as active head of the congregation and was made Rabbi Emeritus. In 1909 he left for an eight-months tour of Europe and to the Holy Land.

Rabbi Messing was succeeded by Rabbi Morris M. Feuerlicht, who had been his associate Rabbi since 1904. Morris M. Feuerlicht is a son of Rev. Jacob Feuerlicht, an able scholar and teacher, who has served several prominent congregations, and since 1904 has been superintendent of the Jewish Home for the Aged, at Chicago. Morris M. Feuerlicht was born January 17, 1879. He was educated at the Brimmer School, Boston, and the University of Cincinnati and Hebrew Union College, receiving his degree of Rabbi in 1901. He afterwards did post-graduate work at the Chicago University. He served as Rabbi at Lafayette before coming here. Since coming he has taken an active part in the literary and charitable life of the city, as well as actively pursuing his church work. He is president of the Children's Aid Society, which has been an important coadjutor of the Juvenile Court. The membership of the Temple at present is 225 heads of families and there are 150 children in the Sabbath school. It is worthy of note that the Indianapolis Hebrew congregation has shown the greatest liberality by tendering the use of the temple to Meridian Street Church, St. Paul's Church and to Plymouth Church congregations when their churches were destroyed. The Jewish services being on Fri-

day and Saturday, leave the Temple free on Sunday. The example in toleration is well worth consideration by Christian sects; and a number of Christian ministers have exchanged pulpits with Rabbis Messing and Feuerlicht.

The Hungarian Ohev Zedek (Love the Truth) congregation was organized in 1885, by Israel Glick, who was not a rabbi, but a teacher and "cantor". He served until 1889, and was followed by Rabbi Federman, 1889-94; Rabbi Klein, 1894-7; Rabbi Jacob Hartman, 1897 to date. The congregation first

Hebrew congregation which worships at Madison avenue and Union street was organized in June, 1904, by Rabbi Charles Hoffman, now of Newark, N. J. He was succeeded by Rabbi Samuel B. Kaufman, who established a Hebrew school and Sabbath school in connection with the temple work. He resigned in 1908, and was succeeded in 1909 by Rabbi Hirsh Goldberg. The Polish congregation holding services at Eddy and Merrill streets, known as Kenasses Israel, was organized in 1892. The Rabbi in charge is I. E. Neustadt, a thorough Talmudic and Hebraic scholar.



THE JEWISH TEMPLE.

worshipped in a hall at the southeast corner of Ohio and Market streets. It then went to a hall at Virginia avenue and Louisiana street until 1897, when it purchased the Market street Temple. This is an orthodox congregation, following all the old usages, such as the men wearing their hats during the services, etc. It formerly maintained a daily school (except on Saturdays) which was conducted in Hebrew, German and English, but this has been discontinued for several years. The congregation includes 57 heads of families. Most of the services are in Hebrew.

There are three other orthodox Hebrew congregations in Indianapolis. The United

and an active worker in the Jewish Federation. He is also Rabbi of the Shaare Tefila congregation, which holds services on Meridian street near Nerwood. The services of both these congregations are held in Hebrew.

The Adventists are in a general way the successors of the "Millerites", who began looking for the second coming of Christ in 1843. Notwithstanding disappointments there were over 50,000 of them who still adhered to the faith at the time of William Miller's death in 1849; and there are over 90,000 of them now in the six sects into which the millennial churches have divided. Of these much the strongest is the Seventh Day Adventists,

who have about 1,500 churches and over 57,000 members. Four of the sects are congregational in government, but the Seventh Day Adventists and the Church of God each have conferences that are supreme. The Seventh Day Adventists, the only one of the sects represented in Indianapolis, hold that the millennial prophecy was fulfilled in 1843; that the Day of Judgment is in progress; that the "cleansing of the sanctuary" has occurred; that total abstinence, vegetarianism and hygiene are essential features of religion; that the gift of prophecy still exists, and was accorded to Mrs. Ellen G. White; that the United States is "the two-horned beast"; that the dead are unconscious; that the wicked are punished by annihilation; and that salvation is free to all who accept its conditions before death. Their baptism is by immersion. Their headquarters are at Battle Creek, Mich., and they have seven publishing houses in various parts of the world, with sanitariums and seminaries in several states and missionaries all over the earth.

The first known organized work of the Seventh Day Adventists here, was a mission established on Cherry street (Tenth) in 1884. A building was erected at Fourteenth and Central avenue in 1888; and the First Church was organized there on August 25, 1888. In 1903 this was sold, and in 1901-5 the present building was erected at 515 East Twenty-third street. It was dedicated on October 8, 1905. This church has 92 members, and 86 in the Sunday school, though two other churches have been set off from it. The Second Seventh Day Adventist Church is at Thirteenth and Rural streets, and has 54 members. The Third, or West Side Church, is at 2126 W. Michigan street, and has 38 members. The church organization is essentially missionary and evangelistic, and there is seldom a regular pastorate in a church, though there are elders who have charge of them and are for the time being their ministers. The ministers in charge for 1909-10 are Elders Morris Lukens, A. L. Miller and W. A. Young. There is much more control of the members by the elders than is common in other churches, and their membership is notably exemplary.

The Moravian Church claims to be the oldest of the protestant churches, and with some

reason, for it was originally organized by the followers of John Huss, and had over 200,000 members at the time of Luther's Reformation. Its episcopal or apostolic succession came from the Austrian Waldesses, through Bishop Stephens in 1467. It was badly crippled by persecutions in the Seventeenth century, but was reorganized under Count Zinzendorf in the Eighteenth, and became noted in America for its mission work among the Indians. In fact it may almost claim precedence at Indianapolis, for, although there is a tradition of an earlier Catholic mission, the only certainly known mission to the Indians on White River was that of the Moravians, 1801-6. The first church organization was made at Indianapolis on December 8, 1894. The corner-stone of the church building at College avenue and Twenty-sixth street was laid in 1901, and the building was formally opened on October 26 of that year, but was not dedicated until 1909. The pastors have been Wm. Vogler, 1894-1903; M. E. Kemper, 1903-5; George J. Crist, 1905 to date. The church has 107 members, and 210 in the Sunday school. The Moravian Church has no fixed creed, but its teachings are those of the protestant churches in general, except that it leaves to the individual his choice of belief as to the "mysteries", such as the Trinity, predestination, the sacraments, the method of regeneration, etc. They believe in the conscious existence of the soul after death, and the resurrection of the body. The official name of the church is *Unitas Fratrum*, or Unity of Brethren, but they are sometimes called United Brethren or United Brethren in Christ.

What are more commonly known as the United Brethren, however, or more properly, "United Brethren in Christ", are the members of a denomination formally organized in 1800, as the result of a revival movement begun among the Germans of Pennsylvania and Maryland in 1765 by Philip William Otterbein, a minister of the German Reformed Church, and Martin Boehm, a Mennonite minister. The theology of the church is Arminian, and it has no official connection with either the Moravians or the Methodists, though its organization is very similar to the latter. Originally its services were conducted in German, but they are now almost wholly

in English. Women have been admitted to the ministry on equal terms with men since 1889. The first society of this denomination in Indianapolis was organized in 1850, and in 1851 it built a brick church at the southeast corner of Ohio and New Jersey streets which was occupied for a quarter of a century. In 1869 there was a split in the society, and the majority reorganized under the name of the Liberal United Brethren, and closed the doors of the church to the minority. The minority brought suit, and recovered possession of the property on August 31, 1870. The Liberals then disbanded, most of the members going into the Methodist Church. The pastors up to 1870 were J. D. Vardaman, A. Long, A. Davis, M. Wright, D. Stover, C. W. Witt, P. S. Cook, William Nichols, L. S. Clittenden, J. S. Wall, Amos Hanway, B. F. Morgan and W. J. Pruner. Amos Hanway, the best known of these, went off with the Liberals and became a Methodist. The United Brethren afterwards removed to Oak street, between Vine and Cherry; and later built their present church at Park avenue and St. Clair, of which Rev. Elmer E. Swords is pastor. The Second United Brethren Church was organized in 1889, and at once built its church at Dearborn and Eleventh streets. The pastor is M. K. Richardson, and it has 125 members, and 100 in the Sunday school.

The Reformed Church in the United States, formerly known as the German Reformed Church, is an offshoot of the Reformed Church of Germany, one of the great sects resulting from the Reformation. It is represented in Indianapolis by six churches. The First Reformed Church, at Ohio and Noble streets, the oldest of these, dates back to 1852. In the fall of 1851 the Board of Domestic Missions sent Rev. George Lang here as a missionary, and he began preaching every Sunday in the court house. He soon gathered a permanent congregation, and on June 24, 1852, the corner-stone of a church building was laid on a site on Alabama street, half a square north of Washington. The church was completed and dedicated on December 5, 1852. Mr. Lang served until 1856, and his successors have been, M. G. J. Stern, 1857-65; Henry Eehmeier, 1865-8; J. S. Barth (supply), 1868-9; H. Helming, 1871-

80; John Rettig, 1881-3; C. E. Keller, 1883-6; C. Wisner, 1886-8; J. G. Steinib, 1888-9; W. Wittenberg, 1899-1901; C. Wisner, 1901-5; H. Helming (supply), 1905-7; Frederick W. Engelmann, 1907 to date. During the pastorate of Mr. Eehmeier the church was enlarged; but the congregation outgrew it, and in 1889 moved to a new building at Noble and Ohio streets, which was dedicated on September 1, 1889. This church now has 108 members, and 50 in the Sunday school.

The Second (St. John's) Reformed Church was organized as a free church in 1859, with C. E. Kuester as pastor till 1866. Then C. J. E. Steinbach, a Lutheran missionary worker, ministered to it for two years. On January 1, 1868, the congregation called M. G. J. Stern in his place; and in 1871 the second Reformed Church was organized, Mr. Stern serving as its pastor for over thirty years. Connected with this church is a German-English parochial school. The first church building was on East street, south of Merrill. The present one is at the corner of Merrill and Alabama, and Henry W. Vitz has been the pastor since January, 1898. The church has 467 members, and 387 in the Sunday school. In 1880, sixty of the members of the First Church left it and organized the Third (Immanuel) Reformed Church. Its building at New Jersey and Prospect street was dedicated May 29, 1881. The pastors have been Herman Helming, A. G. Gekeler, E. Vernholt and William Knierim, the present incumbent. It is a strong church, out of debt, with 450 members, and 310 in the Sunday school.

St. Paul's German Reformed Church, at 709 N. Belmont avenue, was organized May 26, 1884, and the building was dedicated in November, 1885. The pastors have been N. Rene, 1884-7; W. Diehm, 1889-92; F. Kalbfleisch, 1893-1901; L. D. Baus, 1902-5; L. W. Stolte, 1906 to date. This church has 164 members, and 175 on the Sunday school roll. There are two other, later and smaller churches of this denomination. Butler Memorial Church, twenty years old, is at Tenth and Oakland avenue, and J. F. Grandel is the pastor. Central avenue is at the corner of Twenty-first and Central avenue, and Henry F. Gekeler has been the pastor since its organization, June 9, 1905. The building

was purchased from the United Brethren, who erected it in 1898. This church has 76 members and 85 in the Sunday school. It is the only English church of this denomination in the city, the other five being German. The denomination has had a mission Sunday school at Raymond and Chestnut streets since 1907, but no congregation is yet organized there.

The German Evangelical Church is the American representative of the national Protestant Church of Prussia, which was formed in 1817 by a union of Lutheran and Calvinistic churches. Its oldest congregation in Indianapolis is Zion's Church at 32 W. Ohio street. It was organized in April, 1841, and the corner-stone of its first building (frame) was laid in 1843, on the present site. The building was completed and dedicated on May 18, 1845. Until then the church had no regular pastor, but was served by Rev. J. G. Knuz. In 1844 Rev. J. S. Isensee was called and served from 1845 to 1850. Following him were Adolph Rahn, 1850-1; Carl Riehl, 1851-3; C. E. Zobel, 1853-4; C. E. Kuester, 1854-9; Hermann Quenius, 1859-83; J. C. Peters, 1883 to date. The pastorate of Mr. Quenius was closed by his death on January 6, 1883. The membership is counted by families, of which there are 308; and the membership of the Sunday school is 488.

The corner-stone of the present brick church was laid on July 1, 1866; and it was dedicated on February 5, 1867. The parochial school was established in 1841, and in 1860 a two-story brick building was erected for it in the rear of the church. It was continued until 1880, and then stopped until 1883, when it was revived for one year, and then finally discontinued. The Ladies' Auxiliary Society of this church does charitable work over the city, independent of the Charity Organization. It was organized in 1883 and has 550 members. This is the parent church of this denomination. There are now three others; St. John's Church, at Sanders and Leonard streets, Theodore Schory, pastor; St. Lucas Church, at Temple avenue and New York, John A. Reller, pastor; St. Paul's Church, Columbia avenue and Seventeenth, Christian Hansen, pastor. St. John's was organized July 13, 1896, by the mission board,

and became self-supporting in three years. Its church was built in the summer of 1897, and dedicated on August 8, 1897. Mr. Schory has been the pastor from the organization. The church has 457 members, and 325 in the Sunday school. St. Lucas is still a mission, organized in April, 1904. Its building was erected in the spring of 1906, and dedicated in July. It has 56 members, and 70 in the Sunday school. Mr. Reller has been the pastor since the organization.

The Evangelical Association is a sect that was organized by Jacob Albright, a Methodist evangelist among the Germans of Western Pennsylvania, in 1807. It is very similar to the Methodist Church in organization and doctrine. It grew rapidly, and in 1901 had 27 annual conferences—one in Japan, one in Switzerland, two in Germany. Its first society in Indianapolis was organized June 19, 1855, as Immanuel Church, and its first building was on New Jersey street, between Market and Ohio. On August 23, 1870, the name of the society was changed to Salem Church, but it is now known as First Church, Evangelical Association. It was originally a German church, but all services are now in English. The pastors, with years of accession, have been M. W. Steffy, 1855; H. Kramer, 1857; M. Hoehn, 1858; M. Krueger, 1860; A. B. Schäfer, 1862; G. G. Platz, 1863; J. M. Gomer, 1864; J. Fuels, 1865; F. Witthamp, 1867; I. Kaufmann, 1868; Conrad Tramer, 1870; M. Hoehn, 1871; H. L. Fischer, 1874; Conrad Tramer, 1875; C. F. Hausing, 1878; I. Fischer, 1880; M. Hoehn, 1883; M. W. Steffy, 1885; C. F. Hausing, 1888; J. M. Haug, 1891; H. Schlener, 1893; F. Schweitzer, 1894; W. G. Braeckly, 1897; Frederick Ransch, 1899; J. H. Breish, 1903; S. H. Baumgartner, 1907; G. B. Kimmel, 1909. The corner-stone of the present church, at New York and East street, was laid in 1882, and the church was dedicated November 4, 1882. The church has 240 members and there are 400 enrolled in the Sunday school. There are two later churches of this sect; Second Church, at Wilkins and Church streets, of which Chas. F. Hausing is pastor; and Grace Mission, on Beville avenue near Michigan, of which Daniel E. Zeehid is pastor.

CHAPTER XLVI.

ROSTER OF CITY OFFICIALS, 1847-1909.

MAYOR.—Samuel Henderson, 1847-9; Horatio C. Newcomb (resigned November 7, 1851), 1849-51; Caleb Scudder, 1851-4; James McCready, 1854-6; Henry F. West (died November 8, 1856), 1856; Charles Coulon (filled vacancy to November 22), 1856; William John Wallace (resigned May 3, 1858), 1856-8; Samuel D. Maxwell, 1858-63; John Caven, 1863-7, 1875-81; Daniel Macauley, 1867-73; James L. Mitchell, 1873-5; Daniel W. Grubbs, 1881-3; John L. McMaster, 1883-5; Caleb S. Denny, 1885-9, 1893-5; Thomas L. Sullivan, 1889-93; Thomas Taggart, 1895-1901; Charles A. Bookwalter, 1901-3, 1906-9; John W. Holtzman,¹ 1903-5; Samuel L. Shank, 1910.

CITY CLERK.—Daniel B. Culley, 1853-4; James N. Sweetser, 1854-5; Alfred Stephens (died October 14, 1856), 1855-6; Frederick Stein (to fill vacancy), 1856-7; Geo. H. West, 1857-8; John G. Waters, 1858-63; Cyrus S. Butterfield, 1863-7; Daniel M. Ransdell, 1867-71; John B. Clinton, 1871-5; Benj. C. Wright, 1875-9; Jos. T. Wagner, 1879-83; Geo. T. Brenning, 1883-5; Michael F. Shields, 1885-7; John W. Bowlus, 1887-9; Elias B. Swift, 1889-91; Randall J. Abrams, 1891-3; Lee Nixon, 1893-5; Chas. H. Stueckmeyer, 1895-9; John F. Geckler, 1899-1901; Chas. N. Elliott, 1901-3; Wm. M. Fogarty, 1903-5; James McNulty, 1906-9; Edward A. Ramsay, 1910.

CITY COMPTROLLER.—Wm. W. Woollen, 1891-3; Preston C. Trusler, 1893-5; Eudorus M. Johnson (resigned June 30, 1901), 1895-

1901; Jacob P. Dunn, July-October, 1901, 1903-5; Geo. T. Breunig, 1901-3, 1906-9; Howard Kimball, 1910.

CITY CIVIL ENGINEER.—James Wood, Sr. (died November 15, 1862), 1845-55, 1858-62; Anzi B. Condit, 1855-6; Daniel B. Hosbrook, 1856-8; James Wood, Jr. (died July, 1866), 1862-6; Joshua Staples, Jr., 1866-7; R. M. Patterson (resigned June 1, 1881), 1867-73, 1878-9, 1879-81; James W. Brown, 1873-5; Bernhard H. Dietz (resigned June 10, 1878), 1875-8; Thaddeus Reed (removed July 14, 1879), 1879; Samuel H. Shearer, 1881-90; A. P. Shawyer, 1890; Henry A. Mansfield, 1891-3; Charles C. Brown, 1893-5; Bernard J. T. Joup, 1895-1901, 1903-5; James B. Nelson, 1901-3; Blaine H. Miller, 1906-9; Henry W. Klausman, 1910.

CITY JUDGE.—John N. Scott, 1867-8.

POLICE JUDGE.—E. C. Buskirk, 1891-3; Geo. W. Stubbs, 1893-5, 1901-3; Chas. E. Cox, 1895-9; Wm. C. Daly, 1899-1901; Thos. C. Whallon, 1903-9; James A. Collins, 1910.

CITY SOLICITOR.—Byron K. Elliott, November 11, 1872-May 12, 1873.

CITY ATTORNEY.—Andrew M. Carnahan (resigned April 3, 1848), 1847-8; Napoleon B. Taylor, 1848, 1853-6; Wm. B. Greer, 1848-9; Edwin Coburn, 1849-50; William Wallace (resigned October 28, 1850), 1850; Abram A. Hammond, 1850-1; Albert G. Porter, 1851-3; John T. Morrison, 1856-7; Benjamin Harrison, 1857-8; Samuel V. Morris, 1858-9; Byron K. Elliott (resigned October 31, 1870), 1859-61, 1865-70, 1873-5; James N. Sweetser, 1861-3; Richard J. Ryan, 1863-5; Jonathan S. Harvey, 1870-3; Casabianca Byfield (deposed May 8, 1876), 1875-6; Roscoe O. Hawkins, 1876-9; John A. Henry, 1879-82; Caleb S. Denny, 1882-5; Wm. L. Taylor, 1885-9; Leon

¹By act of March 6, 1905, the Mayor's term, formerly ending in October, was extended to the succeeding January, making the years following calendar years. The term was made four years, and the incumbent not eligible to a consecutive second term.

O. Bailey, 1889-91; Aquilla Q. Jones, 1892-3; John E. Scott, 1893-5; James B. Curtis, 1895-7; John W. Kern, 1897-1901; Frederick A. Joss, 1901-3; Henry Warrum, 1903-5; Frederick E. Matson, 1906-9; Crate D. Bowen, 1909; Merle N. A. Walker, 1910.

CORPORATION COUNSEL.—Frederick E. Matson, 1909; Joseph B. Kealing, 1910.

BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS.—A. W. Condit, 1891-3; M. M. Defrees, 1891-3; Adolph Scherrer, 1891-3; James A. Wildman, 1893-5; Andrew Kramer, 1893-5; Frederick J. Meyer, 1893-5; W. B. Holton, February to October, 1895; John Osterman, February to October, 1895; E. L. Atkinson, February to October, 1895; M. A. Downing, 1895-9, 1903-5; E. A. Austin (resigned December 8, 1896), 1895-6; W. Scott Moore, 1895-9; Martin C. Anderson (died October 13, 1897), 1897; Thos. J. Montgomery (died December 20, 1899), 1897-9; Joseph T. Fanning (resigned May 25, 1900), 1899-1900; Albert Sahn, 1899-1901; Jos. W. Smith, 1899-1901; Charles Maguire (filled Fanning's vacancy), 1900-3; Harold C. Megrew, 1901-3; Edwin D. Logsdon, 1901-3; Jacob Woessner, 1903-5; David Wallace, 1903-5; Joseph T. Elliott, 1906-9; Preston C. Trusler, 1906-9; Fred J. Mack, 1906-9; Christian A. Schrader, 1910; Charles L. Hutchinson, 1910; Edward J. O'Reilly, 1910.

SECRETARY BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS.—Bart Parker, 1891-8; Chas. H. Spencer, 1898-1901; Merle Sidener, 1901-2; E. E. Harris, 1902-3; W. R. Williams, 1903-5; Frank J. Noll, 1906 to date.

BOARD OF PUBLIC SAFETY.—Edward Hawkins, 1891-3; W. A. Sullivan, 1891-3; Robert Catterson, 1891-3; Nicholas R. Ruckle, 1893-5; John B. Conner, 1893-5; John F. White, 1893-5; Charles Maguire, 1895-8; Fred J. Mack, 1895-9; Thos. J. Morse, 1895-9; Chas. C. Roth, 1898-1900; Nelson J. Hyde, 1899-1901; W. S. McMillen, 1899-1901; John H. Mahoney, 1900-1; Wm. E. English, 1901-2; Conrad Keller, 1901-3; Wm. H. Schoppenhorst, 1901-3; Robert A. Bryson, 1902-3; Thos. Madden, 1903-5; Frank Straub, 1903-5; John Q. Hicks, 1903-5; Lew W. Cooper, 1906-9; Charles W. Tutewiler, 1906-9; Wm. Schoppenhorst, 1906-9; William E. Davis, 1910; Elmer E. Gay, 1910; Jesse S. Sisslof, 1910.

SECRETARY BOARD OF PUBLIC SAFETY.—John L. F. Steeg, 1891-3; Richard C. Herrick,

1893-8; Edward H. Davis, 1899-1901; John B. Wood, 1901-3, 1906-9, 1910; Edward McLaughlin, 1903-5.

CHIEF FIRE ENGINEER (known as Superintendent of Fire Department after 1891).—Thomas M. Smith, 1813-7; Joseph Little, 1853-4; Jacob B. Fidler, 1854-5; Charles W. Purcell, 1855-6; Andrew Wallace, 1856-8; Joseph W. Davis, 1858-63; John E. Foudray (resigned November, 1859), 1859; Charles Richmann, 1863-7, 1868-70, 1872-4; George W. Buchanan, 1867-8; Daniel Glazier (killed March 11, 1873), 1870-3; Michael G. Fitchey, 1873-6; W. O. Sherwood, 1876-8; John G. Pendergast, 1878-82; Joseph H. Webster, 1882-9, 1891-5; Frank L. Dougherty, 1889-91; Thos. F. Barrett, 1895-1901; Chas. E. Coots, 1901 to date.

BUILDING INSPECTOR.—M. G. Fitchey, 1893; John G. Pendergast, 1893-5; Geo. W. Bunting, 1895-7; John C. Robison, 1897-9; Jacob H. Hilkene, 1899-1900; Geo. V. Bedell, 1900-1; Samuel G. Bartel, 1901-3; Geo. W. Stanley, 1903-5; Thos. A. Winterrowd, 1906 to date.

CITY MARSHAL.—William Campbell, 1817-8; John L. Bishop, 1818-9; Sams A. Colley, 1819-50, 1851-2; Benjamin Pilbeam, 1850-1, 1853-5; Elisha McNeely, 1852-3; Geo. W. Pitts, 1855-6; Jefferson Springsteen, 1856-8, 1859-61; Augustine D. Rose, 1858-9; David W. Loucks (died April 21, 1862), 1861-2; John Inversaw, 1862-9; George Taffe, 1869-71; Thomas D. Amos, 1871-3; W. Clinton West, 1873-5; Eli Thompson, 1875-7; Alonzo D. Harvey, 1877-9; Richard S. Colter (legislated out of office April 16, 1883), 1879-83.

CAPTAIN OF THE WATCH.—Jefferson Springsteen, 1851-5; Jesse M. Vanblaricum, 1855-6, 1862; Chas. G. Warner, 1856-7; Augustine D. Rose (resigned September 11, 1861), 1857-8; 1859-61; Samuel Lefever, 1858-9; Thomas A. Ramsey, 1861-2; John R. Cotton, 1862.

CHIEF OF POLICE (Superintendent of Police after 1891).—David Powell, 1861-5; Samuel A. Craner, 1865; Jesse M. Vanblaricum, 1865-6; Thomas S. Wilson, 1866-9; Henry Paul, 1870-1; Eli Thompson, 1871-1; Frank Wilson, 1871-6; Austin C. Dewey, 1876-7; Albert Travis, 1877-80, 1887-91; Robert C. Williamson (legislated out of office April 16, 1883), 1880-3; John A. Lang, 1883-7; Thom-

as F. Colbert, 1887, 1891-3, 1895-7; Geo. W. Powell, 1893-5; James F. Quigley, 1897-1901; George A. Taffe, 1901-3; C. L. Krueger, 1903-5; Robert Metzger, 1906-9; Martin J. Hyland, 1910.

STREET COMMISSIONER (corresponding office known as Foreman of Street Repairs after 1891, and Superintendent of Street Repairs after 1897).—Jacob R. Fidler, 1847-8, 1855-7; John Bishop, 1848-9; Geo. W. Pitts, 1849-50; Geo. Youngerman, 1850-1; Joseph Butsch, 1851-2; Hugh Slaven, 1852-3; William Hughley, 1853-5; Henry Colestock, 1857-61; John A. Colestock, 1861-3; John M. Kemper, 1863-5; August Richter, 1865-9; August Bruner, 1869-73; Thos. Wiles, 1873-5; Stephen Mattler (deposed May 8, 1876), 1875-6; Leander A. Fulmer, 1876-85; Chas. S. Roney, 1885-9; Derk De Ruiter, 1889-91; Patrick Harrold, 1891-3; J. L. Fisher, 1893-5; Geo. H. Herpick, 1895-1901, 1903-5; Wm. H. Evans, 1901-3; Joseph L. Hogue, 1906.

CITY GAS INSPECTOR.—George H. Fleming (left city in March, 1871), 1868-71; William S. Cone (resigned November 6, 1871), 1871; E. T. Cox, 1871-3; Ryland T. Brown, 1873-4; Alexander Robertson (defaulted—office abolished), 1874-5.

MARKET MASTER (East Market).—Jacob Miller (resigned August 2, 1852), 1847-52, 1854-5; Sampson Barbee, Sr. (resigned March 20, 1818), 1847-8; Geo. W. Harlan, 1852-3, 1856-7; Henry Ohr, 1853-4; Richard Weeks, 1855-6, 1857-8; Charles John, 1858-61, 1862-3, 1864-7; Thos. J. Foos, 1861-2; John J. Wenner, 1863-4; Sampson Barbee, Jr., 1867-8; Gideon B. Thompson, 1868-9; Theodore W. Pease, 1869-70; John G. Mardick, 1870-1; John Unversaw, 1871-4; John F. Gulick, 1874-6; William Shaw, 1876-7; Jehiel B. Hampton, 1877-8; Joseph M. Sutton, 1878-9; Albert Izor, 1879-80; James A. Gregg (to December 31, 1881),² 1880-1; Orville B. Rankin, 1882-4; Wm. H. Pritchard, 1885-6; Benj. Aldridge, 1887-8; J. E. Isgrigg, 1889-90; Jno. P. Schiltges, 1891-2; Armin Koehne, 1893-5; E. M. Goebel, 1895-1901; Thomas Shufelton, 1901-3; James A. McCrossan, 1903-5; Joseph Foppiano, 1906-9; Carlin H. Shank, 1910.

MARKET MASTER (West Market).—Roger R. Shiel, 1877-8; Charles N. Lee (resigned February 15, 1879), 1878-9; Levi H. Rowell (filled Lee's vacancy), 1879; Leroy C. Morris, 1879-80; Ed. A. Guthrie (resigned October 1, 1880), 1880; Abraham L. Stoner (resigned May 11, 1883), 1880-3; James R. Shelton, 1883-4; Thomas Kearney, 1884-6, 1891-2; James B. McCaffrey, 1887-8; Richard Wells, 1889-90.

MARKET MASTER (South Side Market).—Joseph Wagner, 1899-1901; Eliot T. Oburn, 1901-3; James T. Smith, 1903-4.

CITY WEIGH MASTER.—John Patton, 1847-8; Adam Haugh, 1848-56; Willard Nichols, 1876-8; John W. Smither, 1878-9; William P. Ballard, 1879-80; Jesse De Haven, 1880-4; Edward J. Conway, 1885-8; Harry Phillips, 1889-91; Jos. C. Cabalzer, 1891-3; Charles O. Britton, 1893-5.

SEALER OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.—Joseph W. Davis, 1853-4; Jacob T. Williams, 1854-6; Hugh J. Kelly, 1856-7; James M. Jameson, 1857-8; John G. Hanning, 1858-9; Cyrus S. Butterfield, 1859-61; James Loucks, 1861-6; John L. Bishop, 1866-7; Augustus Bruner, 1867-8; Samuel B. Morris, 1868-71, 1873-4; William H. Phillips, 1871-3; Ignatz Cook (office abolished), 1874-5.

INSPECTOR OF SCALES, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.—J. M. Bartley, 1902-3; Patrick J. Ryan, 1903-5; Isidor Wolfson, 1906 to date.

CITY COMMISSIONERS.—Edmund Browning, 1855-61; Nathan B. Palmer, 1855-8; J. M. Talbott, 1855-8; W. Clinton Thompson, 1855-61; G. E. West, 1855-8; David S. Beaty, 1858-61, 1863-6; Adam Gold, 1858-61; Adam Knodle, 1858-61; James Blake, 1861-4; Wm. Boaz, 1861-4; Andrew Brouse, 1861-4; James Sulgrove, 1861-6; Lemuel Vananingham (resigned November 27, 1865), 1861-5; Aegidius Naltner, 1863-6; David V. Culley (resigned November 27, 1865), 1863-5; William Coughlen, 1866-7; J. W. Davis, 1865-6; T. L. Roberts, 1865-6; William Braden (resigned May 21, 1870), 1866-70; James N. Russell (died November, 1869), 1866-9; Thomas Schooley, 1866-9; Samuel M. Seibert, 1866-73; James C. Yohn, 1866-9, 1879-85; John F. Ramsey, 1869-73; Joseph M. Sutton (resigned June 27, 1873), 1869-73; Ignatius Brown (filled Russell's vacancy), 1869-73; William S. Hubbard, 1871-5; George W. Alex-

²The act of March 8, 1881, required election of officers by council for terms running two years from following January.

ander, 1873-5; William J. Elliott, 1873-5; J. George Stütz, 1873-5; Peter Weis, 1873-5; John L. Avery, 1875-9; J. S. Hildebrand, 1875-9; Geo. W. Hill, 1875-84; Wm. Mansur, 1875-9; Robert H. Patterson, 1875-9; William Hadley, 1879-89; Michael Steinhauser, 1879-84; Newton Kellogg, 1879-84; F. W. Hamilton, 1881-5, 1889-90; August Kuhn, 1881-5; John L. F. Steeg, 1884-8, 1891; Joseph T. Wagner, 1885-8; Wm. Johnson, 1885-8; James Renihan, 1885-90; John R. Elder, 1889-90; Ivan N. Walker, 1889-90; Horace Hadley, 1890-4; James Smith, 1891; Chas. R. Balke, 1891; Wm. M. Coval, 1891.

CHIEF OF ASSESSMENT BUREAU.—M. L. Jefferson, 1893-5; Wm. A. Hughes, 1895-7; Myron D. King, 1897-1901; Samuel P. Stoddard, 1901-3; M. F. Lahey, 1903-5; W. O. McKinney, 1905-8; Eugene F. Harris, 1909; Henry M. Cochrane, 1910.

BOARD OF HEALTH.—W. Clinton Thompson, 1849-50, 1869-70; James S. Harrison, 1849-50; David Funkhouser (resigned March 4, 1850), 1849-50, 1857; George W. Mears (resigned September 11, 1861), 1850-3; 1854-5, 1861, 1863-9; Livingston Dunlap, 1850-3; John L. Mothershead, 1850-5; Patrick H. Jameson, 1853-4, 1855-7; Charles Parry, 1853-4, 1857-9; John S. Dobbs, 1854-7; Talbot Bullard, 1855-7; James H. Woodburn, 1857-61, 1889-90; John M. Kitchen, 1858-61; Clay Brown, 1861-2; Mansur H. Wright, 1861-5; John M. Gaston, 1862-4, 1871-2; Will R. Bullard, 1864-6; Emil Kline, 1865-6; Thos. B. Harvey, 1866-7, 1869-71; Robert N. Todd, 1866-9; John P. Avery, 1867-8; John A. Cominger, 1869-73; Guido Bell, 1870-4; Wm. Wards, 1872-4, 1877-80, 1881-8; Samuel A. Elbert, 1873-4, 1876-7; James S. Athon, 1874-6; A. Stratford, 1874-6; Charles E. Wright, 1874-6; Francis M. Hook, 1876-7; Joseph W. Marsce, 1876-7; Thomas N. Bryan, 1877-8; Henry Jameson, 1877-80; William E. Jeffries, 1879-81; Elijah S. Elder (resigned November 19, 1883), 1880-3; Wm. J. Elston, 1880-4; Moses T. Runnels, 1881-3; John A. Sutcliffe, 1881-8; Edward J. Brennan (filled Elder's vacancy), 1883-8; John N. Hurty, 1889-90; S. E. Earp (resigned March 15, 1889), 1889; Otto B. Pettijohn, 1889-90; Frank A. Morrison, 1891; H. S. Cunningham, 1891; W. J. Browning, 1891.

BOARD OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND CHARITIES.—Frank A. Morrison, 1891-3, 1895-1901, 1906-9; Allison Maxwell, 1891-3, 1895; Geo. J. Cook, 1891-3; Franklin W. Hays, 1893-5; Francis J. Hammond (resigned May 18, 1894), 1893-4; Joseph O. Stillson (resigned May 12, 1894), 1893-4; Patrick H. Jameson, 1894-5; S. E. Earp (resigned March 22, 1895), 1894-5; Martin H. Field, 1895-7; Lewis C. Cline, 1895-7; John E. Lockridge, 1897-9; Charles B. Durham, 1897-9; E. D. Moffett, 1899-1901; J. F. Benham, 1899-1900; E. C. Reyer, 1900-1, 1903-5; Geo. H. F. House, 1901-3; Geo. D. Kahlo, 1901-3; Frederick C. Heath, 1901-2; H. M. Lash, 1902-3; Thos. E. Courtney, 1903-5; Albert C. Kimberlin, 1903-5; Edmund D. Clark, 1906; Thos. B. Noble, 1906; Mavity J. Spencer, 1907; Paul F. Martin, 1909.

CITY SANITARIAN.—Frank B. Wynd (from April 1), 1895; Chas. E. Ferguson, 1895-7; Edmund D. Clark, 1897-1901; Eugene Buchler, 1901-3, 1906-9; M. J. Spencer, 1903-4; T. Victor Keene, 1904-5; Chas. S. Woods, 1910.

SUPERINTENDENT CITY HOSPITAL.—Greenly V. Woollen, 1866-70; Evan Hadley, 1870-4; Joseph W. Marsce, 1871-3; A. W. Davis, 1873-4; W. B. McDonald, 1874-6; Flavius J. Van Vorhis, 1876-7; Wm. H. Davis, 1878-9; Wm. M. Wishard, 1879-87; John H. Oliver, 1887-91; Geo. F. Edenharter, 1891-3; Charles E. Ferguson, 1893-4, 1895-7; Wm. M. Wright, 1894-5; Charles H. C. Poncher, 1897-9; M. J. Spencer, 1899-1900; Norman E. Jobes, 1901-3; Paul F. Martin, 1903-5; Norman E. Jobes (resigned July 15, 1907), 1905-7; J. L. Freeland, 1907.

SUPERINTENDENT CITY DISPENSARY.—William B. Fletcher, 1875-9; Caleb A. Ritter, 1879-82; John J. Garver, 1882-7; G. W. Combs, 1887-9; F. C. Woodburn, 1889-91; Chas. N. Metcalf, 1891-3; Edward D. Moffett, 1893-4; John A. Lambert, 1894-5; Leonard Bell, 1895-7; M. J. Spencer, 1897-9; John F. Benham, 1899-1901; Chas. O. Lowry, 1901-3; Henry Lohrmann, 1903-5; Edgar F. Kiser, 1906-9; Harry Dunn, 1910.

BOARD OF PARK COMMISSIONERS.—E. F. Claypool, 1895-6; W. H. Leedy (resigned May 9, 1896), 1895-6; Oram Perry, 1895-6; Henry Clay Allen (resigned November 2, 1896), 1895-6; Frank A. Maus (deposed September 1, 1897), 1895; Albert Lieber, 1895-6; Sterling

R. Holt (resigned October 9, 1897), 1895-7; W. E. English (resigned August 21, 1900), 1897-1900; Chas. E. Collin, 1897; Isaac King, 1897-1902; George Merritt, 1897-1906; M. A. Downing, 1901-3, 1906-8; Fred Mack, 1903; Hiram Brown (resigned January, 1906), 1901-6; A. J. Lauck, 1901-6; John J. Appel, 1907; Dr. Henry Jameson, 1907; Ferdinand L. Mayer, 1907.

CLERK OF PARK BOARD.—Wm. R. Holloway (resigned April 1, 1897), 1895-7; Charles H. Spencer, 1897; Otis Hann, 1898; Bert Feibleman, 1899-1903; Blythe Q. Hendricks, 1904-8; Leroy E. Snyder, 1909.

CITY COMMON COUNCIL.—Charles W. Cady, 1847-8; Uriah Gates, 1847-8; Abram W. Harrison (resigned June 7, 1847), 1847; Morris Morris (filled Harrison's vacancy), 1847-8; Cornelius King, 1847-8, 1849-50; Samuel S. Booker, 1847-8, 1849-51, 1856-7; Henry Tutewiler, 1847-9; William L. Wingate, 1847-8; Matthew Alford (resigned March 12, 1849), 1848-9; Frederick H. Brandt, 1848-9; George A. Chapman, 1848-9; Thomas Eaglesfield, 1848-9; Royal Mayhew, 1848-9; Hiram Seibert, 1848-9, 1854-5; Hervey Bates, 1849-50; William Eckert, 1849-51; James Gillespie (died November 2, 1849), 1849; David V. Culley (filled Gillespie's vacancy), 1849-53; William Montague, 1849-50; James Sulgrove, 1849-50, 1855-6; Samuel Hetzelgesser, 1850-1; Joseph M. Landis, 1850-1; Andrew A. Loudon, 1850-3; George McQuat, 1850-1; Thomas Buchanan, 1851-3; George Durham, 1851-1, 1856-9; Nathan Edwards, 1851-1; Geo. W. Pitts, 1851-6; Charles Woodward, 1851-2; Samuel Delzell, 1852-1, 1855-7; Jacob B. Fitch, 1852-3; John Greer, 1852-3; Wm. A. Bradshaw, 1853-1; Daniel Carlisle, 1853-1; Livingston Dunlap, 1853-9; Wm. H. Karns, 1853-5; Nicholas McCarty, 1853-1; Douglass Maguire, 1853-6; Henry H. Nelson, 1853-5; Horatio C. Newcomb, 1853-1; David Strickland, 1853-4; Edwin H. Wingate, 1853-1; John L. Avery, 1854-5; Wm. Boaz, 1854-6 (resigned May 31, 1866), 1863-6; Sims A. Colley, 1854-5, 1862-9; Canada Gowan, 1854-5; Alexander Graydon, Jr., 1854-6; Wm. H. Jones, 1854-6; Daniel Keeley, 1854-6; John Truckess, 1854-5; Samuel Beck, 1855-6; Samuel M. Douglass, 1855-6; Andrew W. Fuqua, 1855-6; Berl S. Goode, 1855-6; Henry J. Horn, 1855-6; Wm. Mansur, 1855-7; J. B. E. Reed, 1855-6; Henry

Buscher, 1856-7; Adam Gold, 1856-7; Nixon Hughes, 1856-7; William McKee, 1856-7; Frisby S. Newcomer, 1856-7; Nathan B. Palmer, 1856-7; Robert M. Patterson, 1856-7; Thomas Cottrell, 1857-60, 1867-73; Joseph K. English (resigned November 12, 1859), 1857-9; Stoughton A. Fletcher, Jr., 1857-9, 1862-5; Geo. W. Geisendorff (resigned February 2, 1862), 1857-62; Robert Greenfield, 1857-9; William Hadley, 1857-9; Jonathan S. Harvey, 1857-8; Eric Locke, 1857-61, 1869-72; Stephen McNabb, 1857-65, 1866-7; Myron North, 1857-9; Albert G. Porter (resigned April 30, 1859), 1857-9; Jacob Vandegrift (resigned October 12, 1861), 1857-61; Jacob S. Pratt (resigned March 24, 1860), 1858-60; Theodore P. Haughey, 1859-60; Ernest H. L. Kuhlman, 1859-63; Alexander Metzger, 1859-63; Charles Richmann, 1859-63; Samuel M. Seibert, 1859-63; Herman Tilly, 1859-61; Andrew Wallace, 1859-63; John Blake (resigned April 4, 1864), 1861-4; James G. Douglass (filled Blake's vacancy), 1864; Austin H. Brown, 1861-75; W. Clinton Thompson (resigned May 1, 1867), 1861-7; Wm. Allen, 1863-6; Henry Coburn, 1863-9; William Cook, 1863-5; Roswell B. Emerson, 1862-7; Horace A. Fletcher, 1862-7; Charles Glazier, 1863-9; Patrick H. Jameson, 1863-9; Samuel Lefever (resigned March 12, 1866), 1863-6; Joseph Staub, 1863-7; Wm. John Wallace (resigned February 15, 1864), 1863-4; Adolph Seidensticker (filled Wallace's vacancy), 1864-9; Julius A. Grosvenor (left city; seat declared vacant), 1865-7; G. A. Foster (filled Grosvenor's vacancy), 1867-9; J. Henry Kappes, 1865-9; Wm. H. Loomis, 1865-9; John B. McArthur, 1865-9; Christian F. Schmidt, 1865-9; Charles Kempker (filled Boaz vacancy), 1866-7; James Burgess, 1867-9; Joseph W. Davis, 1867-9; Henry Geisel, 1867-9; Samuel Goddard, 1867-9; Wm. H. Herscher, 1867-9; Ambrose P. Stanton, 1867-9; James H. Woodburn, 1867-75; Henry Gimber, 1869-70, 1871-6; Temple C. Harrison, 1869-71; Christopher Heckman, 1869-72; Leon Kahn, 1869-71, 1872-6, 1879-81; Robert Kennington, 1869-75; John L. Marsee, 1869-72, 1877-79; John S. Newman, 1869-72; John Pyle, 1869-71; James McB. Shepherd, 1869-71, 1873-5; Isaac Thalman, 1869-77, 1880-9; Frederick Thoms, 1869-72; Wm. W. Weaver, 1869-72; C. E. Whitsitt, 1869-73; Wm. D. Wiles, 1869-73; Ed-

ward Reagan, 1810-4; John H. Batty, 1811-4; Wm. H. Craft, 1811-7; Heydon S. Bigham, 1811-5; Frederick C. Bollman, 1812-6; David-Gibson, 1812-1; E. J. Hardesty, 1812-1; John T. Pressley, 1812-4; Frederick P. Rush, 1812-4; Lyman Q. Sherwood, 1812-1; Justus C. Adams, 1813-7; M. C. Anderson, 1813-5; Calvin F. Darnell, 1813-7, 1888-9; Wm. McLaughlin, 1813-5; Thos. H. S. Peck, 1813-1; Ralph C. J. Pendleton, 1813-1; Isaac W. Stratford, 1813-7; James E. Twiname, 1813-5; Boswell Ward, 1813-6, 1881-4; Henry F. Albershardt, 1814-6; Patrick H. Curran, 1814-6; Geo. W. Geiger, 1814-6; Marshall E. Hall, 1814-6; Francis M. Hook, 1814-6; Thomas Madden, 1814-6; Robert C. McGill, 1814-7; Enos B. Reed, 1814-8; John Stuckmeyer, 1814-6; William Buehrig, 1815-7; John J. Duffley, 1815-7; George Kenzel, 1815-7; James C. Laughlin, 1815-7; Daniel M. Ransdell, 1815-7; Wm. F. Reasner, 1815-7, 1878-9; Frederick Schmidt, 1815-7; Geo. C. Webster, 1815-7; Joseph W. Bugbee (expelled April 15, 1878), 1816-8; Norman S. Byram, 1816-8; John L. Case, 1816-8; Albert Izor, 1816-8; Martin McGinty, 1816-80; Thomas J. Morse, 1816-9; Milton Poulder, 1816-8; Michael Steinhauer, 1816-8; John Thomas, 1816-8; Arthur L. Wright, 1816-9; Wm. G. Wright, 1816-8; Robert B. Bagby, 1817-9; Marcus L. Brown, 1817-80; William M. Cochran, 1817-8; Josiah B. Dill, 1817-9; James T. Layman, 1817-9; Thomas C. Reading, 1817-9; Abraham L. Stoner, 1817-8; Wm. H. Tucker, 1817-80; Isaac C. Walker, 1817-9; James E. Watts, 1817-8; Geo. P. Wood, 1817-80; George Anderson, 1818-9; Henry Bermann, 1818-80; Jacob M. Bruner, 1818-9; Matthew M. Cummings, 1818-9, 1886-9; M. Horace McKay, 1818-81; Frank A. Maus, 1818-9; Sheldon Morris, 1818-9; Chris. H. O'Brien, 1818-9; Christian Off, 1818-9; Omer Rodibaugh, 1818-9; Samuel Showalter, 1818-9; Gottlieb Sindlinger, 1818-9; John L. F. Steeg, 1818-9; Christian F. Wiese, 1818-80; Jacob Bieler, 1819-80; Peter F. Bryce, 1819-80; Harvey G. Carey, 1819-80; James T. Dowling, 1819-86; John T. Downey, 1819-81, 1881-6; Francis W. Hamilton, 1819-80; Chris. H. Harmoning, 1819-80; George King, 1819-80; Wm. C. Lamb, 1819-81; Wm. H. Morrison, 1819-81; John O'Connor, 1819-81, 1888-9; John B. Pearson, 1819-81, 1886-91; Henry J. Prier, 1819-81; Calvin F. Rooker, 1819-80, 1886-7;

Joseph H. Sheppard, 1819-80; William E. Shilling, 1819-81; Flavius J. Van Vorhis, 1819-81; Collins T. Bedford, 1880-4; Wm. F. A. Bernhammer, 1880-1; Allen Caylor, 1880-4; Edward H. Dean, 1880-1; John W. Fultz, 1880-1; Patrick Harrold, 1880-1; Ernest H. Koller, 1880-1; John A. Lang, 1880-1; Henry J. Mauer, 1880-1; James A. Pritchard, 1880-1; Wm. G. White, 1880-1; Nelson Yoke, 1880-1; Edgar Brundage, 1881-4; Barton W. Cole, 1881-4; John R. Cowie, 1881-1; Simon Coy, 1881-91; John Egger, 1881-1; Frederick Hartman, 1881-1; Ernest F. Knodel, 1881-4; Philip Reichwein, 1881-1; Harvey B. Stott, 1881-1; George Weaver, 1881-1; Frank Benjamin, 1881-7; John R. Cowie, 1881-6; William Curry, 1881-6; Philip J. Doyle, 1881-6; G. F. Edenharter, 1881-7; P. M. Gallahue, 1881-6; Charles E. Haugh, 1881-7; Fred Mack, 1881-7; John Moran, 1881-6; Robert C. McClelland, 1881-9; W. C. Newcomb, 1881-6; J. F. Reincke, 1881-7; R. H. Rees, 1881-6; M. M. Reynolds, 1881-7; J. L. Sheppard, 1881-6; Theodore F. Smither, 1881-7; Geo. W. Spahr, 1881-6; Preston C. Truoler, 1881-6, 1888-91; J. W. Wharton, 1881-6; P. H. Wolf, 1881-6; David F. Swain, 1886-9; Henry L. Smith, 1886-9; Chris. F. H. Waterman, 1886-7; Edward Dunn, 1886-91; Jos. H. Howes, 1886-7; Michael J. Burns, 1886-91; Cornelius McGroarty, 1886-7; Frank M. Dell, 1886-7; Chas. H. Stuckmeyer, 1886-9; Abner L. Newland, 1886-7; Thos. Markey, 1886-91; John H. Herig, 1886-7; Elton B. Elliott, 1888-9; Wm. H. Wilson, 1888-9; John C. Finch, 1888-9; Wm. T. Long, 1888-9; Jos. L. Gasper, 1888-91; Wm. E. Davis, 1888-91; Wm. J. Parkinson, 1888-9; Wm. M. Hicklin, 1888-91; Patrick J. Kelley, 1888-9; James Johnston, 1888-9; Frederick W. Gaul, 1888-9; John A. Weber, 1890-1; David A. Meyers, 1890-1; Henry Sweetland, 1890-1; Edward J. Sherer, 1890-1; Otto Stechhan, 1890-1; M. D. Yontz, 1890-1; Emil C. Rassman, 1890-1; Wm. W. Woollen, 1890-1; Robert Martindale, 1890-1; W. H. Cooper, 1890-1; Robert C. McGill, 1890-1; Edward A. Austin, 1890-1; Olaf R. Olsen, 1890-1; Martin J. Murphy, 1890-1; Charles A. Gauss, 1890-1; R. J. Nolan, 1890-1.

UNDER NEW CHARTER COUNSELMEN AT LARGE. Henry W. Lant, 1892-3; John B. McGuffin, 1892-3; Edward J. Sherer, 1892-3, 1895-7; Martin J. Murphy, 1892-3; Frederick

Schrader, 1892-3; Robert C. McGill (died May 7, 1893), 1892-3; Henry C. Habeny (filled McGill's vacancy), 1893; Lucius W. Drew, 1893-5; Charles Krauss, 1893-5; Geo. Merritt, 1893-5; Henry Rauh, 1893-5; Theodore Stein, 1893-5; Edward G. Stott, 1893-5; Geo. J. Dudley, 1895-7; Robert M. Madden, 1895-9; Thos. J. Montgomery (resigned Oct. 26, 1897), 1895-7; Albert E. Rauch, 1895-9; John O'Connor, 1895-7; John Mahoney, 1897-9; James H. Costello, 1897-9; Albert Harston, 1897-9; Edward W. Little (elected Nov. 22, 1897—Montgomery's vacancy), 1897-9; Albert Daller, 1899-1901; Chas. M. Dickson, 1899-1901; Geo. H. Evans, 1899-1901; Wm. Kaiser, 1899-1901; Conrad Keller, 1899-1901; Wm. H. Wheeler, 1899-1901; Lew. W. Cooper, 1901-5; Jacquelin S. Holliday, 1901-3; Harold C. Megrew (resigned Oct. 11, 1901), 1901; Wm. P. Spray (elected Nov. 4, 1901—Megrew's vacancy), 1901-3; Edward G. Soubrier, 1901-3; John L. McFarland, 1901-3; Harry M. Halde- man (resigned Nov. 17, 1902), 1901-2; James H. Billingsley (elected Dec. 11, 1902—Halde- man's vacancy), 1902-3; Charles G. Davis, 1903-9; Frank S. Fishback, 1903-5; Otto Hoff- man, 1903-9; J. Edward Krause, 1903-5; Al- bert E. Uhl, 1903-9; Benj. A. Brown, 1906-9; Chas. L. Hartmann, 1906-9; Henry C. Smith- er, 1906-9.

UNDER NEW CHARTER—WARD COUNCILMEN.—Thos. B. Linn, 1892-3; John R. Allen, 1892-9; A. A. Young, 1892-5; John Puryear, 1892-7; James H. Costello, 1892-7; Wm. H. Cooper, 1892-7; Jos. L. Gasper, 1892-5; Emil C. Rass- man, 1892-3; John F. White, 1892-3; Geo. R. Colter, 1892-9; P. J. Ryan, 1892-5; Chas. A. Gauss, 1892-3; Olaf R. Olsen (resigned), 1892; Chas. P. Frosehauer (elected Nov. 10, 1892—Olsen's vacancy), 1892-3; Anton Schmidt, 1892-3; Henry Holloran, 1892-3; O. M. Murphy, 1893-7; G. W. Shaffer, 1893-9; Henry Magel, 1893-5; J. B. Schmid, 1893-5; Wm. Hennessy, 1893-5; Chas. Koehring, 1893-5; Wm. Kaiser, 1893-5; Daniel W. O'Brien, 1893-5; Gavin L. Payne, 1895-7; Mahlon P. Woody, 1895-7; Frank E. Wolcott, 1895-7; Duncan Dewar, 1895-7; Frank S. Clark, 1895-9; J. H. Kirkhoff, 1895-7; Jas. T. Smith, 1895-7; John G. Ohlwey, 1895-7; Willis F. Smith, 1897-9; John R. Crall, 1897-1905; Thos. A. Bowser, 1897-9; Richard Merrick, 1897-9; Edward D. Moffett, 1897-9; John A. Von

Spreckelson, 1897-9; John H. Scanlon, 1897-9; James W. McGrew, 1897-1901; Edward G. Bernauer, 1897-1901; Wm. W. Knight, 1897-1901; John M. Higgins (resigned 1901), 1897-1901; John Wolsiffer (elected July 18, 1901—Higgins's vacancy), 1901-5; Harry E. Negley, 1899-1903; James H. Billingsley, 1899-1905; James R. Munro, 1899-1901; Michael Horan, 1899-1901; H. C. Megrew, 1899-1901; Henry L. Spiegel, 1899-1901; Saml. V. Perrott, 1899-1901; James Reilly, 1899-1901; James D. Moriarity, 1899-1905; Michael C. Kelly, 1899-1903; Frederick W. Ep- pert, 1901-9; Andrew H. Wahl, 1901-5; Wm. A. Rhodes, 1901-9; Thos. A. Wynne, 1901-3; Christ. H. Warweg, 1901-3; Michael J. Shea, 1901-5; Benj. F. Wysong, 1901-3; James E. Berry, 1901-3; Gustav J. T. Meyer, 1901-3; Al- bert E. Cottey, 1903-9; James B. Murray, 1903-5; Daniel Linns, 1903-5; John W. Storm, 1903-5; Jas. F. Sullivan, 1903-9; Fay Wright, 1903-9; John H. Hamlet, 1906-9; John F. Wood, 1906-9; Wm. J. Neukom, 1906-9; Wendel O. Bangs, 1906-9; Ed. J. Stickelman, 1906-9; Theodore Portteus, 1906-9; Harry E. Royse, 1906-9; John L. Donavon, 1906-9; Jacob H. Hilkeno, 1906-9; Louis F. Henry, 1906-9.

BOARD OF ALDERMEN.—Thos. E. Chandler, 1877-80; Henry Coburn, 1877-81; Robert S. Foster, 1877-9; Gottlieb C. Krug, 1877-8; Robert C. McGill, 1877-8; Horatio C. Newcomb, 1877-8; William H. Snider, 1877-9; Isaac W. Stratford, 1877-9; William Wallace, 1877-8; William D. Wiles, 1877-9; Daniel W. Grubbs (resigned May 1, 1881), 1878-81; Diedrich Mus- man, 1878-84; William F. Piel, 1878-80; Jonathan M. Ridenour, 1878-80; Harry E. Drew, 1879-84; James T. Layman, 1879-84; John Newman, 1879-84; Hiram Seibert, 1878-84; Francis W. Hamilton, 1880-4; Wm. H. Tucker, 1880-4; George P. Wood, 1880-4; Derk De Ruiter, 1881-4; Brainard Rorison, 1881-6; W. F. A. Bernhamer, 1884-6; S. H. Cobb, 1884-6; W. A. Cox, 1884-6; Thos. E. Endley, 1884-7; Isaac King, 1884-7; James McHugh, 1884-6; H. J. Prier, 1884-7; James A. Pritchard, 1884-7; Thomas Talentire, 1880-6; John S. Crosley, 1886-7; Granville S. Wright, 1886-9; Marcus L. Brown, 1886-7; Henry W. Laut, 1886-91; John Rail, 1886-9; Lorenz Schmidt, 1886-9; Michael W. Toomey, 1888-9; Miles M. Reynolds, 1888-91; James H. Taylor, 1888-9; Wm. E. Tousey, 1888-9; Millard F. Connett,

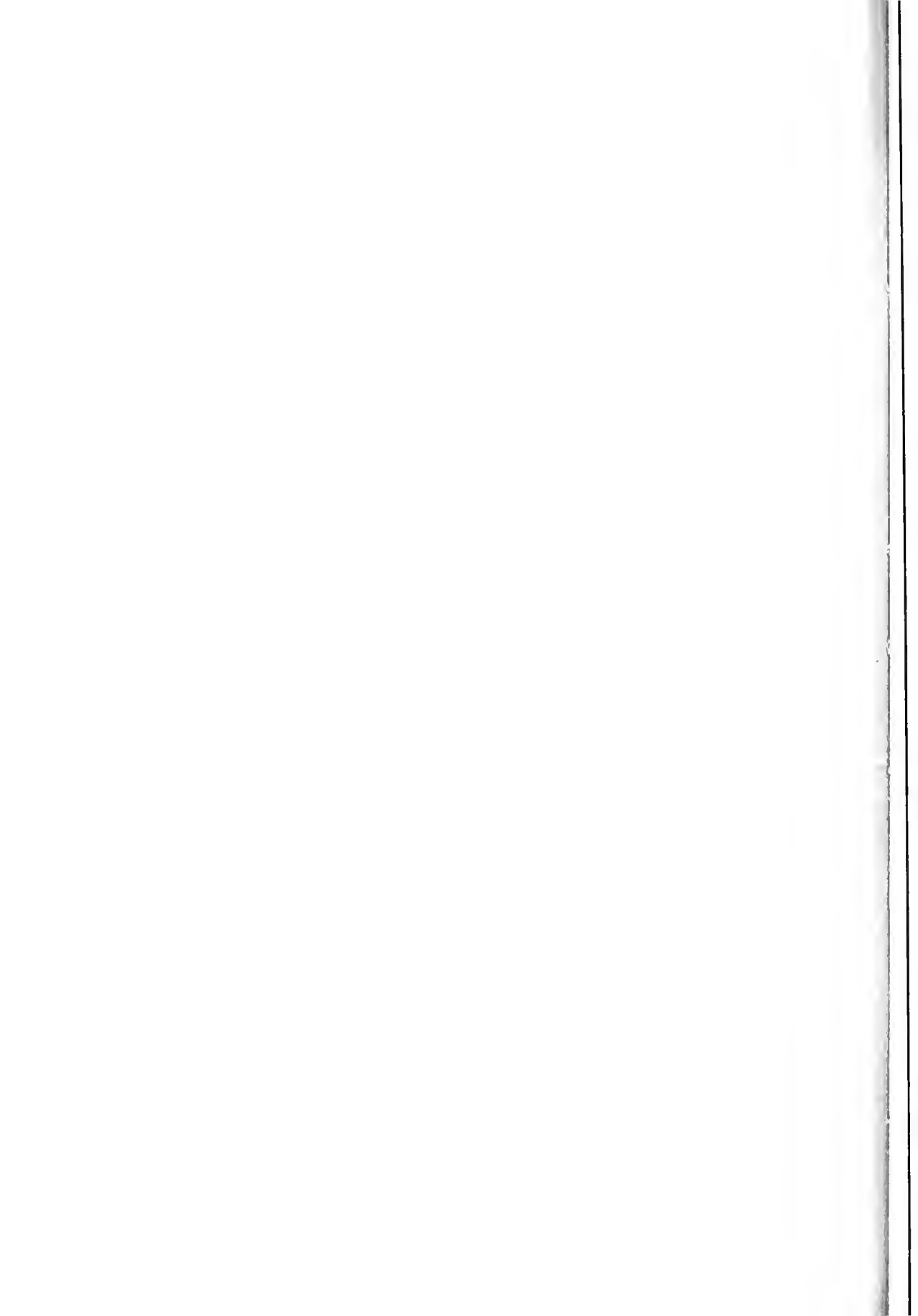
1888-9; Harry B. Smith, 1888-91; Timothy J. Clark, 1888-9; Isaac Thalman, 1890-1; Samuel V. Perrott, 1890-1; Geo. T. Breunig, 1890-1; M. H. Farrell, 1890-1; Theo. T. Smither, 1890-1; James Reilly, 1890-1; John J. Blackwell, 1890-1; John F. Reinecke, 1890-1.

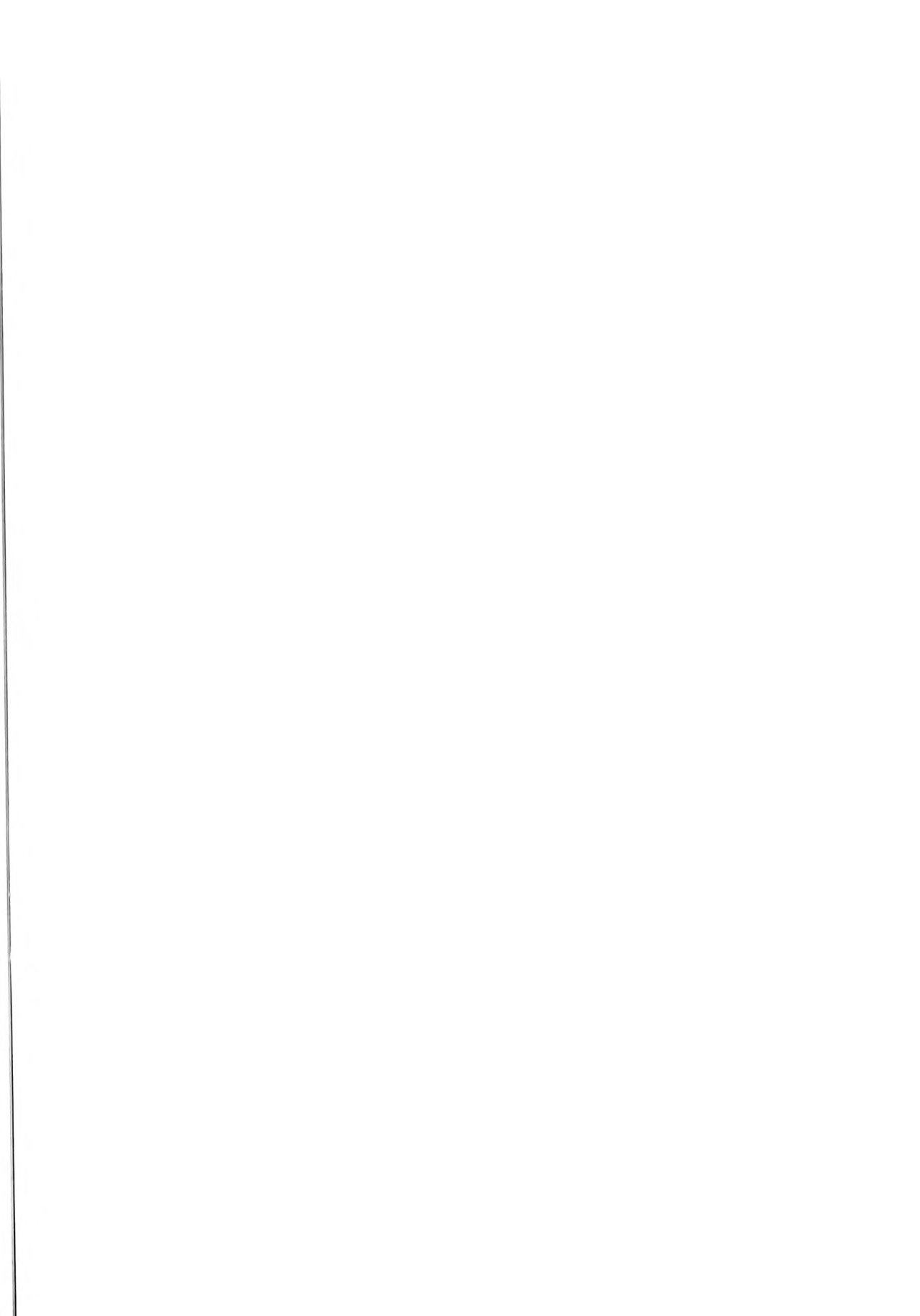
PRESIDENTS BOARD OF ALDERMEN.—Horatio C. Newcomb, 1877-8; William D. Wiles, 1878-9; Jonathan M. Ridenour, 1879-80; Henry C. Curn, 1880-1; James T. Layman, 1881-3; Brainard Rorison, 1884-5; Thos. J. Endley, 1886-7; Granville S. Wright, 1888-9; Isaac Thalman, 1890-1.

CLERK BOARD OF ALDERMEN.—Geo. T. Breunig, 1877-83; Frank W. Ripley, 1884-5; Jos. T. Fanning, 1886-7; Samuel V. Perrott (from Oct. 3, 1887), 1887, 1890-1; Michael Toomey, 1888-9.

DISTRICT COUNCILMEN (Under Law of 1909).—Wm. H. Johnson, 1910—; John Blumberg, 1910—; Charles F. Copeland, 1910—; George L. Denny, 1910—; Frank E. McCarthy, 1910—; Fred C. Owen, 1910—; George B. Rubens, 1910—; Charles B. Stiltz, 1910—; James E. Troy, 1910—.







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