EDITOR'S NOTES

As a journal editor, I occasionally find that an effort to put together a certain type of issue grows complicated when submissions on a topic are stretched across a wide continuum. This issue of the *Journal for the Liberal Arts and Sciences* bears such an aspect, as it features articles which speak to a variety of history writing approaches.

Traditional historical narrative typically sets out to add new knowledge about a historical event and/or era—the so-called "filling in of the gaps." In other cases, it may "set the record straight" or offer a new angle to an older accepted narrative. These narratives are written in a way that purposefully leaves out personal sympathies, keeping a supposed neutral position, and seeking the highest level of accurate detail based on the facts that are available. Details covering as many angles as possible—maps, tables, and charts of demographics—typically thrive in these types of historical writings. Such writing also tends to examine and explain eras and major events and players. Conversely, the relatively more recent approaches of popular history, public history, and cultural history are concerned "with the affairs of ordinary people."[1] Bian Attwood noted some overall effects of the shift from the traditional approach to other methods.

> In the last few decades the nature of history making, especially that regarding the contemporary era, has been transformed, changing not only the pasts that are being related but the way in which many people relate to those pasts. The shift in the nature of historical knowledge and historical sensibility owes much to both popular and academic forms of history; indeed, it is largely the outcome of a convergence of the interests and approaches of elite history and culture with those of popular history and culture.

The new approaches, Attwood further believed, caused history making to become more democratized, with the identity of minorities coming to "flourish."[2]

These latter emphases can certainly be seen as broadening the writing possibilities of historians. Critics of these latter positions, however, have argued that neither popular history nor cultural studies possess elements that place them "in a traditional discipline," suggesting a lack of necessary form and of accuracy.[3] Yet, such approaches have opened up history to a much larger audience, one beyond just the bounds of the academics. Another way of understanding history that seeks to speak to a wider audience concerns the notion of narrative, a procedure that advocates taking "neutral historical facts and figures and transforming them into events and characters," which readers will be intrigued to learn more about. As one proponent noted, "Narratives tell stories that present challenges and responses to those problems by building up settings and characters; then, narratives end by concluding the developed plot, or by posing another issue to be answered later. While narrative is broad, historical-narrative attempts to be more focused. Historical narrative is comprised of literary devices, with both the settings and characters being historically based. Historical-narratives maintain these literary structures but constrain them so that historical accuracy and integrity is preserved."[4]

Another way of framing the problem is to consider the question of audience. Historian Gregory Barton wrestled with the present-day issue of writing history and addressing audience by asking if "historians should all move toward popular history."

> The objection we as historians have often had with popular history are the methods and slap dash conclusions drawn. And rightly so. But popular history has one major advantage—it can point the way to the subjects that actually matter to people outside the academy. There will always be those who excel in specialized topics and never leave this domain, as well as those who write broader historical accounts from the beginning of their careers. But for most of us, if we start our career as specialists, we are far more likely to end our career as very competent generalists who have offered big picture books that can attract a meaningful audience. When we ask, "Who are we writing for" the answer can be a movable feast. We write for each other, certainly. And as our career progresses, we might write for anyone with a curiosity about the past. Ultimately there is no limit to this audience if we choose to pursue it.[5]

This issue of the *Journal for the Liberal Arts and Sciences* delves into the complex processes of historical writing by looking at several historical pieces that represent a wide variety of approaches, including the traditional, public, and cultural methods and also that of family/community genealogy. All but one of these academic and/or essay works features Indiana history topics. While the most traditional example of the types of historical approaches discussed above is placed last in this edition of the journal, I will briefly discuss it first in my editor's notes as a way of framing the issue. I will then briefly touch upon the other excellent articles in this edition of the *JLAS.*

Three important scholars in their fields, Bruce Bigelow, a geographer/history professor from Butler University; J. Stevens O'Malley, a professor in the religious studies department at Asbury Theological Seminary; and Steven Nolt, a professor of history at Elizabethtown College have put together the kind of traditional detailed and precise academic piece discussed above. The researchers do an excellent job of framing a neglected aspect of Indiana history and then proceed to dive deeply into the records to address the void. The purpose of their efforts centered on illustrating "the importance of Pennsylvanians for the heritage of Indiana. It does so by reviewing migration and nativity data, and then documenting the significance of Pennsylvania German religious bodies in Indiana by 1860." The writers further use the "Pennsylvania German religious bodies as a proxy for Pennsylvania German presence and influence through at least the middle of the nineteenth century." As noted, this work fills in a missing gap of Indiana history and stands as a prime example of traditional detail driven history research and writing.

The other articles in this issue speak to some more recent forms of history writing. In the first article in this edition, Michelle Marino, Deputy Director of the Indiana Historical Bureau, discusses the importance of public history, noting the "gap between academic history—what I was getting in school and in history books—and the wider world is exactly what the field of public history has valiantly tried to fill and is still grappling with how best to do it." Marino gives many insightful examples of how the Indiana Historical Bureau is striving to present the state's history to all its citizens, an effort that many argue leads to more diverse empowerment.[6]

Jill Weiss Simins, a graduate student in the public history program at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis, does a masterful job of writing about the "America First" movement and the Indiana Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, comparing this circumstance to present day situations. Simins tells us at the very beginning that her work was inspired "by historian James Madison's 2019 Midwestern History Association plenary address, in which he called on Midwestern historians to accept responsibility for telling this difficult history across a wide variety of platforms." Her piece, in which she consciously allows her sympathies to come forth, is an excellent example of the intended political charge of many public history narratives.

Teresa Baer, managing editor of publications at the Indiana Historical Society and editor of *Connections: The Hoosier Genealogist*, offers a memoir type piece about her involvement in the evolution of *Connections* and some of the other of the society's publications from a more traditional academic emphasis to articles and books that integrate history techniques and history narrative that reaches a wider variety of readers. The title of her essay certainly gives a strong clue to the insights that will be gained by reading this interesting piece: "History at the Crossroads: What the Combined Study of Genealogy, History, Education, and Communication Can Teach Us."

In the same spirit of Baer's article, historian Douglas Dixon calls his memoir-driven contribution to this issue, "Indiana University and Cold War-era Genealogy," a "genealogical story," stretching the boundaries of historical narrative in order to reach a wider audience. Here too, he plays with the philosophical notion of genealogy as the story of a group of people who share different parts of "a family tree," a story which explains "how an outcome came into being."[7] Interestingly too, Dixon's interest in history was greatly heightened by Robert Ferrell, a well-known Indiana University professor who took the author under his wing, pointed him to books on his office shelf, and said, "pick one each week and write a review for me." Ferrell now has a biography of his own (*Beyond Truman: Robert H. Ferrell and Crafting the Past*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2020) authored by Dixon, who has also written on American politics, education, and history, including three articles related to his "genealogical story": "An Unpredictable Life" (*Traces of Indiana and Midwestern History*, Summer 2016); "Higher Ground" (*Journal of the Indiana Academy for Social Sciences,* Fall 2015); and "Beyond Thirty-Eighth Parallel Politics" (*Journal for*

the Liberal Arts and Sciences, Fall 2012). Dixon has taught at public schools, colleges, and universities.

My contribution to this issue also represents an evolution in my own writing, a movement from strict academic history narrative to one more focused on slice of life stories involving common people in extraordinary historical circumstances. More subtle perhaps than Simins' political agenda, my article in this issue, nevertheless, carries an unstated critique of our national leaders' actions during the Vietnam War, especially concerning the loss of young soldiers whose life journeys were stolen away by a questionable war.

All-in-all, the articles appearing in this issue of the *JLAS* serve several purposes: offering arguments and examples for historical writing that seeks to speak to a wider audience; offering examples of different types of historical narrative; and offering new history information, especially concerning Indiana history.

Randy Mills, Editor
Journal for the Liberal Arts and Sciences

Endnotes

[1] Gerald Strauss, "The Dilemma of Popular History," *Past & Present*, No. 132, 1991.
[2] Bain Attwood, "In the Age of Testimony: The Stolen Generations Narrative, Distance, and Public History," *Popular Culture*, 20(1), 2008.
[3] Cary Nelson, Paula Treichler, and Lawrence Grossberg, "Cultural Studies: An Introduction," *Cultural Studies*, 1992.
[4] Justin Taylor Ramsey, "The Validity of Historical Narrative and Its Use in Teaching History" (2017). Honors Projects. 67. https://digitalcommons.spu.edu/honorsprojects/67.
[5] Gregory Barton, "History and Audience." *Britain and the World*, 8(1), 2015.
[6] Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*. Albany: State University of New York, 1990.
[7] Mark Bevir, "What is Genealogy?" *Journal of the Philosophy of History*, (2) 2008.

A Reflective Reckoning:
The Relevance and Restoration
of Public History

Michella M. Marino
Indiana Historical Bureau

Introduction

I have a confession. I am a historian who, through much of my childhood and well into adulthood, used to hate museums. If I am being totally honest, this deep dislike extended to most of public history, although that was not a term I recognized until graduate school. These feelings were not something I necessarily hid or over which I harbored a sense of shame. I would state them out loud when asked, usually for the shock value of such a statement, but that was how I really felt. This is not to say I hated history. I definitely did not; in fact, I loved it. I loved reading history books and learning about history in school (and later teaching it myself), but it was the in-depth stories that drew me in, the details of everyday lives that I loved and found most interesting. Reading a generic roadside historic plaque declaring "History happened here" or an exhibit label about a historic pot displayed in a glass case in a house museum simply did not do it for me.
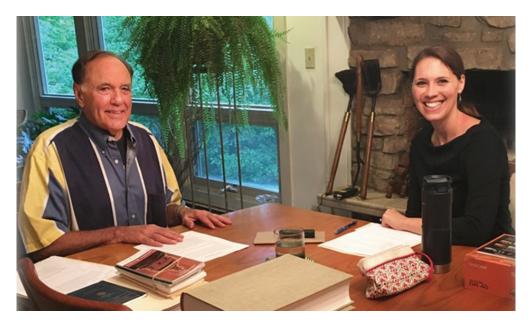
But this gap between academic history—what I was getting in school and in history books—and the wider world is exactly what the field of public history has valiantly tried to fill and is still grappling with how best to do it. While people like me might not have engaged in the intended ways, it has become clear over the decades that people trust public history sources. In their 1998 foundational work, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*, historians Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen discovered that "Americans put more trust in history museums and historic sites than in any other sources for exploring the past."[1] The reasons for this were that museums and historic sites "transported visitors straight back to the times when people had used the artifacts on display or occupied the places where 'history' had been made.[2] It turns out the past very much mattered to the public (as it had to me), and the public trusted museums, even if the presentation of materials was not always gripping or ingested in the ways in which they were intended.

Upon deeper reflection over my own resistance to public history, these feelings stemmed from three main sources (although I suspect there were probably others): Too many boring history-based field trips as a kid, a misunderstanding for much of my young life of exactly what history was and who got to create it, and a lack of engagement with and connection to the presentation of materials as an adult. Part of overcoming my aversion may simply have been the maturing process. Still, examining these reasons for resistance are important in understanding the failures of the field of history at large and of public history specifically to connect to the general public even through trusted museums and demonstrate the importance of history-based work in everyday life.

As a working public historian active in the field, I share my confession with some measure of remorse. I obviously have come to value this work and recognize the importance of history in our daily lives and in this particular historical moment, no less. With this confession though comes a prediction for the future. The field of public history as a whole is at a critical juncture—a reckoning of sorts. It seems to me that we can move forward to further the root cause of our work, making history relevant in our modern society. Alternatively, we can double down on our old patterns, our old stories, our old ways without reflection and change, and render our work mute and irrelevant, returning to the days of dusty glass cases filled to the brim with old artifacts that school children (much like myself) walked right past. Even more dangerously, we can continue to privilege the ways in which white middle class history and white middle-class practitioners of history have both furthered the causes of social justice while also upholding the very institutions promoting systemic injustice in our society. If this reckoning does not occur, this time we will lose an even larger segment of society and possibly the trust of the public, a public that demands real change, their voices heard, and the truth.

Perhaps a logical place to begin this reflective reckoning is by further defining the term "public history" in order for those unfamiliar to better understand the field. Even this is easier said than done, as the term remains somewhat nebulous and has unsurprisingly evolved over time.[3] Rosenzweig and Thelen explain how what was dubbed "popular history," "public history," or "people's history," in the late 1960s, developed in response to the social movements of the era. Early professional public historians viewed the past "as a source of empowerment and political mobilization…[and] they wanted to turn audiences

into collaborators."[4] To move beyond academic history, they wanted to work more closely with the public to learn the ways in which "the past mattered to them."[5] More recently, the National Council of Public History (NCPH), explained that "public history describes the many and diverse ways in which history is put to work in the world. In this sense, it is history that is applied to real-world issues."[6] Indeed, the term "applied history" has been used to describe this same work. In its essence, public history is history work that usually occurs outside the classroom and "is the myriad ways that history is consumed by the general public."[7] This covers a broad swath of history-based projects and can range from museum exhibits, historical documentaries, oral history projects, historic preservation of buildings, walking tours, genealogy projects in local history societies all the way to community digitization projects, historical markers, and historic sites, along with a whole bunch in between.[8]

Indiana Legislative Oral History Initiative (ILOHI) interview between Dr. Michella Marino and former Indiana State Senator and President Pro Tempore, Robert D. Garton. Courtesy of the Indiana Historical Bureau, A Division of the Indiana State Library.

It is important to note that at the foundation of public history is the notion of collaboration and particularly the idea of a "shared authority" between trained historians and community members, as Rosenzweig and Thelen hint at above. To really be able to engage in history-based work with the public, historians must acknowledge that they bring a skill set and base of knowledge with

them but so do their community partners, and the project must develop in tandem with the expertise each party brings to the proverbial table. As Michael Frisch notes in his 1990 pivotal book, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*, "although grounded in culture and experience rather than academic expertise, this authority can become central to an exhibit's capacity to provide a meaningful engagement with history—to what should be not only a distribution of knowledge from those who have it to those who do not, but a more profound sharing of knowledges, an implicit and sometimes explicit dialogue from very different vantages about the shape, meaning, and implications of history."[9] This understanding and respect, "can, rather, promote a more democratized and widely shared historical consciousness, consequently encouraging broader participation in debates about history, debates that will be informed by a more deeply representative range of experiences, perspectives, and values."[10] In short, public history is created through conversations between professional and citizen historians.

There are lots of examples in the field where this has been done well and a shared authority has really contributed to a community, but there are also examples where public historians have failed and have extracted or taken away from the community. As former NCPH president Bill Bryans explains, "Since there is no one way to practice history collaboratively or to pursue shared authority, the process can be messy and challenging."[11] Bryan highlights the complications in the following example he shared in *The Inclusive Historian's Handbook,* a co-sponsored dynamic digital resource made public in 2019.[12] For instance, in order to establish the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site in present-day Colorado, the National Park Service (NPS) attempted to locate the precise site of the US Calvary attack led by Col. John Chivington on Black Kettle's village. This brutal massacre resulted in the deaths of over 150 Cheyenne and Arapaho, many of whom were women and children.[13] To locate the massacre site, NPS sought input from a variety of stakeholders and collaborators: "Cheyenne and Arapaho elders; local landowners; academic and public historians; and archaeologists."[14] Despite collaboration, agreement on the site proved more elusive. Bryans writes, "At first traditional, empirical evidence derived from historical research and archaeology, along with the work of a historically minded ex-detective, seemed to decide the question. Cheyenne elders strenuously disagreed."[15] The elders, guided by generational stories with personal spiritual connections, situated the massacre site in a different location

with different meanings. The incorporation of these two diverse conclusions and ways of history-making "ultimately led project leaders to a different, synthetic, and arguably better understanding of how to interpret where the massacre occurred."[16] Yet despite its collaborative practice, the exact site was never fully agreed upon: "The solution required the expansion of the site's originally envisioned boundaries to include both locations. In effect, this transcended traditional scholarly methods by accepting two culturally different ways of revealing the past."[17]

So, collaboration can be complicated to say the least and that's even when practitioners are following best practices. It's still essential. My own understanding of and then appreciation for public history and the collaborative nature of the work was not brought about by a singular experience. Rather, it was a decade-long evolution aided by a revelation that what I thought was public history, really was not, or at least it was bad public history. It was a gradual shift that began when I was seventeen with a transformational oral history interview, was tweaked further in my early and mid-twenties after visiting a couple spectacular museums that "got it right"—namely the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C. and the Tenement Museum in New York City—and culminated approximately a decade later when I provided research for an exhibit about the history of women's basketball at the Connecticut Historical Society. Without going into great depth about each of my personal experiences here, the big take-aways that changed my mind were personal connection to the topic at hand, the realization that the history of everyday people is just as important as that of those at the top, powerful immersive and spatial experiences that made the history tangible, and an understanding that history is never just about the past. It is deeply and intricately intertwined with the present.

The last statement formed my first rudimentary understanding of what has in recent years been termed "History Relevance." In 2012, a grassroots group of public historians recognized that the critical idea of history being directly connected to the present was getting lost in the noise, and they understood that the history field needed to keep up with STEM (and/or STEAM), which was getting lots of hype in the media and throughout the education system. To address this issue, a group of public historians came together to create the History Relevance campaign and the Value of History Statement.[18]

Hundreds of historical organizations, libraries, and museums across the country have since joined this campaign and endorsed the Value of History Statement, the purpose of which is to communicate the value of history in our everyday lives to the public and to promote historical thinking skills to address contemporary issues. Briefly, the campaign demonstrates how history is important to us on a personal level and helps form our own identity and values, as well as leads to the development of critical thinking skills necessary to navigate the past and present. It articulates how history creates vibrant places to live by transforming place into community through the memories of its inhabitants. When places become communities and develop strong heritage institutions, economic development can flourish. It also looks to the future by highlighting how historical foundations build a thriving democracy, providing examples of leaders and role models from the past that can guide us today, and demonstrating that by preserving historical knowledge we preserve democracy and "provide a foundation for future generations to understand what it means to be a part of the civic community."[19]

Lots of different organizations across the country have genuinely adopted this work and language and infused it into their programming or have at least begun articulating more clearly how they have been doing this work for a long time. Examples vary widely but a solid one is from President Lincoln's Cottage outside of Washington D.C. On the morning after the 2016 presidential election, the cottage decided to stay open late to act as a forum space for people who "need to come together peacefully when we are a House Divided."[20] They explained, "As a National Monument, where Lincoln came to deal with epic division and chaos in our country, we are committed to providing a secular place of reflection and serving as your beacon of hope. Our lights are on for you. All of you."[21] In another example, the Weeksville Heritage Center in Brooklyn, New York, began hosting a Farmers Market after the surrounding community was designated a food desert. Approaches range from drawing a direct line from the past to contextualize a current political event—like the 2016 Presidential Election to a recognition that history institutions are a part of the fabric of any community—to serving as agents of change in the present by not only historicizing but also meeting current community needs, such as the need for fresh food for local residents. These examples also hearken back to the "radical roots" of public history and demonstrate how public history has long been used "in the service of social justice."[22]

The Indiana Historical Bureau (IHB), of which I am the deputy director, has infused History Relevance into all aspects of our work and even our thinking. We try to respond through our history blog and social media posts where we see community need (or where the public has indicated a community need) and to highlight historical stories that are relevant to today and that help create community by showcasing our diverse history. During the recent COVID-19 pandemic, our office shifted to 100% digital work and recognized a need to keep Hoosiers connected through light-hearted material while also putting out content that addressed our difficult new reality by directly connecting past and present. We put out short blog posts on historical gardening tips that aligned with the spring season and that are still useful today for folks stuck at home and started a social media campaign called #HoosierKind, that highlighted historical examples of Hoosiers helping neighbors through random acts of kindness.
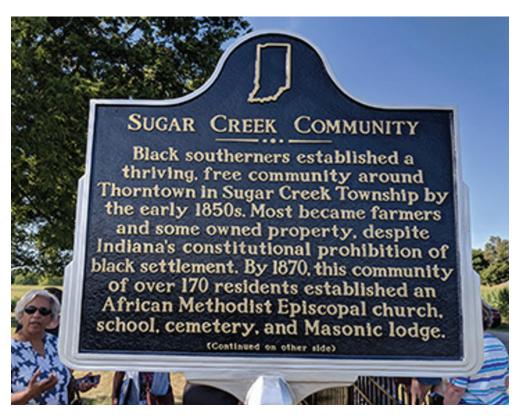

IHB social media graphic. Courtesy of the Indiana Historical Bureau, A Division of the Indiana State Library.

We also did a deep-dive into the 1918 pandemic in Indiana and the lessons that were learned at the time that seem to still be applicable to also show how we've been here before and how Hoosiers survived. But even more importantly, we prioritize Black history, women's history, and LGBTQ+ history, and we push social justice issues within a historical context while keeping within the confines of our apolitical government agency. We cannot lobby for a particular political perspective or viewpoint, but we must still do the work of engaging citizens with democratic ideals and the political system itself. How do we understand police brutality and racial protests without an understanding of the past and the systemic issues built into our society? The answer is that we can't, and thus it's even more important to make connections and understand the relevance of history and its continued impact on the present.

For the purpose of this essay, I want to highlight how IHB has tried to revamp an older public history program, our State Historical Marker program, to meet the standards of History Relevance and elaborate on a new partnership we've formed with Re-Imagining Migration (a project initiated by UCLA), that takes

History Relevance into the classroom in meaningful ways through sources created by our public history programs and digitized historic newspapers. Are these program and project attempts perfect? No. Are we as an organization fully addressing every pertinent issue? Certainly not. Is it a conscious step in the right direction? Yes. Is that enough? It remains to be seen but likely not. I'll come back to this in a bit.

First, in terms of our historical marker program, I want to acknowledge upfront that IHB is completely aware of the complicated relationship between History Relevance and historical markers (and issues with historical markers in general). It's important that we be transparent about this and not bury our head in the sand. Historical markers are inherently an Eurocentric and colonized product. There is most certainly a semi-permanence to putting a metal sign in the ground and sealing it in place with concrete, and it highlights a myriad of issues surrounding who gets an official history and property ownership. But, and I would argue it's an important "but," there is also a flipside to historical markers that when coupled with real community partnerships, recent scholarship, and technology, make markers an engaging, useful, and relevant way to share history and return stories to the landscape from which they emerged.[23]

The Sugar Creek Community historical marker provides a great example of returning nearly lost history to the landscape and directly hits on the key History Relevance components of Identity, Community, Engaged Citizenship and Eco-tourism. The Sugar Creek marker, along with our Roberts Settlement, Lyles Station, and Weaver historical markers, challenge a long-held belief that there isn't much Black history in Indiana until the Great Migration in the 20th century and that Black people have recently been moving into white spaces. This belief stems partly from Article XIII in the 1851 Indiana Constitution that explicitly banned Black people from moving into Indiana.[24] But there were vibrant African American communities across the state of Indiana very early on in the state's development. Black settlements were founded in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s. By including and marking these stories, Indiana history is seen as no longer one of Black people moving into white spaces. We now see Black Hoosiers as an essential force in settling Indiana and creating its character from the very start of statehood.[25]

Sugar Creek Community State Historical Marker. Courtesy of the Indiana Historical Bureau, A Division of the Indiana State Library.

Many of the physical remnants of these early Black settlements are no longer visible. The buildings are long gone, and the families of the settlements have moved elsewhere. However, because descendants and contemporary citizens are keeping the history alive and actually working with us to highlight this history and tell these important stories, we can acknowledge the landscape of the past with a marker, even if this is just one aspect of the land's history.[26] Through Black settlement markers like the Sugar Creek Community one, we are highlighting identity and community, hoping to inform and create an engaged citizenship by bringing in multiple perspectives, and showing a misconception of Black migration in this story. Furthermore, historical markers can also spur Eco-tourism—many people still stop to read these, drive around the countryside looking for them, and even plan trips based on our markers. And while there are limits to the depth of story we can tell with each of our markers given size and character restrictions, we compensate for these limits by applying our research to presenting even more in-depth stories to the public

through blog and social media posts, podcast episodes, and detailed marker website pages. While we've worked hard to update our marker program, there is still more work to do, but we believe the program remains valuable.

Shifting direction, a new program we have joined as a prime example of History Relevance is the Re-Imagining Migration project. The mission of Re-Imagining Migration is to create resources for teachers and students that teach migration as a shared and continuous human condition, as opposed to a current political crisis. Jill Weiss Simins, an IHB historian and project manager, contributes by providing original historical research and primary sources, mainly from the Indiana State Library collections, to create free virtual lesson plans. The goal is to create more welcoming and empathetic learning environments, especially for students of immigrant origin and help students recognize injustices from the past to provide them with the tools to confront similar issues when they arise today. Re-Imagining Migration hopes to show kids, that their coming to the United States is a part of the larger world-wide story of humankind's journey. This is especially important today as these children are surrounded by messages from politicians, news sources, and social media, that they are a problem to be solved or that they are not welcome here or that this is something new even. Using history to teach migration as an ongoing theme in the human condition reframes the story and makes it relevant to kids' lived experience. This history shows the ingenuity and perseverance of immigrants, often in the face of xenophobia, discrimination, and rampant nationalism. It shows the making of America, and more specifically Indiana, through the work and contributions of immigrants.

Defining the importance and relevance of history is critical for public history practitioners and for society at large, but to the next even more important question to which I alluded earlier: Is this enough? It's a start in the right direction, perhaps, but the answer is ultimately, no. It's not enough to simply articulate this message. We must actively change from within, expand ideas on who creates public history, when, and why, and reassess, as a field, if shared authority is truly equitable. Are public history practitioners engaging in social justice initiatives or paying lip service to the issues at hand? Where are lines drawn between history and activism, and in fact, should those lines be drawn at all? As scholar and activist GVGK Tang explains, public history is all too often "a tool wielded by those in power—commemoration projects used to

usher in 'neighborhood development' and gentrificize, or oral history projects that steal people's stories and ideas without recompense."[27] Tang asserts that "Public historians are taught to spend more time studying and talking about marginalized communities than supporting them."[28] Furthermore, argues Tang, "White middle-class public historians are Colum busing activist history-making and grassroots preservation work—treating it as a new frontier to be discovered, explored, and exploited…These new endeavors appropriate ideas, resources, and labor from those who have done this work for much longer, in-community, on a grassroots level."[29] In sum, are we seeking equal collaborators or draining our communities of their own stories?

To be clear, none of this is a new and brilliant observation on my end. This re-evaluation is part of an ongoing discussion that has emerged over the past few years and is being led by younger, activist public historians like Tang but given the current historical moment in which we are living, has become even more pressing. It's not enough anymore, if it ever was, to say the right things—action is paramount. Tang writes,

> Confronted with the events of the last several months, non-Black practitioners and organizations have rushed to proclaim their solidarity, without amplifying or materially supporting Black people. They have made #BlackLivesMatter, public statements, and mutual aid funds into a trend—and we're left to wonder how long it will last. Institutions and individuals engaging in this performative allyship remain silent and complicit—sometimes even critical—of these activisms and the forms they can take. Self-identified allies rarely push for change within or outside of their own organization.[30]

Herein lies the reckoning. It's not enough to historicize any longer. Historians, particularly white, middle-class historians must recognize their privilege and must act to dismantle it. This action will not look the same across the board, and I am in no position to tell folks exactly how this reckoning must occur. But if it is not made in some form, be sure the field will no longer be relevant and will not engage in the authenticity that must be at the center of public history practice—the authenticity I craved in my early personal journey with history. This can be a scary space in terms of not knowing how to push forward, not knowing how to proceed authentically, not knowing how to give up power and

listen. Yet we must learn to be comfortable in this discomfort because it's not going away, and we can only change it from within.

Marla Miller confronted some of these issues in her 2020 NCPH presidential address, which also coincided with the 40th anniversary of the organization's founding. This anniversary has sparked much reflection and self-critique within the field of public history. In her address, Miller drew on the work of activist and historian Rebecca Solnit, particularly Solnit's quote, "Hope locates itself in the premises that we don't know what will happen and that in the spaciousness of uncertainty is room to act."[31] Furthermore, Miller shared a quote from Liz Ševčenko, Director of the Humanities Action Lab, who explains,

> the best public history projects, like movements for social justice, 'seize the moment': they recognize that there are fleeting periods of possibility for new thinking and actions. So, they look for new shared concerns, especially deeply contested ones; openings in how publics and policy makers are willing to see them; momentum that's building for change; and mobilize memory to push them further.[32]

We are in that "fleeting period of possibility," and the time for reckoning and action is nigh.

Endnotes

[1] Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 105.

[2] Rosenzweig and Thelen, 106.

[3] Bill Bryans, "Collaborative Practice," *The Inclusive Historians Handbook*, https://inclusivehistorian.com/collaborative-practice/, Accessed 15 September 2020.

[4] Rosenzweig and Thelen, 4.

[5] *Ibid*.

[6] "About the Field: How Do We Define Public History?," https://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field/, Accessed 15 July 2020.

[7] "About the Field: How is Public History Used?," https://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field/, Accessed 15 July 2020.

[8] *Ibid*.

[9] Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), xxii.

[10] *Ibid*.

[11] Bryans.

[12] *The Inclusive Historian's Handbook* is a living reference source sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History and the National Council of Public History, which aligns with the goals of each organization to build "diversity and inclusion across the historical community." https://inclusivehistorian.com/about/, Accessed 30 September 2020.

[13] Bryans draws heavily on Ari Kelman's book *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling Over the Memory of Sand Creek* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016) as well as the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site website for his example of the complications with shared authority and collaborative practice: https://www.nps.gov/sand/index.htm.

[14] Bryans.

[15] *Ibid*.

[16] *Ibid*.

[17] *Ibid*.

[18] "History Relevance," https://www.historyrelevance.com/, Accessed 24 September 2020; "History Relevance 101," Talking Hoosier History podcast, March 11, 2020, https://blog.history.in.gov/thh-episode-28-history-relevance-101/

[19] "Value of History Statement," https://www.historyrelevance.com/value-history-statement#:~:text=People%20discover%20their%20place%20in,THINKING%20%C2%BB%20History%20teaches%20vital%20skills., Accessed 24 September 2020.

[20] "History Relevance 101," Talking Hoosier History podcast, March 11, 2020, https://blog.history.in.gov/thh-episode-28-history-relevance-101/;

[21] *Ibid*.

[22] As cited in Marla Miller's 2020 NCPH Presidential Address, "'In the Spaciousness of Uncertainty is Room to Act': Public History's Long Game," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 42, No. 3, (August 2020), 27.

[23] Jennifer Dickey, "'Cameos of History' on the Landscape: The Changes and Challenges of Georgia's Historical Marker Program, *The Public Historian*, Vol. 42, No. 2, (May 2020), 33-34.

[24] This was at times also enforced. See Barkshire v.The State, an 1856 Indiana Supreme Court case where Arthur Barkshire, a Black man who was a resident of Indiana, married Elizabeth Keith, a Black woman who lived in Ohio, and tried to bring his bride home with him to his community of Rising Sun. Instead, Barkshire found himself in legal trouble and his marriage annulled. Albert G. Porter, *Reports of Cases Decided in the Supreme Court of the State of Indiana*, Volume 7, (Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company, 1889), 389-390.

[25] This also leads to further discussion about Indigenous History in Indiana and the indigenous landscape being lost and not acknowledged. Before the land belonged to white or Black settlers, it belonged to the tribes of this area.

[26] See previous footnote.

[27] GVGK Tang, "Gather, Connect, Amplify: The Importance of Grassroots Community Building and Dismantling White Middle Class Public History," *Public History News*, Vol. 40, No. 3, June 2020.

[28] *Ibid*.

[29] GVGK Tang, "We Need to Talk About Public History's Columbusing Problem," History at Work: The NCPH blog, https://ncph.org/history-at-work/we-need-to-talk-about-public-historys-columbusing-problem/, Accessed 10 August 2020.

[30] Tang, "We Need to Talk … "

[31] As cited in Miller, "In the Spaciousness … "

[32] *Ibid*.

"America First":
The Indiana Ku Klux Klan and
Immigration Policy in the 1920s

Jill Weiss Simins
*Indiana University – Purdue University,
Indianapolis – Public History Graduate Student*

Introduction

This research was inspired by historian James Madison's 2019 Midwestern History Association plenary address, in which he called on Midwestern historians to accept responsibility for telling this difficult history across a wide variety of platforms.

In his 2017 inaugural speech, U.S. President Donald Trump stated, "From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. From this day forward, it's going to be only America first, America first."[1] Trump's administration has used "America First" ideology to further several different agendas, including pushing for both paper and physical walls to exclude immigrants, many from Hispanic countries, and to imprison "illegal" immigrants at the border.[2] "America First," in this context then, defines an American only as someone who was born in the U.S., denying the nation's long history of immigration. "America First," in combination with the Trump campaign slogan "Make America Great Again," refers to an imagined history of the U.S. where white supremacy made the country "great" for a white, native-born, Protestant majority. This was the message also delivered by the Indiana Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s as they furthered their "America First" and "100% American" message through dehumanizing propaganda about immigrants. Like President Trump, Grand Dragon D.C. Stephenson called immigrants criminals and referred to them as castoffs from their own countries.[3] And similar to Trump's campaign speeches, the Klan newspaper the *Fiery Cross* referred to an "invasion" of immigrants and sowed fear in white followers about loss of cultural, political, and racial supremacy.[4] The connection between the current and past use of "America First" is a warning. The Klan's "America First" policy directly influenced immigration laws with dire consequences for generations of asylum seekers. There are lessons here for today. This paper will demonstrate how the second Klan, the Klan of the 1920s, focused its disdain mainly on Catholic immigrants

in an attempt to maintain white, Protestant hegemony. Focusing on the Klan in Indiana, this articles uses primary sources to show that the hate group was a mainstream, not fringe, organization representative of the feelings of many Hoosiers. Forwarding an "America First" agenda that excluded immigrants, the Klan was influential in spreading the ideology that culminated in the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 which established the quota system that targeted specific groups for exclusion.

The first Klan, which emerged after the Civil War was a Southern terrorist organization, led by former Confederate soldiers, aimed at suppressing African Americans with intimidation and violence. The Klan that reemerged in the 1920s purposefully evoked the imagery of the Reconstruction Era Klan to instill fear in its "enemies," but was much different. This second Klan was not a band of rogue vigilantes, but a nationwide organization composed of average white, Protestant Americans. It included farmers, bankers, railroad workers, suffragists, ministers, mayors, and governors. Historian James Madison explains that the Klan was especially successful at recruiting Hoosiers. As many as one-in-four white Protestant men born in Indiana joined the Klan. The second Klan also largely abandoned violence for civic action. They dressed their anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic message in patriotism and Christian righteousness. Wearing white robes and masks, they held picnics and parades, and attended church and funerals. For many white Protestant Americans, the Ku Klux Klan was a respectable pastime for the whole family.[5]

Because the Klan published their newspaper, the *Fiery Cross*, for several years in Indianapolis, historians can determine much about who joined and what exactly they believed and feared about immigration and changing demographics, as well as their work to prevent certain immigrants from becoming Americans. The *Fiery Cross* served both as an official mouthpiece of the national organization and as a source for local Indiana Klan news. The Indiana State Library also has a large collection of Klan documents. In conversation, these sources paint a clear picture of Klan beliefs and influence on both Indiana politics and national immigration policy.[6]

In an early Ku Klux Klan handbook called the *Kloran*, the national organization suggested ten questions that had to be answered satisfactorily before initiating a new member in a process ironically called "naturalizing." Most

of the questions asked about the potential member's allegiance to the U.S. government and Christian principles. For example, "Do you esteem the United States of America and its institutions above any other government, civil, political or ecclesiastical, in the whole world?" The word "ecclesiastical" in this context referenced the Roman Catholic Church. The Klan claimed that Catholics served only the Pope who headed a conspiracy to undermine American values, and thus, Catholics could never be loyal American citizens. This anti-Catholic sentiment and rhetoric was especially strong with the Midwestern Klan, as seen in the pages of the *Fiery Cross*. However, not all of the membership questions veiled their hateful messages. One question from the *Kloran* asked potential members bluntly: "Do you believe in and will you faithfully strive for the eternal maintenance of white supremacy?" In the minds of Klan members, the white supremacy they valued so dearly was under attack through immigration and "race mixing."[7] Like the earlier Reconstruction Klan, the 1920s Klan viewed African Americans as members of an inferior race. In Indiana, members worried about the mixing of white and black races, especially as young Hoosiers gained access to cars, jazz clubs, and Hollywood movies. In 1922, the *Fiery Cross* blamed jazz for "inflaming the animal passions of romance-seeking youth."[8] And in 1924, the newspaper declared, "At this time the whole civilized structure is being threatened by the mixing of the white and black races." It continued:

> It is God's purpose that the white man should preserve purity of blood and white supremacy in this country. Those who would have it otherwise or show leniency toward the mixing of white and colored races do not deserve the respect of anyone, much less of those who are trying to preserve American institutions, ideals and principles. A mongrel race and a mongrel civilization mean decay and ruin.[9]

As demonstrated through the words of the *Kloran* and the *Fiery Cross*, any reference to Christian virtue, Protestant values, or "God's purpose" in Klan literature should be understood as being imbued with white supremacist ideology. The Klan believed that God valued people of Anglo-Saxon, German, and Scandinavian descent more than people of other backgrounds. And they believed that it was their sacred duty to protect white domination of the U.S. For the Indiana Klan, African Americans were *not* the main obstacles to their white supremacist goals. Many Indiana towns had small numbers of Black

residents, and there were plenty of institutionalized practices and laws in place by the 1920s to suppress African Americans. The Klan helped to keep these as standard practice. However, they saw immigrants, mainly Catholics but also Jews, as the main threat to a white, Protestant America.[10]

D. C. Stephenson, the recently appointed Grand Dragon of the Indiana Ku Klux Klan, clearly laid out the organization's stance on immigration in a September 1923 speech to Hoosier coal miners. The *Fiery Cross* printed Stephenson's address in its entirety under the headline "Immigration is Periling America."[11] First, Stephenson distinguished between "old" and "new" immigrants. The "old" immigrants were the Anglo-Saxon, German, and Scandinavian "progenitors of the Republic of America" who brought their strong work ethic and "social, moral, and civic ideals" to the new land.[12] Omitting any mention of native peoples or the contributions of the many other immigrant groups who helped found the United States, Stephenson continued to provide the history of an imagined past created solely by and for white people. Second, Stephenson plainly identified the enemy of white Protestant America as the "new" immigrants who were arriving in "greater in numbers" than the "old" immigrants. These "new" immigrants were "from the races of southern and eastern Europe."[13] Third, he cited the various ways that the "new immigrant has been shown to be much inferior to the older type and to the native American stock."[14] By "native American," Stephenson meant white European people who immigrated in previous generations, not the Native American Indian peoples who originally called North America home. Using examples based in the later discredited pseudo-science of eugenics, Stephenson furthered his argument about the inherent inferiority of the "new" immigrants. Eugenicists assumed that some traits, like mental illness or poverty, could be prevented by limiting reproduction of the people demonstrating such traits, in order to breed a better race of humans. For Klan leaders, the language of eugenics gave them "scientific facts" to present as evidence while lobbying to block immigration.[15] In his speech, Stephenson presented reports from eugenicists claiming that the "new" immigrants were less intelligent, more prone to disease and mental disorders, and harbored criminal tendencies.[16] The conclusion he intended his listeners to draw from such reports was that people from southern and eastern Europe should be excluded from the United States. Fourth, Stephenson claimed that English, German, and Scandinavian "old" immigrants spread out across the country, establishing farming communities. On the other hand, the "new"

immigrants settled only in already congested cities and refused to assimilate. And finally, Stephenson claimed, in these cities, the immigrant was to blame for a decreased standard of living and reduction in wages. He continued:

> There is no assimilation to American standards and ideals, in the case of the great majority of the newer immigrants. Masses of human beings of inferior races, ignorant of all the ideals which Americans hold dear, are poured into our factories as so much raw material – and they are not 'digested.' The new immigrant comes here as a foreigner and he remains a foreigner – a citizen of a lower class, who, just as the negro, is a constant menace to the standards of civilization which Americans hold dear.[17]

The solution was clear. Speaking for the powerful Ku Klux Klan with its millions of members, Stephenson demanded, "The next Congress must adopt a permanent immigration law."[18]

Figure 1:
"Whose U. S. Is This Anyway?" cartoon, Denver Post reprinted in Fiery Cross (Indianapolis), May 9, 1924, 1, accessed September 15, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles.

Hoosier Klan members supported Stephenson's message, despite the fact that Indiana's own immigration history proved the racist claims false at every turn. For example, Jewish pioneers like John Jacob Hays, an Indiana agent for the U.S. government, were among the first of European descent to settle in the Northwest Territory, and Jewish Hoosier Samuel Judah settled in Vincennes in 1818 and began the first of his five terms in the state legislature in 1827.[19] Black Hoosiers were also among the first to clear and farm Indiana land, building thriving communities like Weaver and Roberts Settlement by the 1830s.[20] Catholic immigrants to Indiana like Saint Theodora Guerin, who arrived in 1840, braved the wilderness and prejudice to establish schools and orphanages.[21] And at the same time that the *Fiery Cross* was claiming that immigrants were responsible for draining the economy, Terre Haute newspapers praised the Syrian immigrants in their community for stimulating the local economy.[22] Examples of immigrant contributions to the Hoosier state are endless. Despite the numerous local lessons to be learned, many Hoosiers latched on to racist and xenophobic ideology. The Klan gave them an outlet for their fear and distain.

In addition to attempting to paint immigrants as un-American, the Klan claimed for themselves an ideology of "America First" and an image of "100% American." The Klan imbued the "America First" slogan with a meaning different from the isolationists and advocates of peace who previously used the slogan in an attempt to keep the U.S. out of World War I. Isolationists urged the nation's leaders to put the safety and well-being of "America first," that is, before the needs of the nation's allies. The Klan, on the other hand, used "America First," as a call to its members to protect the power and supremacy of "true" Americans of the "old stock" from the "alien invasion" of immigrants, Jews, and Catholics threatening to undermine those qualities that made the U.S. great in their eyes.[23] Klan leaders such as Hiram Wesley Evans defined these slogans in no uncertain terms. Evans wrote, "We believe, in short, that we have the right to make America *American* and for Americans."[24] So, who was an "American" to Evans? Only a white person of "Nordic" heritage who was born in the United States and who held the same principles of Protestantism as the founding fathers and Nordic ancestors, could be considered "100% American."[25] To achieve its goals, the Klan did not advocate for a particular political party, only for "anti-alien and pro-American legislation."[26] The *Fiery Cross* agreed that political parties were unimportant. The only objective of the Klan would be to put "America First" and to "keep America

American."[27] The "white, native-born American" Klan member would fight to stem the "flood of aliens," preserve the white "pioneer stock," and restore an "America safe for Americans."[28] The enemies of the Klan's work, according to Evans, were not only the Jews, Catholics, and immigrants they sought to exclude as Americans, but also "the alien-minded Liberal" or the "mongrelized Liberals" whose "idealist philanthropy" had led to the idea of the U.S. as a "melting pot," or integrated society that, by the 1920s, threatened white supremacy. Evans proudly defined "true" Americans as those with "a growing sentiment against radicalism, cosmopolitanism, and alienism" and as those "plain people" of the "old stock" who rejected the "wholly academic" beliefs of "American Liberalism" and its acceptance of immigration as part of the American tradition.[29]

How do historians know that the average Hoosier who joined the Klan, actually supported this message of white supremacy? One way that Indiana Klan members made their support public and highly visible was through large and elaborate parades. In September 1923, the *Fiery Cross* reported that between 1,200 and 1,500 Klansmen marched in a "huge parade" through the main streets of Terre Haute led by the Terre Haute No. 7 Klan band.[30] Signs on floats read, "Uphold the Constitution" and "America First." Local police helped handle traffic and a traction company provided "special cars" to transport Klansmen and women to "the Klan grounds, north of the city." Here there were speakers and new member initiation ceremonies for "several hundred candidates." While these new Hoosier Klan members took their oaths of allegiance, "a fiery cross was lighted."[31] In July 1923, the *Fiery Cross* reported on a huge Ku Klux Klan gathering in Kokomo. The Klan newspaper claimed that city hosted "a throng in excess of any ever before entertained by an Indiana city, not excepting Indianapolis on Speedway day," with Klan members coming from surrounding states as well.[32] At this meeting, Klan leaders announced "charters granted to each and every county in Indiana" to establish local "klaverns."[33] The *Fiery Cross* continued: "Americanism has engulfed the Hoosier state and the growth of the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana has been as a tidal wave."[34] In October 1923, the *Fiery Cross* claimed 10,000 people turned out for a Klan parade in Bloomington organized by the Monroe County Klan and the Women of the Ku Klux Klan and that a similar event would be held in Fort Wayne.[35] The *Fiery Cross* estimated that 100,000 would attend the Indianapolis night parade of Klansmen in May 1924, and would march from the State Fairgrounds to Monument Circle led by Klan bands and drum corp.[36] While the

Fiery Cross likely exaggerated these numbers to some extent for the sake of propaganda, mainstream newspapers also reported large crowds of Hoosiers marching in or attending these Klan parades.

Figure 2: "Ku Klux Klan at a Christian Church," photograph, ca. 1920, General Photograph Collection, Indiana State Library Digital Collection, accessed September 15, 2020, http://cdm16066.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p16066coll69/id/696/rec/5.

The Klan grew their membership in other ways too. Donning robes and masks, they marched into churches and made donations to grateful ministers.[37] They held picnics and social events and showed Klan propaganda movies.[38] Klan bands recorded albums and Indianapolis even had a KKK record store, the American Record Shop.[39] Members advocated for prohibition of alcohol and supported prayer in school, issues that especially interested women. Thus, the number of women's Klan groups increased across the state as well.[40] Not all of these Klan members hid behind costumes. Many felt comfortable taking off their hoods to pose for pictures.[41] Many ran ads for their business in the *Fiery Cross*. While some business owners advertised in order to avoid boycott by Klan members, others proudly proclaimed that their business was "100%

American" or incorporated the letters "KKK" into the ad.[42] The Johnson Ford Service Company advertised to "100% Americans who prefer being served by 100% American Workmen," while the G. J. Koontz Coal Company urged buyers to "Keep Klean Koal."[43] These efforts to build membership, influence, visibility, and solidarity were successful in Indiana and across much of the country. By 1924, the Klan was a powerful force. It gave white Protestants an organization dedicated to defending the perceived threat to their political and cultural dominance and an outlet for their xenophobic fears. The more enthusiastic Klansmen used intimidation techniques such as burning crosses on front lawns or stopping cars to search for illegal alcohol.[44] However, Klan members mainly focused their intimidation into written and verbal attacks on immigrants using stereotyping, dehumanizing language, and eugenic pseudo-science. Cloaking their hateful message in patriotism and virtue made it palatable to many, "up to one-third of the state's native-born, white, Protestant men" and potentially almost as many women.[45]

Figure 3: Advertisement, Fiery Cross (Indianapolis), June 27, 1924, 5, accessed September 15, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles.

Other Hoosiers actively, adamantly, and even violently opposed the Klan. Cities passed anti-mask ordinances to prevent the Klan from marching in their hoods and robes.[46] Prominent citizens founded civic clubs "to fight the Ku Klux Klan."[47] The *Indianapolis Times* launched a multi-year "crusade" against the Klan, exposing members' identities and combating the secret organization's

influence on Indiana politics – an effort which won the newspaper a Pulitzer Prize.[48] Black voters risked being jailed as "floaters" (someone whose vote was illegally purchased) when they came out in record numbers to cast their votes in opposition to Klan-backed candidates.[49] Local Catholic organizations called on politicians to denounce the Klan and include a plank in their official party platforms rejecting "secret political organizations" and supporting "racial and religious liberty."[50] Indiana attorney Patrick H. O'Donnell led the American Unity League, a powerful Chicago-based Catholic organization that also published the names and addresses of Klan members in its publication *Tolerance*.[51] In the spring of 1924, University of Notre Dame students and Catholic South Bend residents of immigrant origin opposed attempts by the Ku Klux Klan to parade through the streets. In the violent altercation that ensued, the Klan was driven from the city.[52] This kind of opposition was largely the exception.[53]

The Klan's growing membership and championing of white supremacist principles had real world consequences. To many Indiana politicians, the people had spoken. The Indiana Republican Party was the most sympathetic, but there were Democratic supporters as well. Most politicians were complicit in their failure to denounce the Klan for fear of losing votes, as opposed to any direct participation in the organization. But the Klan did influence Indiana elections. Stephenson openly revealed that the Klan would distribute sample ballots to members with candidates who were favorable to the organization clearly marked.[54] Ahead of the 1922 election, the Klan also created an "Information Sheet" that listed each candidate's race, religion, and immigrant status. The sheet clearly denoted whether a candidate or even a member of his family was "Roman Catholic," "Negro," or "Foreign Born."[55] Several candidates won seats directly because the Klan proclaimed their support. Others sympathetic to the Klan won offices perhaps because the Klan had disseminated so much propaganda that voters did not know what to believe. As the Klan accused opposing candidates of various indiscretions, voters may have become confused and apathetic.[56] By 1924, the Klan was heavily involved in Indiana politics. Stephenson would later release the names of several politicians who were Klansmen themselves, including John L. Duvall, the Mayor of Indianapolis, and Ed Jackson, the Governor of the State of Indiana.[57]

Hoosier congressmen who neither joined nor denounced the Klan still furthered the organization's "America First" agenda. For example, as governor (1913-1917), Samuel Ralston proved to be a fairly progressive-minded

democrat, advocating for women's suffrage, child labor laws, and workman's compensation. When he was elected to the U. S. Senate in 1922, he tried to avoid talking about the Klan altogether. Like most moderate Hoosier politicians Ralston was not a Klan member, but he also he never publicly denounced the organization.[58] However, when the Senate voted on the Immigration Act of 1924, Ralston voted in favor of immigration restriction, as did his counterpart James Watson.[59] All of Indiana's representatives also voted in favor of the bill and President Calvin Coolidge signed it into law May 24, 1924.[60] The president told Congress, "America must be kept American."[61] Klan leader Hiram Wesley Evans stated that the Klan felt that it had achieved its major goal with the passage of this anti-immigration legislation. He wrote, "The Klan is proud that it was able to aid this work, which was vital."[62]

The Immigration Act of 1924 and its quota system remained in effect until 1952. The legislation had dire consequences for many, notably for the hundreds of thousands of Jews fleeing Nazi persecution in the 1930s, who applied to the United States for immigration visas. Jews were specifically targeted in the legislation as undesirable candidates for refuge and only a handful were admitted.[63] While the Klan may have disappeared by the 1930s, the nativist and xenophobic attitude of many Americans remained the same as it had been when they wore masks and robes. *Fortune* magazine took a large poll in 1938 and found that only 5% of Americans wanted to allow "political refugees to come into the United States."[64] Even a bill requesting a temporary easing of the quotas to rescue child refugees of Nazi terror failed in the Senate. The persecuted Jews of Europe would not find refuge in the United States and many of those denied entry were murdered in the Holocaust.[65]

With each new shift in demographics throughout American history, certain groups have feared losses of power or wealth. However, those groups who rally around nativism and hate, as powerful as they might grow for a time, lose out to the more powerful vision of America as a leader in justice and democracy. Eventually, eugenics was discounted and its practice outlawed, the quota system overturned, and the Klan was made a laughing stock. Even so, the Klan's vision of white supremacy and exclusion still simmers beneath the surface of American politics. The current version of "America First" is one that targets specific groups, such as Muslim and Hispanic asylum seekers, as opposed to the southern European Catholics of the 1920s. President Trump's

interpretation of "America First" is xenophobic policy coated in patriotic language. We have seen it before, wrapped not only in the flag, but in a sheet.

Figure 4: Group of Klansmen Holding American Flag," photograph, n.d., General Photograph Collection, Indiana State Library Digital Collection, accessed September 15, 2020, http:// cdm16066.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p16066coll69/id/675/rec/10.

Endnotes

1   "Donald Trump: 'America First, America First,'" BBC News, January 20, 2017, accessed September 7, 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-us-canada-38698654.

2   Emily Kassie, "Detained: How the US Built the World's Largest Immigrant Detention System," Guardian, September 24, 2019, accessed September 7, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/sep/24/detained-us-largest-immigrant-detention-trump; "The Trump Administration's Immigration Agenda Protects American Workers, Taxpayers, and Sovereignty," White House Briefing, February 4, 2020, accessed September 7, 2020, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/trump-administrations-immigration-agenda-protects-american-workers-taxpayers-sovereignty/; Zolan Kanno-Youngs and Maggie Haberman, "Trump Administration Moves to Solidify Restrictive Immigration Policies," August 26, 2020, accessed September 7, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/12/us/politics/coronavirus-trump-immigration-policies.html.

3   Katie Reilly, "Here Are All the Times Donald Trump Insulted Immigrants," Time, August 31, 2016, accessed September 7, 2020, https://time.com/4473972/donald-trump-&/.

4   Julia Carrie Wond, "Trump Referred to Immigrant 'Invasion' in 2,000 Facebook Ads, Analysis Revealed," *Guardian*, August 5, 2019, accessed September 7, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/aug/05/trump-internet-facebook-ads-racism-immigrant-invasion.

5   James Madison, "Flappers and Klansmen Challenge Traditions: The 1920s," in *Hoosiers* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press and Indiana Historical Society Press, 2014), 234-253; James Madison, "Who's an American? The Rise and Fall of the Klan in the Midwest," Plenary Address, Fifth Annual Midwestern History Conference, Grand Valley State University, May 31, 2019. In his 2019 address, Madison clearly stated that the 1920s Klan was a mainstream movement at the center, not margins, of the nation's history. The address is available at: https://www.c-span.org/video/?460982-1/ku-klux-klan-1920s-midwest.

6   The *Fiery Cross* is accessible online through Hoosier State Chronicles courtesy of the Indiana State Library.

7   Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Kloran*, 1916, United Klans of America Collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, Indiana State Library. This source is also accessible digitally at Archive.org.

8   "Divorce," *Fiery Cross* (Indianapolis), December 8, 1922, 4, accessed September 8, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles; Madison, "Who's an American?" Plenary Address.

9   "Of, By and For the People," *Fiery Cross* (Indianapolis), March 14, 1924, 7, accessed September 8, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles.

10 Madison, "Who's an American?" Plenary Address; James Madison, "The Klan's Enemies Step Up, Slowly," *Indiana Magazine of History* 116, no. 2 (June 2020): 93-120, accessed August 14, 2020, JSTOR. While Africans American Hoosiers were not the main targets of the Klan's work, they did work to oppose the Klan. Madison demonstrates that Black newspapers, community leaders, and the NAACP challenged the Klan.

11 "Immigration is Periling America," *Fiery Cross* (Indianapolis), September 21, 1923, 1, accessed September 13, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles.

12 *Ibid*.

13 *Ibid*.

14 *Ibid*.

15 PBS, "Eugenics Movement Reaches Its Height," *A Science Odyssey: People and Discoveries*, accessed September 13, 2020, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aso/databank/entries/dh23eu.html; Indiana Historical Bureau, "1907 Indiana Eugenics Law," 2007, State Historical Marker, accessed September 13, 2020, https://www.in.gov/history/markers/524.htm. The pseudo-science of eugenics led to mass sterilization in Indiana and elsewhere before it was determined to be a violation of human rights by state and federal courts.

16 "Immigration is Periling America," 1.

17 "Immigration is Periling America," 1.

18 *Ibid*.

19 American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, "Indiana Jewish History," Jewish Virtual Library, accessed September 13, 2020, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/indiana-jewish-history.

20 Stephen A. Vincent, "History," Roberts Settlement, accessed September 13. 2020, http://www.robertssettlement.org/history.html; Indiana Historical Bureau, "Weaver Settlement," 2020, State Historical Marker, accessed September 13, 2020, http://www.state.in.us/history/markers/4468.htm.

21 Indiana Historical Bureau, "Saint Theodora Guerin," Indiana State Historical Marker, 2009, accessed September 13, 2020, https://www.in.gov/history/markers/4330.htm.

22 Indiana Historical Bureau, "Little Syria on the Wabash," 2018, Indiana State Historical Marker, accessed September 13, 2020, https://www.in.gov/history/markers/4404.htm.

23 Hiram Wesley Evans, "The Klan's Fight for Americanism," [pamphlet, reprinted from the *North American Review*], 1926, Michigan State University, accessed September 13, 2020, https://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/AmRad/klansfightamericanism.pdf.

24 *Ibid*., 18.

25 *Ibid*., 20

26 *Ibid*., 24.

27 "The Real Objective," *Fiery Cross* (Indianapolis), December 21, 1923, 4, accessed September 13, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles.

28 Evans, 20; "The Real Objective," 4.

29 Evans, 2-3, 6, 8, 10.

30 "Throngs Cheer Klan Paraders, Hear Talk," *Fiery Cross* (Indianapolis), October 5, 1923, 1, accessed September 13, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles.

31 *Ibid*.

32 "All Roads to Kokomo Meet July 4," *Fiery Cross* (Indianapolis), July 6, 1923, 1, accessed September 13, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles.

33 *Ibid*.

34 *Ibid*.

35 "Bloomington Gala Event and Parade Draws Big Crowd, *Fiery Cross* (Indianapolis), October 19, 1923, 1, accessed September 13, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles.

36 "100,000 to Attend Klan Celebration," *Fiery Cross* (Indianapolis), May 23, 1924, 1, accessed September 13, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles.

37 "Ku Klux Klan at Christian Church, Knox County" 1920, photograph, Indiana State Library Digital Collection, accessed September 13, 2020, http://cdm16066.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p16066coll69/id/696/rec/1.

38 Madison, "Who's an American?" Plenary Address.

39 Charlie Dahan, Gannett Records Discography, accessed September 13, 2020, https://gennett.wordpress.com/2014/05/28/may-28th-in-gennett-history-1924-the-1/; Advertisement, *Fiery Cross* (Indianapolis), June 27, 1924, 5, accessed September 13, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles.

40 "First Appearance of Klanswomen," "Women Initiate at Huntington, Indiana," and "Women Hold First Meeting at Auburn," *Fiery Cross* (Indianapolis), September 21, 1923, 2, accessed September 13, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles.

41 W.A. Swift, "Ku Klux Klan in Elwood, Indiana," photograph, 1922, W. A. Swift Photographs Collection, Ball State University Libraries, Archives and Special Collections, accessed September 15, 2020, Indiana Memory; "Portrait of WKKK Klan No. 93," photograph, ca. 1925, General Photograph Collection, accessed September 15, 2020, Indiana State Library Digital Collection.

42 *Fiery Cross* (Indianapolis), December 21, 1923, 5, accessed September 13, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles; Fiery Cross (Indianapolis), February 23, 1923, 5, accessed September 13, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles.

43 *Ibid*.

44 Madison, *Hoosiers*, 247.

45 Madison, "The Klan's Enemies Step Up, Slowly," 94-95. Madison cites Leonard Moore and others in stating that an estimated 300,000 men and an undetermined number of women joined the Klan in Indiana.

46 "Michigan City Passes Anti-Mask Resolution," (Muncie) *Star Press*, September 8, 1923, 8, accessed September 15, 2020, Newspapers.com.

47 "Political Club to Fight Klan in Lake County," (Munster) *Times*, April 10, 1924, 1, accessed September 15, 2020, Newspapers.com.

48 Indiana Historical Bureau, "Indianapolis Times."

49 "Many Factions Clash," *Indianapolis Star*, May 6, 1925, 9, accessed September 15, 2020, Newspapers.com.

50 "Request Parties to Oppose Klan," (Elwood) *Call-Leader*, January 29, 1924, 1, accessed September 15, 2020, Newspapers.com.

51 "Former Local Man to Fight Ku Klux Klan," *Logansport Pharos-Tribune*, September 16, 1922, 9, accessed September 15, 2020, Newspapers.com.

52 Jill Weiss Simins, "Integrity on the Gridiron Part One: Opposition to the Klan at Notre Dame," Indiana History Blog, November 19, 2019, accessed September 15, 2020, https://blog.history.in.gov/integrity-on-the-gridiron-part-one-notre-dame-opposition-to-the-klan/.

53 For a thorough examination of the opposition to the Klan by African Americans, Jews, Catholics, lawyers, politicians, labor unions, newspapermen and more see: James H. Madison, "The Klan's Enemies Step Up, Slowly," *Indiana Magazine of History* 116, no. 2 (June 2020): 93-120, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/indimagahist.116.2.01.

54 Jill Weiss Simins, "Complicity in Neutrality? Samuel Ralston Denies Klan Affiliation," 2018, Indiana History Blog, accessed September 15, 2020, https://blog.history.in.gov/samuel-ralston-denies-klan-affiliation/; Madison, "The Klan's Enemies Step Up, Slowly," 113-14.

55 Indiana Ku Klux Klan, "Information Sheet," 1922, Indiana Pamphlet Collection, Indiana State Library.

56 Madison, *Hoosiers*, 253.

57 "Stephenson Plot Bared by Editor," Indianapolis Times, September 28, 1926, 1, accessed September 15, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles; "Mayor Admits Confab with Evans, Indianapolis Times, October 28, 1926, 1, accessed September 15, 2020, Hoosier State Chronicles; Indiana Historical Bureau, "*Indianapolis Times*," 2013, State Historical Marker Text and Notes, https://www.in.gov/history/markers/4115.htm; Weiss Simins, "Complicity in Neutrality?"

58 Weiss Simins, "Complicity in Neutrality?"

[59] "To Agree to Report of Conference Committee on H.R. 7995 … A Bill to Limit the Immigration of Aliens into the United States," 1924, Senate Vote #126 (68th Congress), accessed September 15, 2020, https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes/68-1/s126.

[60] "To Agree to the Report of Conference Committee on H.R. 7995, to Limit the Immigration of Aliens into the United States," 1924, House Vote #90 (68th Congress), accessed September 15, 2020, https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes/68-1/h90; "Harding, Coolidge, and Immigration," July 6, 2016, Miller Center, University of Virginia, accessed September 15, 2020, https://millercenter.org/issues-policy/us-domestic-policy/harding-coolidge-and-immigration.

[61] Calvin Coolidge, "First Annual Message," December 6, 1923, Miller Center, University of Virginia, accessed September 15, 2020, https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/december-6-1923-first-annual-message.

[62] Evans, 11.

[63] "1924 Immigration Act; Immigration to the United States 1933-41," Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed September 15, 2020, https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/immigration-to-the-united-states-1933-41.

[64] "Poll," *Fortune*, July 1938, reprinted in Ishaan Thardoor, "What Americans Thought of Jewish Refugees on the Eve of World War II," Washington Post, November 17, 2015, accessed September 15, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/11/17/what-americans-thought-of-jewish-refugees-on-the-eve-of-world-war-ii/?utm_term=.2a6a6f677323.

[65] Jill Weiss Simins, "History Unfolded Part 7: Child Refugees, Hoosier Resistance," Hoosier State Chronicles Blog, January 25, 2019, accessed September 15, 2020, https://blog.newspapers.library.in.gov/tag/we-remember/.

History at the Crossroads:
What the Combined Study of Genealogy, History, Education, and Communication Can Teach Us

M. Teresa Baer
Indiana Historical Society

Introduction

When I was a youngster, I wanted to know what happened in the "olden days." I asked my paternal grandmother this question incessantly. Fortunately, she enjoyed sharing her memories with me. I thought she was the most fascinating person I knew, coming straight out of a fairy tale that began, "Over the river and through the woods." She did, you see, come from over a creek and up a steep hill on a sandstone drive that wound its way through dense forest. The house where she and my grandpa lived, where my dad grew up, was fashioned of weathered clapboard, with no running water or central heat. It was my favorite place in the world, my grandparents' farm in southern Indiana, not far from the Ohio River.

While Grandma fed my love of stories about her "neck of the woods" from the end of the nineteenth century through the Great Wars and Great Depression, I grew up in the suburbs of the burgeoning, ever-modernizing city of Indianapolis. My parents were part of a major migration of rural families to the cities after World War II. They were part of the "greatest generation," with plenty of stories of their own. I did not understand growing up why our family seemed so different from the other families around us, what I would later come to realize was just us being more countrified. But, then as part of my continuing education, after degrees focusing on world history and international studies and after an advanced degree in comparative history, I came to know that many of the people I grew up with had just moved to the city, too. Perhaps my family was from deeper in the forest than those fresh off prairie farms; perhaps that is why we seemed different, a little backward, a little standoffish, a little too "proud."

My paternal grandmother, Lizzie Mae (Bell) DuBois, on my uncle's farm in Crawford County, Indiana, ca. late 1960s

Citation:
DuBois and Perkins Family Photos Collection, courtesy of M. Teresa Baer

The questions I had growing up morphed into larger questions as I grew into adulthood. I attended college late, the first in my family to get a four-year degree. So, it was uncharted territory for all of us. Mom used to ask me to tell her about what I was learning at school. And so, I passed up to my parents, who had spent decades passing down to me the stories of the people in our family, how the world worked, what others said and did about situations that we handled in particular ways but that they handled differently. It was a time for me of opening awareness of cultures, economies, religions, political systems; a time of many long and interesting discussions both at home and at school with classmates as we stumbled out classroom doors, enraptured by old stories of people around the world that were new to us. It was a time when new questions arose exponentially as previous queries were addressed.

When I finally went to college, I had two goals in mind. With practicality, I wanted a degree so I could make a living wage. But that is not what literally drove me to school with the force of a never-ending wind, pushing me and badgering me, "You have *got* to go to school." No, the romantic side, if you will, was a great curiosity about all of us. How did people get to be where they were then, at the beginning of the 1990s, the end of the twentieth century? What were people? How did they function? What had they already done? What did they already know? Where were they headed? And always, Why? Why? Why?

I declared history as my major on day one. It seemed the most direct way to find the answers to all my questions. Later, I would study political science, religious studies, geography, economics, and some anthropology to fill in all the gray areas I was collecting in my knowledge. I was told by history professors, wonderful teachers and great mentors, to focus, focus, focus. "Become an expert on a time or a place. Don't go studying everything across the globe from the beginning of civilization to the present. You won't get into graduate school that way. You won't get a job in the history field that way." Those professors were some of the best friends I will ever have in my life. In many ways they were

quite correct. But, in the end, we all fashion our lives around our obsessions, our needs, our desires. I wanted to understand. That's all. I just wanted to understand – how did we get to where we are today, and how can we fix it?

Yes, the more I studied, the more I realized the old world needs a lot of fixing, and mostly from the actions of humans over eons. Which reminds me of another thing one of my professors said to me, "Do you want to be a historian or a philosopher? They are not the same thing, and you must decide."

Wow. That last critique was the most difficult to ignore. I've been arguing about it in my head for a quarter century now. Why can't I be both? What is the use of understanding human history if you cannot use that knowledge to make observations and recommendations to people for the future, to pass along understanding?

I have been working in the field of history after all – all these years. A foot in the door editing a genealogical journal led surprisingly to a full-throated career in history, researching, writing, and editing articles and books for both children and adults on historical topics that deal with the history of my home state, Indiana, the greater Midwest (that part carved out of the Old Northwest Territory), and the United States. Also, since one of the places I studied for my graduate degree was Canada, I am often informed about North American history in my work because, as I have learned in large ways and small, the history of Canada and the history of America cannot be untangled. We are like two sides of the same coin – the coin that was formed when rebels took America for their own and the Tories, those loyal to the British Crown, created Canada. We had the same questions and issues before us. How we addressed and answered those questions defined the differences between the two countries. But, either of us, at any point, could choose an answer from the other side. We are that close. We have the same roots. We evolved with the same cultures and backgrounds and beliefs instilled in us. We chose. We merely chose, and the rest, as they say, is history.

I certainly did not know everything about people after my studies were through. Nor have my studies *ever* been through. Over the course of my career as family history publications editor and then managing editor of the Indiana Historical Society Press, I have continued to ask questions – of authors, of manuscripts, of sources, of scholars, of colleagues, of historical and genealogical literature. But mainly, all this while, I have been questioning the knowledge I gained in

college and the knowledge I have been gaining in my work. What historical pictures am I forming about individuals in particular positions within their communities, with particular jobs, in particular places, at particular times? What do the stories of these individuals tell me about the larger community, state, or national history that I already know? What do these larger histories tell me about those individual stories? How has my understanding of the past been altered by each new story I investigate, edit, or write about?

When I began to edit the genealogy journal *The Hoosier Genealogist*, the Indiana Historical Society's two family history committees, for publications and programs, helped define the mission for my job: inform genealogy with history. That was a great day for me, a historian with only a slight initial interest in genealogy. Genealogy journals of that day published mostly indexes for archived research material. I wanted to publish history, so informing the indexes with historical information sounded quite appealing.

Further good luck saw me expanding my articles at the same time that indexes were going online. By the early years of the twenty-first century personal computers and laptops entered more and more homes, changing the landscape of genealogy forever. All those pieces of data that millions of genealogists were mining could increasingly be found on websites of genealogy and history organizations, libraries, and archives. Within a short time, a few for-profit

A midwife in Jay County, Indiana, Mariah Mendenhall delivered 1,000 babies during the nineteenth century. A transcription of her birth ledger resides in the William H. Smith Memorial Library at the Indiana Historical Society.

companies such as Ancestry arose and created magnificent databases where multitudes of indexes could live and later, where multitudes of *categories* of indexes could live alongside ever-growing stables of family history charts that people were contributing. Genealogists could reap harvests of names, places, and dates at the touch of a keyboard. They could track down multiple family lines and use software designed to keep all the lines and individuals on their tree branches in order. They finally had time to ask more of their research.

They finally had time to go back to my original question: "Grandma, what was it like in the olden days?" And so, publishers of genealogy journals at national levels and some at state and local levels, too, began offering what has often been touted as "meat on the bones." Genealogy ceased to be a never-ending search for persons on a family tree, pegged there by names, dates, and vital statistics alone. Genealogists and folks like me, historians and people from other walks of life who were trotting the genealogy paths, began seeking out the stories of our ancestors. And where do you find that if not in history? How do you understand the life of an individual or a nuclear family or a branch of a family if you do not understand and cannot envision the world those folks lived in? The doors of history blew wide open from a sideline of the field that it had tried to forget and downplayed – had, in fact, criticized and belittled for decades – when genealogists became family historians.

It has been a wonderful and eye-opening journey for me. There was a quick sigh of relief as I was let out of data guardrails and into the playground of history, the place where stories about people abound. But, by then, I had been so long in the confines of genealogy that I could not let it go completely; nor could it let go of me. For, I had been taught by avid historians to be a conscientious historian with great curiosity, integrity, and analytical skills. For several years, I had been learning about and mining the resources that tell us where and when our ancestors lived and just the barest of essentials about what they did, how they were identified at their county courthouse, schoolhouse, church, or in their local newspaper or a federal census. As bare as these facts seemed next to full-fledged biographies about entire lives of well-known people, they had one solid advantage: they gave not just sufficient evidence that put a particular person in a particular place at a particular time, but overwhelming proof of these facts. Genealogy is about gathering all the evidence extant to prove statements and stories about ancestors. And so, as I looked around my wide, wide playground, I realized genealogy was a part of it, a cornerstone of it, in fact. I had been in the land of history all along.

Ever since that acknowledgement on my part—and not a grudging acknowledgement, but rather an admiring nod—I have been marrying the genealogy I was assigned to publish with the history I had studied. Each one informs the other, creating both a vast well of source material as well as an evolving storyline about people. This storyline differs from much of history,

though, because it is about persons who mostly were neither famous nor out of the ordinary. The nuances of their lives, however, fill in the details about how people lived their lives day by day. In letters and diaries, we learn what was important to farming men, women, and children as well as people who lived in small towns and cities that were just being carved out of the landscape. We hear their prejudices and sometimes learn why they felt as they did. We see them in clothing of their periods on horseback, walking through forests, girding trees, sleeping on floors of strangers' cabins on long trips, fanning swarms of flies off their sick children, playing jokes on their peers, suffering defeats and illness and death or enjoying planning and working and becoming self-sustainable. We witness them as masters at their jobs inside households or in the larger world, as respected businessmen or leaders among their communities, as cast-offs or prisoners, as they run off to join a local militia or take up arms during the Civil War, as they pull up roots or as they settle down in new land.

In the pages of my journal that was updated to *THG: Connections* in 2007 to better capture its narrative content and purpose, I have published a myriad of stories about people in all walks of life, from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth. They not only help family historians know where to mine archives from family collections to national archives and to read and tease out golden nuggets of information from obscure sources, they also inform history with the stuff of life, the daily repetition of ordinary days, the meaningful events in common lives, the community struggles in times of national or world strife, the joy at love found, babies born, and loved ones returned from war, disease, or faraway places. The people in the pages of *Connections* laugh and learn and find beauty in the world around them. They share poetry and songs, artwork, drawings of inventions, photos of themselves and their families, their homes, their pets, their farm animals, their wagons and buggies, their towns, and their farms. Genealogical sources and practices inform history with great detail and masterful documentation; while historical methods and scholarship place the

Sample issues of The Hoosier Genealogist: Connections, an award-winning journal of family and local history published by the IHS Press

Citation:
Photo by M. Teresa Baer, courtesy of the Indiana Historical Society

stories gleaned from genealogy within an overarching human story and give them credence. It takes both disciplines to tell a really great story.

For a while in my career, it seemed as though I had hit an apex of sorts. Being one of the first to marry genealogy and history and to publish a research guide telling how to use them together, I earned some national recognition from both the genealogical and historical disciplines, awards that encouraged me I was on the right track with my journal and other family history publications. Meanwhile, I had been cultivating a staff of volunteers, interns, and contract editors to help in my pursuits – not only of family history, but also of children's books.
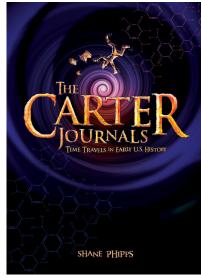
It may seem odd to add children's books to the load of the family history editor. By chance, just when the Indiana Historical Society Press was beginning to think about planning to publish children's books, one dropped in our lap. It was a story about an immigrant family from Switzerland who settled in Greene County, Indiana, around 1850. It was right up a genealogist's alley, in other words. And so, it fell more specifically into my lap—which I accepted with open arms – recognizing it as more good fortune. When I was studying in college, thinking about what my dream job might be, I decided upon publishing books of history for children that would be so compelling and interesting that many children would learn to love history and then learn from history as a result. I was even awarded one grant based on an interview I gave about this very aspiration. So, the immigration storybook, dropping down to me, was a bit of magic in my career. And magically, when it arrived, I had just gotten fairly proficient at finding and telling true stories about people. I was just beginning to train others to do it as well. I had been cultivating authors to write in this fashion for a good while. I was ready, then, to help the IHS Press learn how to find, develop, and publish good historical stories for children.

Whereas a family historian is interested in the individuals that people their family tree, children are interested in heroes and heroines, kids like themselves, famous people, funny people, inventors and others who did things first. They like risk takers and challenge winners and those who scale the highest peaks. They also love stories of romance, intrigue, disaster, exciting events, mysteries, and horror. Fortunately, history is riddled with such stories and many others. What the IHS Press needed to do was find a strategy for publishing books that would sell to the people who bought books for children – adults. We needed to publish a line of books that parents would buy, grandparents and other doting

relatives and friends – and who else, we asked ourselves. And then it hit us – teachers would buy books for classrooms.

The IHS had long had an Education Department that worked with teachers and school groups. The head of that department at the time worked with me and two of my Press colleagues in the development of a children's book publishing program that would fulfill the organization's mission to share the stories and resources of Indiana history while also fulfilling the standards that Indiana teachers had to meet. It was decided we would publish nonfiction as we had always done so; we would add a line of short, well-illustrated biographies of important people that are studied in the schools for middle and high schoolers; and we would also publish two lines of historical fiction – one for fourth through sixth graders and the other for middle and high school students. Although I was in charge of both the nonfiction and the fiction, it is the latter that best meets the needs of teachers. With historical fiction, teachers can purchase books that meet the guidelines for language arts—for which they have money—as well as the curriculum for social studies—for which they have had little or no money in the last fifteen years.

Cover of The Carter Journals by Shane Phipps, one of the IHS Press's historical novels for students in grades 6 through 12

Citation:
Courtesy of the Indiana Historical Society

While the nonfiction and youth biographies sell well in individual copies for libraries and teachers, as well as others, the historical fiction sells widely throughout the United States in class packs of thirty copies. They are of a size and unit price that students' families, school libraries, and teachers can afford. The subjects match closely to what the students are studying at different grade levels, and their popularity grows over time rather than slowing down. After all, for instance, Americans will always study their Civil War. We have two great stories for that. One tells an engaging fictionalized story based on actual events that is set well within the battles, countryside, military prisons, and transportation systems of that day. Examples of other books in this line include

one set within the suffragette movement and another within the period of Indian removal in Indiana.

Yet another book tells the story of an early American family that lived in the outer banks of North Carolina during the American Revolution and moved west and north in successive generations: through the Cumberland Gap with Daniel Boone, helping to settle northern Kentucky, moving across the Ohio River and working on the canal projects in the 1830s, finishing with the descendant who was a Union soldier in the Civil War involved in a battle against Confederate General John Hunt Morgan when he raided the southern part of the state. This latter title was borne from the family history work of a social studies teacher, a person interested in teaching kids to love history by making it personal.

He was not alone. Genealogy has become an important subject and tool in classrooms. If we make history personal, we can hook kids. If we help them learn to research and write good stories with necessary and sufficient documentation, we can teach them communication skills and the responsibility to give credit where it is due. If students write about their family while they are writing about the history they lived in, we are creating good family historians and a knowledgeable generation of people who care about history because they realize it is *their* history, *their* story. Genealogy helps make history personal while also emphasizing the research, writing, and citation skills its professionals insist upon. Here again, history and genealogy married together make the best history. As it turns out, joined together, they also help teach our children and young adults in a more personalized, straightforward, and engaging manner.

As a result of taking on the books for schools along with the family history publications, I started thinking about how to best educate children, which led me to think about how to best educate fledgling family historians and interns who are fledgling historians. This educational component of my career began around the same time as I took on the children's books, and so my staff and I learned a lot together. Happily, every time it seemed we were gaining on the skills and insights needed for one aspect of the job, those new proficiencies helped us with the other aspect. Social studies education, genealogical methods, historical analysis, and communication skills fed each other and wove themselves together in my mind as I traveled along the dual roads of work I had taken on.
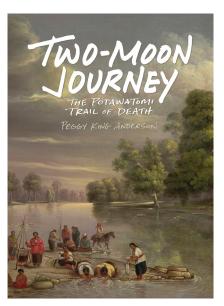
Family history and history for children. It does not get more public history than that. But, more than history for the public, these two categories of history fit into the framework of social history. They tell us most about the communities, cultures, fashions, and struggles of people at the level of individuals, families, neighborhoods, institutions, and localities. The work itself can be grinding, chipping out morsels of information to build a picture of a person and the time and place in which we find her or him. The research is strenuous, whether we are writing or fact checking articles from other authors. The writing is difficult because it must end up both engaging and meticulous. The editing is excruciating as we choose between words and phrases that best open a window onto the subjects the authors have devoted their life blood to. We must understand not only the intent of the author, but the exact meaning of each piece of evidence, as well as the current interpretation of the broader history in which each individual story is set.

Whether dealing with family history articles or historical fiction for children and young adults, we must ask ourselves constantly if the statements are accurate; if the history is interpreted in a way that is responsible to the best-available scholarship; if the paragraphs convey the meaning the author intends; if the article or book is clear and logically ordered. And so, we become partners with our authors; with librarians, archivists, and experts in many fields; with educators; and most important, with each other – graduate history interns, fledgling editorial assistants, and experienced historical editors. Getting it right is our greatest challenge. Making it correct and compelling is our highest achievement. And besides, our audiences demand it.

Every year I get a new intern, and every year I give training talks, answering similar questions and giving similar examples. We are publishing family history and history for children and teens in schools because they need it and want it. We must keep our audiences uppermost in our minds. What do they know in fourth grade, eighth grade, eleventh grade? What do they know with a high school education or a degree in business or physics or movie making? Our audiences are vast and varied. The educational system in Indiana includes public schools, charter schools, private schools, home schools. Each school system decides how their students will learn, according to state and federal guidelines. Some have amazing technological capabilities. Others have poor resources. Some schools have very advanced students and others have students who are consistently falling behind. Many have a mix, but those mixes vary for a variety of reasons. There is no one way to teach or for teachers to

use the resources we provide. And so, the Press and the Education Department both have to prepare for school audiences with widely different resources, abilities, and interests.

Family historians are a varied bunch as well. More than a decade ago, professional genealogists at regional conferences, such as those hosted by the National Genealogical Society, stated that there were eight million family historians in the United States alone. It was one of the hottest avocations in society. Since those claims, numerous podcasts and television shows have been broadcasting about genealogy – from research tips to ancestral stories of celebrities. Some of these programs, such as the British television series, *Who Do You Think You Are?* have millions of viewers. So, who is so taken with genealogical research, with learning about and telling family stories? Gauging from just the authors I have attracted for twenty years, homemakers, doctors, construction workers, journalists, retired professors, scientists, archivists, historians, teachers, government workers, inventors, nurses, hotel owners, lawyers, professors of English, filmmakers, politicians – people from all walks of life, from all educational levels, from all strata of society are interested in genealogy and family history. And, as one of IHS's former history market managers always said, "They are also interested in history, all kinds of history." Indeed, when the IHS holds one-day genealogy workshops or its Midwestern Roots regional conference, our guests buy up every type of item sold in the IHS Basile History Market, including history books about a variety of subjects, including biographies and historical fiction for kids.

Two Moon Journey, by Peggy King Anderson, is a historical novel about the Potawatomi Trail of Death, published by the IHS Press for grades 4 through 8. The cover features a painting by George Winter, an artist who lived in Indiana before and during the Indian removals and depicted these first peoples in drawings and paintings.

Citation:
Courtesy of the Indiana Historical Society

It is not surprising, if you think about it, that family historians are enthusiastic readers of history. It goes back to that "olden days" question. They want to walk a mile—no, as far as they can – in their ancestors' shoes. But they not only want to see, hear, and smell those other worlds, they want to understand them. Children are the same. Tell them a story and invariably, they will ask, "How?" and "Why?" and even "How do you know?" As authors and editors, we have a way to help expand the views onto the past, to expand the understanding of our audiences. Indiana teachers these days know it as "deep learning." We know it as illustrating.

Illustrating is another skill I teach my interns and assistants. It was relatively easy to satisfy the needs of family historians by using a combination of materials to illustrate articles. The collections we researched in often had rare documents that proved a specific point or were just exciting to see. Oftentimes, we needed to find or create maps from places that existed in a certain place more than a century or two ago but have now been lost to time. When fortunate, we can share drawings and artwork of people who no longer inhabit our state, such as those American Indians who lived here traditionally but were removed. Other artwork may depict settlers clearing forests or lashing logs together to make a raft or hitching up oxen to an old-time plow. These images help us to envision what it was like to have Indians for neighbors or to break the ground with a team made of farm animals and a heavy, rudimentary tool. Even more fortunate are the photos from every era that actually capture the essence of our ancestors or people who lived near them, who dressed the same way, lived in similar housing, and used similar tools.

For the books for schools, we had to think outside that box of easy ideas for illustrations. In fact, we had to think past the box of using language easily digested by people from high school graduates on up. We had to start thinking about what youngsters know at different ages and grades – and not just the advanced ones. We needed to think about the ones who find it difficult to comprehend words and ideas. One thing good about having fresh interns every year is that I have a never-ending supply of young professionals who find it easier than I do to remember what it was like to learn in fourth or fifth grade, in middle school, and in high school. These young men and women do a fantastic job of helping ensure we use common language when we can and introduce more complicated language with examples and qualifiers. They also create glossaries of words and ideas that are necessary to the story but may be difficult, nuanced, subtle, or arcane.

The graduate student interns are also responsible for illustrating our children's books. IHS books of historical fiction are chapter books of 100 to 150 pages. The chapters are short, and the stories read like novels. Our authors write afterwords that explain which things in the story are fictional and which are facts. Besides these tools, the glossaries and afterwords, one to three illustrations in each chapter help students visualize real people and scenes from the past. Interns help our designers create maps to show the places where the stories take place or where the characters move around in the story in relation to places that are familiar to today's students. They also choose documents for illustrations, which they get the from their primary research while fact and source checking these books. Both teachers and school librarians have told IHS staff that kids will be pulled toward colorful books first but are most drawn to those things that are real. So we provide plenty that is real: petitions from Confederate soldiers asking Indiana Governor Oliver P. Morton to release the fourteen-year old prisoner among them whom they had originally kidnapped; a picture of a convection oven in a hearth from a house museum in northern Ohio to show what the convection oven in a tale about the Underground Railroad might have looked like; a photo of an early plane flying low in marathon fashion so a team in a truck below can measure the endurance of the plane for lengths of time in flight.

Illustrations are only part of the value added, however. Interns add rich detail to our books for the schools by researching and writing about the images they provide. Each caption contains two important elements. The first is a deep explanation about the people, places, or things in the illustrations, written so that the explanations relate back to the storylines. The second is a complete citation of where the image was found so the students can learn – like the family historians – where the resources are kept, how they can find them, and how they should give credit for them through citations**.**

Photo of an endurance flight at Muncie, Indiana, airport in 1939 used in the young adult nonfiction book Spinning Through Clouds by Max Knight, published by the IHS Press

Citation:
Courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Ball State University Libraries

As you can imagine, learning about the many different types of repositories for rare source material in Indiana, the Midwest, and across the country from public and private institutions, large and small, for the children's books has taught my staff and me a lot of new information that we can share with our family history authors and readers. Knowing where your resources are and how to access them is vital information for the work they do as well as for *all* the work we do. Conference sessions and online courses can only teach so much. To really learn about historical sources, you just have to roll up your sleeves and dig in – online and in person. One of my favorite authors spent years in retirement with her husband climbing over fences to gather information from old cemeteries and graveyards. One of my volunteers meets his brother in a different courthouse each year to track down ancestors who were scattered across the South.

Most of us know that the National Archives has vast collections, but did you know that the National Archives regional library in Chicago has vast collections for the states that came from the Old Northwest Territory? Have you ever researched in the Canadian National Archives or the Public library in Toronto? They have abundant material on the Old Northwest, as well as information about those French fur traders who had one family in Quebec and another in an Indian village along the Wabash. It was the thing to do at that time, very common. Do you know where to find government records or other official documents that give a factual account of the acreage taken by the federal government in its land treaties with the Indians? These sources take a lot of digging to find; it almost seems as if someone did not want others to discover them. Did you know that the only territorial records extant from the states of the Old Northwest are in Indiana? One of my authors, a historian with a law degree, tracked down the records in Indiana and is having them digitized by her university. She also researched all those other states and talked with state archivists and county clerks and historians to determine that none of the other states' territorial records can be found.

The things I learn about resources by publishing family history and history for schools is in itself vast; and the learning is never ending. In the last ten years my work has branched out to another genre, one dear to my heart, ethnic history. For this field, I have reached way back to my days in high school journalism and to one of my first college classes in folklore. Both fields teach

students how to interview living people – a key skill for researching today's immigrants and for finding out where resources are for immigrants who arrived in the past.
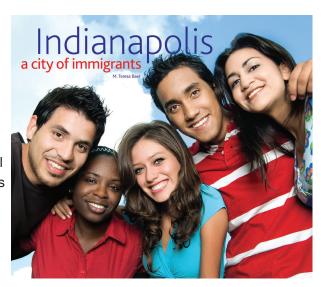
Ethnic and immigration history are special to me because they combine all the skills I have learned, as well as all the knowledge I have accumulated from my tour around the world in history classes and from the international studies classes that taught me about political, religious, and economic systems across time and place. Combining this knowledge with more than a decade of publishing a family history journal that explores why people moved to Indiana at different times from different places gave me the perfect background to write the booklet *Indianapolis: A City of Immigrants* when a major donor brought the idea to the Indiana Historical Society. The donor merely wanted a pamphlet or large brochure for school kids to learn about incoming immigrants. However, when the head of the IHS Education Department checked around the country to see what types of supplemental materials were used in classrooms for subjects such as immigration history, she found that full-color booklets of thirty-two pages were the standard. She also found that in Indiana, students in eleventh grade studied immigration history.

Our donor and IHS's president raised enough funds to produce a seventy-two page, full-color booklet and to print 60,000 copies of it. From 2012 to today, we have given away nearly all those books to schools in central Indiana from grades 4 through undergraduate classes in a few colleges and universities. Many groups from churches, schools, ethnic organizations, teaching hospitals, libraries, 4-H, and others have requested the booklets for their members and have also requested me to speak about immigration in central Indiana. From my research, I tell these groups about American Indians, western Europeans, African Slaves and today's African immigrants, immigrants from Russia and southeastern Europe, from the numerous Asian countries, and from Latin America. I let them know about the push factors that forced or encouraged immigrants to leave their homelands, about their journeys across oceans and continents to reach Indiana, about the communities they formed after getting a toehold in their new homeland, about the prejudice and cruelty all new groups experience for the first generation or so – and sometimes longer.

Through the interviews I conducted as well as historical research, I am also able to tell stories of individual immigrant lives and to show personal photos of these

people and their families. For images from the recent past, the *Indianapolis Star* Archives was not only key, it donated the use of its images because of the importance of the book. Another key resource was census records and reports from think tanks from both sides of the political aisle, going back decades. One report on immigrants after another, some from studies that had been conducted over a quarter of a century, showed that immigrants were necessary to build America and are still necessary to help it grow, deal successfully with major problems, and keep the economy and society from stagnation.

Following the publication of this book, the IHS began a major effort to collect the records of Indiana's various ethnic groups, including interviews with newer immigrant groups whose first generations are elderly but still living, such as Latin Americans and Asian Americans. These initiatives have, in turn, led to exhibitions and plans for books on various ethnic groups, starting with African Americans, to add to the IHS Press's collection, including *Peopling Indiana*, and books on Native Americans and the Irish in Indiana.

This booklet, published by the IHS Press, has been used to teach students throughout central Indiana about all the people who have immigrated to, lived in, and helped to develop communities in this region of the state.

Citation:
Courtesy of the Indiana Historical Society

None of this historic work would be as meaningful without the genealogy and family history research that goes into it. Interviewees supply materials that show concretely where their ancestors were located in a given place at a particular time. Further genealogical research by IHS staff provides evidence for important events in the lives of the interviewees and their family members, such as baptisms, marriages, service in military units, educational achievements, proficiencies in various trades or crafts, companies or organizations of employment, churches attended, and so forth. Working with

genealogical sources for this data and in historical sources for context, the lives of individuals, families, and ethnic communities are reconstructed, illustrated, and shared with eager audiences. The results are personalized windows into the real-life stories of Hoosiers from other countries. They not only tell us what it is like to be an immigrant in Indiana, they also tell us what it is like to be a new Hoosier, to be part of a new immigrant group in America, and to become American. Perhaps, these newcomers, better than anyone else, can help us understand what it means to be a Hoosier American.

Genealogy and history together with educational standards and excellent communication skills help us capture that story, that important lesson from immigrants, just as together they help us connect children with their ancestors' pasts in their social studies classes. Genealogy and history together help us to prove that the people and events of the past are real, while skillful writing helps to describe them, to give them depth. Genealogy and history together help us understand who we are as Americans; where we came from and why; how we built communities; how and why the communities changed over time; how dramatic events such as economic recessions, wars, and pandemics changed our ways of living and thinking; how miraculous inventions such as steam engines, electricity, sound recordings, and computers have boosted our civilization forward. Genealogy and history together with great storytelling, as provided by museums such as the Indiana Historical Society, connect all of us to our shared past, and they can help lead us forward with valuable insights that we can experience and trust – so that together, we can build a better tomorrow.

Indiana University and
Cold War-Era Genealogy

Douglas A. Dixon
Historian

Introduction

Long-time Indiana University Cross Country (CC) and Track and Field (T&F) Coach Sam Bell passed away June 27, 2016.[1] As a coach, he was also a kind, wise, away-from-home father figure, and thus, fits in with a modern-day conception of adopted family.[2] We had an unusual genealogical connection, one that I began to realize flowed into the larger story of biological and community kinship. Before his tenure in Bloomington, he was widely lauded for leading the Oregon State Beavers to its first national NCAA Cross Country title in 1961 and finding a way to beat the pesky instate rival and harrier powerhouse Oregon 'Ducks' in dual meets.[3] Beyond his several years in Corvallis, Oregon, and four contentious, Vietnam-Era years coaching UC-Berkeley athletes, the religious and conservative Bell returned to his Midwestern roots.[4] His accomplishments while at Indiana and before were in part the reason for his selection as a U. S. Olympic and World Cup team coach, among other positions and awards. We crossed paths for the first time August 26, 1978, near Morgan Monroe State Forest, during my first year at IU at the annual CC-team preseason six mile "Barbeque Run" meet and greet.[5] Strangely enough, this connection is the genesis for an Indiana University Cold War-era unorthodox genealogical story.

The four years I spent running (literally) around Monroe County as a college kid became part of my biological and adoptive family history.[6] The two branches of narrative discussed below began with my nineteenth century-born Great Grandfather Lewis K. Hoover, continued through President Eisenhower's post-Sputnik influence, and then up to a recent chance meeting at a reunion with my former Hebron Elementary School teacher Russ Seiler in Evansville, Indiana.[7] Seiler also earned his master's at IU. This strand of personal university history is truly a community genealogical connection with an international twist, and it all began at the 'cross roads' of Indiana Hoosier past, those memories of my former Hoosier coach, and an unexpected jewel that I found in my attic.

Reflecting on my early years as a part of IU's Big Red athletic teams, before Coach Bell's passing, made me think of the oft-stated axiom that our "real family" are the friends we choose.[8] Bell made his runners feel like family. One-on-one personal conferences, boisterous instructional comments during meets or performance-related reflections for team viewing afterward on post-race summaries endeared us to him.[9] Often teammates devoured the summaries as much to see what he might say, positive or not, a sort of psychological reinforcement of a respected paternal mentor, and one expected to give it to us straight.

MEN'S BIG TEN CROSS COUNTRY CHAMPIONSHIPS - NOV. 7, 1981 - SPLITS & COMMENTS

		1Mile	2Mile	3Mile	4Mile	8K
19.	Paul Risch	4:35	5:05	5:05	4:59	4:59.1
		4:35	9:40	14:45	19:44	24:43.1
25.	Robbie Pierce	4:35	5:03	5:08	5:04	5:13.1
		4:35	9:38	14:46	19:50	25:03.1
26.	Mark Putman	4:37	5:02	5:08	5:08	5:09.3
		4:37	9:39	14:47	19:55	25:04.3
27.	Doug Dixon	4:39	5:07	5:10	5:05	5:04.4
		4:49	9:46	14:56	20:01	25:05.4
30.	Greg Van Winkle	4:37	5:01	5:14	5:14	5:08.5
		4:37	9:38	14:52	20:06	25:14.5
31.	James Murphy	4:39	5:02	5:15	5:10	5:09.6
		4:39	9:41	14:56	20:06	25:15.6
36.	Bruce Gilbert	4:41	5:07	5:11	5:13	5:12.2
		4:41	9:48	14:59	20:12	25:24.2

COMMENTS

Disappointments are a part of all athletic competition. Today was disappointing for all of us because we have performed so well all year. This was a tremendous let down.

Thankfully, we have another crack this weekend. In 1970 we were 3rd in the Big Ten and 4th in the NCAA. I expect us to toughen up, run with our heads and be in it this week.

When we spoke of going out under control, that did not mean to be back from 20th to 40th at the 440, the mile, the two mile etc.

I felt Doug Dixon ran the best of any of you, considering where he is coming from. Mark Putman also ran well and Paul Risch certainly competed.

All of you put yourselves in a hole which made it impossible to be in the contest.

If you'll look at your places, only Doug Dixon and Paul Risch changed much in the last four miles as far as moving up was concerned. Mark Putman, I felt ran very well except for the first 880.

It is time to regroup and prepare for a better overall effort this week. We should be no worse than 2nd and we had better be up where we break up Wisconsin! The outcome for us will be dependent on mental toughness, individual and group pride and your total desire and determination to succeed.

IU CC Team Comment Sheet / Big Ten Meet

Former IU standout under Bell, U. S. Olympian Bob Kennedy, may have said it best: "[Coach Bell] was giving whatever the appropriate message was for each athlete, whether it was a kick in the butt or whatever."[10] No IU T&F athlete could forget the legendary phone call from a hospitalized Bell after his heart surgery![11] Thus, due to a connection most of us felt with him, I wanted to publish a commemorative piece to celebrate his life and my felt kinship with him and one another, our exclusive "IU family." In the process of seeking documents related to him and my time at IU, however, I found an artifact in my attic—a worthy symbol—of a separate though related historical thread that bound Bell and me to a common ancestry.[12]
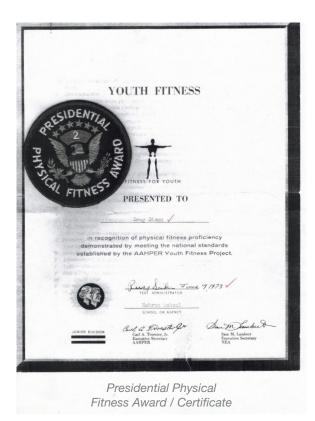
Before continuing I should note that zigzags in finding personal history is more than not a tug of war with all the concomitant two steps forward and one back that that entails, and of course, the attendant confusion and multiple possible pathways forward.[13] Since my original intention had been to investigate Bell's story, not my own, I had to think about starting points, and in this I was lucky.

I was able to take stock of what I knew about twentieth-century American history and coaching and related journals. These were the stock and trade of my academic training and career. Therefore, when I thought of writing about Coach Bell's life, I knew something about various places to start, historical context, life trajectories for college coaches, relevant journals to scour for learning about his background and the sport and, in this case, the Cold War. I was aware too that Indianapolis plays host city to the NCAA headquarters with a kind-hearted archivist that helped me to locate Coach Bell's previous coaching results.[14] Indiana University's archive came in handy too.[15] Reading a few biographies along the way, for instance of Bill Bowerman, the famed track coach and Nike waffle shoe creator, also contributed to an understanding of norms and context of coaching, especially in Oregon and nationally.[16] This is to say, when I decided to investigate, I was fortunate to have a background to find meaning in what others might dismiss as 'an object of nostalgia in an attic', missing its value to a larger story—both personally and as connected to a larger 'adopted' IU family genealogy.

Fortune also smiled on me as I wandered about my attic to find race competition-related personal articles, race results, and team pictures. While knee-deep in 'stuff', my eye spotted a peculiar patch, a long-ago stored 'jewel,' something forgotten and unexpected: A "Presidential Physical Fitness Award" badge—and in near perfect condition! (Remember, this was bestowed decades ago and I had traveled repeatedly across the years and around the globe since.) The attic jewel measured approximately two inches in diameter, was made of round-shaped woven cloth set in navy blue with that famed, fanned-out bald eagle set in gold in the center, with its shield boldly pronouncing USA red, white, and blue, covering the breast, and stars floating above in a patriotic sky, with talons and arrows in the eagle's grasp. Symbolizing so many things to Americans now and then, it meant quite another to me. With this award, I had achieved a certain level of early adolescent machismo. And importantly here, a 660-yard well-paced run (not 600 meters as today) was one of those six physical tests required to obtain it.[17]

Of course, the badge itself had no markings of ownership or better said recipient identity. So, imagine my surprise when alongside it, in the envelope, I found the authentication needed: a signed copy of the associated "Youth Fitness Achievement Award". My twenty-first-century manhood reaction to

*Presidential Physical
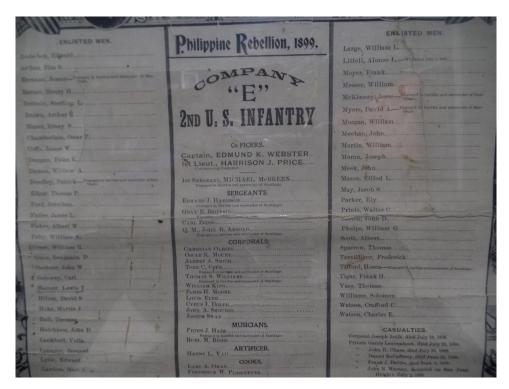Fitness Award / Certificate*

this symbol of fifties-rooted American-style adolescent knighthood could hardly be contained, even many years later. Let's face it, contemporary men, like twelve-year-old boys, can be such simpletons, our egos so easily fed.

With these two inverted-'archeological-dig'-attic discoveries tied to 1973 (i.e., the fitness badge and certificate), my genealogical curiosity began to flow another direction. My earlier efforts to "find" the historical Coach Bell and IU harrier family now were secondary, though still an adjoining catalyst, to frame a new narrative. Three family ancestral markers, using known artifacts, pointed the way to physical toughness and/or athleticism as the primary genealogical theme. The first was the ties that my Great Grandfather Lewis K. Hoover had to Theodore Roosevelt's rough-rider image.

 Hoover served in the Spanish-American War, nearly dying from the experience according to his daughter Edy.[18] He was also given to the sorts of rough behavior—drinking, card playing, and betting—that were associated with the sort of bravado of the period. As part of the war effort, he certainly was no pacifist but proudly attached himself to the war decoration given him for service. Hoover's influence--and representations of manhood--made their impression on David, his grandson (my dad), as the only 'father' and male role model the latter would ever know.[19] In fact, so impressed was the young 'adopted son' with his Grandpa Hoover, that his grandson conspicuously hung Hoover's war certificate on the wall of our family home, later finding a coveted spot in "Little Joe's" (David's nickname) senior health center living quarters.

Hoover certificate of Spanish-Amer. War

Unfortunately, unlike his large-sized glass of a grandpa, David's body filled only to a modest height and weight and he found himself comparing poorly to his Army buddies in sports competitions during his Korean War service, as described in letters to his mother. The comparisons he made in these overseas missives while in his early twenties are noteworthy as much for their recognition of his athletic shortfalls against others during competitions.[20] But he was an avid sports enthusiast and loved competition, asking Edy, his mother, to keep him up on all the local, State of Indiana, and national sports news.[21] His Grandfather Hoover had no doubt socialized him to stand up to the plate and compete, and he showed himself willing in less physically demanding sports, as when he bested a U. S. commissioned officer and friend in ping-pong, which he believed got him promoted.[22]

A second historical marker for this strand of Cold War-era genealogical history picks up with Coach Bell's story, but well prior to us knowing one another. The common thread was Bell's selection as the U.S. Track and Field Coach against the Soviets in 1964.[23]

Coach Sam Bell with IU T&F Team photo

While there is some interesting intrigue to the story of the meet itself and Soviet-U.S. trickery to try and score it to one another's advantage (and thus, world claim to the best system), for this genealogical road post, the nexus with my history and Bell's is the surge of competition between superpowers during the Cold War and the widely circulated Sputnik-induced suggestion of advantage to the Soviets. Americans were put on the alert, and one of the many direct results was Eisenhower's concerns that young Americans were not fit to compete. The president's concern gave birth to the widely pushed in-school fitness challenge (e. g., sit-ups, pull-ups, timed runs, and so forth), finally known, after various presidential remakes, as the Presidential Physical Fitness Award when I came along.[24] This of course was that jewel I found in the attic, the badge and its associated signed, thick-paper copy announcing the award with the signature of my former elementary school health and physical education teacher and seventh grade basketball coach Russ Seiler, 7 June 1973. Unbeknownst to either of us, it is fair to say that my future IU coach and I joined one another's wider genealogical family tree as I competed against time (and in the eyes of Ike, contra the Soviet Communists) around a make-shift, grass-covered pretense of an oval track between the old and new Hebron Elementary school buildings in Evansville, Indiana. Unable to bask in the glory, my family moved to Scott Elementary School near our home just six or so miles north, but of course, as with my forefathers, I continued competing in various sports before arriving to the Big Red.

The third family historical marker conjoins my Indiana University athletic family under Bell and my connection with the Seiler's, this time Russ's wife Sue. When I began investigating the history of that newly discovered attic jewel, the Presidential Physical Fitness Award, there was no certainty in my mind that Mr. Seiler was still alive or if so where he lived or his state of mind. We shared no common friends of course, as he was a grown man and I only 12. Moreover, he had long ago retired. But semi-blind Google searches can produce surprising results and after several dead-end calls (usually with the response, this number is no longer in service) in our age of cell phone anonymity, a warm, familiar voice answered, and I was again interacting with my former Hebron teacher and coach.

After the wonderful back and forth and several interviews he endured for a separate investigation of mine, I learned that Sue had attended the University of Kentucky as an undergraduate.[25] With a friendly gleam in my eye, I remembered that while I ran at IU, we competed against the blue and white Wildcats, and indeed had done so my senior year at the Kentucky Invitational. As if to bring this Cold War-era genealogical family history full circle, I revisited my attic and newly acquired IU archival records and was able to share with Sue (hardly able to hide my competitive satisfaction), that IU had beaten her 'Cats' that year.[26] This series of interactions was, no doubt, a channeling of my ancestral roots— those of biological forbearers Hoover and his grandson David and those of my community family in athletics, coaches Bell and Seiler, and of course, of other wonderful coaches.[27]

It is hard to believe that an IU genealogical story such as this could have such far-reaching connections. In a highly mobile society like ours, with so many different familial configurations and high levels of divorce and remarriage, family histories truly reach well beyond the biological, with varying consequences, good and bad. I grew up in a long-line of biological family members that honored competition and merit-based achievement, a Hoosier and American ideal.

1922. The Revue.

FRED BOONE

"Bab" has had the hardest luck of any player ever known. This year as captain, he had a very bright future as a football player. In practise, a week before the opening game, he broke his collar bone. He was put out of the game for the season and the team certainly did miss his services.

We regret that Boone leaves us this year.

RUDOLPH KELLEY, Capt.

"Kelley" was elected to lead the squad after the injury received by Boone and he showed that he could not only captain a team but was also a hard, consistent player. He leaves this year and someone will have a hard time filling the halfback position that Kelley has held for four years. It is rumored that he is going to a town in Virginia named Miriam—'Tis it so Kelley?

ARNOLD HAZELWOOD

"Hazelwood", left halfback, was one of the stars of the backfield during the entire season. He was one who had the fighting spirit that put the team in the running just when things would begin to look blue. He was unlucky time after time on injuries but he had the nerve to stick it out and his services next year will certainly be missed. Arnold will make some college a mighty good backfield man or end.

*Grandfather Arnold Hazelwood
high school football*

My older brothers Steven Lewis and John David—and our eldest sibling, Kathy Jane, a fast runner (as she demonstrated in a foot race early on)—assured one another of this. Coaching mentors of mine who came along after a I flew the nest reinforced the notion. I had to compete against, and more than not trailed, some of our nation's best runners. Several within my tenure at IU were U.S. Olympians.[28] Not until I found that attic jewel, however, did I contemplate a wider notion of Indiana University genealogical connections.

Endnotes

1 "A Resurrection Service of Celebration for the Life of Sam Bell, March [7], 1928 - June 27, 2016." First United Methodist Church. Accessed on-line at www.fumcb.org January 9, 2017; Frank Litsky. "Sam Bell, 88, an Exacting Mentor of Runners." *New York Times*, 27 June 2016.

2 See Richard Bailey, Edward Cope, and Gemma Pearce, "Why do Children take Part and Remain in Sports: A Literature Review and Discussion of Implications for Sports Coaches." *International College of Coaching Science*, 7(1), 2013.

3 Accounts detailing Bell's early years and coaching life contain a useful degree of overlap in the following: Kip Carlson. "Death of Sam Bell stirs track memories." Oregon Stater, circa July 2016; "G. Sam Bell, 88" [obituary]. *Hoosier Times*, July 3, 2016, A2; Mike Miller and Jeremy Price. "Legendary IU Coach Bell Dies at 88." *The Herald-Times*, June 28, 2016; Frank Litsky. "Sam Bell, 88, an Exacting Mentor of Runners." *New York Times*, 27 June 2016; David Woods. "Athletes Remember former IU track and field coach," *IndyStar.com*, circa July 2016. I would like to thank Ms. Fran Bell, Coach Bell's wife, who also provided useful information. See references to Coach Bell's comparisons to Bowerman's efforts in Kenny Moore. *Bowerman and the Men of Oregon* (Emmas, PA: Rodale, 2006).

4 Sam Bell oral history, Indiana University Archives, Herman B. Wells Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. (hereafter IUArch). Though a native of Columbus, Missouri, Bell spent the greater part of his youth in Nebraska. See also "G. Sam Bell, 88" [obituary]. *Hoosier Times*, July 3, 2016; A common 'suggestion' on Sundays in Bell's weekly workout sheets included "Church."

5 "Place Sheet: Barbeque Run - 8/26/78." IUArch, Bell File.

6 Coach Bell's cryptic notation-filled workout sheets included runs through neighborhoods beyond campus. "Indiana University Men's Cross Country & Track and Field Team Workout Schedules, 1981-1982." IU Track Office, Bloomington, Indiana.

7 For Lewis T. Hoover's genealogical connections, see his father's obituary—Lewis [K.] Hoover, *Owensboro Messenger*, November 9, 1901; also see Edithe O. (Edy) Winstead "Memoirs, 1989" [unpublished], p. 1a (hereafter EW Memoirs). In possession of the author.

8   The term "athletics" was synonymous with track and field events associated with the Olympics of ancient Greece: running, throwing, and jumping.

9   See IU Cross Country individual meet results, 1981-1982. IU Department of Collegiate Athletics. IUArch, Bell File.

10   Miller and Price. "Legendary IU Coach Bell Dies." The Herald-Times, June 28, 2016.

11   Such fatherly devotion, no doubt, explains the team's rebound made in the meet to capture the Big Ten Championship. Bell led his teams to 22 Big Ten Conference titles and numerous individual national and world accomplishments.

12   One strand of our 'common ancestry' is U.S. Soviet competition—Bell's coaching of the U.S. T&F team against the Soviets and the author's efforts to earn the Presidential Physical Fitness Award. See "Death of Sam Bell...", Oregon Stater, circa July 2016, p. 50 and history of PPFA at https://www.hhs.gov/fitness/about-pcfsn/our-history/index.html.

13   John Lewis Gaddis. *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). See Gaddis's discussion of "the historian's liberation from the limitations of time and space" and selectivity, simultaneity, and scale, pp. 19-26.

14   My thanks to Ellen Summers, a helpful archivist, at the NCAA headquarters in Indianapolis.

15   My thanks to Carrie Schwier and Kristin Brownin Leaman, both IU archivists, for their assistance in locating IU CC and T&F documents and Coach Bell's oral history.

16   Moore, *Bowerman and the Men of Oregon*, 2006.

17   Though marginally different from the following 1976 description, the 1973 award winners accomplished a superior performance on "a battery of six test items designed to give a measure of physical fitness for both boys and girls in grades five through twelve." See Paul A. Hunsicker and Guy G. Reiff. *AAHPER: Youth Fitness Test Manual (Revised 1976 Edition)* [abstract] (Washington, D.C.: American Alliance for Health, Physical Education and Recreation (AAHPER), 1976). Accessed on-line at https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED120168.pdf

18   EW Memoir, 3-4; Douglas Dixon. "Beyond Thirty-Eighth Parallel Politics." *Journal for the Liberal Arts and Sciences* 17, no. 1 (Fall, 2012): 134-135, 144.

19   EW Memoir, pp. 14a-15, 16a-17; David's Grandfather Hoover became a stalwart Trustee, Deacon, and highly respected teacher at Evansville's [Ind.] Garvinwood General Baptist Church by the time his grandson came along. The elder's 'turn' in character was attributed (by his daughter Edy) to his devotion to and the example set by Emily (Russell) Hoover, his wife. See EW Memoir, 4a-5; Garvinwood General Baptist Church "Minutes" [unpublished]. November 17, 1912 to September 27, 1932. In possession of the GGB Church/Mr. John G. Hughes. Hoover's near-death experience associated with military service may have had something to do with it too. See also, Dixon. "Beyond Thirty-Eighth Parallel Politics."

20   Dixon. "Beyond Thirty-Eighth Parallel Politics," 130-132, 144.

21   In Korean War letters sent to his mother, David asked about Bosse High School football, Evansville College [now University of Evansville] basketball, and baseball.

22   Dixon. "Beyond Thirty-Eighth Parallel Politics," 132.

23   Carlson, "Death of Sam Bell", *Oregon Stater*, circa July 2016, p. 50.

24   After high profile national reports about deficient American children set against European counterparts, Eisenhower instituted the Presidential Youth Fitness Program. The national fitness emphasis has morphed since those fearful days of Soviet threat, with an individual physical fitness testing program focus, to that of healthy lifestyles and nutrition, with less concern for peer comparisons. See https://www.hhs.gov/fitness/about-pcfsn/our-history/index.html (accessed January 13, 2018).

25   Russ and Sue Seiler served the people of Tanzania in the Peace Corps, 1965-67, and in their training, had to achieve a level of physical fitness to be "selected"; see Gerald Rice. *The Bold Experiment* (Notre Dame, IN: ND Press, 1985), 152-153.

26   IU defeated all teams but East Tennessee; I scored fifth for the Hoosiers and 18th overall, behind teammates James Murphy, Robby Pierce, Greg Van Winkle, and Mark Putnam; see "1981 Men's Cross Country [Season] Results", IU Department of Intercollegiate Athletics, circa December 1981. IUArch, Bell File.

27   Coach Jon Siau, Evansville North High School, Coach Marshall Goss, Bloomington South High School, and next-door-neighbor 'coach' Robert (Bob) Williams, the latter as essential as all the others, following my family's move to Scott Elementary School's district.

28   Olympians Jim Spivey and Terry Brahm, middle and distance runners, to name just two.

"Just Making Myself Count": A Christmas Story from the Vietnam War.

Randy Mills
Oakland City University

Introduction

There were four short newspaper announcements telling of the death of Wayne Bates in Vietnam. The first article, a short piece in the *Missouri Mexico Ledger* published on January 8, 1968, related that Bates had been in the army eleven years and in Vietnam "about one month." Also reported, "Mrs. Bates was told by army authorities that her husband was with a group that was clearing an area when they were attacked by Viet Cong guerillas."[1] On that same day, Missouri's *Moberly Monitor Index* had a somewhat similar article headlined—**SP-5 Bates is killed on War Patrol**. This piece offered a slightly different version regarding his death, reporting, "He was a medical corpsman in the U S Army and was leading men to clear a road and was ambushed while on patrol."[2] Neither of these accounts, or the two others that were published in two other Missouri newspapers were completely accurate, and none came even close to conveying the nature of Wayne Bates' death and his heroic actions that day.

SP-5 Bates Is Killed on War Patrol

PARIS—Mrs. Wayne Bates of Paris was notified yesterday that her husband, SP-5 Wayne Bates, 29, was killed Saturday morning in action in Vietnam.

He was a medical corpsman in the U.S.Army and was leading men to clear a road and was ambushed while on patrol. He had been in service 10 years, making it a career. Born in California

One of several Newspaper accounts announcing Wayne Bates' death in Vietnam

Tobey Herzog, in his book, *Vietnam War Stories: Innocence Loss*, laments this lack of authentic depth when it comes to the stories of American soldiers who served and those who died in Vietnam.[3] He believed there were lessons for the nation to learn from such accounts and went on to suggest that telling these stories in their fullest context was a key element in personal, family, community, and national healing. Fortunately, in gathering data for our book, *Summer Wind, A Soldier's Journey from Indiana*

to Vietnam,[4] my wife, Roxanne and I discovered detailed information about Wayne Bates' dramatic story, information that I share now in the spirit of healing of which Herzog spoke.

The context of the war was a major element in Wayne Bates' story. Combat veteran Phil Caputo pointed out that the Vietnam conflict was not a conventional war for American soldiers such as Bates, "with dramatic campaigns and historical battles" but rather "a monotonous succession of ambushes and fire-fights … The war was mostly a matter of [American soldiers] enduring weeks of expectant waiting and, at random intervals, of conducting vicious manhunts through jungles and swamps where snipers harassed [them] … constantly and booby traps cut [them] … down one by one."[5] This reality emerged from the basic strategy Americans used to try and win the war.

The Viet Cong and regular North Vietnam army typically did not fight set piece battles, choosing to employ short, fierce hit and run actions and bloody booby traps that kept them from having to deal with the tremendous amount of American fire power. In response, American leadership hit upon the idea of constant company-sized search and destroy patrols of roughly one hundred and twenty men to lure out the enemy. The theory was that when the enemy engaged these patrols, American fire power from nearby artillery and air bases, so-called fire support bases, could then be used to annihilate the enemy. This basically made patrolling American troops nothing more than bait and allowed the enemy to select the most advantageous time and place for any encounters. As Caputo noted, the enemy effectively harassed and picked off a few Americans at a time. Occasionally, however, the enemy would savagely resist in large numbers. In these cases, a few sporadic sniper shots could suddenly explode into an unexpected and brutal firefight lasting several hours to several days. This would be the situation in which Wayne Bates would be killed in action.

Caring company commanders were placed in a bind with the search and destroy tactic, wishing to carry out their fighting tasks well but also profoundly hoping they would end up sending every one of the men under them home alive. Any attempt to balance these two competing elements, however, was, to say the least, formidable. "It was heartbreaking to talk with the young soldiers during the war, especially the draftees," medic Wayne Bates' rifle company commander, Captain Howard "Dutch" McAllister, remembered sadly. "The

commanders were searching diligently for the enemy, trying to do their jobs, and the young soldiers were praying that we did not encounter them."[6]

*Typical loading up of American troops to take them to
the field for a search and destroy patrol mission*

Wayne Bates' death occurred in a search and destroy mission gone bad, a violent two-day skirmish near the tiny Vietnamese village of Xom Bung on 6 January 1968. On that fateful day, the twenty-nine-year-old California native and his fellow soldiers from Alpha Company, Second Battalion, Eighteenth Infantry Regiment of the First Division, stumbled upon a large and well-hidden enemy bunker complex. In the ensuing struggle, Bates' actions posthumously gained him the Silver Star. The context of the story, as well as the specific portion dealing with Wayne Bates' death, are informed in this narrative by newspaper accounts, official documents, personal letters, diaries, and journals, and eyewitness accounts gained through interviews of the soldiers Bates served with. This latter aspect merits some academic consideration.[7]

The so-called fog of war creates a major obstacle for any historian seeking to write accurate narratives about combat based on artifacts such as personal interviews, letters, diaries, and journal accounts of combatants. Fred H. Allison, in his article, "Remembering a Vietnam War Firefight: Changing Perceptions over Time," closely examined the differences in two verbal accounts given

by the same Marine about a firefight in Vietnam. The first interview was taken shortly after the combat, and the latter one came thirty years later. His research suggested problems concerning accuracy are embedded in both fresh and later combat veteran interviews. "An analogy would be comparing a photograph of an event with a painting done later of the same event … They both portray the event; one is stark, and bland, while the latter is appealing to the eye, evocative, and interpretive."[8]

A shirtless Wayne Bates shortly after arriving to the Claymore Corner base camp in November of 1967

Michelle Prosser found similar problems in her work concerning the combat memories of American WWII veterans. Comparing information given at different phases of time and from different types of artifacts underscored that these veterans' recollections evolved over the course of their lives "as the purpose of [their] narratives changed and events were included or excluded."[9] In short, these "alterations" seemed to occur as time passed and the combat veterans' perspectives changed. Prosser went on to point out that such changes in memories over time certainly complicated the process for historians attempting to write about combat. This work, however, attempts to present as accurate a narrative as possible about the Vietnam War experiences of Wayne Bates and the battle of Xom Bung by emphasizing where individual interview narratives and written official and personal documents were congruent.

Wayne Bates was born in California in 1938 to Pauline and Gordon Bates, joining the army as a careerist in 1957. In 1963, shortly before the war was starting to heat up in Vietnam, he married Karen Thompson of Paris, Missouri. As the next two years rolled by, the Bates couple must have watched with great anxiety as the war in Vietnam accelerated, pulling in more and more troops. In

1966, Bates received orders to deploy to Vietnam, the fighting having increased the need for more combat medics.[10]

Bates was sent to Alpha Company and arrived at their base in early December of 1967. He found disheveled Alpha troops huddled down in a small primitive camp called Claymore Corner, patrolling in search and destroy missions, and guarding a portion of the notorious "Thunder Road," Highway 13. This base sat about thirty-five miles northwest of Saigon.

Bates was a twenty-nine-year-old medic when he walked into the dusty camp's perimeter. He was roughly a decade older than most of the men he now served with, the majority of whom were draftees. While most new men coming into a company had to earn the respect of fellow soldiers, Bates had an automatic pass—he was now "Doc" Bates and the senior company medic. These weary young men would be his first charges. Medics held a special place among who served in rifle companies out in the field, focusing, in the chaotic moments of combat, on treatment and evacuation for wounded or injured troops. Specifically, a medic revived the wounded, stopped his bleeding, and helped the injured managed pain, along with whatever else was necessary to keep a soldier alive until he could be evacuated. All the while, the medic might be in the thick of the fighting, an easy target for enemy soldiers.[11]

Alpha Company, at one of the primitive base camps where Wayne Bates would serve. In the foreground are Dick Wolfe and Bob Hilley who would perish, along with Bates at the Battle of Xom Bung.

Wayne Bates came to Claymore Corner at the beginning of the Christmas season, at a time when the men there were especially down and gloomy. Much of this gloom came from the company being short-handed, causing men to have to rotate back into patrolling before they were rested. One Alpha soldier, Dick Wolfe, wrote home about his holiday blues as the December days marched on towards Christmas, explaining in one, "Some of the guys are trying to make it seem like the Christmas season around here by putting out an ugly little artificial Christmas tree somebody sent them from home. It only makes me feel worse."[12] The small, scruffy, artificial Christmas tree covered with cheap ornaments that Dick Wolfe mentioned sat on an empty ammunition box outside the mess tent. It was an unusual item that did not escape the attention of Alpha Company commander, Captain Dutch McAllister.

One early evening, while soldiers listlessly moved through the mess tent receiving their evening meal on steel trays, McAllister spied one soldier carefully brushing dust from the sad-looking Christmas tree. McAllister soon noticed that the soldier's ritual was repeated every evening. The tree, like everything else on the base, had collected a fine patina of red dust from the day's truck convoys, and the soldier who faithfully tended to the shabby tree every evening was Wayne Bates. "He was the company's senior medical aid man, short and compact with a thatch of reddish-brown hair and a quick smile," McAllister recalled.

McAllister eventually approached the quiet medic one evening as Bates gently brushed dust from the tree, asking him, "What's this, Doc? First aid for the tree?"

Bates laughed and replied, "Just trying to make myself count, Captain."

McAllister was not surprised by the gentle medic's care of the ragged looking tree. He had frequently watched Bates generously sharing his precious water and cigarettes with the other men in the field and had also watched as Bates "served food humbly on the chow line while waiting to be the last to be fed. His kind quiet acts were greatly appreciated, lifting the spirits of young men who were far away from their homes and families and who constantly faced difficult and often dangerous tasks with little rest."[13]

Wayne Bates' Christmas tree at the Claymore Corner base camp.

At the Claymore Corner base, Wayne Bates got his first taste of "search and destroy" patrols in a landscape of rice paddies, rubber plantations, thick jungles, sluggish streams, and very rough, uneven ground. The weather was tropical, with a heavy monsoon rainy season and unbearable heat that could suck the strength from the toughest man.[14] There were also the clammy nights that seemed as cold as late fall evenings back in Missouri. He witnessed how the Vietnam climate, coupled with the constant wear and tear of marches in the jungle, often caused miserable skin conditions. Such situations meant that Bates had plenty to do, even without being in the middle of combat. Like the other new Alpha Company arrivals, he also likely spent much of his time wondering how he would perform under combat conditions.

Just after Christmas, after the scraggly Christmas tree had been disposed of, Alpha Company pulled up stakes at Claymore Corner and moved to an even more remote primitive base called Normandy I. This new location was farther away from major army and air bases and closer to the so-called Iron Triangle, where enemy activity was more prevalent. Alpha Company also picked up more patrol orders. On these grueling patrols, Doc Bates carried many items like the other men in Alpha Company and some items that were different. Like other medics, he served as a rifleman, until any of his men on patrol were injured. However, while many medics carried M16s, Bates sported only a sidearm, a .45 caliber pistol, along with several magazines in one of his cargo pockets. Doc Bates also carried a few grenades, which were stuffed into cargo pockets, a few flares to properly mark landing zones, and a poncho.

There were also the items he carried that were unique to him and other medics—a green pouch that was stuffed to the brim with abdominal dressings, which were large bandages, battle dressings, which were medium-sized dressings, and four to five rolls of gauze. Several morphine syrettes completed his medical kit bag. One other "doctoring" item that he brought—for his own pleasure, and for the pleasure of the men he served—were several packs of cigarettes. Smoke breaks were essential to get the men through a patrol.

One thing Doc Bates did find difficult to put up with was his helmet, a thing that flopped around on his head when he would run. The helmet was not bullet-proof and only intended to protect troops from shrapnel.

Wayne Bates in combat gear, ready for a search and destroy patrol.

Dick Wolfe, a mortarman in Alpha Company, was a decent amateur photographer and loved to take photos to send to his home back in Princeton, Indiana. Many of the snapshots he took featured Doc Bates. Shortly before the company went out on one patrol, Dick took a shot of the serious looking medic kneeling on one knee, his holstered gun prominently displayed, his kit bag at his side, and a cigarette dangling in one hand. He even wore the uncomfortable helmet. It would be the last photo of Wayne Bates ever taken.

On 3 January, Bates and his company hiked some distance in the steaming heat from their Normandy base to a location near a little village called Xom Bung. There they were met by helicopters that flew them back to the safety of their encampment. Dick Wolfe wrote his mother, after returning from the long, grueling tramp, "This is the tiredest I've been for a long time. Set ambush all night. 100 percent awake. Then, 9 clicks out and 10 clicks back through rice paddies and jungles. But I figure I'd better write."[15]

Dutch McAllister wrote in his diary about the long, tiring sweep as well. He had expected some action and was surprised when none occurred. "It was something of a disappointment in execution as we found nothing at all. No enemy nor any indication that he had been in the area recently."[16] It was, however, a fateful march, the lack of any enemy contact giving Alpha Company officers and men a false sense that the enemy lacked a presence in the countryside.

Had Alpha Company ventured only a few meters farther, they would have walked into a complex set of enemy bunkers occupied by at least two companies of the Phu Loi First Battalion, a group at least twice as large as Alpha Company.[17] Another sweep into the area a few days later would achieve vastly different results.

The morning of 6 January, a Saturday, dawned hot and humid, not a big surprise to anyone in the company. At 7:00 a.m., Captain McAllister ordered his men to begin climbing aboard the helicopters that would take them to what had been the termination point of their previous patrol through the area three days before. The anxious men did not take heavy packs: just their weapons, ammo, water,

Dick Wolfe, a popular Alpha Company trooper who took several photos of Wayne Bates and other Alpha Company men

and some C rations. Of course, Doc Bates and the other medics in the company brought their kit bags. An over preparer, Bates carried two.

Once airborne, some of the Alpha Company men dangled their legs off the sides of the choppers and smoked as they watched the countryside of green jungles and brown rice paddies slide by.[18] From the air, the scenery below was deceptively peaceful and idyllic, the distances lost in blue mist.

Alpha Company was in the air for about twenty minutes before the helicopters began their circling descents. Stomachs now tightened, and certain parts of the

landscape caught the soldiers' attentions. Below lay a geometric-looking set of rice paddies that bordered a patch of jungle. A rough, sinister trail snaked up a hill past a dilapidated-looking cemetery and disappeared into thick foliage. Immediately to the company's north loomed a larger, heavily tangled vegetated area of jungle, brown in many places in the hot, dry season. A muddy stream meandered nearby.[19]

On the company's last monotonous venture to the area, the mission had ended with a stop at a listless river. On 6 January, the mission was carried out backward. The company would land from helicopters and poke around the area across the river, then hump ten clicks or so back to the pickup zone that had been their landing zone the time before. Despite some of the other men's nervousness, combat-savvy Sergeant Leftwich of the Fourth Platoon thought the venture amounted to "another uneventful search-and-destroy mission."[20]

Once on the ground, the company of just less than one hundred men formed into two columns and cautiously moved away from the rice paddies and toward the first tree line of jungle. The men were spaced about five meters apart. They slogged up a narrow, obscure dirt path that ran haphazardly into a tall jungle thicket, eyes scanning back and forth like radar.

As the company started to enter the jungle, Fourth Platoon, which included the picture-taker, Dick Wolfe, was ordered to stop and set up a U-shaped defense position facing back towards the rice paddies, as it was a typical trick for the Viet Cong to suddenly attack a patrol from the rear. More importantly, if Captain McAllister and his small command group and the other three platoons were suddenly attacked by a larger force, they would be able to pull back through Fourth Platoon's defense line and escape to the rice paddies, where they could reform to defend themselves while American artillery and air fire power could be called down on the enemy.

It would later be determined that Alpha Company had inadvertently stumbled upon a staging area for a planned attack on the Normandy base. The elaborately fortified positions that the forward point of Alpha Company would walk into harbored two full companies of the Phu Loi First Battalion with anywhere from two hundred to three hundred and twenty men.[21] They were well armed and also held the crucial advantages of outnumbering Alpha Company at least two to one, knowing the lay of the land, and having the element of surprise.

Dick Wolfe snapped this photo of Wayne Bates holding a carton of cigarettes. Bates made sure his men got their smokes while on patrol.

Beyond the Fourth platoon's defensive line, the rest of the company were soon strung-out in parts, with Captain McAllister's commander post group, including Doc Bates, stopped a bit farther ahead of Fourth Platoon. The other three platoons moved forward, one behind the other.

Sudden, the sound of gunfire came echoing down the line. The firing was sporadic, and McAllister ordered the men ahead of his command post to pull back a short distance and hunker down so that artillery firepower from a nearby base could be brought to bear.

After a fierce bombardment that literally shook the ground, Alpha Company men moved forward again, only to be met by a hail of gunfire and rocket propelled grenades. An overhead observation plane radioed down to McAllister that enemy troops were now emerging from hidden bunkers like "angry ants from an ant hill."

The battle of Xom Bung had begun.

In the growing confusion, McAllister ordered Alpha Company columns to begin moving in orderly fashion back through the Fourth Platoon defense area and down to the rice paddies, where the berms would provide a better defensive position and outside fire power could be called in. The Viet Cong, however, moved swiftly to outflank Alpha Company, to either wipe them out or inflict as much damage as possible. Their strategy included getting next to and among the American troops so that American artillery and planes could not be used without killing Alpha Company men. This tactic was called "grabbing the belt-buckle."[22]

A short-lived, well-ordered retreat turned chaotic, Alpha Company soldiers getting separated from each other, causing the fight to deteriorate into private pockets of small raging struggles, the air filled with the ear-splitting sounds of

gunfire and grenade explosions, and the terrible screaming of the oaths and the cries of fighting men.

While this was going on, McAllister and his command post had moved swiftly to the rice paddies where the captain and his central command group began to desperately set up a new command post and figure out where they might call in artillery and airpower. In his haste to get the CP set up in a safe area of the rice paddy dikes, Dutch McAllister recalled that the movement back to the rice paddies seemed to be working, "except that I could not raise the weapons platoon on the radio. I thought I saw Sergeant Dempsey [Fourth Platoon leader] on the edge of the wood line."

A view of the edge of the Xom Bung battle area.
Notice the crude path going up into the jungle.

Then McAllister saw Doc Bates running toward the wood line, helmet pushed back on his head, a kitbag swinging in each hand." Of all things, McAllister was suddenly reminded of how the thoughtful medic had so carefully tended the ragged Christmas tree at Claymore Corner.[23] At this moment, a sniper's bullet pierced the captain's stomach, knocking the company commander to the ground.

While life-threatening, McAllister's horrendous injury would not kill him. As he fell the day of the battle, McAllister did not know that Fourth Platoon, the group that photo taker Dick Wolfe belonged to, was being savaged by the final blow of the enemy's flanking tactic. Fourth Platoon member Ron Whitt, who was experiencing his first taste of combat, found the unexpected fierceness beyond believing. "I was eighteen at the time and thought we were all going to die."[24] The next few minutes would also be seared forever in the mind of Fourth Platoon newcomer Scott Washburn. "It was as though the earth had opened up and was on fire. The sound was deafening and the smell acrid and the intensity of battle immediate. It was all pretty hectic—loud, smoky, tracer rounds everywhere, fast, sudden and explosive—with RPGs, mortars and grenades going off."

Then, before Washburn's very eyes, hardly five meters away, three comrades, including Dick Wolfe, "went down almost instantly."[25]

A trooper called Fudge had been hit in the back, his radio taking the brunt of the hit and thus saving his life. He had also been hit in the groin and shot through both shoulders and had both legs broken by a grenade blast. Bob Hilley was hit in the head and, by another account, in the groin area, with a RPG round.[26] Wolfe went down like a rag doll at this time, too, but Washburn was unable to judge whether his wounding was fatal. At this same point, Scott Washburn was struck in the small of his back by fragments from an RPG round on both sides of the spine. He screamed for medical aid.[27]

Nearby, Fourth Platoon Sergeant Hylton Leftwich reacted quickly, calling for a medic. As McAllister had seen before being severely wounded, Wayne "Doc" Bates had come running up to the wood line where most of the action was now occurring, to see if he could be of help. Leftwich recalled, "I heard one of my men yell behind me, 'Medic! I'm hit! Medic!' So, I looked at Doc Bates and said, 'Hey, Doc, let's go. We got one.' He said, 'Okay,' and we jumped up and ran towards the wounded man."[28]

Doc Bates, taking super-long strides, moved so quickly that he soon got several paces ahead of Leftwich. As Bates ran, arms pumping, his helmet came off. Leftwich hollered and told the medic that he had better put it back on.

Bates yelled back, "I don't need it.[29]

Leftwich caught up with Doc Bates just as the two got to Scott Washburn. Luckily, the sergeant happened to be looking up just as Bates began checking on the wounded soldier.

"There were two VC standing there, about fifty feet away, real close. I figured Doc hadn't seen them, so I gave him a shove and pushed him on the ground. I hit the dirt as well. I had my hand on Doc's neck/shoulder somewhere in there, and the VC were shooting at us, kicking up all kind of dirt around us."

When the Viet Cong stopped firing and disappeared back into the foliage, Leftwich told Doc Bates "to wait a second or two before we moved. I wanted to make sure the VC had left. When I got up, Bates didn't move, and I looked and saw that his helmet was still off to the side. He had a crease in his right temple from a fragment wound, something his helmet would have prevented. I knew right away that he was dead."

Captain Howard "Dutch" McAllister.

Wayne Bates, Robert Hilley, and Dick Wolfe all perished at the same place. One other Alpha Company trooper, John Galata, died that day too, and dozens of other Alpha Company men were severely wounded. Captain McAllister would survive his injury and spent the rest of his life remembering the servant leadership of Doc Bates, especially around the Christmas holidays. Other Alpha Company survivors came home with unresolved traumas due to the Xom Bung battle.[30] Hopefully, Wayne Bates' story, told here in detail, represents the kind of Vietnam War narrative called for by Tobey Herzog, one that might lead to personal, family, community, and national healing.

Endnotes

1   *Mexico Ledger*, January 8, 1968.
2   *Moberly Monitor Index*, January 8, 1968.
3   Tobey Herzog, Vietnam War Stories: *Innocence Lost*. New York: Routledge, 2017.
4   See Randy and Roxanne Mills, Summer Wind: *A Soldier's Road from Indiana to Vietnam*. Indianapolis: Blue River Press, 2017.
5   Phillip Caputo, *A Rumor of War*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1977, xiv–xv.
6   Authors' interview with Dutch McAllister.
7   Randy Mill and Roxanne Mills, "With Complete Disregard for his Own Personal Safety." *Journal for the Liberal Arts and Sciences*. 20(2). 2016, 86-109.
8   Fred H. Allison, "Remembering a Vietnam War Firefight: Changing Perceptions over Time." *The Oral History Review*, 31(2) 2004, 82.
9   Michelle Prosser, *Memories of Combat: How World War II Veterans Construct Their Memory Over Time*. Master of Arts Project, Kansas State University, 2014.
10   See the above newspapers.
11   Craig Roberts, *Combat Medic: Vietnam*. New York: Pocket Books, 1991.
12   Dick Wolfe letter to Mike Beloat, 27 December 1967.
13   Authors' interview with Dutch McAllister.
14   Randy and Roxanne Mills, *Summer Wind*.
15   Dick Wolfe letter to Rosemary Wolfe, January 1968.
16   Dutch McAllister diary, 3 January 1968.
17   1st Infantry Division Operational Report, 31 January 1967.
18   Authors' interview with John Chomko.
19   Randy and Roxanne Mills, *Summer Wind*, p.181.
20   Hylton Leftwich letter to Butch Davis, 16 February 1968.
21   The official army report gave the lower number. Hank Berhorm, in his letter to Brian Smith several days after the battle claimed "320 VC" were present.
22   Randy and Roxanne Mills, *Summer Wind*, p.181.
23   Authors' interview with Dutch McAllister.
24   Authors' interview with Ron Whitt.
25   Authors' interview with Scott Washburn.
26   K. H. A. Alpha Roster, June 1965 to 31 December 1968, The First Division Museum Archives, Wheaton, Illinois; Authors' interview with Hylton Leftwich.
27   Authors' interview with Scott Washburn.
28   Authors' interview with Hylton Leftwich.
29   John Swartz journal.
30   See Randy Mills and Roxanne Mills, *Summer Wind*.

Pennsylvania Germans In Indiana During The Civil War Era: A Super-Ethnic Pietistic People

Bruce Bigelow
Butler University

J. Steven O'Malley
Asbury Theological Seminary

Steven M. Nolt
Elizabethtown College

Introduction

In 1945, the Reverend George M. Ludwig of Johnson County, Iowa, tried to set the record straight, as he saw it, in *The Influence of the Pennsylvania Dutch in the Middle W*est:

> America contains two great English-speaking nations, Canada and the United States. The French made Canada great, and the United States was made great by the Pennsylvania Dutch. This statement is not intended as an exaggeration. If it appears so, it is only because we have been subjected for so long a time to a perverted history, that the real facts seem uncomfortable. Our historians have been writing the dramatic episodes of the most boisterous and ostentatious ethnological groups that settled America, and frequently have been hopelessly ignorant of the real backbone of American life. Deep down in the very foundation of our nation's history were the hard-working, persevering, creative pioneers, without whom no superstructure, however imposing, could long endure. Among these pioneers, of all those industrious the most industrious stand the Pennsylvania Dutch… The time is at hand for all true descendants of these Teutonic Pennsylvanians to assert themselves. Hundreds of times, here in the middle west, while attending conferences I have listened to speakers boastingly exclaim, 'I am a Yankee,' 'I am Scotch,' 'I am an Irishman,' 'I am a Bohemian.' Never do I remember hearing a single speaker say, 'I am a Pennsylvania Dutchman.'[1]

Although offered in filiopietistic terms, Ludwig's perspective helpfully challenge the standard view of ethnic groups in the Lower Midwest, a view that has emphasized Border Southerners and New Englanders as the only significant groups in the region's settlement, including in Indiana. Typically, these two groups are presented in conflict, and the interpretation of Indiana then becomes one of a difficult blending of the two. Richard Power's 1953 book, *Corn Belt Culture: The Impress of the Upland Southerner and the Yankee in the Old Northwest*, is a classic and influential example of this perspective.[2] As a result, the contribution of Pennsylvanians, and Midlanders more generally including Pennsylvania Germans, has been diminished. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the importance of Pennsylvanians for the heritage of Indiana. It does so by reviewing migration and nativity data, and then documenting the significance of Pennsylvania German religious bodies in Indiana by the 1860s. Finally, we consider the political impact of Pennsylvania Germans on the eve of the Civil War, as a force distinct from Yankees or Border Southerners.

The discussion here also contends for the appropriateness of viewing Pennsylvania German religious bodies as a proxy for Pennsylvania German presence and influence through at least the middle of the nineteenth century. Given their broadly shared characteristics, such as their Pietist spirituality, cultural folkways, a mildly activist political style, and in many cases a shared Pennsylvania German (or Pennsylvania Dutch) dialect, none of the denominations emerging from these traditions can be adequately understood apart from an overarching Pennsylvania German ethnicity.[3] The coherence and significance of that ethnicity is now clear through the interdisciplinary scholarship in *Pennsylvania Germans: An Interpretive Encyclopedia*, edited by Simon J. Bronner and Joshua R. Brown in 2017.[4]

Pietism was a key characteristic of the spirituality and theology of Pennsylvania Germans, helping to create a super-ethnic identity that transcended, to some degree, denominational differences and shaped a shared civic outlook. It was a seventeenth-century renewal movement among Continental Protestants, Pietism encouraged personal devotion, spiritual discipline, and Bible study in the context of a committed group of believers, among other things.[5] The literature on Pietism is vast, but for purposes of the argument here, we might note that Pennsylvania Germans, with the exception of the Moravians, shared a style of Pietism common in southwestern Germany that emphasized inner renewal and separation from corrupting influences, and so tended to cultivate a strongly local orientation.[6] In contrast, a more outwardly oriented form of

Pietism emanating from the eastern German city of Halle, and which has drawn considerable scholarly attention, promoted efforts at broad social reform led by educated figures, often under state auspices.[7] The particular style of Pietism among Pennsylvania Germans is important for understanding their political posture, discussed later, which was moralistic but not crusading.

We believe the church data and the accompanying maps presented below are the first time that Pennsylvania German Pietists have been aggregated for the Hoosier state and the first time that several of the bodies, such as the Evangelical Association, have been so enumerated at all. The cultural geography of Indiana in the 1860s offered here develops research published by Bruce Bigelow and Fred Yaniga in 2003, but which did not discuss the importance of the Pennsylvania German religious bodies.[8]

Colonial Pennsylvania Roots

Colonial Pennsylvania was a distinct cultural region when compared with its northern neighbors, New England and New York, and its southern neighbor, the Chesapeake and Border South. A distinctive feature of the colony was its large German population and those colonists' contributions to the cultural, economic, and architectural development of Pennsylvania, where the most productive agricultural system using free labor was found within the American colonies. The core of the Pennsylvania German culture region has been mapped by Mark Louden.[9] Note that Philadelphia was not the focus of the core but on the eastern periphery. Instead, the heart of Pennsylvania German country was an arc running from the rural northeastern to southeastern interior of Pennsylvania and included Lancaster, the largest interior city in colonial North America. A table of religious groups in late colonial Pennsylvania is an index of the prevailing Germanic culture. (See Table 1). Reformed and Lutheran churches dominated among the Germans, but sectarian groups such as the German Baptist Brethren (nicknamed Dunkers and, since 1908, known as the Church of the Brethren), Mennonites, Moravians, and Amish were important too.

According to a surname analysis of the 1790 Census conducted by Thomas Purvis the population of Pennsylvania may have approached 50 percent German[10] and was minimally 33 percent of the colonial population.[11] The Scots-Irish from Ulster were another large ethnic group in Pennsylvania. By the mid-eighteenth century, they were about a fifth of the population of the state.[12] Many were Presbyterians, the established religion of Scotland and the largest single denomination in the colony. Their communities were often adjacent to those of the Pennsylvania Germans.[13] In addition to the Germans and Scots-

Irish, a third large grouping, representing perhaps a third of the population, were the English and Welsh. In religious terms, this population included both Quakers and Anglicans. William Penn, the colony's founder and proprietor from 1681, was a Quaker, though his sons who succeeded him were Anglicans. Nonetheless, a Quaker elite continued to dominate the legislature through the 1750s, yielding power only when their pacifist principles could not be reconciled with imperial demands during the French and Indian War.[14]

Pennsylvania German ethnicity emerged and evolved in this colonial context. Various Rhine Valley dialects melded into a new "Pennsylvania Dutch" dialect in North America, and German-speaking colonists in Pennsylvania cultivated a distinct sense of identity in the face of British neighbors and political norms, adapting to their new social environment without assimilating to it.[15] Ethnicity, as a malleable-yet-durable identity, went with Pennsylvanians, including Pennsylvania Germans, as they moved south along the Great Wagon Road into the Virginia and North Carolina backcountry and west into the lower Midwest of the Great Lakes region.

Indiana Settlement Areas, 1860

In the early national era, Pennsylvanians migrated westward across Ohio and on to Indiana, Illinois and Iowa in latitudinal fashion. Gregory Rose has argued that the Lower Midwest is "Pennsylvania Extended."[16] Hubert Wilhelm and Timothy Anderson mapped the Pennsylvania presence in Ohio as of 1850.[17] There, the pattern became one of Pennsylvania dominance in the settlement of most of that state, with the exceptions of Yankees in northeastern Western Reserve and Border South settlement in the Virginia Military District of south central Ohio. D.W. Meinig has indicated a similar pattern for Ohio in his map of political regions of the Antebellum Midwest on the eve of the Civil War.[18]

 More discrete maps of specific cultural items indicate the influence of Pennsylvania in the architecture of houses and barns. For example, Robert Ensminger has plotted the path of the diffusion of the Pennsylvania German forebay barn.[19] Daniel Elazar has defined three regions of political culture, associated with tendencies to be moralistic, individualistic, and traditional, which are in turn associated with Yankees, Pennsylvanians and Southerners, respectively. Pennsylvanians (including Pennsylvania Germans) were individualistic in that politics was seen as a business in which the individual invested in a particular political party based on vested interest. By contrast,

New Englanders were more likely to be crusading moralists, whereas Southerners possessed a political culture of deference to elites.[20]

 Based on the settlement patterns of adults residing in Indiana in 1860, Pennsylvanians comprised 10 percent of the population of Indiana based on the United States Census question concerning nativity. In addition, natives of Ohio comprised 18 percent, and their distribution resembled that of Pennsylvanians. Probably a plurality of the Buckeyes living in Indiana were Midlanders whose roots went back to colonial Pennsylvania, especially given Wilhelm's map of nativity groups in Ohio in 1850. According to Elfrieda Lang, if nearly half of Ohioans were Midlanders, then about a quarter of Indiana's population were Pennsylvanians or Pennsylvania-descended in 1860.[21]

A second group who resided in northern Indiana were Yankees, meaning those born in New England or New York, and who comprised six percent of Indiana's population in 1860. They clustered in the northern tier of counties next to the Michigan border, as displayed by Gregory Rose.[22] The largest in-migrating group in Indiana were Border Southerners, who comprised 23 percent of the population. They were concentrated in southern Indiana but also extended more weakly into central Indiana and even part of northern Indiana. Interestingly, Indiana was the most Southern state in the Midwest in terms of culture. It is likely that the Indiana-born, consisting of 28 percent of the population, were mainly Southern too, because their distribution was similar to Border Southerners. If so, about 50 percent of the Indiana population was Southern in heritage in 1860.

The only other population that comprised at least 5 percent in Indiana in 1860 were nineteenth-century immigrants from Germany. They comprised 10 percent and were concentrated in a number of separate districts: southwestern Indiana, northeastern and east central Indiana, as well as northwestern Indiana. The importance of water transport as immigrant entryways is likely: the Ohio River, the Mississippi river, the Whitewater and Wabash-Erie canals, and Lake Michigan, respectively. In this respect, their settlement differed from that of the Pennsylvanians, whose main avenues of migration to Indiana were based less on waterways, and more on east-west routes such as the National Road, travelling from Pennsylvania through central Ohio and reaching Wayne County, Indiana in the 1830s. From here, Pennsylvania Germans migrated into northern Indiana using the Quaker Trace from Richmond and the Michigan Road from Indianapolis, as the National Road was extended westward to Illinois long before 1860. In fact, the area along the National Road

in the eastern half of Indiana was considered a Pennsylvania culture region by Hubert Wilhelm based on the architecture and closeness to the street of inns, taverns, and houses and the presence of forebay barns.[23] However, there were alternative routes. For example, in 1841 a party of Amish from Somerset County, Pennsylvania, moved to northern Indiana's LaGrange County by way of northwest Ohio and southern Michigan.[24]

In short, northern Indiana was demographically dominated by northeasterners (see Map 1), and Pennsylvanians greatly outnumbered Yankees in the northern third of the state. Northern Indiana, more so than southern Indiana, was "Pennsylvania Extended." This statement must be qualified because northern Indiana had a significant number of Yankees, European German immigrants, and Pennsylvanians who were not of Pennsylvania German stock. However, it appears that northern Indiana had more Pennsylvania Germans relative to Scots-Irish and English from Pennsylvania than did central and southern Indiana. A surname analysis of all Pennsylvania-born residents of Indiana in 1860, about 130,000 names, reveals that northern Indiana had fifteen counties with populations that were 40 percent or more Pennsylvania German, whereas central Indiana had only six such counties and southern Indiana had only one.[25] (See Map 2) The geography of Pennsylvania Germans was distinct and did not exactly coincide with the Scots-Irish and English from the mid-Atlantic region who ended up in Indiana.

Pennsylvania German Religious Bodies

We turn now to locating Pennsylvania German churches in Indiana the 1860s and note their significance in the state. The focus here is on seven[26] Pennsylvania German Protestant traditions that shared many linguistic, folk tradition, and other cultural characteristics, as well as Pietist religious emphases and spirituality.[27] An example of shared ethnic experiences transcending confessional lines is found in the memoirs of Paul Hoover, who grew up in Elkhart County, Indiana. Although reared in a conservative Mennonite home, as a child Hoover memorized Pennsylvania German dialect poems written by a German Reformed pastor, Henry Harbaugh (1817-1867), that were first published in Harbaugh's journal, *The Guardian*, which circulated widely among Pennsylvania Germans from Lancaster, Pensylvania.[28]

In focusing on these Pennsylvania German denominations, we are careful to distinguish them from non-Pennsylvania German traditions, such as those represented by the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s immigrants from Germany. Religiously, these later arriving immigrants were mainly Catholics, confessional

Lutherans, or members of the Evangelical Synod (a group that formed in Europe after 1817 from a forced merger of Reformed and Lutheran churches in certain areas), and generally differed from the colonial-descended Pennsylvania Germans in language, theology, political activism and national identity. For example, the new immigrants mainly spoke a standard ("High") German, did not share the same Pietist heritage of the Pennsylvania Germans, often carried a more radical tradition of political activism from Europe, and, unlike the Pennsylvania Germans, were imbued to some degree with nineteenth-century German nationalism.[29]

The seven religious groups in Indiana in the 1860s that were mainly Pennsylvania German in membership fall into three groupings as defined by Don Yoder (who preferred the nomenclature of Pennsylvania *Dutch* over Pennsylvania *Deutsch/German*), namely the Lutheran and Reformed "Church Dutch," the sectarian "Plain Dutch," and the revivalist "Bush Meeting Dutch."[30] The first group was numerically the largest and provided the backbone of colonial Pennsylvania German religious life. In some cases, Lutheran and German Reformed people even created "union" congregations in both Pennsylvania and Indiana, and John Frantz argues that they often thought of their two faiths as one religion, often united by their Pietist spirituality.[31]

By the mid-nineteenth century, the bulk of Pennsylvania German Lutherans combined southwestern German Pietism with an American Low Church style and were associated with Samuel Simon Schmucker of Gettysburg College (then Pennsylvania College) in Pennsylvania and Samuel Sprecher of Wittenberg College in Springfield, Ohio, both of the Lutheran General Synod. They opposed what they saw as the ecclesial formality of more recent Lutheran immigrants and tended to look more positively on the reformism of abolitionism, revivalism, temperance, and Sunday schools, though they were not crusading reformers in the vein of Yankee Americans. In Indiana, the General Synod had 44 churches in the 1860s, mostly in northern Indiana, and far outnumbered the less Americanized Lutherans of the General Council, who were more likely to be immigrants who had only 21 churches, mostly in central and southern Indiana.[32] Nineteenth-century immigrants also dominated the Lutheran Missouri Synod, which was not confined to Missouri and in fact as strong in Indiana, and defined itself more in terms of doctrine than Pietism. They had 42 churches spread evenly throughout the state.[33] Finally, the Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio had eight Indiana congregations in its Southern District. Lutheran archivist Joel Thoreson believes these were mainly immigrant churches, though three in the

English [speaking] District in Wayne County, Indiana, were likely comprised of Pennsylvania Germans (see Map 3).

German Reformed church members had migrated from Pennsylvania into all sections of Indiana and in the 1860s but with more in northern than central and southern Indiana. They had 118 churches.[34] Some of the churches had Lutheran pastors at times, or were even United Brethren or Evangelical Synod, indicating the permeability of denominational boundaries for some groups.The Reformed tradition came to Pennsylvania in the 1700s, largely via immigrants from the Palatine, and was rooted in the Reformation theology of Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin, but was shaped to a large degree by the irenic Heidelberg Catechism of 1563 and by the spirituality of southwestern German Pietism.[35] By the mid-nineteenth century in North America, two camps had developed (though no schism transpired). One side, led by the "old church" faction, continued to embrace a low church, Pietist spirituality. In time, this group was anchored at Ursinus College in Collegeville, Pennsylvania. The other side affirmed a more liturgical worship style and was based at the seminary at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania (later relocated to Lancaster), and led by John Nevin and Philip Schaff, neither of whom were Pennsylvania German. The Mercersburg focus sought to distance the German Reformed from the Evangelical Association and the United Brethren, discussed below, and opposed revivalism (see Map 3).[36]

The "Plain Dutch," so-called because of their plain dress and resistance to ostentation, included the Mennonites, Amish, and German Baptist Brethren (now Church of the Brethren) and were concentrated in the northern half of Indiana in the 1860s (see Map 4). These groups all have roots in the Anabaptist movement of the sixteenth century Reformation.[37] Opposed by both Catholics and state-church Protestants, Anabaptists faced persecution from all sides and as many as 2,500 were killed between 1527 and 1614. After 1545, Anabaptists in the Netherlands received the name Mennonite due to the influence of Menno Simons, a former Catholic priest who had joined the movement in 1536. Over time, the "Mennonist" or Mennonite label was applied to Anabaptists in the upper Rhine valley as well. Mennonites began migrating to Pennsylvania in the late seventeenth century, at the invitation of William Penn. The Amish, a branch of Anabaptists that had begun in 1693, under the leadership of Jakob Ammann, began arriving in Pennsylvania in the 1730s. Pennsylvania German Mennonites were influenced by the literature and hymns emanating from German Pietism.[38]

The German Baptist Brethren (as noted earlier, nicknamed Dunkers and now known as the Church of the Brethren), had roots that more explicitly intertwined Anabaptism and Pietism. The Dunkers formed in 1708 when radical Pietists at Schwarzenau, Germany combined their spirituality with an Anabaptist critique of state church ecclesiology and formed an adult-baptizing, pacifist, free church movement under the leadership of Alexander Mack. By 1733, virtually the entire movement relocated to Pennsylvania.[39]

All the Plain Dutch groups were well represented in nineteenth-century Indiana. Dunker migrants located first in Wayne and Union Counties in east central Indiana—the Four Mile and Brick churches—and from there they spread into northern Indiana. Indiana was home to nine Mennonite and 10 Amish communities in the1860s.[40] In the case of the Mennonites, several communities had multiple meetinghouses. There were 52 Dunker churches in Indiana in the 1860s.[41] The state soon became an important center for these groups. Indiana Brethren were outnumbered only in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Virginia. Likewise, only Pennsylvania and Ohio had more Mennonites and Amish than Indiana. Indiana is also home to several key institutions: Goshen College, founded in 1894 by Mennonites, and Manchester College, which the German Baptist Brethren acquired from the United Brethren in Christ in 1889.

The "Church Dutch" and the "Plain Dutch" traditions came together in the origins of the United Brethren in Christ, one of the two groups that Don Yoder has described as the revivalist "Bush Meeting Dutch," so-called because of their tradition of gathering for rural camp meetings in the summer months. The United Brethren in Christ stemmed from the joint ministry of Pennsylvania Mennonite preacher Martin Boehm and German Reformed pastor Philip William Otterbein, both of whom had adopted a revivalist style of ministry as early as 1767, to the dismay of their more reserved Mennonite and Reformed peers. Boehm and Otterbein co-founded the United Brethren in 1800 when both became superintendents and shared a Pietist spirituality each brought from his respective tradition.[42]

The other revivalist Pennsylvania German denomination was the Evangelical Association, which originated in the 1790s from the preaching ministry of Jacob Albright, a lay preacher, farmer, tile maker, and Revolutionary War veteran. Albright had left the Lutheran church in early adulthood, disheartened by what he saw as its demoralized condition and by an encounter with a decadent pastor who failed to convey a living faith. However, he valued what he had

learned from Luther's Small Catechism and after the loss of children to illness and a sense of guilt for the spiritual fate of his German-speaking neighbors, he sought a new birth with the help of a United Brethren preacher and a Methodist class meeting that, unfortunately for him, only functioned in English. Through prayer and fasting, he became convinced he was called to preach, thereby beginning an itinerant ministry that carried him far from his home base and continued until his death in 1808.

Before he died, Albright was ordained by a group of his converts as a "veritable evangelical preacher of the gospel of Jesus Christ," and on that basis his followers adopted the name Evangelische Gemeinschaft or Evangelical Association (1816), replete with a German translation of the Methodist *Book of Discipline*. They retained German and German dialect preaching, with Pennsylvania Dutch-influenced spirituals at their "big meetings" (revivals), and with major focus on the Pietist and Wesleyan themes of the new birth and sanctification focused on the doctrine of Christian Perfection.

Representatives of the Albright-inspired Evangelical Association arrived in the early 1800s in east central parts of Indiana, especially Wayne County, and later came to be most heavily concentrated in the northcentral portion of the state. The Evangelical Association developed rapidly in the 1840s through 1860s through the effective leadership of its itinerant leader, Bishop John Seybert, selected by the conference in 1839. Seybert's ministry took him to Indiana and beyond, to the Great Lakes and Ontario in a career of three decades and covering 250,000 miles.[43]

Together, these two "Bush Meeting" churches were more numerous by the 1860s than the other Pennsylvania German groups in Indiana. Nevertheless, there were some differences that must be acknowledged. For examples, more so than the United Brethren, the Evangelical Association retained German in worship, in some cases into the twentieth century. In contrast, the United Brethren in Christ had heavier migration and recruitment in southern and central Indiana, and in the states west of Indiana, as well as significant advance into Virginia, West Virginia, East Tennessee and Kentucky and, as a result, Anglicized more quickly during the nineteenth century. Among the Evangelical Association, English-speaking work would not surpass the German language sectors of the denomination until the late nineteenth century.[44] The Evangelical Association's periodical, *Der Christliche Botschafter* (later known as *The Evangelical Messenger*), became the longest running German religious

publication in America (1836-1946). It was widely circulated as a news source for German-speaking Christians in Indiana in the 1860s. In the 1860s, the Evangelical Association, with 78 churches, was the tenth largest in Indiana.[45]

More so than the Evangelical Association, the United Brethren had taken in non-German-speakers prior to the Civil War, both in the states of their origin (Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Ohio) as well as in central and southern Indiana.[46] As a result, the United Brethren in Christ were stronger in southern Indiana than northern Indiana, unlike most of the other Pennsylvania German groups. As early as 1812, John Jacob Pfrimmer, a Pennsylvanian, had settled in Corydon in Harrison County on the Ohio River.[47] From this southern base, he was successful in founding United Brethren in Christ congregations throughout the area. The United Brethren subsequently loosened their Pennsylvania German cultural ties, including ties to language.[48] A list of pastors from an annual meeting of White River United Brethren annual conference in central Indiana reveals that non-German surnames outnumbered Germanic names, roughly two to one. Indiana Conference, in southern Indiana, as well as the Lower Wabash Conference, had predominantly non-Germanic pastors, and only 34 percent and 35 percent, respectively, appearing to be Germanic. In northern Indiana, the percentages were higher. Sixty-three percent of the ministers in the West District of Auglaize Conference in northeastern Indiana (the other districts were in Ohio) may have been German, while in St. Joseph Conference in northern and northcentral Indiana, half the ministers may have been Pennsylvania German.[49]

In view of the diversity in demographics among the United Brethren in Christ in Indiana, their classification as part of the Pennsylvania German heritage in Indiana needs to be qualified to some extent. However, a case should be made that the Pennsylvania German-based ethos which continued to pervade that body in its confession and disciplinary provisions for a Pietist lifestyle, which remained in force through its publications and continued to inform its identity in this period.[50] In contrast, the Evangelical Association continued to have a strikingly high number of Pennsylvania German ministers.[51]

 The southern concentration of the United Brethren in Christ explains why its major college, the University of Indianapolis (founded in 1902), was not in northern Indiana, and its predecessor, Hartsville College, was in rural southern Indiana near Columbus in Bartholomew County.[52] However, a more tradition-minded splinter group led by Bishop Milton Wright, the father of the

aviators Orville and Wilbur and who had a Pennsylvania German wife founded Huntington College in northern Indiana in 1897.[53] Wright left the main United Brethren body in 1889 because he disapproved of allowing members to join secret societies, such as the Masons.

If one looks at a table of religious groups in Indiana in the 1860s, the United Brethren had 339 churches, eclipsed only by the Missionary Baptists, Churches of Christ, and Methodists.[54] (See Table 2 and Map 5) In fact, combining the Evangelical Association and the United Brethren yields 417 churches, making them second only to the Missionary Baptists (see Map 6).

The poorly appreciated multitude of Pennsylvania German Pietist evangelicals— the United Brethren and the Evangelical Association—is a neglected story. Part of the reason for the neglect is that the U.S. Census of Religious Bodies in 1860 totally missed their presence in Indiana, perhaps because they were rural and relatively poor and may have met in homes and schoolhouses rather than obvious religious buildings. (See Table 3) The same census also missed African-American churches, Primitive Baptists, Methodist Protestants, the Evangelical Synod, Wesleyans, General Baptists, Amish, and Mennonites, among others. In the 1870 U.S. Census of Religious Bodies, the results were better but still lacking (See Table 4). The United Brethren in Christ and the Evangelical Association were included, but greatly undercounted. Unfortunately, the Amish and the Mennonites were invisible once again. The Dunkers (Church of the Brethren), included in 1860, were omitted ten years later.

Of course, despite their broadly shared ethnic culture, denominational affiliations were not meaningless among Pennsylvania German Pietists. However, these confessional boundaries were sometimes permeable, based on intermarriage, change of the pastor's denomination, or change of the parishoner's religious denomination. The Lutherans and the German Reformed were not as numerically dominant in Indiana as they had been in Pennsylvania, which may have encouraged them to pursue ecumenical cooperation. The Evangelical Association and United Brethren "Bush Meeting Dutch" were distinctive in their ties to Methodism, but it is important that their roots in Pennsylvania were among former Mennonites, Lutherans, and German Reformed. On the other hand, many United Brethren in southern Indiana had other-than-Pennsylvania German ancestry because of large number of conversions to the group, which in turn loosened ties to the German language and other folkways. The "Plain Dutch," especially the Amish and to a lesser degree the Mennonites,

maintained a more separatist ecclesiology, distinctive dress, and strong loyalty to the Pennsylvania German language. The Dunkers meanwhile combined commitments to certain sectarian practices, such as the necessity of triple-immersion baptism, plain dress, and nonresistance, with earnest efforts to convert neighbors through evangelistic, English-language preaching. Dunkers moving into southern Indiana were especially active in attracting new members from other ethnic backgrounds in the 1850s and following.[55]

One might argue that the various religious bodies of the Pennsylvania Germans need more direct linkages if they are to be considered a super-ethnic group. However, a look at the practice of religion as revealed by two diaries challenges that view. Bishop Christian Newcomer of the United Brethren in Christ kept a journal from 1795 until his death in 1830.[56] He grew up near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, but as a young adult he moved to a farm near Hagerstown in western Maryland. After becoming bishop in 1813, he travelled widely in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia and finally began missionizing in the Midwest too after 1813. He unsuccessfully sought union with the Methodists and with the Evangelical Association. Nonetheless, the three groups shared communion regularly.[57] Of Mennonite upbringing, Newcomer claimed to have no animosity with Anabaptists after he converted to the United Brethren; in fact, he visited Mennonite homes regularly and was allowed to speak in their meetinghouses even if they did not share communion. Newcomer did commune with the Church of the Brethren and with the German Reformed, not surprising because William Otterbein, one of the two father of the United Brethren, had remained a Reformed minister until his death. One sees a similar pattern a generation or more later in the journal of J. A. Byerly of east central Indiana (western Wayne and eastern Henry Counties).[58] That journal, covering the years 1886 to 1917, documents Byerly's life as an active member of the Evangelical Association church in a rural area near Cambridge City, but also the fact that he regularly attended services, including communion, at neighboring United Brethren in Christ and Church of the Brethren meetinghouses. The three groups also shared ecumenical Sunday schools.

Politics

Another area in which to consider the significance of Pennsylvania German Hoosiers is politics, especially during the politically tense and divided years of the antebellum era. As background, we consider the ethno-religious politics of Pennsylvania before the migration of Pennsylvania Germans into Indiana to see if there is a pattern of continuity politically. As Jan Stievermann has

shown, pacifism and support for the colonial militia divided Pennsylvania Germans in an era of imperial warfare and Revolution. German Reformed and Lutheran Pennsylvanians largely supported the colonial militia in fighting in the French and Indian War, as well as the Revolutionary War, while the sectarian Mennonites, Amish, Moravians, German Baptist Brethren, and Schwenkfelders generally opposed bearing arms in either war. The sectarians were harassed economically by the Test Acts and other exorbitant fines imposed by the revolutionary Pennsylvania government, and they only began to reengage local politics after the adoption of the 1790 Pennsylvania constitution.[59] On the other hand, the Scots-Irish strongly supported the militia during both the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars. In fact, Judith Ridner has argued that the Scots-Irish forged an ethnic identity through their military involvement in the Revolution, as much as through their Presbyterianism.[60]

Philip Shriver Klein, in *Pennsylvania Politics, 1817-1832*, argues that the Scots-Irish controlled the state's political system in the early national era by dominating the powerful legislature and judiciary while letting the Pennsylvania Germans have the weaker position of governor. Klein quotes a later governor, Martin Grove Brumbaugh (in office 1915-1919), as saying that "the Pennsylvania system is a Scots-Irish government" because "the Germans do not seem to have been very ardent or very successful seekers after public office."[61] Certainly at a national level there were a great many prominent Scots-Irish political figures, from Andrew Jackson to James Polk and James Buchanan— backcountry Southerners but Buchanan, who was born in the Pennsylvania backcountry in Franklin County. Within Pennsylvania, Klein claimed that the Scots-Irish had greater political skills, including being used to British-style partisan democracy and familiarity with English language political rhetoric, attributes many of the Germans did not have. The Scots-Irish dominance is notable given that the Germans outnumbered the Scots-Irish by a two to one margin in Pennsylvania. However, given the more separatist theology of Pennsylvania German sectarians and even some Lutherans, it is less surprising that Germans were under-represented.

Charles McCool Snyder, in *The Jacksonian Heritage: Pennsylvania Politics, 1833-1848*, emphasized the passing of Jacksonian hegemony and the emergence of a new political order. The rise of the Whigs and their association with industrialization and a strong tariff were increasingly supported by more Pennsylvanians.[62] James Huston in "Economic Change and Political Alignment in Antebellum Pennsylvania" argued that Pennsylvania German political

participation increased as they backed the rising Republican Party in the 1850s. Huston claimed that the Republicans were "Pietist, mobile, middle-class and market-oriented."[63] Thus, the Pietist Pennsylvania Germans may have gained political influence relative to the Scots-Irish who continued to back the Democratic Party even as that party was declining in Pennsylvania and the Midwest.

In Indiana, Pennsylvania Germans made up a smaller percentage of the population statewide than in Pennsylvania and were concentrated in the northern part of the state, so it may not be surprising that the Scots-Irish and English held most statewide offices from the start of statehood in 1816 until the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865. Of the six federal judges in this period, three were Yankees (Elisha Huntington, Caleb Smith and Albert White), two were Southerners (Jesse Holman and David McDonald), and Benjamin Parke was a Pennsylvania native, but he was not Pennsylvania German.

Pennsylvanians did better with regard to the governorship, but again they were not Pennsylvania Germans. Six of the thirteen were Midlanders (Jonathan Jennings, William Hendricks, David Wallace, Samuel Bigger, Joseph Wright and Oliver Morton), most of whom were Scots-Irish. Four were Southerners (Ratliff Boon, James Ray, Noah Noble and Paris Dunning), while three were Yankees (James Whitcomb, Ashbel Willard and Abram Hammond). Southerners were more dominant among early Indiana U.S. Senators. Six of the 17 were Southerners (James Noble, Waller Taylor, Robert Hanna, John Tipton, Edward Hannegan and Henry Lane). Five Senators were Yankees (Albert White, Jesse Bright, James Whitcomb, John Petit and Graham Fitch), while four were Pennsylvanians (William Hendricks, Oliver Smith, Joseph Wright and Thomas Hendricks). Again, none of the Pennsylvania senators appears to be Pennsylvania German. The apparent rivalry between Scots-Irish and Pennsylvania Germans in Indiana, following the pattern from Pennsylvania, is topic for further consideration.[64]

Enumerating statewide office holders is not the only way to gauge political influence. Partisan and issue voting are probably more important in establishing a group's political significance. Richard Jensen and Paul Kleppner have argued that in the nineteenth century a partisan divide split "ritualist Protestants" and "Pietists or revivalists" (although this generalization would not be true in all places).[65] In their studies of the Midwest, including Indiana, they assert that General Synod Lutherans, Church of the Brethren, Evangelical Association, the

United Brethren in Christ and the Moravians were Pietists who would have been Republican, whereas the "ritualist" Mercersburg wing of the German Reformed should have been Democratic. If Mennonites and Amish voted, they should have been Republicans too according the Kleppner and Jensen model and, indeed, in northern Indiana, Pennsylvania German Mennonites supported the new Republican Party, though it is not clear how many of them voted.[66]

With regard to elections in Indiana, a general conclusion is that Midlanders, including Pennsylvania Germans, were closer to the attitudes of Yankees than Southerners. Midlanders and Yankees supported free public education in a state referendum in 1848 with coefficients of correlation based on statistical correlation analysis of .56 and .54 (out of 1.00), respectively, whereas Southerners were opposed with a coefficient of correlation of -.80 (out of -1.00); in other words, Midlanders and Yankees acted as fellow Northeasterners in opposition to Southerners generally. In the 1856 presidential election, based on published voting returns, the nativist American third party candidate, former president Millard Fillmore of New York, was supported by Southerners with a coefficient of correlation of .26, whereas Midlanders (-.56) and Yankees (-.28) again were opposed. It is interesting that Midlanders were more opposed to nativism than Yankees.[67] Could it be that Pennsylvanians were more tolerant of other ethnic groups because they had lived in a more ethnically diverse state? Perhaps their own sense of ethnic "otherness" was keener.

With regard to the rise of the Republican Party, the Midlanders again were closer to the Yankees than the Southerners in Indiana. In 1856 the Yankees supported the first Republican candidate for president, John Fremont (.42), as did the Midlanders (.54), whereas Southerners (-.25) did not. Again in 1860 Midlanders (.56) and Yankees (.54) supported Abraham Lincoln, whereas Southerners (-.80) overwhelmingly did not. It is also interesting that Ohioans, presumably mainly of Pennsylvania origin, supported Lincoln (.51), whereas Hoosiers (the nickname for persons born in Indiana) and presumably mainly Southerners, did not (-.63). Lincoln dominated northern and central Indiana but he lost in southern Indiana even though it was his boyhood home, possibly because of its Catholics, especially of immigrant German heritage (See Map 7). Indeed, given their numeric size, Pennsylvanians, including Pennsylvania Germans, were key to Lincoln's carrying Indiana; he surely would not have won the state with Indiana Yankee votes alone.[68]

An explanation of Pennsylvania German social ethics in the Hoosier culture of the 1860s must entail some awareness of the denominational affiliations within their ranks. For example, Lutherans were influenced by Luther's two kingdom theology, in which the Christian is simultaneously a member of two estates, the worldly and the spiritual. One's identity in Christ references an existence through faith via one's pardon through the cross, resulting in one who is 'free lord over all, subject to none,' which reads as a statement of defiance of civil and religious authority with regard to the soul or personal dimension.[69] However, one's outward identity in this world is always one of obedience or conformity to the demands of the "office" or "vocation" with which one's temporal life is identified. Such a dialectical view of human existence resulted in the Lutheran tendency to defer to the authority of the existing magistrates in ordering human temporal affairs, aware that the spiritual dimension of one's inner life is untarnished by those constraints. By comparison, Mennonites, Amish, and Dunkers followed a sectarian "two kingdoms" ecclesiology in which a voluntary community of the re-baptized marked by peace and non-coercion was the antithesis of the "fallen," worldly order from which they were to be set apart. These different perspectives coexisting within the Pennsylvania German religious culture in Indiana shared something in common: both stood in contrast with the social engagement of the Presbyterian-rooted Scots-Irish whose theological outlook led them to invest society with kingdom of God ideals.[70]

Conclusion

In 1860, Pennsylvania Germans were about 10 percent of Indiana's population. Concentrated in the northern third of the state, they were a diasporic community with historic and family ties to Pennsylvania (and western Maryland in some cases). In the 1860s, many still spoke Pennsylvania German as their mother tongue and considered English their second language. Pennsylvania Germanism was especially strong in the northeastern portion of Indiana (see Map 8). There was also an exclave of Pennsylvania Germans in southern Indiana on the Ohio River in Harrison County, a legacy of the missionizing of John Jacob Pfrimmer mentioned earlier as well as pockets of Pennsylvania germanism in central Indiana.

Although we cannot claim that Pennsylvania Germans were all religious, the presence of seven Pennsylvania German church traditions, all of a Pietist persuasion of one sort or another, helped define the Pennsylvania Germans as a super-ethnic group of multiple parts. The present study has emphasized this super-ethnic dynamic. Michael Conzen argued that even if the Pennsylvania

Germans, as an example, did not dominate northern Indiana so much as to call it their "homeland," if all the Pennsylvania Germans were combined, they would be living in an "ethnic substrate" where they were over 10 percent and maybe as much as 25 percent of the total population. In this situation of being a large minority, the Pennsylvania Germans in the mid-nineteenth century in northern Indiana would be able to shape public opinion even though they did not totally dominate the locale.[71]

In the years after the 1860s, Pennsylvania German identity in Indiana persisted even as it also slowly faded. Well into the twentieth century, geographic, historical, and cultural links continued through letters, religious and cultural journals, and annual national political and religious meetings. For example, *Herold der Wahrheit* and its English companion *Herald of Truth*, Mennonite-owned weeklies published from 1867 in Elkhart, Indiana, by John Funk, a native of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, were widely distributed in the Midwest, with stories and letters knitting together an imagined community of diaspora Pennsylvania German Mennonites like Funk himself. Or consider the example of Lloyd C. Douglas, the popular American novelist of the early Christians (*The Robe*) and post-World War I American life and values (*Magnificent Obsession*), a graduate of Wittenberg College and Trinity Lutheran Seminary in Columbus, Ohio, and a pastor in Uniondale, Wells County, Indiana. In his memoir, he commented on the persistent ethnic attachments in his part of northern Indiana:

> Scores of the families who owned the big farms of our county had migrated, a generation or two earlier, from the areas in Pennsylvania thickly populated with "Pennsylvania Dutch." It was a long-established tradition for excursion trains to carry these people to and fro. One October, a couple of hundred Pennsylvanians would arrive for a fortnight visit with their Indiana relatives, in the next year the Indiana people would avail themselves of an excursion fare, and go back to Pennsylvania.[72]

Even so, as the twentieth century wore on, Pennsylvania German ethnicity in Indiana became diluted. In some ways, that development was hardly surprising in an era of suburbanization and intense Americanization after victory in WW II and the crisis of the ideological crusades of the Cold War era.[73] As well, the religious bodies that had provided some of the most important institutional ethnic glue, also changed in a twentieth-century context that Will Herberg described as becoming a triple melting pot of general Protestant, Catholic,

and Jewish identities in place of historic ethnic attachments.[74] In such a context, Lutheran, German Reformed, and some United Brethren churches embraced "mainline" self-understandings, while other United Brethren and the Evangelical Association increasingly saw themselves as part of undifferentiated American evangelicalism. While the separatist Amish may have retained many older customs, those were now redefined as Amish peculiarities rather than Pennsylvania German folkways.[75] Meanwhile, the once "sectarian" Mennonites of the Midwest embarked on twentieth century campaign of denominational building that tended to redefined their identity in institutional terms that would have been familiar to sociologist Milton Gordon.[76]

Nevertheless, the historical significance of Indiana's Pennsylvania Germans remains. Recognition of the United Brethren of Christ and the Evangelical Association as sizable Pennsylvania German bodies in Indiana in the 1860s may have been a well-kept secret owing to their omission from the U.S. Census Bureau's religion compilation, along with the German sectarians, but the time has come to recover their presence for academics and for the general public. Indiana was not simply the creation of Yankees and Border Southerners. The state's Germans – both the Pennsylvania Germans and later arriving immigrants – comprised a fifth of the state's residents in 1860 (and by the end of the century likely accounted for a quarter of all Hoosiers). They contributed to the state's religious diversity and shaped its political influence in the era of the Civil War, tipping the balance in favor of Lincoln. In calling attention to their presence and significance in Indiana, this article invites further research into the contributions and evolution of people who should no longer be overlooked.

AUTHOR'S EPILOGUE

We began with the account of Pastor G. M. Ludwig of Iowa who said, "I never heard a speaker say, 'I am a Pennsylvania Dutchman.'" And yet, despite my Irish surname, that is what J. Steven O'Malley, can in fact say, with satisfaction. My mother was the granddaughter of an Evangelical Association preacher named Monroe L. Scheidler, my mother's paternal grandfather, born on a farm in Wayne County, Indiana, where the first Evangelical Association camp meeting was held on his grandfather's farm in 1840, and whose great-grandfather, Daniel Shideler, likely a German-speaking Dunker (Church of the Brethren) farmer preacher, was born in Washington, Pennsylvania, in 1790. As a young boy I walked over the land with my great-grandfather, Reverend Monroe Scheidler (Monroe changed the spelling of the name). I heard him preach the

old Evangelical Association gospel, and have in my office his shoeboxes of sermons and journals, from his trips as a horseback riding circuit preacher in Indiana and western Ohio, whose ministry began in 1887 and continued until 1953. Wilhelm Luhring, my mother's maternal grandfather, came from the old country in 1849, arriving from the German states probably in Pennsylvania, and coming on to Evansville, where he became converted and then the preacher in the German language Salem Evangelical Association Church adjacent to Monroe Scheidler's English-speaking Evangelical Association church about 1900; the daughter of Reverend Luhring married the son of Reverend Scheidler in a joint service of the two churches in 1917. My grandmother recalled living as a girl in a small parsonage that was attached to the brick church, in the old city center. They spoke only German in their home when she was being raised. I do not know who will want these artifacts, with their living memories, in the next generation, but I do know that today I can say with satisfaction, "I am a descendant of the Pennsylvania Dutch in Indiana and the remaining former Evangelical United Brethren elder who was ordained in Indiana."

TABLES

Table 1 : Religious Bodies in Pennsylvania, 1776

Religious Body	Churches
Presbyterians	149
Lutherans	126
German Reformed	123
Friends	82
Mennonites	52
Dutch Reformed	46
Episcopalians	32
Baptists	26
Dunkers (Church of the Brethren)	15
Moravians	14
Amish	11
Roman Catholics	10
Schwenkfelders	3
Congregationalists	2
Jews	2
Methodists	2

Statistics from Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, "American Religion in 1776: A Statistical Report," *Sociological Analysis* 49 (1988): 39-51, *except*, Lutheran and German Reformed numbers from Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793, vol. 2: The History* (Breinigsville, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1981), 144-45, 147. With regard to the Dutch Reformed figure, Stark and Finke seem to be citing the number of Pennsylvania congregations that related organizationally to the Dutch Reformed synod in New York. German Reformed historian Richard Taylor believes that only two of these 46 congregations were Dutch linguistically; the rest were German-speaking and also included in the Glatfelter German Reformed total above. Mennonite and Amish numbers from Steven M. Nolt.

Table 2 : Religious Bodies in Indiana, 1860s (Non-Census Sources)

Religious Body	Churches	Members	Average
Missionary Baptists	429	26,733	62
Churches of Christ (including Disciples of Christ)	362	22,000	61
Methodists	359	80,845	225
United Brethren in Christ	339		
Primitive Baptist	202	7,143	35
Roman Catholics	198		
Old School Presbyterians	188	12,192	65
German Reformed	118		
New School Presbyterians	115	5,995	52

Evangelical Association	78		
Universalists	75		
Methodist Protestants	70		
Friends	62	18,900	305
Evangelical Synod	56		
Dunkers (Church of the Brethren)	52		
German Methodist Episcopals	47	3214	68
Liberal Lutherans	44		
Missouri Synod Lutherans	42		
Wesleyans	30	1,617	54
African-American Methodists	30		
Episcopalians	29		
General Baptists	28	1,739	62
Free Will Baptists	28	707	25
Congregationalists	22	842	38
Moderate Lutherans	21		
Cumberland Presbyterians	15	1,800	120
African-American Baptists	14		
Amish	10		
Mennonites	9		
United Presbyterians	7		
Jews	5		
Moravians	1		

Table 3: Religious Bodies in Indiana, 1860 (U.S. Census)

Religious Body	Number of Churches	Number of Accommodations
Methodists	1,256	432,100
Baptists	473	164,700
Christians	347	125,600
Presbyterians	275	104,100
Lutherans	150	48,400
Roman Catholics	127	
Dunkers (Church of the Brethren)	97	9,900
Friends	93	111,650
Episcopalians	29	10,400
Cumberland Presbyterians	27	11,300
United Presbyterians	18	6,700
Congregationalists	11	5,300
German Reformed	9	1,500
Dutch Reformed	6	1,500
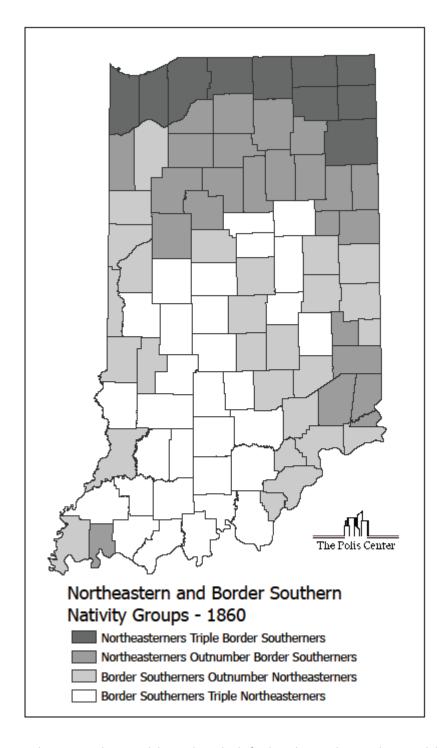
| Jews | 2 | 500 |
| Moravians | 1 | 400 |
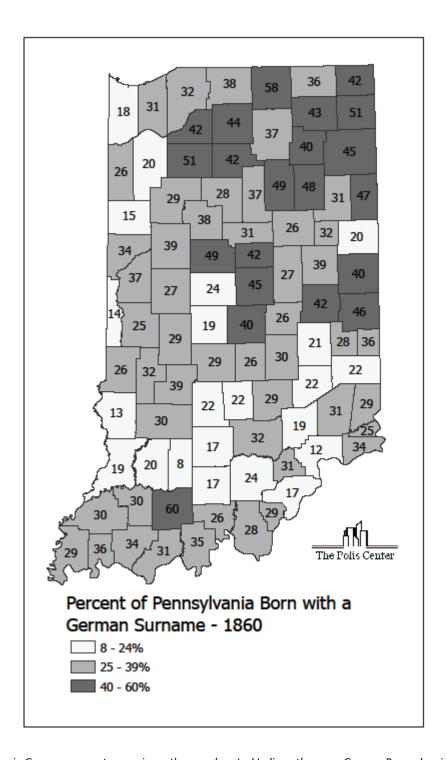
Table 4 : Religious Bodies in Indiana, 1870 (U.S. Census)

| Religious Bodies	Organizations	Edifices	Sittings
Methodists	1,493	1,121	346,125
Baptists (Regular)	677	539	171,619
Christians (Churches of Christ)	455	377	122,775
Presbyterians (Regular)	333	315	116,500
Roman Catholics	294	291	86,830
Lutherans	195	180	62,285
United Brethren in Christ	184	121	33,575
Friends	81	76	29,500
Episcopalians	49	38	16,305
Evangelical Association	47	40	10,995
Presbyterians (Other)	42	42	12,400
German Reformed	34	33	4,880
Universalists	18	15	6,300
Congregationalists	18	12	4,800
Jews	5	4	1,900
Dutch Reformed	2	2	500
Moravians	1	1	560
Swedenborgians	1	1	106
Unitarians	1		
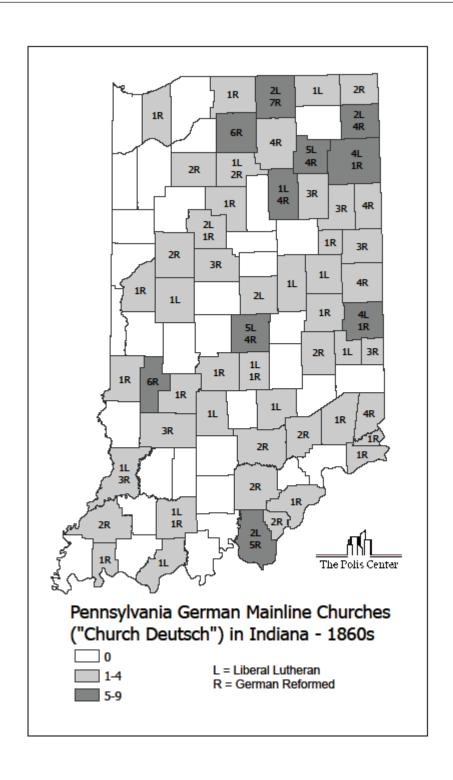
MAPS
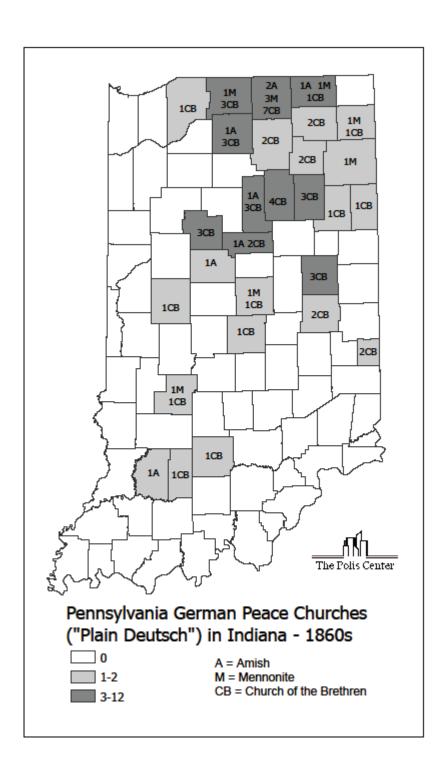
Map 1 : *Northeasterners dominated the northern third of Indiana but Southerners dominated the rest.*

Percent of Pennsylvania Born with a
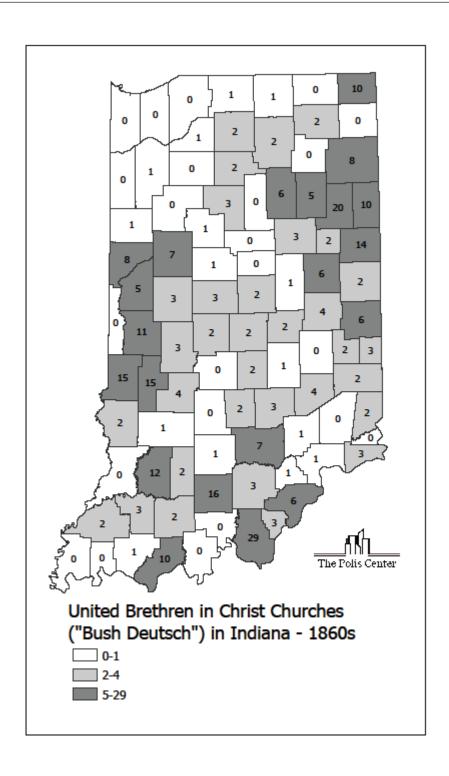German Surname - 1860

☐ 8 - 24%
▨ 25 - 39%
■ 40 - 60%

Map 2: Pennsylvania Germans were stronger in northern and central Indiana than non-German Pennsylvanians but not so in southern Indiana

Pennsylvania German Mainline Churches ("Church Deutsch") in Indiana - 1860s

- 0
- 1-4
- 5-9

L = Liberal Lutheran
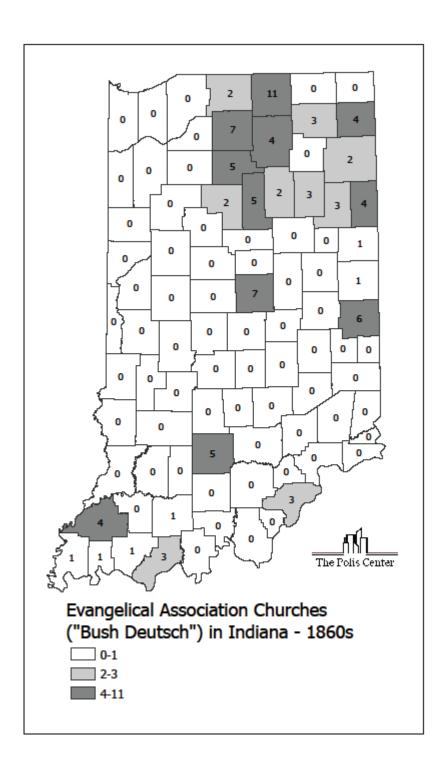R = German Reformed

Map 3: The Church Deutsch were strongest in northern Indiana, to a lesser degree in central Indiana, and weakest in southern Indiana.
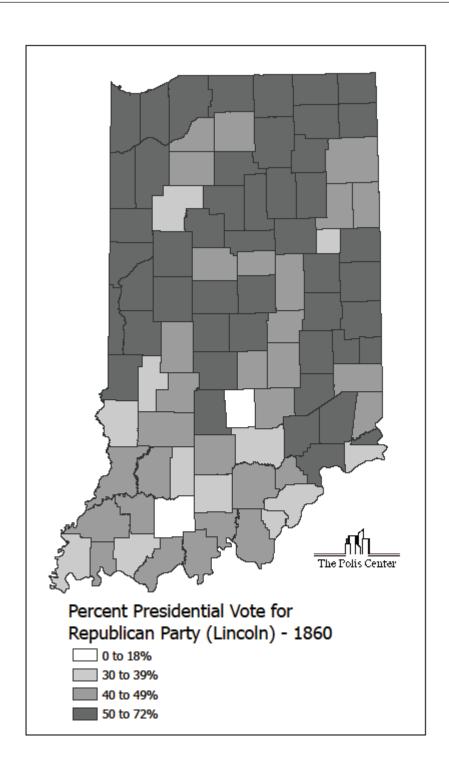
Map 4: The Plain Deutsch were stronger in northern Indiana rather than central and southern Indiana.

United Brethren in Christ Churches
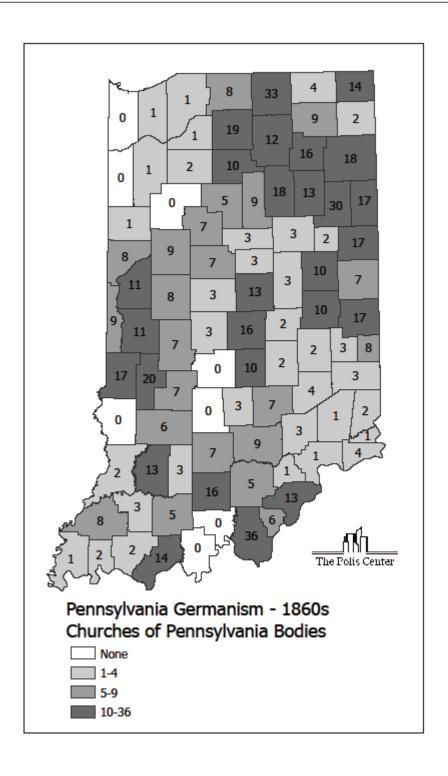("Bush Deutsch") in Indiana - 1860s

☐ 0-1
▨ 2-4
▧ 5-29

The Polis Center

Map 5: The United Brethren, unlike other Pennsylvania German groups, were as strong in central and southern Indiana as they were in northern Indiana.

Map 6: Unlike the United Brethren, the other Bush Meeting Deutsch group, the Evangelical Association were clustered in northern Indiana.

Percent Presidential Vote for Republican Party (Lincoln) - 1860

- 0 to 18%
- 30 to 39%
- 40 to 49%
- 50 to 72%

Map 7: Lincoln was strong in northern and central Indiana but weak in southern Indiana.

Map 8: Pennsylvania German religious groups were stronger in northern Indiana than central and southern Indiana.

Endnotes

1 G. M. Ludwig, *The Influence of the Pennsylvania Dutch in the Middle West* (Allentown, PA: Pennsylvania Folklore Society, 1945), 7-8. George M. Ludwig (1896-1959) was born and raised in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and served as a pastor in the United Evangelical Church (and then in the Evangelical Church, see n.45, below) in Stark County, Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; and Johnson County, Iowa; see autobiographical comments in ibid., 13, 16.

2 Richard Power, Corn Belt Culture: The Impress of the Upland Southerner and the Yankee in the Old Northwest (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1953).

3 For example, Steven M. Nolt, "Finding a Context for Mennonite History: Pennsylvania German Ethnicity and the (Old) Mennonite Experience, Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage 21:4 (October 1998): 2-14.

4 Simon J. Bronner and Joshua R. Brown, eds., Pennsylvania Germans: An Interpretive Encyclopedia (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2017).

5 For an introduction to Pietism in a Pennsylvania German context, see John B. Frantz, "To the New World: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 135-44, in Bronner and Brown, eds, Pennsylvania Germans.

6 On the practical political distinctions between southwestern German Pietism and Halle Pietism, see A. G. Roeber, Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 62-94. Occasionally, tension emerged in colonial Pennsylvania between congregants who embraced southwestern German Pietism and a Lutheran pastor sent from Europe who understood his ministry in terms of Halle Pietism, as documented in Mark Häberlein, The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730-1820 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009).

7 For example, Douglas H. Shantz, An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 117-44.

8 Bruce Bigelow and Fred Yaniga, "The Cultural Geography of the Pennsylvania Germans in Antebellum Indiana: A Preliminary Sketch of an Underappreciated Contribution to Hoosier Culture," Journal of the Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences 7 (2003): 130-45.

9 Mark Louden, Pennsylvania Dutch: The History of an American Language (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2016).

10 Thomas L. Purvis, "Patterns of Ethnic Settlement in late Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine 70 (1987): 107-122. See also, Aaron S. Fogleman, Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

11 Jan Stivermann and Oliver Scheiding, eds., A Peculiar Mixture: German-Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth-Century North America (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 4; Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, "American Religion in 1776: A Statistical Report," Sociological Analysis 49 (1988): 39-51.

12 Patrick Griffin, The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots-Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); James Leyburn, The Scotch-Irish: A Social History (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1962).

13 James T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

14 These developments have been recounted in various studies, but an excellent recent account is Patrick Spero, Frontier Country: The Politics of War in Early Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

15 Steven M. Nolt, Foreigners in Their Own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002); Thomas D. Hamm, "The Middle Colonies, 1680-1730," in Stephen J. Stein, ed., The Cambridge History of American Religions (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), Volume 1, 303-327.

16 Gregory Rose, "The Southern Midwest as Pennsylvania Extended," East Lakes Geographer 24 (1988): 53-70.

17 Hubert Wilhelm, The Origin and Distribution of Settlement Groups: Ohio, 1850 (Athens, OH: Department of Geography, Ohio University, 1982); Timothy G. Anderson, "The Creation of an Ethnic Culture Complex: Pennsylvania Germans in Central Ohio, 1790-1850," Historical Geography 29 (2001): 135-157.

18 D. W. Meinig, The Shaping of America: Volume Two, Continental America, 1800-1867 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993).

19 Robert Ensminger, The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origins, Evolution and Distribution in North America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

20 Daniel Elazar, The American Mosaic: The Impact of Space, Time, and Culture on American Politics (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994).

21 Elfrieda Lang, "Ohioans in Northern Indiana Before 1850," Indiana Magazine of History 49 (1953): 391-404.

22 Gregory Rose, "The County Origins of Southern Michigan's Settlers: 1800-1850," East Lakes Geographer 22 (1987): 74-87.

23 Hubert G. H. Wilhelm, "The Road as a Corridor for Ideas," 257-284, in Karl Raitz, ed., The National Road (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). The physical characteristics noted by Wilhelm are detailed in Wilbur Zelinsky, "The Pennsylvania Town: An Overdue Geographical Account," Geographical Review 67 (1977): 127-47. It is interesting that Zelinsky defines the area of the Pennsylvania Town closely to that of the core of the Pennsylvania Germans prior to 1860, but does not use the term Pennsylvania German Town, possibly because of the presence of Scots-Irish residents in some places. On migration, see also Elfrieda Lang, "Immigration to Northern Indiana, 1800-1850," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Indiana University, June 1950.

24 This route was recounted by John E. "Hansi" Bontrager who made the trek as a young boy. See John E. Borntregar, Eine Gerschichte der ersten Ansidelung der Amischen Mennoniten und die Grüdung ihrer ersten Gemeinde im Staate Indiana (Elkhart, IN: Mennonite Pub. Co., 1907).

25 The surname analysis was conducted by Bruce Bigelow.

26 An eighth Pennsylvania German group, the Moravians, had only one church in Indiana in 1860. It was located in Hope, in Bartholomew County in southern Indiana. Moravians were also Pietistic but originated in the southeastern German province of Saxony and were more oriented toward Halle-inspired Pietism, in contrast to the Pietism of southwestern Germany. Moravian leader Count Nicholas von Zinzindorf cultivated historical connections to the ancient Hussite Unitas Fratrem, or Bohemian Brethren, dating back to the reformer Jan Hus in the early fifteenth century. Under the influence of the great European revival in Silesia in 1707 and the preaching of John Steinmetz among religious refugees in Silesia in the 1720s, revival spread to the Moravian colony at Herrnhut in Saxony and from that base through Europe to North America and beyond in the decades after the 1730s. Their headquarters in nineteenth-century North America was in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. See Charles T. Biggs, Martin Hauser and the Moravian Economy of Hope, Indiana, 1829-1836, Master's Thesis, Indiana Central University, 1972; as well as W. R. Ward, The Protestant Evangelical Awakening (Oxford University Press, 1992) and J. Steven O'Malley, The Origin of Wesleyan Theological Vision for Christian Globalization and the Pursuit of Pentecost: Early Pietist Revivalism (Lexington, KY: Emeth Press, 2019).

27 Richard E. Wentz, ed., Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Spirituality (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1993).

28 Paul Hoover, My Memories in Poetry and Prose: Life at Five Points, (Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1996), 171; Bruce Bigelow and Fred Yaniga, "Henry Harbaugh: Defining the Landscape of the Pennsylvania German Cultural Homeland," Journal of the Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences 12 (2008): 159-71.

29 Don Yoder, "The Dutchman and the Deitschlenner: The New World Confronts the Old," Yearbook of German-American Studies (Lawrence, KS: Society for German-American Studies, 1988), 1-17. Kathleen Neils Conzen has argued that the German immigrants of the nineteenth century "invented" ethnicity in America by resisting assimilation and thereby contributing to the nation's emerging cultural pluralism. If so, the Pennsylvania Germans were the first ethnic group in America and began making that contribution even earlier. See Conzen's essay "The Invention of Ethnicity," 131-47, in Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three Hundred Year History. Volume 1: Immigration, Language, Ethnicity (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985). See also Giles Hoyt, "Germans," 146-81, in Robert Taylor, Jr. and Connie McBirney, eds., Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996); L.C. Rudolph, Hoosier Faiths: A History of Indiana's Churches and Religious Groups (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995); Thomas D. Hamm, "Heaven and Hell on the Wabash: The State of Indiana Religious History," 225-48, in Robert Taylor, Jr., ed., The State of Indiana History 2000 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 2001); James H. Madison, Hoosiers: A New History of Indiana (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2014), 196-98.

30 An early volume in which Yoder used these categories was his Pennsylvania Spirituals (Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania Folklore Society, 1961). Evangelical Church pastor G. M. Ludwig, quoted at the beginning of this essay, preferred the term bekehrte Leit (converted people) rather than Bush Meeting Dutch; see Ludwig, Influence of the Pennsylvania Dutch, 41.

31 John B. Frantz, "Religion," 131-47, in Bronner and Brown, eds., Pennsylvania Germans. For

considerably more detail, see Charles H. Glatfelter, Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793, vol. 2: The History (Breinigsville, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1981).

32 Communication from Joel Thoreson, Archivist for Management, Reference, and Technology," Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Elk Grove Village, IL.

33 Communication from Rev. Mark Loest, Assistant Director for Reference and Museum, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO.

34 Communication from Richard Taylor, consultant for the Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society, Lancaster, PA. By 1860, a number of Pennsylvania-based German Reformed congregants in Indiana had aligned with the new Evangelical Synod, a denomination of German immigrants who had arrived in the 1840s and settled across the Midwest, including in the southwestern quarter of Indiana. The Evangelical Synod had 56 churches distributed in all parts of the state, but concentrated in the southwest region around Evansville. See Richard Taylor, Congregations of the German Evangelical Synod in North America and Related Groups (Self-published, 1988) and Richard Taylor, Congregations of the German Reformed Church of the United States (Self-published, 2020.)

35 The Heidelberg Catechism (Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1963).

36 David Dunn, et al., A History of the Evangelical and Reformed Church (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1990). On the Pietist, "old church" faction, see James I. Good, History of the Reformed Church in the United States in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1911). Also see Charles Yrigoyen, "Mercersburg's Quarrel with Methodism," Methodist History 22:1 (1983): 3-19 and "Methodism Condemned: John Williamson Nevin's Accusations," Methodist History 39:1 (2000): 44-59.

37 Opponents labeled adherents Anabaptists (meaning re-baptizers), charging them with illegally baptizing individuals a second time since the movement's early converts would have been baptized as Catholic infants in the years before the Reformation. The Anabaptists contended that their infant baptisms had been meaningless.

38 Richard K. MacMaster, Land, Piety, Peoplehood: The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in America, 1683-1790 (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1985), 157-182; Steven M. Nolt, A History of the Amish, 3rd ed. (New York: Good Books, 2015), 26-49, 72-80.

39 Donald F. Durnbaugh, Fruit of the Vine: A History of the Brethren, 1708-1995 (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1997), 23-86.

40 Historical data provided by Steven Nolt. Not included in this count are several Indiana Amish and Mennonite churches comprised of 1850s immigrants from Europe and who did not share a Pennsylvania German heritage.

41 The Brethren Encyclopedia, Vol. 1 (Philadelphia, PA: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1983).

42 J. Steven O'Malley, Pilgrimage of Faith: The Legacy of the Otterbeins (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1973); Yoder, Pennsylvania Spirituals.

43 J. Steven O'Malley, Touched By Godliness: Bishop John Seybert and the Evangelical Heritage (Westborough, MA: Granite Press, 1984).

44 The Evangelical Association's subsequent history illustrates something of the tension that developed between its German-language commitments and its ecumenical evangelical orientation. The years 1891-1922 saw a split between the eastern and western sectors of the denomination from 1891-1922, when the East Pennsylvania Conference seceded to form a new denomination called the United Evangelical Church. It is relevant to this study that this division occurred at a General Conference co-meeting at its Indianapolis congregation, as well as in Philadelphia, in 1891. The Indianapolis meeting represented the more "western" sectors of the denomination, then concentrated among newer German immigrant communities in the Midwest. The United Evangelicals reunited with the Evangelical Association in 1922 by dropping their German name "Evangelische Gemeinschaft (Association)" to form the Evangelical Church, then developed into a global church with work in Germany, Africa and Asia. By that time, United Brethren in Christ were also operating in Africa, Asia and Latin America on dozens of mission fields, from their base in Dayton, Ohio. In 1946 the Evangelical Church joined with the Church of the United Brethren in Christ at a uniting General Conference in Johnstown, Pennsylvania to form the Evangelical United Brethren Church (EUB), a denomination with three quarters of a million members in North America alone. The EUB had a twenty-one year history, followed by their union with the Methodist Church in 1968 in Dallas, Texas to form the United Methodist Church.

45 Communication from Randy Neumann, archivist at Huntington University in Huntington, IN. Neumann also provided data for the United Brethren in Christ. Also see Edward Ohms, "The Language Problem in the Evangelical Association," Methodist History 24:4 (1987): 222-238.

46 Research by J. Steven O'Malley on the origins of the United Brethren in Christ include the following titles: "The Distinctive Witness of the Evangelical United Brethren Confession of Faith in Comparison with the Methodist Articles of Religion," in Dennis M. Campbell, William B. Lawrence and Russell E. Richey, eds., Doctrines and Disciplines, Volume 3 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 19-54; Hans Schneider, ed., Gerald T. MacDonald, trans. German Radical Pietism (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2007); translator, "William Otterbein Stresses Repentance in a Sermon at the Conference of German Reformed Preachers in Philadelphia (1793), in The Methodist Experience in America: A Sourcebook, Russell E. Richey, Kenneth E. Rowe, Jean Miller Schmidt, eds, Vol. II (Nashville: Abingdon, 2000), 45-47; with Jason E. Vickers, eds, Methodists and Pietists: Retrieving the Evangelical United Brethren Tradition (Nashville: Kingswood, 2011); "The Evangelical United Brethren Church: A History," in William J. Abraham, James E. Kirby, eds, The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies (Oxford, 2009), 104-121; On the Journey Home: Mission History of the Evangelical United Brethren Church, in The History of United Methodist Missions Series, The Board of Global Ministries (New York: Sunshine Press, 2003); The Origin of the Wesleyan Theological Vision for Christian Globalization and the Pursuit of Pentecost in Early Pietist Evangelicalism (Lexington, KY: Emeth, 2019).

47 Over thirty United Brethren in Christ churches established in Harrison County attributed their origins to Pfrimmer, a physician turned lay preacher who also began the first Sunday school in the state of any denomination. See the account of Pfrimmer in A.W. Drury, History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ (Dayton, OH: Otterbein Press, 1924).

48 These patterns, in some sense, predated the denomination's history in Indiana. In Pennsylvania during the early republic, where the United Brethren spread south into Maryland and Virginia, and into western Pennsylvania, areas of great mixture with English-speaking, whereas the strength of the Evangelical Association lay further north in the Pennsylvania German heartland. Unpublished research of Richard Taylor, consultant for the Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society, Lancaster (PA) Theological Seminary.

49 Adam Condo, History of the Indiana Conference of the United Brethren in Christ (n.p.: Indiana Conference of the U.B.C., 1926); Augustus Wilmore, History of the White River Conference of the United Brethren in Christ (Dayton, OH: United Brethren Publishing House, 1925). Wilmore also included names of ministers for Lower Wabash Conference and Upper Wabash Conference. Reverend J. L. Luttrell, History of Auglaize Annual Conference of the United Brethren in Christ From 1853 to 1891 (Dayton, OH: United Brethren Publishing House, 1892); Harry Huffman, ed., The History of the Indiana Conference North of the Evangelical United Brethren (Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1968); Huffman includes a history of the St. Joseph Conference by G. T. Rosselot. See also E. W. Praetorius, ed., Historical Data and Life Sketches of the Deceased Ministers of the Indiana Conference of the Evangelical Association 1835 to 1915 (Cleveland: C. Hauser, 1915); Samuel H. Baumgartner, Historical Sketches of Circuits, Missions and Stations of the Indiana Conference of the Evangelical Association 1835 to 1922; edited by A. B. Haist and E. E. Roberts (n.p.: Indiana Conference, 1924).

50 Daniel Berger, History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ (Dayton, OH: Otterbein Press, 1913), 230-32.

51 Many Evangelical Association preachers in Indiana received training for ministry at the denomination's Northwestern Biblical Institute at Naperville, Illinois.

52 This pattern can be documented by the heavy subscription of United Brethren in Christ in Indiana to the Religious Telescope, and other missional publications emanating from the Otterbein Press at Dayton, Ohio. With its more egalitarian church polity (compared with Episcopal Methodists), United Brethren in Christ laity had a disproportionate representation in conference leadership at the state and general church levels, as well as in the active program of its Women's Missionary Association, which women of the church launched in the Civil War era.

53 For a detailed discussion of these narratives, see Drury, History and Raymond W. Albright, History of the Evangelical Church (Harrisburg, PA: Evangelical Publishing House, 1942).

54 The number of churches for some of the groups has been documented by Bruce Bigelow. See the following articles: "The Demographic and Cultural Prominence of the Methodist Episcopals in Indiana, 1801-1865," Journal for the Liberal Arts and Sciences (Fall 2012): 34-56; "Cultural Geography of Baptist Groups in Indiana during the Civil War Era," American Baptist Quarterly 25 (Summer 2006): 196-213; "Cultural Geography of African Americans in Indiana on the Eve of the Civil War," Black History News and Notes (2002): 4-7; "The Disciples of Christ in Antebellum Indiana: Geographical Indicator of the Border South," Journal of Cultural Geography 7:1 (1986): 49-58; "Geography of the New School Presbyterians of Indiana in 1850: A Puzzling Map," coauthored with Gregory Rose, Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Social Science (1985): 85-90. The data for all groups of churches and members is not from the U.S. Census but from national or regional denominational

centers, except for the Churches of Christ, including the Disciples of Christ, who were so decentralized that complete data of churches could not be obtained.

55 Carl F. Bowman, Brethren Society: The Cultural Transformation of a "Peculiar People" (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 6-8, and 95-131. A German Baptist Brethren leader who personified this dynamic was James Quinter (1816-1888). A Brethren convert himself, Quinter was from eastern Pennsylvania but exerted much influence in the denomination after moving to Ohio, where he championed evangelism and mission. He died while in prayer at a Brethren annual conference in North Manchester, Indiana. See an essay on Quinter by William Kostlevy, Church of the Brethren archivist, Elgin, IL, at http://www.brethren.org/bhla/hiddengems/james-quinter.html.

56 Christian Newcomer, The Life and Journal of Reverend Christian Newcomer (Hagerstown, Maryland: F.G.W. Kapp, 1834).

57 Donald Gorrell, "'Ride a Circuit or Let It Alone': Early Practices that Kept the United Brethren, Albright People and Methodists Apart," Methodist History 23:1 (1986): 4-16.

58 J. A. Byerly, "The Pleasant Hill Diary of Henry County, Indiana," Unpublished, 1917.

59 Jan Stievermann, "Defining the Limits of American Liberty," 207-45, in Stievermann and Scheiding, eds., A Peculiar Mixture.

60 Judith Ridner, The Scots Irish of Early Pennsylvania: A Varied People (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2018), 75-94.

61 Philip Shriver Klein, Pennsylvania Politics, 1817-1832: A Game without Rules (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1940), 363. Brumbaugh was also a Church of the Brethren lay minister, though his involvement in worldly politics was frowned on in church circles and he became somewhat marginal in the denomination.

62 Charles McCool Snyder, The Jacksonian Heritage: Pennsylvania Politics, 1833-1848 (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historic and Museum Commission, 1958).

63 James Huston, "Economic Change and Political Alignment in Antebellum Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 113 (1989): 347-395.

64 An interesting theme that has arisen from this political analysis in Pennsylvania and Indiana is the rivalry between Scots-Irish and the Germans. They were the two main ethnic blocs in Pennsylvania, and then they were two of the second tier groups numerically in Indiana behind Southerners. Leyburn, The Scotch-Irish, 191, believed more could be investigated on this ethnic rivalry.

65 Richard Jensen, The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888-1896 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1971); Paul Kleppner, The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1900 (New York: Free Press, 1970).

66 Communication from Joe A. Springer, Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College, August 2018; James O. Lehman and Steven M. Nolt, Mennonites, Amish, and the American Civil War (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2007), 22-42. Back in Pennsylvania, the Mennonites and even the more separatist Amish seem to have been more active in local civic life than they were in Indiana, apparently finding a comfortable place in the congenial ethnic milieu provided by Lutheran and German Reformed neighbors who numerically dominated their communities.

67 Correlation analysis was conducted by Bruce Bigelow.

68 Bruce Bigelow, "Who Voted for Lincoln in Indiana? The Voting Behavior of Ethno-Religious Groups in the Presidential Elections of 1860 and 1864," Journal of the Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences (2005): 29-39.

69 Martin Luther, "Freedom of a Christian," 42-85, in John Dillenberger, ed., Martin Luther: Selections from his Writings (New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1961).

70 Amy E. Black, ed., Five Views on the Church and Politics (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2015).

71 Michael Conzen, "Homelands: A Dissenting View," 194-306, in Richard Nostrand and Lawrence Estaville, Homelands: A Geography of Culture and Place Across America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2001).

72 Lloyd Douglas, Time to Remember (Chicago: People's Book Club, 1951), 148. It is likely that there were other connections than to Pennsylvania with islands of Pennsylvania Germans such as eastern Ohio, southwestern Ontario, and western Virginia, creating an archipelago. See Michael Conzen, "The German-Speaking Ethnic Archipelago in America" in Klaus Frantz and Robert Sanders, ed., Ethnic Persistence and Change in Europe and America (Innsbruck: University of Innsbruck Press. 1996), 67-92.

73 Jay Sexton, A Nation Forged by Crisis: A New American History (New York: Basic Books, 2018), 175-198.

74 Will Herberg, Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1955).

75 Donald B. Kraybill, Steven M. Nolt, and Edsel Burdge, Jr., "Language Use among Anabaptist Groups," 108-30, in Bronner and Brown, eds., Pennsylvania Germans.

76 Steve Nolt, "A Two-Kingdom People in a World of Multiple Identities: Religion, Ethnicity and American Mennonites," Mennonite Quarterly Review 73 (July 1999): 496-500; Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins (New York, Oxford University Press, 1964).