THE INDIANA IDEA: THOUGHTS ON HOOSIER CULTURE

In 1913, just three years before Indiana's centennial celebration, Charles Walker wrestled with the term Hoosier, observing that the idea furnished "an interesting sociological study." The initial meaning of Hoosier was not a kind one, nor did it apparently originate in Indiana. Walker asserted that the term was "doubtless of old English origin, and was used in some parts of the South [mostly the southern Piedmont region] at an early day, locally and colloquially, to designate an uncouth, boorish person." The name was later bestowed on people living in Indiana by outsiders and initially carried a strong negative connotation. Indiana Hoosiers were said to be especially backward and rustic. Eventually however, state citizens came to consider the label as a positive one. At the time Walker wrote his piece in 1913, the state was considered economically, socially and culturally progressive. "Indianians," Walker noted, "accepted the name 'Hoosier' and proceeded to glorify it."[2] The state's progressive tendencies, however, would eventually fade.

In 1947, journalist John Bartlow Martin argued that the term Hoosier was "better known in the United States than any other local nickname save 'Yankee.'" Martin went on to examine, in his book, *Indiana: an Interpretation,* why a state once so progressive had turned so "provincial."[3] Martin thought he saw an inclination among Hoosiers to "whittle everything down to Hoosier size," a tendency he believed "went back to the dim years when the term Hoosier "meant a scorned, unlettered rustic." Martin ended his study, however, by pointing out that the state's culture was in fact complex and that the "Indiana idea, the conception of the state as a bucolic place inhabited by pleasant, simple, neighborly folk, contains a great deal of mythology."[4]

Other studies of Indiana and the region also lend important clues regarding the development and nature of Indiana culture. Such studies pointed out how the southern tier of the Old Northwest Territory—Ohio, Indiana and Illinois—were settled initially by upland southerners from the Piedmont region.[5] These

settlers have been labeled by historians as "southern plain folk" or "upland southerners" and swept into the Old Northwest from the Carolina and Georgia frontiers, often stopping in Tennessee and/or Kentucky for short periods on their treks north. [6] The cultural beliefs and practices of this unique group had been profoundly shaped by their experiences on the harsh frontier of the hilly and isolated Piedmont region of the Southeast United States. Paul Angle, an academic most famous for his Lincoln scholarship, described the core nature of the upland people in the southern tier of the Old Northwest by observing they "were generous, hospitable, hardy, independent, brave, and intelligent, but undisciplined by education. . . . Almost without exception they were hot-blooded, proud, obstinate, jealous of family honor, and quick to return an insult."[7] Personal accounts of non-upland settlers and travel accounts of visitors to the region when the area was a harsh frontier often portrayed uplanders as lazy and uninterested in any type of progress.[8]

The dominance of upland culture in Indiana would eventually end. A wave of hard working and more sophisticated Yankee immigrations would overpower the backwoods cultural practices of the original frontier settlers. These New England settlers, in time, changed much of the cultural landscape of the five states that made up the Old Northwest Territory, dulling the impact of the less educated and less sophisticated frontier people from the southern Piedmont. Some historians described this process as "Yankee cultural imperialism."[9] There was, however, one powerful regional exception to Yankee successes. Richard Power noted, in *Planting Corn Belt Culture,* that southern Indiana/Illinois "more than any other area of the north became an outpost of Southern folkways which the Yankees could not quite understand or modify."[10] One might also argue that the power of southern upland folkways seemed to have lingered in all of Hoosierdom longer than in any other Midwest state. Some historians have, for example, pointed out that Indiana was and remains the most southern of northern states.[11]

Early travel accounts, personal letters and diary entries show that to New Englanders, the Ohio, Indiana and Illinois frontiers were full of illiterate people who lived in crude log cabins, "swarming with half-naked children."[12] John Wright, a visitor from New England, related that "The inhabitants are, mostly, of

indolent slovenly habits, devoting the chief part of their time to hunting, and drinking whiskey, and appear to be a meager, sickly, spiritless and unenterprising race." They were contented, Wright observed, "to live in log-cabins, containing only one room, with the chimney on the outside, and five or six lusty dogs within." Wright added that these clannish frontier folks looked "with malicious, scowling eyes on the New England men who settle among them."[13]

Frontier people did indeed resent attempts by New Englanders to bring unwanted change and offered fierce resistance to such interference. A letter appearing in a southern Indiana frontier newspaper, for example, described the New England settler as "by no means as perfect as he thinks himself" and possessing "an itch for improving his acquaintances."[14] It was this lacking of cultural understanding and appreciation which drove New England people to try and change upland ways in areas such as farming, education and religion, and, in turn, which drove uplanders to resist. Connecticut native Solon Robinson, who would dedicate his life to improving Hoosier farming, complained in an article in the *American Agriculturist* that Indiana upland farmers and their "indolent" ways were "the worst epidemic that ever raged in any country."[15] On the other hand, uplanders thought little of Yankee farming ideas. The famous frontier circuit riding Methodist preacher, Peter Cartwright, who worked the states of Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, had much to say in his autobiography about Yankee farming after his visit to Boston, most of it negative.

> It would make a western man laugh, in spite of his gravity, to hear a New Englander talk of his great farm, containing all of two acres, and hear him tell how much it cost to remove stone off the farm, how much to manure it, how much to cultivate it; then sowing of the products, the marketing it, and the real product in cash. They will really talk scientifically about it.[16]

Education stood as another area of conflict between the two cultures in Indiana. Many New Englanders, such as Calvin Fletcher, who came to frontier Indiana as young men from Vermont, spent much of their energies trying to improve the

state's school, often to little avail. Fletcher, for example, had made arrangements with a former governor of Vermont to send several New England female teachers to Indianapolis to help improve the poor teaching efforts in the schools there. "Our children are badly taught," he wrote in his diary, when children came under the direction of poorly trained local Hoosier teachers. Fletcher believed Indiana stood, because of its terrible educational system, as "the most ignorant free state in the union."[17] Conversely, many frontier uplanders thought formal schooling of little practical use, as it often caused people to make things more complicated than they actually were. It deeply disturbed the divisive frontier preacher, Daniel Parker, for example, that New England Baptist leadership thought that education was the only qualification for preaching. Parker believed education "a great common blessing in its place," but then added, "Abraham had no knowledge that a seminary of learning . . . was essential to accomplish his work."[18]

Speaking of the cultural realm of religion, New England folks who came to the Indiana frontier expected to hear college trained ministers who would preach well prepared, written, intellectual sermons. Church services among these folks were formal affairs. This certainly did not happen on the frontier with upland ministers and their congregations. An English visitor to pioneer Indiana, for example, gave this description of a local Princeton, Indiana Baptist minister's preaching style. "Wildly throwing about his arms, he made the maddest gesticulations, for the space of two hours, ever seen in a man professing sanity."[19] Indeed, frontier people expected a rip-roaring, extemporaneous sermon from the heart. Educated clergy was highly suspected by frontier folks. One frontier minister explained that backwoods people wanted ministers who "could mount a stump, a block, an old log, or stand in the bed of a wagon, and without a note or manuscript, quote, expound, and apply the word of God to the hearts and consciences of the people."[20]

One might reason from the above examples that conflict and struggle between progressive ideas and frontier status quo has had much to do with the development of Hoosier culture. This seemed to be true in several cultural arenas. The following pieces chosen for this special issue of the *JLAS* certainly support this notion.

Historian James Madison observed how in 1840 Indiana ranked last among all the northern states and behind four southern states in literacy.[21] In the journal's first offering, Teresa Baer, of the Indiana Historical Society examines the state's early struggles to create a working public school system in spite of great resistance. She notes several important elements in her contribution to this issue.

> The strong initial resistance to public schools in Indiana raises two important questions: Who were the supporters of a centralized, tax-based, common school system in Indiana, and why did they want to create it? By examining the backgrounds of the state's public school promoters and their rhetoric in published sources such as speeches, political debates, and newspaper articles, we can gain an understanding of the people involved and the reasons why they pushed for the creation of a public school system.

Baer's work, I believe, suggests the ongoing tension during this time between the ranks of those Hoosiers who still held on to many of the ideas of upland culture and those Hoosiers whose ideas were more influenced by other progressive traditions, especially those of New England natives such as Calvin Fletcher.

Bruce Bigelow, a professor at Butler University, investigates another area of cultural conflict in the Hoosier state, one that occurred in the area of religion. The journal is privileged to be able to share this work. Bigelow's research was supported by a prestigious CLIO grant from the Indiana Historical Society. (Bigelow has also been recognized by the Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences with the George C. Robert's Award for scholarship regarding the cultural regions of Indiana as of 1860). In this issue of the JLAS, Bigelow focuses upon the evolution of Methodists in Indiana from 1800 to 1865. The Methodist Episcopals, he observes "were easily the largest religious group in Indiana on the eve of the Civil War, numbering over 80,000 members. This was six per cent of the state population, and three times the size of any other denomination for which membership statistics is available for the time." What Bigelow

finds most intriguing is the movement during this time of many Methodist church members from Democratic Party support, a tendency typical of southern uplanders, to Republican leanings.

> By changing from the Democratic to the Republican Party, and thereby opposing the twin evils of slavery and the consumption of alcoholic beverages, the Methodists more than any other group defined what it meant to be a Hoosier culturally in the mid-nineteenth century. . . . Their political persuasion seemed to represent the dominant sentiments in Indiana at the time. In this sense one can argue that Methodists were the most Hoosier of denominations in number, attitude and behavior in the late Antebellum and Civil War eras.

In many ways, Bigelow's findings, like Baer's, suggest the first shift occurring in the state from an upland world view to a more urban "progressive" one.

Betty Bruther, a professor at Marian University, looks at the story of the founding of the Indiana women's reformatory system. She sadly laments that at that time, for most people in Indiana, prisoners in both men and women penitentiaries "were beyond redemption and servants of Satan, and so deserved to be imprisoned as if they were wild animals." Not everyone, however, felt this way. "The reformers," Bruther asserts, "believed otherwise. They thought that even the most depraved individual could be changed utterly through the application of proper discipline and the gospel of Jesus Christ." Again, we see the notion of progressive reform coming into play.

Kenneth Colburn, also a professor at Butler University, offers a provocative story in the cultural realm of labor, an account of Hoosier corporate welfarism doomed to failure. Under the leadership of its president, William P. Hapgood, the Columbia Conserve Company grew into a comprehensive experiment in industrial democracy which operated for a quarter of a century from 1917 to 1943. It stands as an important and mostly forgotten story which deserves telling. As Colburn points out,

Columbia received national and international recognition for such innovative achievements as a workers' council which managed the company, a profit- sharing and stock trust plan that resulted in majority ownership of the company by employees and various workers' benefits such as free comprehensive health coverage, a pension plan, and sickness and disability pay.

Finally in this issue, Douglas Dixon of Texas State University offers "an alternative to manhood studies of political gender rhetoric surrounding U.S. wartime policy and electoral politics." Specifically, Dixon examines one particular Hoosier soldier as a case study of masculine ideals. Dixon believes his work adds "to recent efforts by other scholars to enlarge the scope of masculine ideals, tapping new areas of men's lives, even as it drew on wartime soldier correspondence." The process, Dixon goes on to point out, was a complex matter. Thus, the historian must take into consideration local and regional elements.

The results of this case study suggested that this Korean War soldier from Indiana held to a mix of manhood ideals rooted in the unique historical context of family, work, religion, region, psychological development and changing societal norms. Private Doe did not fit neatly into stereotypical norms described by some historians but those that reflected his particularistic set of historical circumstances.

John Martin Bartlow wished his 1947 book on Indiana to capture a cultural sense of the state, an element he labeled the "Hoosier Idea."[22] The above studies suggest why capturing any sense of the Hoosier idea must take into account the historical tensions between upland southern culture and more urban progressive ideas.

Randy Mills, Editor
Journal for the Liberal Arts and Sciences

Notes

[1] "Indiana leads the van in the completeness of her confidence in woman's powers" from the "Paper Read at the Annual Meeting of the National Prison Congress, Saratoga Springs, New York, September 6th to 10th, 1884", 173-189, in Mary Coffin Johnson (editor) *Rhoda M. Coffin: Her Reminiscences, Addresses, Papers and Ancestry* (New York: The Grafton Press, 1910), 175.

[2] Charles M. Walker, "Concerning the Hoosier," *The Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* 9(1) (1913): 23, 27, 30.

[3] John Bartlow Martin, *Indiana: An Interpretation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), vii-viii.

[4] Ibid., 278, 276.

[5] Nicole Etcheson, *The Emerging Midwest: Upland Southerners and the Political Culture of the Old Northwest* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

[6] Frank L. Owsley, "The Patterns of Migration and Settlement of the Southern Frontier," *Journal of Southern History*, XI (May 1945): 147-176, and Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949). Also, see Gregory S. Rose, "The Distribution of Indiana's Ethic and Racial Minorities in 1850," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 87(3) (1991): 224-260. For references to upland southerners see Richard Power, *Planting Corn Belt Culture: The Impress of the Upland Southerners and Yankee in the Old Northwest* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1953), and Nicole Etcheson, *The Emerging Midwest: Upland Southerners and the Political Culture of the Old Northwest*.

[7] Paul M. Angle, *Bloody Williamson: A Chapter in American Lawlessness* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 72-73.

[8] See Harlow Lindley, Editor, *Indiana As Seen by Early Travelers* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1916)for a number of interesting and rich travel accounts often describing Hoosiers.

[9] See Richard Powell, *Planting Corn Belt Culture*, 5-25.

[10] Ibid., viii-ix.

[11] James Madison, *The Indiana Way: A State History* (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press/Indiana Historical Society, 1990), 62.

[12] Elias Fordham, *Personal Narratives 1817 -1818* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), 120.

[13] John Wright, *Letters from the West* (Salem, NY: Dodd and Stevenson, 1819), 21, 34.

[14] This is found in a series of letters written by a visitor to southwest Indiana in the *Evansville Gazette*, beginning June, 4, 1823.

[15] Herbert Anthony Keller, ed., *Solon Robinson Pioneer and Agriculturist* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1936), 244; 284.

[16] W. P. Strickland, Ed., *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright* (Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham, 1856). 479.

[17] Gayle Thronbrough, Dorothy L Riker, and Paula Corpuz, eds., *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher*, Volume IV, (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1975), 303, and Volume V, 48.

[18] Daniel Parker, *A Public Address to the Baptist Society* (Vincennes: Stout and Osborn, 1820), 46, 18.

[19] In Ruben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Faux's Memorable Days in America: 1819-1820*. Volume XI, Part I (Cleveland: the Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), 285.

[20] W. P. Strickland, Ed., *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright,* 358.
[21] James Madison, *The Indiana Way,* 111.
[22] John Bartlow Martin, *Indiana: An Interpretation*, viii.

Loyalty, Morality, and Uniformity: Indiana's Search for a Cohesive Society through Public Schooling

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Imagine there are no public schools—no school buses to slow down rush-hour driving, no school buildings threatening to hike property taxes, no every day, formal gathering of our youngsters in one place—no public schools. Imagine instead that the children in our immediate neighborhoods visit one mother in the vicinity for a few hours each day during three or four months each year to learn how to read, write, do mathematics, and perhaps how to sew. The kids on the next block follow a similar plan—most of them convene at the local church with a church elder to learn these basic academic skills and to study the Bible, while the black kids all meet with one of the adults of *that* community a couple of times each week.

Of course, there are families in each of these neighborhoods that have the wherewithal to send their kids away to boarding schools or trade schools, depending on the kids' gender, their prospects in life, and their particular talents. At the turn of the nineteenth century these boarding schools were unlike any that we have today. They were often in a teacher's home, but homes in a grander style than neighborhood schools, where the students learned to be proper young gentlemen and ladies and received a classical education including geography, the history of western civilization, and Latin. After the less affluent youngsters of the era mastered the 3 R's, a few became apprenticed to local craftsmen and women, learning one of dozens of occupations such as blacksmithing or printing for boys, or spinning and weaving for girls. However, most of the older kids—in the age groups that we think of as teenagers today—simply worked as

laborers on their families' farms until they inherited or bought their own farmland.

Imagine Hoosier children in the early 1800s receiving some sort of early instruction in one of these ways, growing up independent of most other people their age. Imagine the varying levels of knowledge of the teachers involved in this hodgepodge of schools and the corresponding varying levels of education that each student received. Besides reading, writing, and arithmetic, what did all the children learn in common? How many views of the world did they possess? What loyalties did they acquire through their schooling? In today's slang, children coming through this non-system were all on different pages. Did that matter?

The early promoters of American common schools thought that it mattered a great deal. A public school system was one of the first proposals that Thomas Jefferson made to the Virginia Legislature after 1776 and he pushed the idea for the next thirty years. Jefferson stated that universal education was necessary for the establishment and maintenance of a republican government like that developing in the United States after the Revolution.[1] He held that all citizens should receive equal opportunity for education at the primary level, and that those with superior intellectual faculties should receive equal opportunities to achieve higher education regardless of class or wealth to ensure that those with natural intelligence and foresight would be trained and ready to lead the nation. Furthermore, Jefferson asserted that all citizens must obtain the knowledge necessary to safeguard the rights of individuals against the inevitable tyranny of government.[2] Enough statesmen such as John Adams and James Madison and educators such as Manasseh Cutler supported Jefferson's arguments that Article 3 of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 stated, "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be encouraged." The federal government set aside grants of land to be used for education; in Indiana the grant amounted to one section from every township and one-twentieth of the proceeds from the sale of public lands, which an as yet unformed state legislature was vested to control for the people of Indiana.

The educational provision in the Northwest Ordinance has been hailed as the "corner-stone of public education," but in reality, it was just a seed of an idea that the government could furnish the means to supply schools. On the western frontier where Indiana was forming, manifestation of the idea awaited the development of governing mechanisms, political ideals, and a perception of public needs that included a school system. Nevertheless, Article IX of Indiana's first state constitution of 1816 strongly upheld the Northwest Ordinance's stance on education. It ordered the Indiana General Assembly to administer the school lands so as to create a fund "for the exclusive purpose of promoting the interest of literature and the sciences, and for the support of seminaries and public schools." It was to pass laws "calculated to encourage intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvements: by promoting "arts, sciences, commerce, manufactures, and natural history," and by countenancing the principles of "humanity, honesty, industry and morality." Section 2 stated that the General Assembly was "as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a State University, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all." State government was to perform these duties because a free government required an educated populace. Jonathan Jennings, the president of the state's first constitutional convention and first governor of the State of Indiana, supported the school provision, stating that education sustains morals and restrains vice.[3]

Indiana's early legislators addressed the creation of a school system in 1816–17, 1821, 1824, and 1831, but with little effect. The first bill reflected broadly held post-revolutionary, democratic ideals, allowing settlers in a township to decide whether or not to create public schools, and allowing each set of township trustees to write the rules for the township school system. The state legislature appointed seven civic leaders to draft the second bill for an educational system that would be free and equally open to all children. The report resulted in a comprehensive law, which, while providing clear steps for townships to take to create schools, was permissive in granting township residents the initiative to start the process of school creation. If a township elected to create schools, an occurrence

that followed many steps, each requiring the consent of area householders, then guidance was provided to help township residents determine how to tax themselves—in money, labor, material, or some mix of the three—in order to build schoolhouses. The bill addressed the idea of teacher qualifications for the first time, but did not stipulate requirements for them.[4] The two bills that followed were in the same vein—adding steps to the procedure to start and maintain common schools.

These early bills failed for several reasons. The state government did not have money to support schools created by the laws and some township officials aggravated the problem by misappropriating school funds. As important as the funding problem was the failure of communities to enact the new laws. After statehood, settlers in Indiana were busy clearing the wilderness and building farms, mills, towns, and roads. They were far removed from the political movements for popular education that had been forming for decades in the East. Most settlers were familiar with the traditional methods of schooling at home and in churches and felt that parents and local communities bore the sole responsibility for educating children—because they always had.[5] In addition, education historian Carl Kaestle perceives that the early western settlers deeply resented the intrusion of the government into questions of educating their children and certainly into collecting taxes for public schools, intrusions that had little precedent in the western world.[6] As a result, few schools were actually built.

The strong initial resistance to public schools in Indiana raises two important questions: Who were the supporters of a centralized, tax-based, common school system in Indiana, and why did they want to create it? By examining the backgrounds of the state's public school promoters and their rhetoric in published sources such as speeches, political debates, and newspaper articles, we can gain an understanding of the people involved and the reasons why they pushed for the creation of a public school system. With this information, we can determine the functions that public schools, mandated by the representatives to the Indiana State Constitution Convention of 1850–51, were originally intended to serve for Hoosier society.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed an upsurge of legislative interest in public education in Indiana and surrounding states, which paralleled a growing public support for common schools. This support derived especially from politicians, educators, ministers, and business and social leaders. In his tenth message to the Indiana General Assembly the year following the 1824 School Act, Governor James B. Ray strongly urged the legislators to support a public school system by providing the financial means necessary to sustain it. The reasons he stated for doing so hearken back to Jefferson's idealism and forward to practical arguments that eventually persuaded Indiana to enact a comprehensive and workable school plan.

> There is no subject more worthy the attention of the representatives of a free people than that of providing means for the education of all classes of society, rich and poor together, in the same manner, at the same school. Nor is there a more effective method of suppressing vice and giving countenance to and encouraging the principles of humanity, industry, and morality; nor is there any better method of bringing native genius to light and usefulness. It is one of the first duties of a government as well as of an individual to provide the means necessary for their own existence. It has been well said that 'knowledge is power,' and that 'ignorance is a footstool to despotism.' Ours is, emphatically, a government of the people, and its very existence depends upon their virtue and intelligence. A well-educated people will always be virtuous. They only need to know their rights to protect and defend them.[7]

Ray's successor, Noah Noble, also advocated a school system in his 1831 inaugural address.

During the 1830s as Indiana's pioneer hardships receded, its population rapidly expanded, and its economy steadily developed, the state's political, religious, civic, and education leaders grew increasingly more supportive of a statewide school system. The first meeting of the Association for the Improvement of Common Schools in Indiana in September 1833 at a Methodist church in Madison, Indiana, highlights this support.

Leading citizens attended "who were a mix of Democrats and Whigs, natives of northern and southern states, and representatives . . . from at least the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist denominations." Nine ministers, seven governmental officials, and three medical doctors comprised two-thirds of the association's officers and board members. In a report prepared for the group, J. U. Parsons remarked that primary education, although a subject "of vital importance to society" had received little attention in any country at any time, and less in the sparsely settled regions of the United States where the few inhabitants had been busy taming the wilderness. He signaled that the time had come for action as the fame of America's Mississippi Valley had spread "over the whole civilized world," fixing it as a "rendezvous for their teeming millions . . . with all their diversities of social, civil, literary, and religious opinions and practices." Parsons explained "the interests of literature are left to suffer by want of sympathy and union of feeling and a concert of action."

From a circular that had been distributed to "township and district trustees and county commissioners" in various areas of rural Indiana, Parsons reported that approximately one Hoosier child in six could read, one in nine could write, one in sixteen had studied math, one in one hundred had studied geography, and one in one hundred and forty five had studied grammar. Parsons indicated two reasons for the state's lack of educated children: Many townships and districts had not enacted the state's school laws and there was a lack of good teachers. He stated that most of the state's teachers were incompetent because they did not have enough schooling themselves and they had never been taught how to teach. Nor did many of them possess "good moral character," a qualification Parsons equated with people who did not drink or cuss, who were not foreigners or low class, and who were not unprincipled. In closing, Parsons summed up the aims of the association, "We glory in forming a *Christian* institution. . . . May the time speedily come when no individual shall be found advancing to manhood destitute of an opportunity to acquire the knowledge necessary to qualify him for a sound patriot, a useful member of society, a faithful parent, and a consistent Christian."

The remarks of two government officials, N. B. Palmer and John Dumont, were also entered into the association's meeting minutes. Palmer urged Hoosiers to look past the novelty of

forging an education system, and both men echoed the post-revolutionary idea that education was necessary to sustain a republican government. Dumont added, "Ignorance and crime go hand in hand . . . the general dissemination of that intellectual light, amid which morality and religion can only flourish . . . will . . . lessen the taxes that are paid for the commission of crimes." He stated that education "would encourage science—increase happiness, and tend to elevate both the moral and intellectual character of the people." With Gov. Noble's support, the Association for the Improvement of Common Schools in Indiana lobbied successfully for an 1834 bill that established two teachers' training institutes.[8]

Secular and religious authors also began to speak out for public schools in the 1830s. One of these was John B. Dillon, an early Indiana historian. In his newspaper, the *Logansport Canal Telegraph*, Dillon made an eloquent plea for schools on 19 November 1836.

> If our union is still to continue to cheer the hopes and animate the efforts of the oppressed of every nation; if our fields are to be untrod by the hirelings of despotism; if long days of blessedness are to attend our country in her career of glory; if you would have the sun continue to shed his unclouded rays upon the face of freemen, then EDUCATE ALL THE CHILDREN OF THE LAND. This alone startles the tyrant in his dreams of power, and rouses the slumbering energies of an oppressed people. It was intelligence that reared up the majestic columns of national glory; and this and sound morality alone can prevent their crumbling to ashes.[9]

Following the permissive laws of 1816 through 1831, Indiana passed an 1832 law increasing school funds by authorizing the sale of the state's salt lands and lands belonging to non-residents whose taxes were delinquent. Detailed school acts of 1833 and 1836 decentralized Indiana's school system, bringing it into line with the majority of the American Northwest states' systems.[10] District trustees were granted important duties that township trustees had formerly performed, such as enumerating school-age children and hiring teachers. Each

householder was made responsible for fulfilling a contract with the district teacher for tuition, fuel, and other necessary items.[11] If a district had no common school, students could attend the closest school with money from their township's common school fund and some denominational schools like those of the Society of Friends were recognized as public schools and given funds from the common school treasuries. Furthermore, single householders could hire a qualified teacher, who would be paid from township funds, if district trustees failed to be elected.[12]

Decentralization was a chief obstruction to a cohesive public school system in Indiana after 1836. It engendered "diversified courses, uncertain school policies, arbitrary management, unequal privileges, local evasions of the law, [and] mismanagement of . . . funds."[13] On the other hand, it was also necessary that Hoosiers take responsibility for public schools in order for a statewide system to function successfully. The decentralized system gave time for grassroots support to grow among Hoosiers. Meanwhile, official interest in education waned for a decade after 1836 because Indiana went bankrupt enacting the Internal Improvement Bill of 1835–36. This document focused on creating a general canal system in Indiana, but the system collapsed almost immediately due to fraud, mismanagement, and an international economic crisis.[14] Lacking the means to support a statewide system of education, state conventions for school reform were suspended after 1839 and few school laws were passed between 1836 and 1847.

Nevertheless, support for public schools continued to grow, particularly within the state's education, business, and religious leadership. School supporters pushed increasingly for a comprehensive common school system that was universally available and compulsory, with courses of study that were regulated at state level, and with teachers of a high and uniform quality. In order to create such a coercive and costly system, they sought to create an educated, statewide bureaucracy and to procure substantial, permanent financial support. Approximately 250 public school advocates, calling themselves the "Friends of Common Education" held a convention in Indianapolis in January 1837. The composition of the group was nearly the same as the earlier Association for the Improvement of Common Schools— Whigs and Democrats, northerners and southerners, and

ministers from what were becoming mainstream Protestant denominations. This meeting, however, was chaired by Hoosiers of the highest standing—Gov. Noble, Andrew Wylie, President of Indiana College, and Judge Isaac Blackford of the Indiana Supreme Court. Claiming that "a good common education . . . lays the surest foundation for civil liberty, social order and private happiness," the conventioneers requested the Indiana General Assembly to enact several changes in school laws in accordance with the Prussian school system of the day, which was quickly becoming a model for the western world. Their requests included a board of public instruction, comprised of one member from each judicial district who would be responsible for education in his district, which would meet annually to make recommendations to the state legislature. The convention members asked for extensive information about schools, teachers, and expenses on reports by county boards of examiners. They suggested that no teachers collect debts due them by the state unless they were licensed by county examiners, the examiners to compose county boards of public instruction. They wanted all surplus state revenue to go to district schools and county seminaries. They stated that schools should be open four months each year instead of the usual three and that teachers should be certified for proficiency in each of five subject areas and for moral character. In addition, the convention members requested that school money be distributed according to the number of children between the ages of five and twenty in each district.

The Friends of Common Education argued that Indiana's future depended upon a school system such as they envisioned which would educate the young state's lawyers, physicians, ministers, teachers, and statesmen. Without such a system, they warned, ignorance would fill the state with crime and poverty. After the convention, the group sent out a circular to the Hoosier people, explaining their recommendations. Reiterating the 1833 association's findings, the circular identified two main challenges to the creation of a statewide school system—townships and districts that would not enact the school laws and a lack of qualified teachers. The circular urged communities to discuss the numerous advantages for a common school system, including the increase of happiness in individuals and families, the

enhanced vigor of cultivated minds, the improvement of societal relations, the advancement of prosperity, the protection of civil liberty, and the eternal welfare of people. At this time the group also solicited journalists and ministers, asking them to address the issue of education in their publications and sermons.

The Friends of Common Education met again at the end of 1837 and in January 1839, but attendance was modest. The group urged the state to fund a professorship at Indiana College to train teachers free of tuition, to use the Bible in common schools, and to install a state superintendent to gather information about the state's schools so that the legislature could improve them. The latter convention also appointed a committee to recommend books for school use and adopted a constitution for annual education conventions, which were suspended shortly thereafter due to Indiana's financial straits.[15]

Although the Friends' recommendations affected little in the way of legislation, the ensuing school bills marked the turn away from permissiveness. An 1837 bill ordered circuit courts to appoint three examiners who would certify annually the subjects each teacher was qualified to teach. It restricted the distribution of school funds unless a district provided a schoolhouse of sufficient size and with adequate lighting for the number of students, and it limited the amount of taxes a district could raise to $50 per household. An 1841 law allowed the extension of the school term past three months each year upon a vote of two-thirds of area householders. The School Bill of 1843 ordered the treasurer of the state to act as state superintendent of public schools by submitting the following information to the General Assembly on an annual basis: the condition and amount of school funds; the condition of the State University and other colleges and county seminaries; the number and condition of common schools; estimates and expenditures of public school monies; plans for the management of the school fund and the better organization of common schools; and general recommendations. The 1843 bill also made counties "locally responsible for the school funds in their custody, and for the uniform and timely payment of interest" on the funds.[16]

By the mid-1840s Indiana was beginning to climb out of the financial difficulties caused by the failure of its Internal Improvements Scheme. School reformers began once again to

gather and agitate for the creation of a state-regulated school system. Caleb Mills, Dartmouth graduate, Presbyterian minister, and professor at one of the state's first teaching colleges, later known as Wabash College, addressed the first of six messages to the State Legislature in 1846. His address, published by the Whig paper, the *Indiana State Journal*, on 8 December 1846, opened by advising the legislators of their responsibility to educate Indiana residents. Based on thorough research on school systems throughout the United States and Europe, it argued that an effective educational system would benefit the entire state—different social classes, civil and religious institutions, individuals, and the economy. It supplied statistics about the literacy rate in Indiana and offered extensive recommendations for changing Indiana's educations laws. Mills insisted on taxation of all classes, stating that schools would be of greater pecuniary advantage to the wealthy than to the poorer classes and so, should be paid, in part, by them. His suggestions included equalization of township congressional funds across counties; state and county superintendents of education; and the training of teachers by state colleges.[17]

Governor James Whitcomb and State treasurer/school superintendent Royal Mayhew also addressed the 1846–47 Legislature. Whitcomb called education "a sacred debt" that state leaders owed to every Hoosier child. Mayhew reported that 64 percent of Indiana's children lacked a common school or teacher. Both men recommended the appointment of a state superintendent of schools, and Mayhew suggested a state tax for funds that would be available only to districts that raised matching amounts of money.[18]

Pursuant to the appeals by Mills, Whitcomb, and Mayhew, the Indiana General Assembly called for a state common school convention at Indianapolis to determine how best "to promote common school education" in Indiana. Two prominent Hoosiers arranged the convention: Calvin Fletcher, Methodist, Whig, banker, teacher, and lawyer; and Henry Ward Beecher, Congregationalist minister, national author and lecturer, and newspaper editor. The *Indiana State Journal* strongly supported the convention on 24 May 1847, stating "It is the laying the very corner stone of the durability of the republic; the commencement of a system of free schools, by which every child in the State is

benefitted upon an equality—can read its own destiny and the design for which it was sent into the world."[19]

Approximately 300 people attended the convention from 25–28 May 1847, among them Whitcomb and Mills. Blackford, who was an Indiana Supreme Court Judge at this time, presided. The convention appointed two committees, the first to distribute an address about education to Indiana citizens and the second to prepare a bill for the legislature. The seven members of the first committee described the sad state of Indiana schools, which needed healthful, comfortable schoolhouses, vastly increased attendance, and competent teachers. They proposed free schools for all, a general tax, raised and standardized teachers' qualifications and compensation, and a superintendent of schools. Their address used several arguments to support the convention's recommendations. It called upon Hoosiers' patriotism, taking up Jefferson's argument that a republic required its citizens to be educated morally, intellectually, financially, and physically in order to endure. It told Hoosiers that education was their duty to the upcoming generation, trying to persuade them that common schools would give their children equal starts in lives of usefulness and honor and nurture their children's talents and enterprise. It quoted statistics that showed that crime cost twice as much as an effective school system, declaring that Indiana's uneducated masses were "elements for mobs, for repudiating State debts, [and] for filling our penitentiary, poor houses and jails." It stated that teachers exerted more influence on the minds of youngsters than the press, clergy, or legislators, and should be of an elevated character. The committee supported their arguments with extensive information about U.S. and European schools, and distributed 1,000 copies of the address throughout Indiana.[20]

Fletcher, Judge Amory Kinney, and O. H. Smith comprised the second committee, which made two major proposals to the State Legislature: increase the administrative supervision of schools at county and state levels and raise a substantial tax for schools that would be payable in money only. Although not stated overtly, the legislative committee also asked that the school system be made compulsory by charging penalties against any administrative levels that failed to properly perform their duties. In addition, the committee suggested that the

Indiana General Assembly pass an education bill, but let the voters decide whether to accept or reject it.[21]

Caleb Mills's second message to the legislature cited statistics from the 1840 federal census, showing that one-seventh of Indiana adults were illiterate. Besides reiterating many of his former arguments and supporting the convention's recommendations, Mills spoke to the business and economic interests in the state by talking about the relationship between education and labor. He showed that education produced more skilled workers, gave individuals the knowledge and moral character to succeed at supervisory and highly skilled positions, and stated that individuals with common school educations earned more money on average than persons without this advantage. Mills also spoke about religion, observing that biblical principles were inherent and inseparable from American civil institutions and should be included in the teaching of common schools and other institutes of learning. In order to educate all Hoosiers about schools, Mills published his second address in 1848 with a bibliography concerning education.[22]

The State Legislature failed to act upon the vigorous recommendations of the 1847 convention because Indiana could not afford to support a system such as the conventioneers outlined. However, the legislature determined to make the issue of education a referendum item in the election of 1848 and it called for another statewide convention. The most pressing concern of the 1848 education convention, which met in Indianapolis in May, was the upcoming referendum. It devised several strategies to persuade Hoosiers to vote in support of schools. Judge Kinney was appointed to travel throughout Indiana to learn about Indiana's local schools and to give speeches about free schools. Kinney visited many Indiana counties, sharing the podium with local speakers who also addressed the issue of a school system. In addition, Kinney published a report detailing the need for teacher training, free schools, taxes to support schools, administrative superintendence of schools, and libraries. Fletcher contacted newspaper editors throughout the state asking their assistance in persuading Hoosiers about the advantages of a free school system. Reverend E. R. Ames, who presided over the convention, and six other convention members drafted another

address to people in Indiana.[23] In addition, two education periodicals, the *Common School Advocate* and the *Indiana School Journal*, supported the work of the school promoters and the education conventions at the end of the 1840s.[24]

On the first Monday in August 1848, the State Legislature asked Hoosiers to cast votes for or against the creation of a tuition-free school system for all Indiana children; and for or against a tax in an amount large enough that the funds it raised, together with existing school funds, would support schools in all Indiana school districts for three to six months each year. In his diary, Fletcher stated the reasons he thought Hoosiers would vote against the measure: "The wealthiest will not consent[,] that is some of them[,] not to pay the tax & the Ignorant have been told by the demagogue that they do not need any further intelligence[,] that the masses are rich[,] are soverign & between them the school system will fail in the state."[25]

However, the referendum did pass by a slim majority of 56 percent, evidencing a deep split among Indiana residents concerning education.[26] Many Hoosiers did not want to pay a large tax for schools and they preferred to send their children to schools that they provided and over which they had jurisdiction rather than schools that were free and under state control. This split was part of a much larger debate that had engaged the American people since the Revolution, which centered on the way Americans were choosing to live and be governed— independently at local levels or greatly curtailed by federal and state governments.[27]

The General Assembly of 1848–49 heard the conflicting messages in the referendum vote. Thus state legislators passed An Act to Increase and Extend the Benefits of Common Schools, containing measures regarding taxation, the equal distribution of state funds to the school districts, mandates for a minimum three-month school term and the legal qualification of teachers, and an extensive system of school reports and records. However, the legislators did not make the law mandatory. Each county could vote to enact it or to not enact it. With more urging by education promoters who canvassed the state, two-thirds of the counties voted to enact the law, while twenty-nine counties rejected it.[28]

Left with another permissive, and therefore non-united school system, common school supporters looked to the constitutional convention of 1850–51 to address the issue. Indiana's electorate had called for the convention in a separate referendum in 1848, and so it convened in Indianapolis from October 1850 through February 1851. Topics submitted for debate at the convention included details about the administration of government and about the relationship between state and local governments. Other issues were suffrage, taxation, public debt, bank charters, professional and trade licensing, religious tests, punishment for personal debt, female property rights, monied monopolies, and common schools.[29] In order to satisfactorily determine the state's future plans regarding these issues, the residents of Indiana, mostly farmers and small businessmen themselves, selected a small contingent of public officials, state and national businessmen, lawyers, and educators to represent their interests. Almost all the representatives had attended school, and over half had received some form of higher education. Democrats outnumbered Whigs by two-to-one. As a group they possessed wealth, social position, and political and financial authority.[30] In short, they represented Indiana's elite.

The most salient issue in the education debates was funding. Delegates wove resolutions designed to acquire funding throughout the convention debates. This phenomenon occurred when lawmakers discussed taxing banks or corporations, selling lands, charging fines and forfeitures, and accruing surplus tax monies or interest on public works.[31] Summarizing this tendency of the conventioneers to gather all possible resources for the schools, Franklin County representative George Shoup declared, "I am for gathering up every small item, and collecting together every means within the reach of the State to increase our common school funds."[32] James Bryant of Monroe County called the common school fund "a sacred fund which belongs not merely to the present, but to all future generations."[33] Representatives also argued extensively about investment and distribution of the common school fund, but left the matter to the State Legislature.[34] Conversely, the delegates rapidly determined that each county would be liable for its portion of the fund.[35]

Other educational matters occupied the delegates' attention to varying degrees. The education committee set the tone for creating a school system when it first reported sections of the Education Article. The change from the 1816 constitution is significant. Whereas the 1816 version planned for a system "ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a State University," the 1850 version outlined merely "a general and uniform system of common," that is, "elementary schools."[36] Although the latter document originally included a section establishing normal schools to train teachers, this section was unceremoniously tabled upon its second reading.[37] Delegates discussed secondary schools only in passing, and quickly decided against funding colleges throughout the state.[38]

Besides funding, two issues regarding education aroused the passions of the constitutional delegates. The first was the creation of the office of a state superintendent of public schools. While arguing to create the position, Monroe County representative Daniel Read, professor of Languages at Indiana University and a strong supporter of a common school system, asserted that the education of every child in Indiana had become a "political necessity," and a "necessary measure of defense and self-preservation."[39] Representative John Morrison, an educator, county official, politician, and member of the Church of the Covenant from Washington County, served as chair of the convention's education committee. Morrison added to Read's comments, "It may be asserted, with truth, that the section now under consideration, is second in importance to no other which has been submitted. . . . The very salvation of our educational system in Indiana, depends upon the appointment of such an officer."[40] The resolution for a superintendent was immediately adopted.

The other issue that greatly concerned the delegates was the University Fund. The fund, consisting of about sixty thousand dollars in 1850, helped to maintain Indiana University. Some of the representatives wanted to include the money in the common school fund. Arguments flared about this issue at several points throughout the convention. Speaking for common schools, former U.S. congressman James Rariden, a Whig lawyer from Wayne County, proclaimed himself "in favor of taking away the fund from the wealthy class and giving it to the poor."[41] Randolph

County delegate Beattie McClelland stated that the government owed a home and education to every person.[42] In order to counter arguments that the University Fund was "sacred" and a "vested right" for which it would be unchristian to disburse to any other than the state university, Hiram Allen, a lawyer, freemason, and councilman from Delphi, Indiana, gave an eloquent speech.

> Sir, if there is any cause that should call to its aid the universal sympathies and unflinching support of this people, it is the cause of common schools. We should cherish it as one of the strongest safeguards of human freedom; we should encourage it by every legitimate means in our possession; and we should not stay our efforts until we shall have placed within the reach of every child within the State, poor or rich, the means of a common school education. When we have done this, we shall have accomplished more for the cause humanity, more for the safety of our free institutions, more for the perminence [*sic*] and security of society, than by any other act of legislation which we could adopt.[43]

Nevertheless, the delegates voted two-to-one in favor of retaining the fund for the university.

Upon completion, the Education Article included eight sections. The first stated that "Knowledge and learning, generally diffused throughout a community" was "essential to the preservation of a free government." It instructed the General Assembly to "encourage . . . moral, intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement; and to provide, by law, for a general and uniform system of Common Schools" that would be free of charge and "equally open to all."[44] Section two outlined the sources of revenue appropriated for common schools. The third section stated that the principle on the common school fund could never be spent. Number four charged the General Assembly with investing and distributing the common school fund. The fifth section stipulated that if a county failed to ask for its share of the common school fund, this portion would be reinvested for the county. Section six made the counties liable for any portion of the common school fund that was distributed to them. The seventh section stated that all trust funds held by the

state, such as the University Fund, must be applied only to the purposes for which they were created. Section eight provided for the creation of a state superintendent of public instruction.[45]

The Education Article of the 1850–51 Indiana State Constitution provided guidelines for state lawmakers that were "specific and mandatory."[46] Before beginning their deliberations, the General Assembly of 1851–52 heard addresses by Democrat Governor Joseph A. Wright and Caleb Mills urging them to carry out the constitution's article regarding education. In Mills's sixth and last message to Indiana legislators, he encouraged them to create a system of graded schools with four sections beginning with primary schools and ending with high schools. Such a system would prove more efficient and offer both students and teachers the opportunity to advance intellectually and materially, he stated. Mills contended that it would also enable teachers to instill more discipline in students and result in the absorption of private and sectarian schools.[47]

On the ninth of February 1852, the House education committee, chaired by Robert Dale Owen, a teacher and strong school supporter, returned a comprehensive bill regarding common schools that became the basis for the Indiana State school system. It provided the funding and organization necessary to build and maintain free public elementary schools throughout the state. "Between 1852 and 1857, more than 2,700 new schools were built around the state," and "by 1855 only 15 percent of Indiana's 7,000 school districts were without schools."[48] The 1852 bill centralized administration at state, city, and township levels. It equalized resources and made the teaching and curriculum components of education uniform across Indiana. The 1852 law also paved the way for graded schools and teacher training. On the other hand, from 1852 until after the Civil War, Indiana's school statutes came under legal attack several times. This slowed the initial progress in forming a statewide, workable system, but it did not halt progress. Indeed, by 1852 Indiana school reformers had finally gained the support they needed to initiate the creation of a public school system for all Hoosier children that was funded by a mixture of state grants and state and local taxes and administered by an efficient hierarchy of township and state officials led by a state

superintendent. The battle for public schools had been won; only the details needed clarifying.[49]

Why did public school promoters fight so hard to win such a school system? Their ranks often included men whose educational levels, job functions, personal wealth, and social standing set them apart from the bulk of Hoosiers, who were primarily farmers and small business owners, with little or no schooling.[50] Most common school advocates could afford to send their children to decent schools; many of them were teachers and educators themselves. Possessing an education, public school promoters knew of the arguments for education in a republic that had been handed down since Jefferson's time. A common education for children could impart knowledge about the United States, its history and ideals, and instill patriotism in successive generations of Americans. It would ensure that the country's population was knowledgeable enough about its government and about individual rights that they would not allow despotism and tyranny to arise. Public school promoters realized that many of Indiana's immigrant men were gaining the right to vote with little if any understanding of their adopted nation or their responsibilities towards it and were raising sons who would know just as little. Thus, in governors' speeches, in newspapers such as the *Indiana State Journal*, in education conventions, and in debates at the state constitutional convention in 1850–51, public school promoters declared time and again that universal schooling would be the safeguard of the country, "the stability of our free government."

Indiana's public school promoters also saw the infusion of Christian morality into society as a requirement for free societies in order to alleviate vice and crime. As the population of the state expanded at a rapid pace during the first half of the nineteenth century, established men such as those who attended the meeting of the Association for the Improvement of Common Schools in Indiana in 1833, feared the sudden influx of people from various European countries with their "diversities of social, civil, literary, and religious opinions and practices." They and later school advocates hailed moral education as the best method for suppressing vice. The 1847 education convention predicted that an educational system would cost half as much as

crime cost at the time, an implication that public schools would lessen the rate of crime.

School advocates also envisioned that a common school system would provide greater economic and social equity. Many early Hoosier advocates, including Gov. Ray, argued that education could cultivate prosperity for individuals and society by inculcating industriousness. In 1837 the Friends of Common Education claimed that common schools were "necessary for the education" of Indiana's future statesmen, lawyers, physicians, divines, and teachers. In the 1840s Caleb Mills asserted that a school system would produce skilled workers and supervisors and allow people to be more productive and earn more money. The 1850–51 constitution called for universal schooling to encourage "moral, intellectual, scientific and agricultural improvements."

Moreover, many school promoters wanted all classes in society to be schooled together in order to raise up society in general. The Friends of Common Education expected common schools to improve societal relations. Caleb Mills claimed that a school system would benefit different social classes. The *Indiana State Journal* contended that free schools would benefit every child "upon an equality." What these promoters were implying was that common schooling would raise the social prospects for Hoosiers by giving them a greater awareness of the world around them, a stronger stake in their community and country, the skills and knowledge to acquire greater wealth, and the moral discipline to apply their skills and knowledge in constructive ways. These benefits would raise up masses of people at the same time, thus improving society in general.

School systems that could at once produce intelligent, capable citizens ready to protect and promote their country, defend against crime and vice, create more productive workers and industries, and raise the economic and social prospects for people and entire social classes, must be supported by the government, Indiana's school promoters declared. Gov. Ray believed that "there was no subject more worthy the attention of . . . a free people than that of providing . . . education" for "all classes of society." Twenty-two years later Gov. Whitcomb called education a "sacred *debt*" owed to "every son and daughter in Indiana." During the debates for the 1850–51 constitution, Hiram

Allen argued that the "cause of common schools" should "call to its aid the universal sympathies and unflinching support" of the people in Indiana.

By 1848, Indiana's school promoters had persuaded a modest majority of Hoosiers that a universal, state-led school system was the best choice for Indiana. The 1850–51 Indiana State Constitution mandated such a system. Thus the 1852 school law manifested the dreams of more than three decades of Hoosier school promoters who had envisioned a school system that would instill community and national loyalty, virtue and morality, and cultural uniformity throughout Indiana.

Notes

[1] Charles Flinn Arrowood, "Jefferson's Theory of Education," *Thomas Jefferson and Education in a Republic* (New York**:** McGraw–Hill Book Company, 1930), 49–50.

[2] Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on Virginia," in Arrowood, 82–87.

[3] Richard G. Boone, *A History of Education in Indiana* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1892; reprint, Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1941), 13.

[4] Boone, 23–24; Donald F. Carmony, "Education, 1816–1850," in *Indiana, 1816–1850: The Pioneer Period*, Volume 2 of *The History of Indiana* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1998), 364–69; Scott Walter, "'Awakening the Public Mind': The Dissemination of the Common School Idea in Indiana, 1787–1852, in *Hoosier Schools: Past and Present*, William J. Reese, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 7–8.

[5] Carl E. Kaestle, "Public Education in the Old Northwest: 'Necessary to Good Government and the Happiness of Mankind,'" *Indiana Magazine of History*, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., 1988, 68; and Carmony, 363.

[6] Carl E. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York**:** Hill and Wang, 1983), 186. Also see Walter, 6, 11.

[7] Quoted in Boone, 27.

[8] *First Annual Report of the Association for the Improvement of Common Schools in Indiana, Read September 3, 1833* (Madison, Ind.: J. Lodge & E. Patrick, 1833). Also see Carmony, 371–72; Walters, 10–11.

[9] Quoted in Howard H. Peckham, *Indiana: A Bicentennial History* (New York**:** Norton, 1978), 98.

[10] Paul Monroe, *Founding of the American Public School System: A History of Education in the United States, from the Early Settlements to the Close of the Civil War Period* (New York**:** Macmillan Company, 1940), 277, 290–91.

[11] Boone, 31–33.

[12] Boone, 34–35; Monroe, 290–91.

[13] Boone, 38.

[14] Boone, 39; Carmony, 378; Andrew R. L. Cayton, *Frontier Indiana* (Bloomington, Ind**:** Indiana University Press, 1996), 285.

[15] Carmony, 373–78; Walters, 16–17.

[16] Boone, 37, 38, 40, 41.

[17] Charles W. Moores and Joseph F. Tuttle, *Caleb Mills and the Indiana School System***,** Indiana Historical Society Publications, vol. 3, no. 6 (Indianapolis**:** Indiana Historical Society**,** 1905), 397–428. Also see Carmony, 379; Walters, 9.

[18] Carmony, 378–79.

[19] Carmony, 381–82.

[20] E[dward?] R. Ames, Jeremiah Sullivan, T. R. Cressey, R. W. Thompson, J. H. Henry, Solomon Meredith, and James Blake, *An Address in Relation to Free Common Schools by a Committee of the State Education Convention, Held May 26, 1847: Our Common Schools—As They Are–As They Ought to Be—and As We Can Have Them* (Indianapolis: John D. Defrees, 1847). Also see Boone, 96–98; Carmony, 382–85; Logan Esarey, *A History of Indiana* (Indianapolis: Hoosier Heritage Press, 1970), 683–84; Walters, 19–20**.**

[21] Boone, 98–99; Carmony, 385–87; Esarey, 684, 686.

[22] Carmony, 387–90; Moores, 480–89, 497–500; Walters, 9.

[23] Boone, 103; Carmony, 390; Esarey, 684–88.

[24] Walters, 13.

[25] Gayle Thornbrough, Dorothy L. Riker, and Paula Corpuz, eds., *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher, Volume IV, 1848–1852* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1975), 59.

[26] Boone, 101, 105; Carmony, 390–91. Also see Esarey, who states that voters were asked to vote on a complete law, not the idea of a law, which contradicts Boone and Carmony, 687–91.

[27] Boone, 105, 107–109, 122–23; Carmony, 391; Cayton, 288–89; Esarey, 685, 688–91; Walters, 3–4, 6.

[28] Boone, 111–20, featuring the law of 1849; Carmony, 392–93, with Caleb Mills's vote tally; Esarey, 685, 689–91, 693, with a county-by-county vote for the 1848 referendum tables and a state map regarding the 1849 law.

[29] Charles Kettleborough, ed., *Constitution Making in Indiana: A Source Book of Constitutional Documents with Historical Introduction and Critical Notes* (Indianapolis**:** Indiana Historical Bureau, 1971), xli, lxiv–lxvi.

[30] The group profiles presented in this paper are derived from *A Biographical Directory of the Indiana General Assembly, 1816–1899*, 1, eds. Rebecca A. Shepherd, Charles W. Calhoun, Elizabeth Shanahan–Shoemaker, and Alan F. January (Indianapolis**:** Select Committee on the Centennial History of the Indiana General Assembly: Indiana Historical Bureau**,** 1980)—hereafter referred to as "*Biographical Directory*." Ninety-seven of the 150 constitutional convention delegates are listed in the *Biographical Directory*. Statistical evidence derived from the biographical sketches in the *Biographical Directory* were originally presented in detailed form in M. Teresa Baer, "Defining 'equality' in Ante-bellum America: An Analysis of the Education Debates at the 1850–51 Indiana State Constitution Convention," unpublished graduate paper, Indiana University–Purdue University at Indianapolis, 1995, 7–12. Also see Boone, 129.

[31] *Report of the Debates and Proceedings of the Convention for the Revision of the Constitution of the State of Indiana, 1850* (Indianapolis**:** A. H. Brown, printer to the convention, 1850; reprint, Indianapolis: W. B. Burford Printing Company, 1935)—hereafter referred to as "*Debates, Indiana*," 1557, 1617–21, 1634, 1869–70 for bank tax funding; 1079, 1869–70, 1968, 1998–2001, 2011, 2019–22 for corporate tax funding; 44, 52, 171, 1868 for funding from the sale of land; 40, 44,

52, 58, 862–65 for funding from fines and forfeitures; 171 for funding via surplus taxes; 228 for funding via interest on the public works.

[32] *Debates, Indiana*, 1864.

[33] *Debates, Indiana*, 1881. Bryant made this remark on 28 January 1851.

[34] *Debates, Indiana*, 436, 1079, 1900–01, 1940, 1973, 1979, 1996, 2073–74.

[35] *Debates, Indiana*, 1079, 2074.

[36] Boone, 11 for the 1816 version; *Debates, Indiana*, 1078 for the 1850 version, which was presented on 11 December 1850. Also see Laura Bachelder, "The Growth of Indiana's Public School System, 1785–1875," unpublished graduate paper, Indiana University–Purdue University at Indianapolis, 1994, 18–19; Boone, 135; Esarey, 692.

[37] *Debates, Indiana*, 1862, dropped on 27 January 1851.

[38] *Debates, Indiana*, 858, 1729 for funding colleges.

[39] *Debates, Indiana*, 1858. Daniel Read biographical information from Carmony, 393, and Esarey, 691.

[40] *Debates, Indiana*, 1860. John Morrison's biographical information from *History of Lawrence, Orange, and Washington Counties, Indiana: from the Earliest Time to the Present: Together with Interesting Biographical Sketches, Reminiscences, Notes, etc.* (Chicago: Goodspeed Brothers & Company, 1884).

[41] *Debates, Indiana*, 1400. James Rariden's biographical information comes from *Biographical Directory*.

[42] *Debates, Indiana*, 1400.

[43] *Debates, Indiana*: Robert Owen of Posey County called the University Fund "sacred," 1864; John Pettit from Tippecanoe County called the fund a "vested right," 1400; Horace Biddle, representing Cass, Howard, and Pulaski Counties, implied that giving the fund to the common schools would be unchristian, 1865. Hiram Allen speech, 1892. Allen's biographical information comes from Thomas B. Helm, *History of Carroll County, Indiana: with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers: to which Is Appended Maps of Its Several Townships* (Chicago: Kingman Brothers, 1882), 219, 220, 228–30, 239, 312.

[44] *Index to the Journal and Debates of the Indiana Constitutional Convention, 1850–1851*, Jesse P. Boswell, comp. (Indianapolis**:** Indiana Historical Bureau**,** 1938)—hereafter referred to as "*Index, Indiana*," 106–07.

[45] *Index, Indiana*, 107–08; Boone, 139–40.

[46] Boone, 142.

[47] Boone, 141; Moores and Tuttle, 615–18.

[48] Bachelder, 20. For recent information on the period of Indiana's education history following the 1852 law, see William J. Reese, "Urban School Reform in the Victorian Era," in *Hoosier Schools: Past and Present*, 29–52.

[49] Bachelder, 20; Boone, 144–63; Esarey, 696–705; Walters, 21–23.

The Demographic and Cultural Prominence of the Methodist Episcopals in Indiana, 1801-1865[1]

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Butler University

The Methodist Episcopals were easily the largest religious group in Indiana on the eve of the Civil War, numbering over 80,000 members.[2] This was six per cent of the state population, and three times the size of any other denomination for which membership statistics is available for the time. Originally, the Methodists in Indiana were very rural, Southern and Democratic. However, over the half-century leading up to the Civil War, the Methodists gradually became more urban. Methodists also mixed more with northerners who tended to be more Republican in sentiment. Republican themes by this time revolved around such positions as opposition to slavery and support of temperance. Many Indiana Methodists, especially those involved in leadership positions, came to support Republican policy.

By changing from the Democratic to the Republican Party, and thereby opposing the twin evils of slavery and the consumption of alcoholic beverages, Indiana Methodists, more than any other group came to define what it meant to be a Hoosier culturally in the mid-nineteenth century. The purpose of this paper is to identify the Southern cultural roots of the group and their change to a more urbane and Northern political persuasion from 1800 to 1865. This theme is highlighted by the example of Calvin Fletcher, probably the major lay leader for Methodists in Indiana during the late antebellum and Civil War eras. On the other hand, the presence of conservative pro-Southern dissenters from the pro-Lincoln political position of Methodists leaders is suggested as a counter-theme.

The Methodist Episcopals seem to have been a very Southern church in their origins in America and Indiana. William

Williams identified the late Colonial cradle of American Methodism as the Delmarva Peninsula on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay.[3] From this area Methodists moved westward according to A. Gregory Schneider.

> American Methodism began as a religion of the Upper South and then moved west with the Southerners. During its first forty years, 1784-1824, the Methodist Episcopal church always held its general conferences in Baltimore….Most of the circuit-riders, local preachers, and presiding elders during this time were of southern background….As he rode around the nation keeping watch over his wandering flock, Bishop Francis Asbury came to refer to parts of Ohio as "New Virginia." When the Western Conference drew together circuits in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee in 1804, two thirds of the circuit riders for which there are records of origin came from southern states. It is important to note that much of the southern population that this conference was to superintend settled in states that later would be counted as northern: Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The divisions of the Civil War should not be read back onto these earlier patterns of migration and settlement. The people whom the Methodist itinerants followed and served in these states of the Old Northwest were mostly Southerners in origin and in culture.[4]

Russell Richey has also written on the "Southern Accent of American Methodism."[5] He particularly emphasized the ambivalence about slavery and the bi-racial character of Methodism as telling signs of Southern culture.

The rise of the Methodist Episcopals was a recent change from humble origins. The first Methodist clergyman evangelized in the state in 1801, and the first Methodist class was founded a year later. Life as a circuit riding minister was difficult as the famous Methodist minister Peter Cartwright emphasized in his autobiography. Cartwright was born in 1785 in western Virginia, but he grew up in Logan County in western Kentucky. He became a Methodist exhorter and, later, a circuit rider while still a teenager. In 1806, at age 20, while serving in the Mississippi District of the Western Conference, he noted that he had "received about forty dollars….but many of our preachers did not

receive half that amount." Cartwright went on to observe, that circuit riders "did not generally receive in a whole year money enough to get them a suit of clothes. Money was very scarce in the country at this early day, but some of the best men God ever made breasted the storms, endured poverty, and triumphantly planted Methodism in this Western world."[6]
Cartwright went on to mainly serve as a circuit rider in Illinois and Indiana.

At first Indiana Methodists were in the Western Conference. Later they were split into a number of conferences named after neighboring or nearby states (Ohio, Tennessee, Missouri and Illinois) until the Indiana Conference was created in 1832. In that year about 20,000 Methodists resided in Indiana. In the 1840s and 1850s three more conferences were added, so that in 1860 there were four in Indiana: Southern Indiana (the southwest), Northern Indiana (the northeast), Southeast Indiana and Northwest Indiana. Again, in 1860 there were about 80,000 Methodists in Indiana. They were three times larger than the Missionary Baptists and six times larger than the Friends, the two other largest groups for which membership is available (Table 1).[7]

As the Methodists rose in number of members, they also changed qualitatively.[8] As commonly understood, they became more urban and less alienated from the general secular society. In other words, they were transformed from a sect to a church (Table 2). In the early nineteenth century the Methodists had an unmarried circuit-riding clergy who were poorly paid and poorly educated. The minister was from the folk. The members were also mainly rural and relatively egalitarian farmers and artisans. By 1860 much had changed. The clergy were stationed in a specific parish rather than riding a circuit, and they were better paid and better educated. The members were more urban and more divided by social class and educational attainment. The members were also more politically active in supporting the containment of the evils of slavery and consumption of alcohol beverages. There were many more Methodist newspapers, magazines and tracts for a more literate membership. For example, the weekly *Western Christian Advocate* based in Cincinnati may have had the greatest circulation of any newspaper in Indiana. However, there was a price to be paid for

this progress. After 1860 the Methodists began a slow decline in members nationally as they lost their distinctiveness with increasing secularization, unlike the Baptists who maintained their distinctiveness as a sect.[9] The Indiana novelist and historian Edward Eggleston, himself a circuit rider in southern Indiana in his youth, chided Methodists of the Postbellum era for their moral decline in his novel published in the 1870s entitled *The Circuit Rider, A Tale of the Heroic Age.*

> Dear, genteel, and cultivated Methodist reader, you who rejoice in the patristic glory of Methodism, though you have so far departed from the standard of the fathers as to wear gold and costly apparel and sing songs and read some novels, be not too hard upon our good friend Donaldson (an old school minister). Had you, fastidious Methodist friend, who listen to organs and choirs and refined preachers, as you sit in your cushioned pew---had you lived…sixty years ago, would you have belonged to the Methodists, think you? Not at all! Your nerves would have been racked by their shouting, your musical and poetical taste outraged by their ditties, your grammatical knowledge shocked beyond recovery by their English; you could never had worshiped in an excitement that prostrated people in religious catalepsy, and threw weak saints and obstinate sinners alike into a contortion of the jerks.[10]

The Methodist Episcopals were found in significant numbers throughout the state in 1860 (Map 1). They were particularly strong in southern and central Indiana, whereas in northern Indiana they were weaker. There were some areas where they tended to be weak or less than four per cent of the county population: the northwest and northeast corners, a north-central cluster of counties, an east-central cluster, a south-central cluster, and finally a southwestern cluster. Can these areas of weakness be explained?

The state was settled from three East Coast culture regions: the Upland South, especially from Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina; the Midland, especially from Pennsylvania and New Jersey; and the Yankees from New England and New York. The Border Southerners were more

numerous than residents from the two northeastern regions combined (Map 2). The Southerners not only dominated southern Indiana, they dominated much of central Indiana too. In fact, Indiana was the most southern state in culture in the Midwest. Generally, the Methodist Episcopals appeared to be stronger where the Border Southerners dominated and weaker where Northerners dominated. The correlation coefficient (r) with Southerners was .18, but with the Northerners it was -.21; a perfect positive correlation would be 1.00 and a perfect negative correlation would be -1.00. In other words, the Methodists were mildly correlated positively with areas of Southern nativity and mildly negatively correlated with areas of Northern nativity.

Another way to interpret the pattern of Methodist Episcopals is to compare them with other religions (Map 3). The counties of the state are assigned to a specific religious body if that group possesses 20% or more of the churched in the county. Areas of Methodist Episcopal weakness were dominated as follows: in the northwest by Roman Catholics and Missionary Baptists; in the northeast by no group; in the north-central by Missionary Baptists; in the east-central by no group; in the south-central by Missionary Baptists; and in the southwest by Missionary Baptists, Roman Catholics and General Baptists. Missionary Baptists appeared to be the main competitors with the Methodist Episcopals in pockets of relative Methodist Episcopal weakness.

Another way to explain areas of Methodist Episcopal weakness was to study the pattern of white Methodist bodies other than the Methodist Episcopals who might have taken away Methodist Episcopal members. These include the United Brethren in Christ, the Evangelical Association, the Methodist Protestants, and the Wesleyans. The United Brethren had the third most churches in Indiana after the Methodist Episcopals and Missionary Baptists. The group was originally Pennsylvania German, but by the 1850s in Indiana many non-Germans belonged to the group based on surname analysis of leaders throughout the state in the 1850s.[11] They were strong in many of the areas of Methodist Episcopal weakness such as the northeast, the east-central, the south-central, and the southwest clusters. According to J. Steven O'Malley, the United Brethren were based more on German pietism than Wesleyanism even though they joined the Methodist Episcopals much later in 1968

to form the United Methodist church. Therefore, the United Brethren were more democratic than the Methodist Episcopals in that they elected their deacons, elders, and bishops rather than having them appointed hierarchically. Also, the United Brethren were staunchly opposed to secret societies such as the Masons and Odd Fellows much more so than the Methodists. The United Brethren also ordained women as early as the 1840s, unlike the Methodist Episcopals who only did so in the 1950s. The United Brethren were extremely rural folk with far fewer urban churches than the Methodist Episcopals in 1860[12] (Map 4). Their only college in Indiana was Hartsville College located in the small village of Hartsville in the hills of northeastern Bartholomew County (Map 4). The college was founded in 1850, and it served as an anchor for the United Brethren who were strongly represented in south-central Indiana, an area where the Methodist Episcopals were weak. On the other hand, the major Methodist Episcopal school, Indiana Asbury (now DePauw University) in Greencastle, was embedded in a multi-county cluster of high Methodist membership in west-central Indiana. In fact, in the 1850s and 1860s two Methodist Episcopal North bishops (out of less than a half-dozen nationally), Matthew Simpson and Edward Ames, had roots in Greencastle as leaders of the college. Moores Hill College in southwestern Indiana in rural Dearborn County near Lawrenceburg may also have been a growth pole for Methodist Episcopals (the college relocated to Evansville in 1919 as Evansville University). The two other Methodist colleges, Valparaiso College (now Valparaiso University, a Missouri Synod Lutheran school) and Fort Wayne College (relocated to Upland, Indiana in Grant county in the late 1800s as Taylor University), did not appear to stimulate large Methodist membership in their locales. This may be why eventually one ceased to exist as a Methodist college and the other moved away (Map 5).

The Evangelical Association was another Pennsylvania German Methodist body (with German pietist sentiments too), but unlike the United Brethren they maintained their German heritage more strongly and missionized among the huge German immigrant population of the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Eventually, they also joined the Methodist Episcopals much later in 1968 to form the United Methodist church. They were strongly

clustered in northeast Indiana where the Methodist Episcopals were weak (Map 6). However, given their ethnically prescribed sense of purpose the Evangelical Association probably did not reduce Methodist Episcopal membership very much.[13]

The Methodist Protestants seceded from the Methodist Episcopals in 1828 because of the hierarchical Episcopal structure of the Methodist Episcopals. They had 70 churches in Indiana in 1870. They were very rural like the United Brethren and were located mainly in central and northeastern Indiana (Map7). This group diluted the strength of the Methodist Episcopals in the northeast and also in the south-central areas of Methodist Episcopal weakness. For reasons unknown by this author, the Methodist Protestants were very weak in southern Indiana even though the leaders of their group in the 1820s were from the Baltimore area like the Methodist Episcopals. Much later in 1939 the Methodist Protestants rejoined the Methodist Episcopal Church, changing the name of the unified denomination simply to the Methodist church.[14]

The Wesleyans were Methodists who separated from the Methodist Episcopal church in 1843 because they believed the larger body didn't oppose slavery strongly enough. They originated in Upstate New York and so it is not surprising that they were strongest in Northeast Indiana precisely where the Methodist Episcopals were weak (Map 8). The Wesleyans, however, were rather small with only 30 churches and 1,617 members.

The Methodist Episcopals rose politically as well as numerically in Antebellum Indiana. In the mid-1840s the first Methodist governor, James Whitcomb, won an election over an allegedly bigoted anti-Methodist Presbyterian incumbent, Samuel Bigger, based on the mobilization of Methodists by Ames and Simpson (later elected bishops in 1852) against Bigger's insult.[15] Whitcomb was followed by another Methodist governor, Joseph Wright, in the early to late 1850s. Both Methodist governors later became United States senators. Both also were Democrats, although Wright became a "War Democrat" supporting the Lincoln administration during the Civil War.

An important movement led by Methodist Episcopals was prohibition. In 1855 a prohibition bill was passed in the Indiana legislature in part because of the leadership of Bishop Edward

Ames of Indiana, but the bill was stricken by the state supreme court as unconstitutional six months later.[16] In 1860 a majority of Methodists supported Abraham Lincoln, and they continued to do so during the Civil War.

The most philanthropic Methodist in the state during this era was Calvin Fletcher of Indianapolis. He was born in Ludlow, Vermont in 1798 and 1817 he left his native state for the West, staying in Urbana, Ohio for four years before migrating to Indianapolis in 1821, the founding year of the city. He practiced law, bought a number of farms in or near Indianapolis, became a banker and bought a railroad. He became the richest man in the city by 1860. He supported a number of Methodist churches and Sunday schools in the city, including his parish, Roberts Chapel, named after the first Methodist who resided in the state, Robert Roberts. Fletcher also supported temperance societies, a freedmans aid society, a colonization society, public schools and the Republican Party. He sent 10 of his 11 children to New England for preparatory schooling, and four of his sons graduated from Brown College and one from Harvard College. One son, Miles, became a professor at Indiana Asbury College, and Fletcher served on the board of trustees of the college. His next door neighbor in Indianapolis during the war was Bishop Ames. Three of Fletcher's sons and one son-in-law fought in the war. It is interesting that the most powerful lay member of Indiana Methodism was so strongly a Yankee of New England origin and culture given the Southern roots of Methodism in the state.[17]

Donald Jones has argued that the era of the Civil War and Reconstruction was a second heroic age for Methodists.

> My central thesis is that most of the prominent leaders of northern Methodism in Postbellum America understood their denomination to be engaged in an aggressive mission to Christianize every aspect of society….The tragic dimension of the Civil War and the constellation of issues emerging out of Reconstruction awakened these churchmen to a fresh social awareness…It is not a story of circuit riders ready to dismount in bewilderment and defensiveness in response to the complexities of post-war America. It is not the tale of a spiritualized church interested only in fitting born-again

Christians for heaven---though it surely was engaged in that. It is a story of a confident and aggressive form of Christianity engaging American society and political structures with a highly disciplined institution, and with a gospel whose social relevance was assumed. This old-time religion did not proclaim a Christ against culture. Indeed, it was a kind of political religion rooted in a traditional faith vibrating in sympathy with Lincoln's conviction that this nation was "the last best hope of mankind."[18]

In his book, Jones has pictures in the first three chapters of three Methodist ministers of the new heroic age, and surprisingly all are from Indiana. Thomas Mears Eddy became the editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* from Chicago during the Civil War and Reconstruction and wrote "radical Republican" editorials.[19] Bishop Ames befriended Secretary of War Edwin Stanton and was given control of Methodist Episcopal South churches when the areas that they were serving were conquered during the war. Bishop Simpson, formerly the first president of Indiana Asbury College in the 1830s and 1840s and then the editor of the *Western Christian Advocate* from Cincinnati in the late 1840s and early 1850s, befriended Lincoln while a minister pastoring in Philadelphia. during the war. Some claim that he was important in persuading Lincoln to sign the Emancipation Proclamation. He lobbied for Methodists with the White House during the war, gave the eulogy for Lincoln in Springfield, and was a "radical Republican" thereafter.[20]

Although the picture of liberal Methodist triumphalism presented above certainly is a legitimate theme for interpreting Methodism in nineteenth century Indiana, there is a counter-theme which has been obscured by this vision. There are a few hints that a number of Methodists in the state, especially from some areas of solid Southern cultural roots in rural districts, did not follow the church leader's enthusiasm for Lincoln and Republicanism. Instead, some Methodists remained conservative Democrats who opposed Lincoln's policies during the war. The most famous Methodist Democrat in the Antebellum and Civil War era, Daniel Voorhees, a graduate of Indiana Asbury College, signified a different tradition because he maintained his Democratic persuasion and opposed the Lincoln

Administration during the Civil War while in Congress, representing west-central Indiana from his headquarter in Terre Haute. Historian Frank Smith Bogardus explained how Voorhees "represented a district whose people were of southern stock and sympathies. Most of his constituents disliked and distrusted the Negro, hated the abolitionists, and believed strongly in the doctrine of states' rights."[21] Other areas of Indiana also had strong pro-south sentiments. Francis Asbury Hester was a Methodist minister who served as Presiding Elder and Exhorter in the Jefferson District in south-central Indiana during the war while residing in Charlestown near the Ohio River. In his diary for January 24, 1863, a month after the Emancipation Proclamation, Hester stated that he felt sad because he heard a parishioner speak in a "most treasonable way."[22]

After the Civil War a number of former Methodist Episcopals of the northern church along with United Brethren churches in central and southern Indiana joined the Methodist Episcopal South denomination and grew in strength in the 1880s (Map 9). Timothy Mohon believed that they might have joined the Southern Methodists because they were discriminated against after the war for their pro-Southern and Democratic sentiments during the war.[23] Unfortunately, the conservative Methodists in Indiana who may have been a prominent minority are relatively "voiceless" compared to the liberals in the church.

In conclusion, the Methodists Episcopals in Indiana rose numerically and also changed qualitatively from 1801 to 1860. They became the largest group in the state because of their sectarian vigor, but while doing so they transformed themselves gradually into a more secularized church. By 1860 they were by far the largest denomination in the state and they were particularly strong in the southern and central areas. Their political persuasion seemed to represent the dominant sentiments in Indiana at the time. In this sense one can argue that Methodists were the most Hoosier of denominations in number, attitude and behavior in the late Antebellum and Civil War eras. Although predominantly of Southern heritage, a majority of the Indiana Methodist Episcopals transformed themselves and embraced the Republican Party by 1860 and its fight against slavery. Just as many Hoosiers think of their golden age as the eras of the farmer pioneers of the Antebellum era and

later the Civil War regiments, so do Methodist Episcopals see their golden age as the eras of the circuit rider and later the Civil War soldiers and radical Republican ministers.
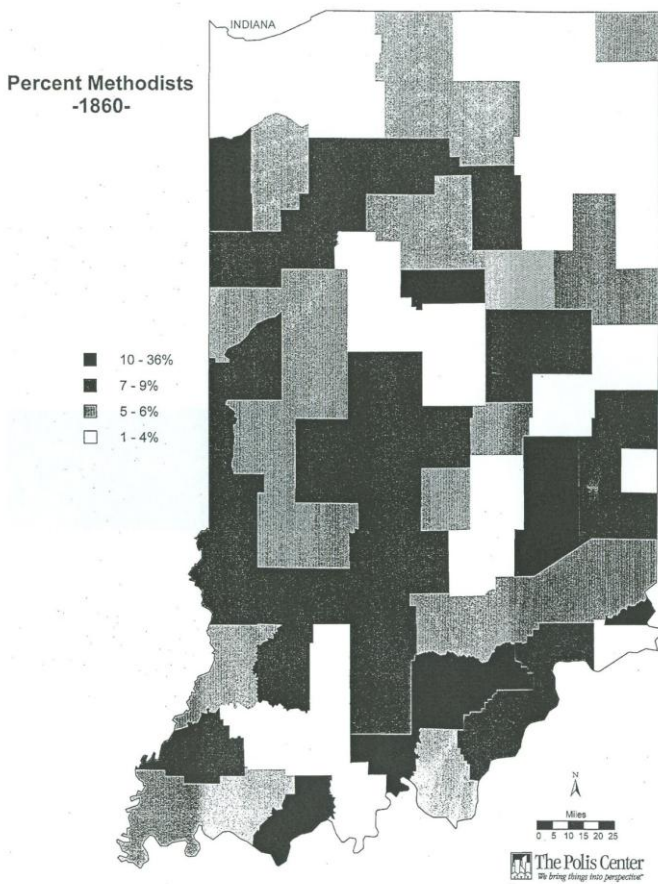
TABLE 1
RELIGIOUS GROUPS OF INDIANA, 1860s

	Group	Churches	Members	Average
1.	Missionary Baptists	429	26,733	62
2.	Methodist Episcopals	359	80,845	225
3.	United Brethren	209		
4.	Primitive Baptists	202	7,143	35
5.	Roman Catholics	198		
6.	Old School Presbyterians	188	12,192	65
7.	Disciples of Christ	168		
8.	New School Presbyterians	115	5,995	52
9.	Evangelical Association	81		
10.	Universalists	75		
11.	Church of the Brethren	74		
12.	Methodist Protestants	70		
13.	Society of Friends	62	18,900	305
14.	Liberal Lutherans	43		
15.	Missouri Synod Lutherans	42		
16.	Evangelical Synod	33		
17.	Moderate Lutherans	32		
18.	Wesleyans	30	1,617	54
19.	African American Methodists	30		
20.	Episcopalians	29		
21.	General Baptists	28	1,739	62
22.	Free Will Baptists	28	707	25
23.	Mennonites	26		
24.	Congregationalists	22	842	38
25.	German Reformed	20		
26.	Cumberland Presbyterians	15	1,800	120
27.	African American Baptists	14		
28.	Amish	10		
29.	United Presbyterians	8	861	108
30.	Jews	7		
31.	Moravians	1		

TABLE 2

QUALITATIVE CHANGES OF METHODISTS IN INDIANA, 1830-1860

1830	1860
Unmarried clergy	Married clergy
Circuit-riding clergy	Stationed clergy
Classes run by laity	Stationed clergy dominates classes
Poorly educated clergy (few colleges)	More college-educated clergy
Egalitarian membership	Class-divided membership
Mostly rural membership	Urban membership a significant minority
Accomodation to slavery	Antislavery
Camp meetings important	Camp meetings less important
Few Sunday schools	Many Sunday schools
Extemporaneous exhortations by clergy	Prepared sermons by clergy
Few Methodist papers and magazines	Many Methodists papers and magazines
Less politically oriented	Strongly Republican
Vocal support of prohibition	Voting support of prohibition
No instrumental music	Organs and choirs
Few church buildings	Many church buildings, some ornate
SECT	CHURCH

Map 1

Percent Methodists
-1860-

INDIANA

■ 10 - 36%
■ 7 - 9%
▦ 5 - 6%
☐ 1 - 4%

N

Miles
0 5 10 15 20 25

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Map 2

Northeastern and
Border Southern
Nativity Groups
-1860-

Assumes Indiana Natives
are Border Southerners
and Ohio Natives are
Northeasterners)

Northeasterners
Triple Border
Southerners

Northeasterners
Outnumber Border
Southerners

Southerners
Outnumber
Northeasterners

Southerners
Triple
Northeasterners

Border Between
Midland and
Border Southern
Regions
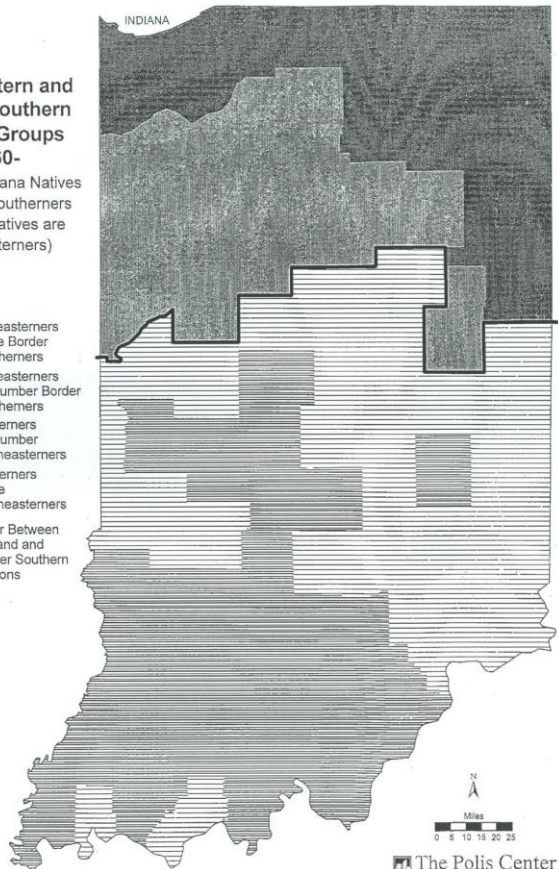
INDIANA

N

Miles
0 5 10 15 20 25

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Map 3

Map 4

United Brethren
Churches
-1860-

0
1 - 3
4 - 9
26

INDIANA

N

Miles
0 5 10 15 20 25

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Map 5

INDIANA

Colleges
-1860-

Notre Dame
(RC)

Valparaiso
(ME)

Fort
Wayne
Concordia
(MSL)
(ME)

DX   Disciples of Christ
FR   Friends
ME   Methodist
MB   Missionary Baptist
MSL   Missouri Synod Lutheran
NLC   New Light Christian
NSP   New School Presbyterian
OSP   Old School Presbyterian
P   Public University
RC   Roman Catholic
UB   United Bretheren

Wabash
(NSP)

Northwest
Christian
(DX)

Earlham
(FR)

Indiana Asbury
(ME)

Franklin
(MB)

Hartsville
(UB)

Indiana
University
(P)

Moores Hill
(ME)

Union
Christian
(NLC)

Vincennes
University
(P)

Hanover
(OSP)

St. Meinrad
(RC)

N

Miles
0 5 10 15 20 25

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Map 6

Evangelical
Association
(now Methodist)
Classes
-1851-

- ☐ 0
- 1 - 3
- 4 - 5
- 7 - 10

INDIANA

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Map 7

METHODIST PROTESTANTS, 1870

Churches
0
1 - 2
3 - 8

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0   25   50
Miles
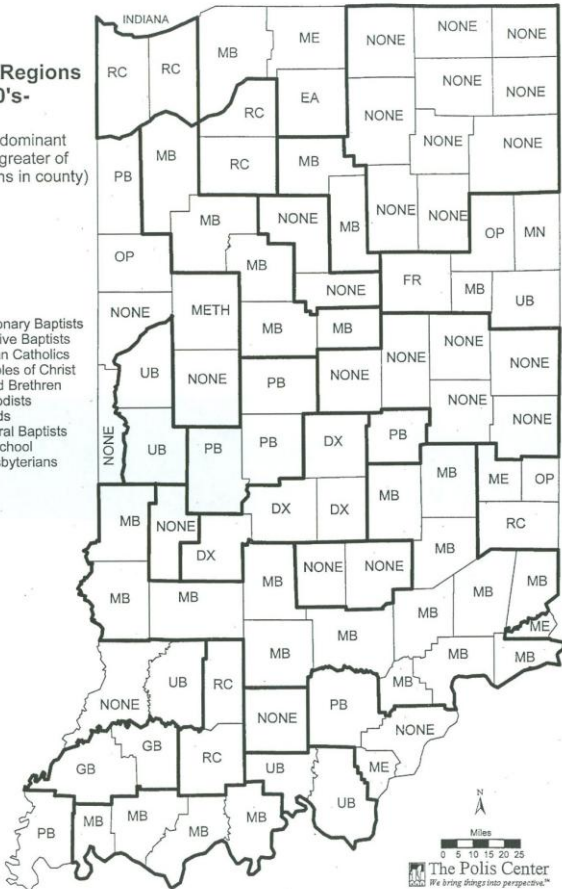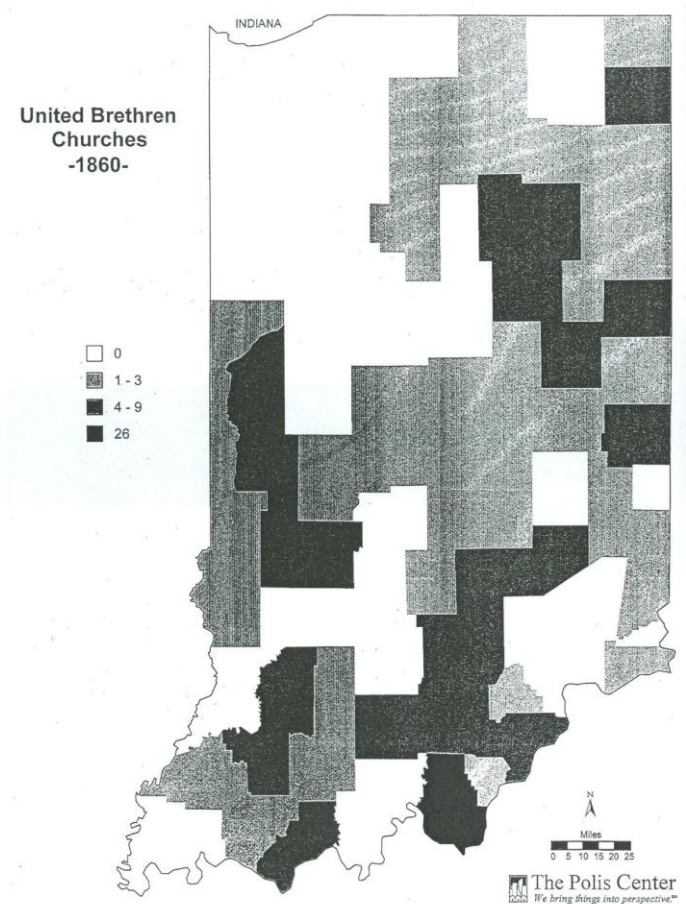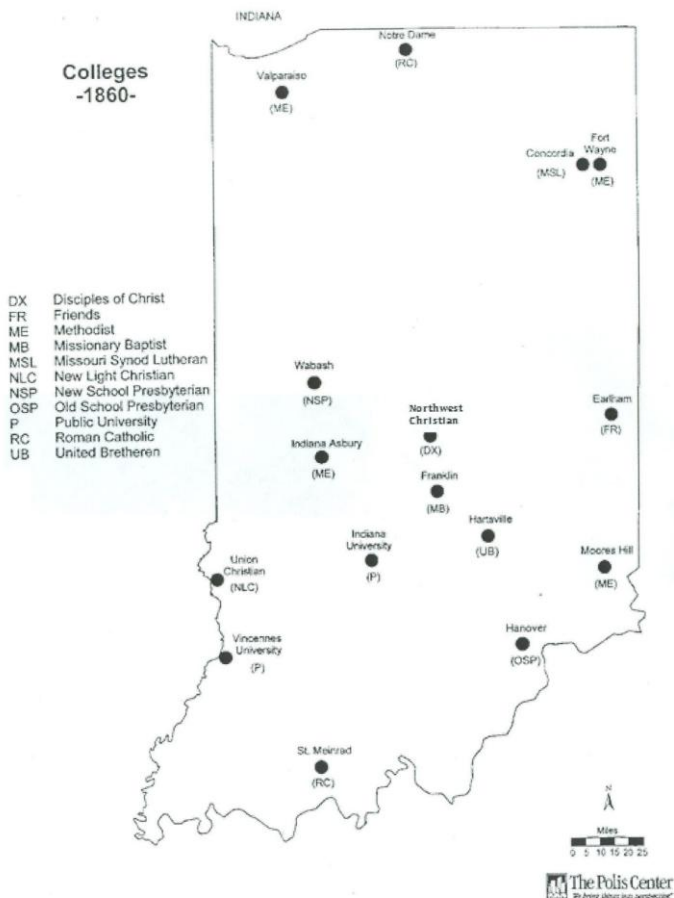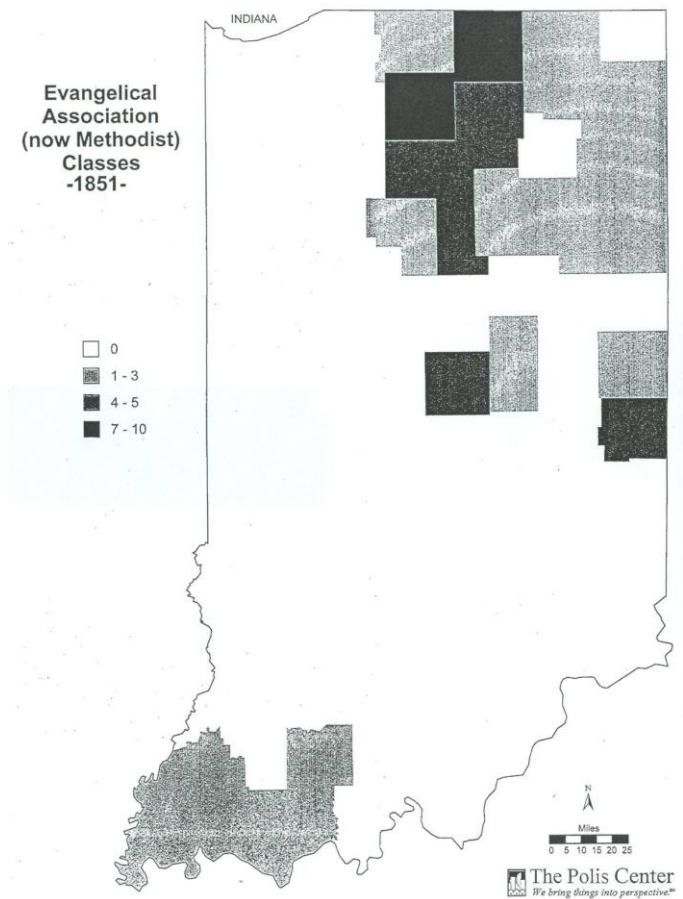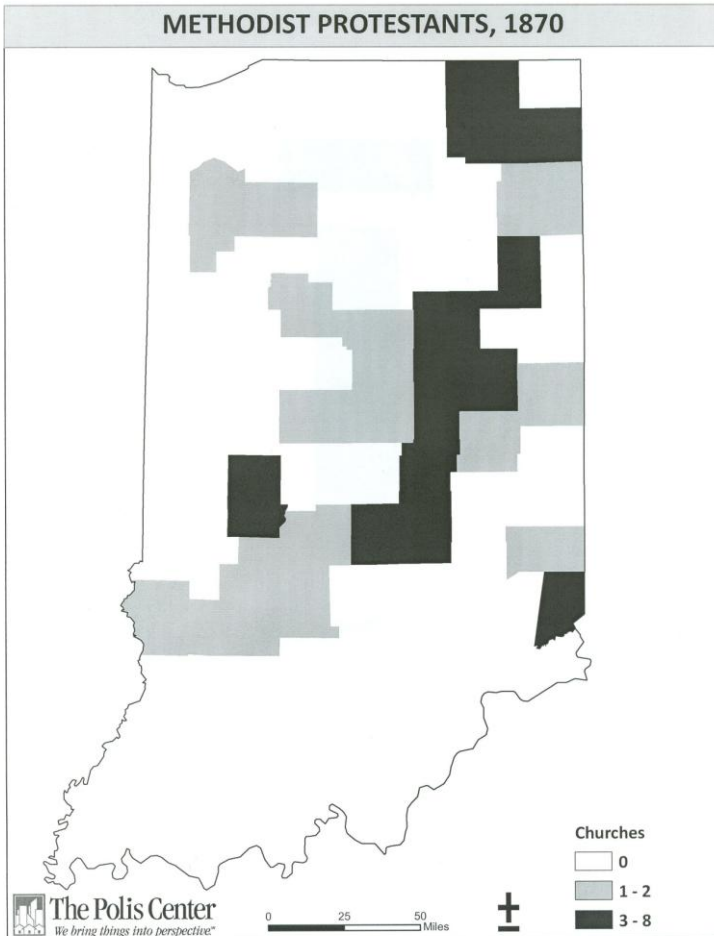
Map 8
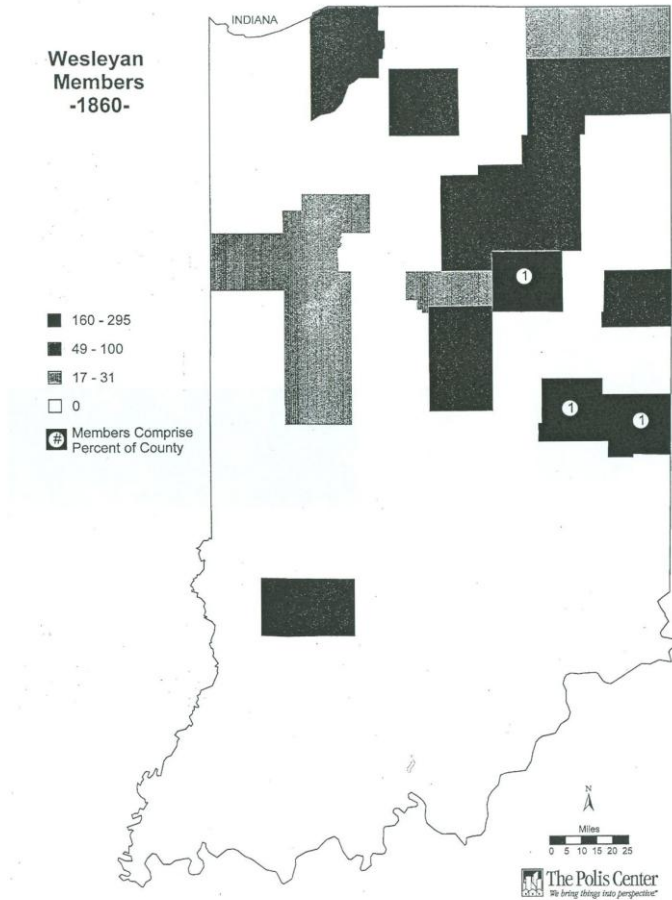
Map 9

Indiana's Southern Methodist churches appear to have been in at least nineteen counties of the state. The lightly colored counties had at least one Southern Methodist station or circuit during the period 1874–1907. The darkly colored counties of Owen, Brown, and Shelby had congregations throughout the period and were the strength of the movement in Indiana. (Map of Indiana counties by the Indiana Geological Survey; shaded portions by Timothy Morton)

Notes

[1] This research was supported by a CLIO grant from the Indiana Historical Society. Also, I want to thank the archivists at DePauw University, Wes Wilson and John Riggs, for helping me with the research for this paper.

[2] The membership data was garnered from the annual reports for 1860 for the four Indiana Methodist Episcopal conferences.

[3] William Williams, *The Garden of American Methodism: The Delmarva Peninsula, 1769-1820* (Wilmington, De.: Scholarly Resources, 1984).

[4] A. Gregory Schneider, *The Way of the Cross Leads Home: The Domestication of American Methodism* (Bloomington, In.: Indiana University Press, 1993), 1.

[5] Russell Richey, "The Southern Accent of American Methodism." *Methodist History*, 27 (1988): 3-24. Perhaps because the Methodists in Indiana were of Southern origin they were more likely to be Democrats than Whigs in the second party system. However, they switched decidedly to the Republicans in Indiana and in the North generally with the third party system. See Richard Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993).

[6] Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1856), 74.

[7] William Warren Sweet, *Circuit Rider Days in Indiana* (Indianapolis: W.K. Stewart, 1916); Sweet, *The Rise of Methodism in the West* (Nashville: Smith and Lamar, 1920); Sweet, *Methodism in American History* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1953); and E. Carver McGriff, *Amazing Grace: A History of Indiana Methodism, 1801-2001* (Franklin, TN: Providence House, 2001).

[8] There are many biographies and autobiographies of ministers of the "heroic age" of the early nineteenth century. See David L. Kimbrough, *Reverend Joseph Tarkington, Methodist Circuit Rider: From Frontier Evangelism to Refined Religion* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997); F.C. Holliday, *Life and Times of Reverend Allen Wiley* (Cincinnati: L. Swormstedt and A. Poe, 1853); R.C. Smith, *Reminiscences of Early Methodism in Indiana* (Indianapolis: J.M. Olcutt, 1879); R.L. Smith, *Indiana Methodism* (Valparaiso, 1892); F.C. Holliday, *Indiana Methodism* (Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden, 1879); Donald Parman, ed., *Window to a Changed World: The Personal Memoirs of William Graham* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1998); and Riley Case, "An Aggressive Warfare: Eli Farmer and Methodist Revivalism in Early Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 104 (March 2008): 67-93.

[9] Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winner and Losers in our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

[10] Edward Eggleston, *The Circuit Rider: A Tale of the Heroic Age* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1878), 158-159.

[11] Reverend Adam Byron Condo, *History of the Indiana Conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ* (Indiana Conference, 1926); Reverend Augustus Cleland Wilmore, *History of the White River Conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ* (Dayton: United Brethren Publishing House, 1925); and 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*, 6 (1991): 130-145.

[12] J. Steven O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith:The Legacy of the Otterbeins* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1973); O'Malley, *Early German-American Evangelism: Pietist Sources on Discipleship* I (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1995); and O'Malley, "The Evangelical United Brethren Church: A History," in William Abraham and James Kirby, *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 104-121.

[13] J. Steven O'Malley, *John Seybert and the Evangelical Heritage: Biographical and Personal Reflections on A Life Touched by Godliness* (Lexington, Ky.: Emeth Press, 2008); and J. Bruce Behney and Paul Eller, *The History of the Evangelical United Brethren Church* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1979).

[14] Reverend John Coons, *A Brief History of the Methodist Protestant Church in Indiana* (1939).

[15] William Wesley Woollen, *Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana* (Indianapolis: Hammond, 1883), 80.

[16] Charles Canup, "Temperance Movements and Legislation in Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*,16 (1920): 3-37; and Walter David Stimple, *Bishop Edward Raymond Ames* (University of Wisconsin history master's thesis, 1947).

[17] Gayle Thornbrough and Dorothy Riker, eds., *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 9 vols., 1972-1983).

[18] Donald G. Jones, *The Sectional Crisis and Northern Methodism: A Study in Piety, Political Ethics, and Civil Religion* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1979), 2.

[19] Charles Sims, *The Life of Reverend Thomas M. Eddy ,D.D.* (New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1879).

[20] Clarence True Wilson, "Bishop Matthew Simpson, the Man Who Inspired the Emancipation Proclamation," *Current History*, 31 (1929): 99-106; Horace Greeley Smith, "The Life of Matthew Simpson," *Methodist History*, 1 (1963): 43-51; James Kirby, "The Bishop Who Almost Stood with Lincoln, *Methodist History*, 7 (1968):31-37; and Robert D. Clark, *The Life of Matthew Simpson* (New York: Macmillan, 1956).

[21] Frank Smith Bogardus, "Daniel W. Voorhees," Indiana Magazine of History, 27 (1931): 91-103.

[22] Francis Asbury Hester Family Collection, Methodist History archives, DePauw University.

[23] Timothy Mohon, "Southern Methodism in Brown County, 1874 to 1907," *Hoosier Genealogist*, 45 (2005): 78-84.

"Indiana leads the van"[1]: Quaker Prison Reformers and the Founding of the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls, 1869-1873

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By the beginning of the nineteenth century, it became customary to imprison individuals who broke the social contract, for whatever reason, in order to separate those individuals from the life of the ordinary, honest, and industrious citizen. Those individuals who broke the social contract were deserving of imprisonment, adjudicated by a jury of their peers or the judgment of a magistrate, incarcerated in a penitentiary or prison, and subjected to a sentence of days, months, years, or even execution at the hands of the state. Once in the hands of the state, they received either their "just deserts"—condemnation by the general public, followed by punishment or retribution at the hands of the impartial, blind justice of the state—or forgiveness, followed by correction and rehabilitation at the hands of those who governed their lives in the penitentiary/prison.

Crime and sin were bound together in the minds of most people in the nineteenth century. The very name of the prison, the penitentiary, reflected this bonding—it was a place of penance, but also a place of retribution. Imprisonment in the penitentiary had two contradictory outcomes: the correction and rehabilitation of the offender and the retribution of the state directed at the physical body of the offender.[2] These contradictions remain true today.

Since most individuals in prison came from the poverty-stricken areas of the urban centers in early modern Europe, a link was made between being poor and committing sin in the minds of many people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

century. Therefore, many of the early reformers of the older system of penitentiaries in Europe, and the founders of new prisons in the United States were devout members of Christian sects. Many of these men and women had undergone a religious awakening and felt called to "practical service" on behalf of the Lord among the forgotten and unfortunate members of their society.[3] They entered poverty-ridden urban ghettos in order to alleviate the hunger of the poor, to clothe the poor, to educate the poor, and to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ to the poor.

Of particular interest to these reformers were those individuals incarcerated in prisons, those individuals who were most in need of a friendly face, a welcoming embrace, and a revelation of God's plan for them. Utilitarian concerns, however, also dominated the discourse of nineteenth century reformers, in which they concentrated on the consequences of an action, rather than motives for the action. Behavior modification was their goal; "education, discipline, hard work, temperance and religion" were their tools.[4] Incarceration in a prison had removed the offender from "tainted external forces"[5] so that the offender could be re-formed or re-made into a new man or a new woman. Disorderly males could become sober, industrious, and honest workers and responsible fathers. Depraved women could become sober, industrious, honest and virtuous housewives and helpmates to either husband or employer, leading a life of domesticity, piety, and submissiveness. They would embrace their true womanhood. All would be well in this re-formed and re-made world.[6]

Within the prison reform movement in the United States and the United Kingdom, the Quakers or Friends formed its backbone. Quaker men and women took the lead in the re-formation or re-making of the incarcerated offender. One of the most influential of the early Quaker reformers was a woman, Elizabeth Gurney Fry, who took an interest in the re-making of the female offender in early nineteenth century England. She wrote and published an influential pamphlet on female offenders in 1827, called "Observations on the Visiting, Superintendence, and Government of Female Prisoners." The text opened with a short disclaimer, common to female authors for centuries when

they wrote about subjects often reserved for discussion and analysis among men.

> Well knowing my incompetency for the task of writing for the public, I have felt considerable reluctance in sending to the press the following brief observations respecting the principles and plans adopted by the *British Ladies Society for visiting prisons*: but, my long experience of the nature and effects of the system pursued by that Society and the numerous applications made to me for farther explanation and information on this interesting subject, induce me to make an attempt, on which I should not otherwise have ventured.[7]

The pamphlet contained ten chapters, of which six of those chapters deal with specific topics pertaining to the prison, its officers, guards, and prisoners—"On Female Officers in Prison," "On Separate Prisons for Females and on Inspection and Classification," "On Instruction," "On Employment," "On Medical Attendance, Diet, Clothing and Bedding, and Firing," and "On the Attention Required by Female Criminals on their Leaving Prison."[8]

Fry believes that women should re-purpose or re-form women. She encouraged respectable women in England to visit public institutions, maintaining that "were ladies to make a practice of regularly visiting them, a most important check would be obtained on a variety of abuses, which are far too apt to creep into the management of these establishments."[9] Above all, Fry believed that women should guide and supervise women in all public institutions, "from the female placed in the prison for her crimes, in the hospital for her sickness, in the asylum for her insanity, or in the workhouse for poverty."[10]

In particular, Fry maintained that female offenders were "persons of light and abandoned character. To place them under the care of men is evidently unreasonable and seldom fails to be injurious to both parties."[11] Accordingly, she stated bluntly that female offenders should be kept in a facility separate from the male officers and male offenders in the prison.[12]

Women and only women, called matrons and their assistants, the turnkeys, should have access to the female

quarters of a prison and supervise the female offenders. Matrons should live on the premises of the prison. A prison matron

> ought to be a person of respectable, orderly and active, habits,--in plain in her dress,--gentle, yet firm in demeanor,-- of sufficient education to enable her to superintend the instruction of the prisoners,--and although not *greatly* elevated above her charge, yet in a station of life so far superior to their own, as to command their respect and obedience. . . . Above all it is most desirable that persons appointed to fill so responsible a situation should be decidedly religious themselves, and heartily engaged in promoting the reformation and spiritual welfare of those who they are called upon to govern.[13]

Fry went on to assert that

> Prisoners, once brought into the prison, should be classified according to a four class system—all based on character and conduct—for example, ample privileges should be given to those whose character and conduct are proper and exemplary. As the offender's character and behavior changes appropriately, the offender should progress steadily through the four-tier system until she is given parole. Imprisoned prostitutes and hardened offenders should be separated from the other women and subjected to "peculiar privations and hardships" in an effort to re-form their character and spirit.[14]

Fry noted that women who habitually broke the law were often unable to read, and so they needed elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, plus instruction in a practical skill, such as "plain needlework, knitting, washing and ironing, house-work, cooking, spinning and weaving", and even patchwork.[15] All of these tasks, Fry argued, should be a part of life in the prison—good, hard work was essential to their reformation, for many women had fallen into a life of crime through "idleness and vice."[16] She believed that instruction in the Christian religion was necessary to their re-formation, also. She

emphasized that "true religion and saving faith are in their nature *practical* and that the reality of repentance can be proved only by good works"[17] by the offender in her future life in the prison and outside of the prison one day.[18]

Fry finished her pamphlet by discussing the medical care which must be given to the offender, and the diet, clothing and bedding that must be allowed for the offender. Wine and hard liquor, for example, should be forbidden to those incarcerated, but allowed for medicinal purposes. However, malt liquor should have been allowed for those offenders in close confinement or subjected to hard labor. Food should be plain and in sufficient amounts to maintain the health of the prisoner; bedding should be sufficient to maintain warmth on cold nights and free of vermin, and finally, a plain and simple prison uniform should be provided for the offender.[19] In addition to the uniform appearance of an offender (who also bears a number), Fry recommended that "long hair of female felons" should be cut off, as a "harmless punishment" and the "humiliation of spirit" so necessary to their true re-formation.[20]

Fry also urged the women of the visiting society to be vigilant once an offender was released back into society. They were asked to "protect her from the influence of her old associates, and to introduce her, if possible, to some safe and respectable situation."[21]

Fry's work had an impact on prison reform and female offenders far beyond that of her native England. It had a direct influence on those men and women who convinced the Indiana General Assembly to authorize the construction of and to appropriate funds for an Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls on 13 May 1869. After construction lasting over the next four years, the new prison was opened for inmates on 8 October 1873.

Prior to that date, women offenders in the state were sent to the Indiana State Prison, South, in Jeffersonville, Indiana. There, they were held in a Female Department. Few women were subjected to long prison sentences in Indiana at this time. Most of the incarcerated women had committed the crimes of grand and petit larceny and spent one to three years in the state prison. They were locked into one area of the prison and left under the supervision of male guards. The Moral Instructor of

the Prison, James Runcie, asked for the appointment of a Matron to the Female Department in 1857.[22] Two years later, a female assistant keeper supervised the women. A decade later the directors, the warden, and the officers all agreed in their annual reports "that a separate prison should be provided for female convicts."[23] The Matron of the Female Department in 1868, Elizabeth Gerber, stated, "It is a painful reflection to see them one by one, as they leave the Prison with minds averse to good, with hearts full of sin, only to re-enact the scenes of their former life, and to sink still deeper into degradation."[24] She believed that the only answer was "a well regulated Female Prison, separate to itself and under the control and management of female officers," so as to restore the female offenders to true womanhood.[25] The directors, warden and other officers campaigned strongly for the creation of a state prison for women. They wanted the women removed from the facility. For example, Dr. William H. Sheets reiterated in his Physician's Report of 1872, "None of the females are sick, yet a large number of them are constantly complaining, as their constitutions are broken down by the previous hard and reckless way of living."[26]   When the women were removed in 1873, the physician was overjoyed and "very much relieved" of the annoyance and expense of treating the female offenders.[27]

Although the directors, warden and other officers had wanted a new prison for women seemingly for many years, the prime movers behind the creation of the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls were a Quaker couple, Charles and Rhoda Coffin, from Richmond, Indiana, and their circle of friends and associates, including the first superintendent of the facility, Sarah J. Smith, an Englishwoman and disciple of Elizabeth Gurney Fry. Rhoda Coffin had "consecrated herself to bear the standard of the Lord in practical service, and soon pressed forward for the betterment of those in lowly conditions, the fallen and the outcast . . . having higher possibilities and ends for them."[28] The Coffins were among the men and women who founded of the National Prison Association. Charles had become part of the financial administration of the organization, and Rhoda delivered papers on the reformation of female offenders to the group at its annual meetings. Coffin's core idea, as presented in these papers, always remained.

Hope, therefore, should be instilled and kept alive in the mind and heart of the convict, . . . Women are great imitators, easily influenced by stronger minds, hence the wisdom of surrounding the prisoners constantly with the hallowed Christian influence of their own sex. Both common sense and reason teach that woman is the best adapted to have charge of, meet the wants, and supply the needs of female prisoners. She alone can understand the susceptibilities, temptations, weaknesses, and the difficulties by which such prisoners are surrounded; she alone can enter into the innermost recesses of their being and minister thereunto.[29]

Governor Conrad Baker asked the Coffins to investigate conditions at the two state penitentiaries, one to the north in Michigan City, and the other to the south in Jeffersonville, Indiana, in 1868. Women offenders were held in the prison to the south in what the Coffins believed were terrible conditions. The Coffins reported to the governor that the female offenders were isolated in a single room at the facility. If the woman broke the rules of the facility, they were stripped and whipped in the public area of the prison. Furthermore, they had no privacy and were forced to bathe in full view of the male guards and the male prisoners. While in the prison, some female offenders had become pregnant and were raising their children in the prison. Other prisoners who arrived pregnant, gave birth in the prison, and raised their children inside the walls. The Coffins were outraged when at least one male prisoner reported that the prison guards entered the female quarters in order "to gratify their lusts"[30] He begged, "please do, for God's sake, do something for those poor women, their condition is terrible, it is perfectly awful."[31]

For most people in Indiana, the prisoners in both penitentiaries were beyond redemption and servants of Satan, and so deserved to be imprisoned as if they were wild animals. The reformers believed otherwise. They thought that even the most depraved individual could be changed utterly through the application of proper discipline and the gospel of Jesus Christ. Sarah J. Smith, for example, always maintained that "It is this fact that ought to arouse the Christian public to the importance of

reclaiming them. If not reclaimed, it is a well-established fact that they sink lower and still lower in the scale of crime until they become a burden upon the community in which they live, and, sad to relate, leave no stone unturned to poison the minds of those around them."[32] These reformers acted on these beliefs, campaigning for the establishment of a separate, free-standing prison for women in the state of Indiana that would be under the direction of women.[33]

Once the Coffins made their report to the Indiana General Assembly, "great indignation was aroused." Rhoda Coffin maintained that "The people of Indiana would not tolerate such treatment of women prisoners. Although they were violators of the law, and some of them most debased, still they were, the minds of the people, entitled to protection."[34] The Quakers threw themselves into the task of convincing the Indiana General Assembly to pass an act establishing and funding a women's prison. Both Rhoda Coffin and Sarah J. Smith lobbied among the men, seeking support for the bill, and Rhoda Coffin addressed the Senate, exposing the condition of the women's prison at Jeffersonville.

Reform efforts were successful. The Indiana General Assembly established the "Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls" on 13 May 1869, and a suitable piece of land already owned by the state, located to the east of Indianapolis and near the United States Arsenal, was selected for the prison. The commandant of the federal arsenal was approached and agreed to have a warning system installed—a telegraphic bell—linked to the prison.   In an emergency, his men would support the prison officers, and help with any problems.[35]

Isaac Hodgson, a local architect, submitted the winning bid for the design of the facility. He modified the Auburn style prison to meet the needs of the state—a central core containing cells and administrative offices, ordinary and traverse wings for workrooms—all constructed from stone, brick, and other cheap, but durable materials. Within the central core would be residences for the officers and matrons of the prison, who would live within its walls, and their administrative offices, plus in the Penal Department wing, a block of individual cells would be constructed. The Penal Department was in the east wing of the facility. It had a series of individual cells, numbering forty; which

had iron grates and iron-lined floors. Work rooms were located in the traverse wings. Since the facility had a basement, as the population of the Penal Department grew, an additional twenty small cells could be opened. It was a design to which additions could be made without damaging the symmetrical appearance of the two-story facility.[36] The Board believed that the projected design provided for "direct surveillance" of the girls and women "under one continuous roof" in two separate and distinct departments, plus adequate provision for an on-site superintendent's residence near the main building. Behind the main building the design called for a power plant, water and shower closets, and stables.[37]

Once the Governor signed the appropriation bill, construction of the facility went forward and nearly $50,000 in work was done. However, the Institution had an unexpected set back. The Indiana General Assembly did not appropriate money for the facility in the next two years. Eventually, Governor Conrad Baker, managed to pry the money out of the Legislature in a supplemental act that appropriated $50,000 to complete the building and pay the previous debts (with interest), on 3 February 1873. Virtually all of the companies involved in the construction of the facility were paid their original charge plus interest. For example, Isaac Hodgson originally charged the State $1,127.96 for his professional services. Because of the delay, the State paid him that amount plus interest, $1,306.53.[38] The facility was finished in late summer of 1873.

All officers were appointed on 10 June 1873, and salaries fixed on 29 July 1873. A physician was further appointed and salaried on 8 October 1873.[39] All the officers, living on the premises of the prison, except for the superintendent's husband, were women, pursuant to Section 7 of the Act that "The Superintendent and all subordinate officers of said institution shall be females."[40] As the facility prepared to open in early October of 1873, the new superintendent, Sarah J. Smith, "visited the penitentiary at Detroit, the better to understand the workings of a model prison. Many similar institutions had been visited in England; yet, the American character, life and habits differ so widely, I thought it best to have a precedent near our field of operation."[41] And pursuant to Section 9 of the Act, the superintendent and her officers were directed to "Reform the

characters, preserve the health, promote regular improvement in the studies and industrial employment of the inmates . . . secure them in fixed habits of industry, morality and religion."[42]

On 4 October 1873, the governor ordered the warden of the South Prison, Jeffersonville, to transfer his female offenders to the new facility in Indianapolis. The warden, the chaplain and the matron escorted seventeen women in manacles and shackles to the Institution. They "feared we should have trouble, as the moral character of some was below hope and two were dangerous."[43] The seventeen women arrived on 8 October 1873. Sarah Smith removed their shackles and manacles, and joyously welcomed them to their new home. Smith ensured that the women were "constantly under the influence of pure womanly examples" and received "the best moral and religious training and influence."[44] Within a few months, the Board of Visitors reported that

> It was very gratifying to those members . . . who had seen some of these same women in the prison at Jeffersonville to observe how greatly their condition and surroundings have been improved by the transfer . . . they seem, judging from their appearance and deportment to have made considerable progress towards the regaining of their own self-respect, which is the first step in the reformation of their lives and characters.[45]

The Penal Department would be a temporary residence for ten of the women who had sentences of less than three years for grand and petit larceny. Others would remain in the facility until their deaths or their release at the expiration of their sentence.[46] For example, Sarah Hubbard, sentenced to life in prison for murder, on 15 April 1856, spent the rest of her life in the facility, dying of general debility on 13 January 1887.[47] Another of the original seventeen, an African-American woman, Cynthia Gray, sentenced in 1873, died in October of 1880 of willful exposure according to the Physician's Report.[48] However, Mary A. Longanecker, sentenced to life in prison for murder, on 20 May 1865, was released from the facility on 2 May 1888 and given discharge money of $15.00.[49] Four more women would be added to the Penal Department before the end of the year, Ida

Haines and Ella Booker on 23 October 1873; Drusilla Broaddy and Bridget Hennerry on 18 November 1873. All were sentenced to short stays, more than one year and less than three years, for Grand Larceny.[50]

When the women arrived in the Penal Department, each woman resided in a cell. The cell was "neatly furnished, with an iron bedstead, good husk mattress, a chair, small square table with a white muslin cover, a Bible and Hymn Book on it, a small looking glass, the bed clothed in white, white curtains over the window, a locker for her use, and a pot of flowers in the window."[51] From the beginning the superintendent applied equal parts of discipline, education and religion, in order to re-form the female offenders committed to her care in 1873. For, as she had once stated,

> Little hope is placed upon a prisoner until brought under the loving power of the Christian religion. Not by prayer and preaching alone do we expect to effect the change. Constant employment to keep the mind from dwelling too much upon or past evil association, appreciation of well-performed duties, the privilege of attending Sabbath and evening school, reading and recreation, kindness and care in sickness—these are the great helps to preaching of the word which, by faith, becomes effectual to the salvation of their souls and works the radical change in their lives and characters. This is the lever by which they are lifted to a higher plain of truth, virtue and honest, changing some of the most hopeless into useful and respectable women.[52]

The superintendent believed that her program had been wildly successful, cheerfully documenting the reformation of numerous women in her final annual report of 1883.

> Nothing more fully confirms our faith in this than the fact that in the ten years we have had but twelve recommitments—a surprising thing in prison history. What but the power of Divine Grace could have subdued and restrained two hundred fifty of Indiana's lowest and most degraded women, working together, often with unlocked doors, exercising on

open grounds under the care of our faithful, competent Assistant, Mrs. Johnson.[53]

Certainly Sarah Smith's words rang true in terms of changes in prior practices. This review of the beginning of modern more humane practices in the Indiana women's prison system certainly indicated that much of these changes were the results of ongoing reform efforts and that several women and men deserve to be remembered for this work.

Appendix 1
The Seventeen Original Prisoners delivered to the Facility on 8 October 1873[54]

County	Name	Charge	Date of Sentence	Duration of Sentence	Outcome of Sentence
Grant	Sarah Hubbard	Murder	15 April 1856	Life	Died in Prison 13 January 1887[55]
Marion	Mary A. Longanecker	Murder	20 May 1865	Life	Released on 2 May 1888[56]
Washington	Sarah J. Williams	Murder	16 March 1868	Life	
Jennings	Mary Ann Adams	Murder	27 May 1871	Life	
Vanderburgh	Cynthia Gray (African-American)	Murder	4 October 1873	14 Years	Died of willful exposure in October 1880[57]
Marion	Mary Lewis	Manslaughter	22 October 1872	6 Years	
Marion	Amanda Seibert	Forgery	12 November 1869	5 Years	
Tippecanoe	Sarah J. Stevens	Grand Larceny	22 January 1872	2 Years	
Marion	Amanda Turner	Grand Larceny	5 December 1872	2 Years	
Vigo	Bridget	Grand	4	3 Years	Escaped

	Mulholland	Larceny	October 1873		on 1 Sep 1873, recaptured on 7 Sep 1873[58]
Vanderburgh	Nelly Walters	Grand Larceny	4 October 1873	2 Years	
Warrick	Georgia King	Grand Larceny	4 October 1873	2 Years	
Marion	Nelly Howard	Grand Larceny	4 October 1873	2 Years	
Marion	Fanny Hill	Grand Larceny	4 October 1873	3 Years	Shown as released on 8 April 1873[59] Discharged in April 1876[60]
Marion	Bell Evans	Petit Larceny	4 October 1873	1 Year	Discharged in June 1877[61]
Marion	Ella Johnson	Petit Larceny	4 October 1873	1 Year	
Floyd	Jennie Harper	Petit Larceny	4 October 1873	1 Year	Discharged in September 1876[62]

Notes

[1] "Indiana leads the van in the completeness of her confidence in woman's powers" from the "Paper Read at the Annual Meeting of the National Prison Congress, Saratoga Springs, New York, September 6th to 10th, 1884", 173-189, in Mary Coffin Johnson (editor) *Rhoda M. Coffin: Her Reminiscences, Addresses, Papers and Ancestry* (New York: The Grafton Press, 1910), 175.

[2] Larry E. Sullivan. *The Prison Reform Movement: Forlorn Hope* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990), 1.

[3] Johnson, *Reminiscences*, 3-4.

[4] Sullivan, *Prison Reform*, 4.

[5] Mark E. Kann. *Punishment, Prisons and Patriarchy: Liberty and Power in the Early American Republic* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 49.

[6] Kann, *Punishment*, 36-49 and Estelle B. Freedman. *Their Sister's Keepers: Women's Prison Reform in America, 1830-1930.* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1981), 54.

[7] Elizabeth Fry. *Observations on the Visiting, Superintendence, and Government of Female Prisoners.* (London: John and Arthur Arch, Cornhill, Hatchard & Son, Piccadilly; and by S. Wilkin, Norwich, 1827), 1.

[8] Fry, *Observations,* Table of Contents.

[9] Fry, *Observations*, 4.

[10] Fry, *Observations*, 7-8.

[11] Fry, *Observations*, 26.

[12] Fry, *Observations*, 31.

[13] Fry, Observations, 28-29.

[14] Fry, *Observations*, 35-36.

[15] Fry, *Observations*, 51.

[16] Fry, *Observations*, 48.

[17] Fry, *Observations*, 45.

[18] Fry, Observations, 40-53.

[19] .Fry, *Observations*, 54-62.

[20] Fry, *Observations*, 61.

[21] Fry, *Observations*, 65-66.

[22] *Annual Report of the Directors of the Indiana State Prison for the Year, 1857, to the Governor* (Joseph J. Bingham, State Printer, 1857), 281.

[23] *Annual Report of the Officers and Directors of the Indiana State Prison, South, 1868, to the Governor* (Indianapolis: Alexander Conner, State Printer, 1868), 10.

[24] *Annual Report, South, 1868*, 28.

[25] *Annual Report, South, 1868*, 28.

[26] *Annual Report of the Directors and Officers of the Indiana State Prison South, For 1872, to the Governor* (Indianapolis: R. J. Bright, State Printer, 1872), 16.

[27] Annual Report, South, 1873, 11.

[28] Johnson, *Reminiscences*, 3-4.

[29] Johnson, *Reminiscences,* 166-167.

[30] Johnson*, Reminiscences*, 151.

[31] Johnson*, Reminiscences*, 151.

[32] *Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls for the Year ending October 31, 1881 to the Governor*. (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, 1882), 13.

[33] Johnson, *Reminiscences*, 153.

[34] Johnson, *Reminiscences*, 154.

[35] *Second Report of the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls for the Year ending December 31, 1873 to the Governor* (Indianapolis: Sentinel Company, Printers, 1874), 12.

[36] *First Report of the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls for the year ending December 31, 1870 to the Legislature* (Indianapolis: R. J. Bright, State Printer, 1871), 5-6

[37] *First Report*, 5.

[38] *Second Report*, 4-5.

[39] Mrs. Sarah J. Smith and Mr. James Smith, husband and wife, were appointed as the Superintendent and the Steward of the facility, and given an annual salary of $800 and $400 respectively. The Smiths filed a $10,000 security deposit (guarantee of the couple's management of the facility) with the Secretary of State, pursuant to Section 8 of the Act of 13 May 1869. Other officers appointed were Mrs. Elmina Johnson, Matron, $500; Miss Martha Pray and Miss Annie

Mather, teacher and assistant teacher, $400 and $180 respectively. The men associated with the prison: Theophilus Parvin, M.D., $400/year; engineers Robert and William Gray, $720 and $660 per year respectively; and a night watchman, W. Moore, $600 per year. *Second Report*, 7.

[40] *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Managers of the Indiana Industrial School for Girls and of the Indiana Woman's Prison for the Year ending October 31, 1899 to the Governor.* (Indianapolis: Wm. Burford, 1900), 56.

[41] *Second Report*, 15.

[42] *Twenty-Eighth Report*, 57

[43] *Second Report*, 15.

[44] *Second Report*, 26-27

[45] *Second Report*, 26.

[46] *Second Report*, 18.

[47] *Sixteenth Report of the Board of Managers of the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls for the Year Ending October 31, 1887 to the Governor* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, 1888), 16.

[48] *Ninth Report of the Board of Managers of the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls for the Year Ending October 31, 1880 to the Governor* (Indianapolis: Carlon & Hollenbeck, 1881), 22.

[49] *Seventeenth Report of the Board of Managers of the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls for the Year Ending October 31, 1888 to the Governor* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, 1889), 32.

[50] *Second Report*, 18.

[51] Johnson, *Reminiscences*, 156-157.

[52] *Tenth Annual Report,* 14.

[53] *Twelfth Report of the Board of Managers of the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls for the Year Ending October 31, 1883 to the Governor* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, 1884), 11.

[54] Every effort has been made to discover what happened to the first seventeen offenders incarcerated at what would become the Indiana Woman's Prison, based on information in the Annual Reports from both the Indiana Prison South and the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls. However, some individuals who may have been discharged in the first two years of the new facility's operation were not listed by name in reports.

[55] *Sixteenth Report*, 16.

[56] *Seventeenth Report*, 32.

[57] *Ninth Report*, 22.

[58] *Annual Report of the Directors and Officers of the Indiana State Prison, South, December 15, 1873, to the Governor* (Sentinel Company, 1874), 47.

[59] *Annual Report, 1873*, 39.

[60] *Fifth Report of the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls Year Ending December 31, 1876 to the Governor* (Indianapolis: Sentinel Company, Printers, 1877), 35.

[61] *Sixth Report of the Managers of the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls for Ten Months Ending October 31, 1877 to the Governor* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Journal Company, State Printers, 1878), 18.

[62] *Fifth Report,* 42.

Soup, Justice and Workplace Democracy: The Columbia Conserve Company, 1917-1943[1]

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A Commitment to Industrial Democracy

The Columbia Conserve Company, located at 1735 Churchman Avenue (at the Belt Railway) on the south side of Indianapolis from 1912 to 1953,[2] employed some 200 workers at its height. Its business activity was canning tomato, chicken noodle, and other varieties of soups, and related items such as pork and beans, tomato juice, and catsup. Yet if soup was the main product at Columbia, justice in the workplace was its primary purpose or sine qua non. Under the leadership of its president, William P. Hapgood, and the cooperation of several members of his family who owned the company, a comprehensive experiment in industrial democracy was launched at Columbia that endured for a quarter of a century from 1917 to 1943. During this period of time, Columbia received national and international recognition for such innovative achievements as: a workers' council which managed the company; a profit,-sharing and stock trust plan that resulted in majority ownership of the company by employees; and various workers' benefits such as free comprehensive health coverage, a pension plan, and sickness and disability pay.

Speaking on January 6, 1920, at the Annual Meeting of Stockholders, which included employees, Hapgood, made reference to the fact that Columbia had just completed the thirty-second month of its "experiment in employee management." He emphasized that the experiment had produced, if nothing else, the important achievement of eliminating "ill-will from our business." Stating his belief that such antagonism "between employees and employers is almost entirely responsible today

for our industrial ills" Hapgood went on to observe that the reason such ill-will had been vanquished from Columbia was due to the fact that the company was "operating on the best principle of life, that is, justice." Proposing that two members of the Board of Directors, in a departure from previous practice, be elected from the rank and file during elections later that evening, Hapgood defended his proposal by reference to this same "principle of justice" and the need for "some means by which the voice of any individual employee, no matter what his rank, can carry through any opposition to the final control of the business. . . ."

Hapgood (1934, p.4) was more articulate about this concept of workplace justice in a pamphlet about Columbia's experiment written some years later in which he argued that justice has to do with a recognition of the right of workers no less than that of owners/managers to share equally in the decision-making process:

> Just as in political government, the making of laws is a human right and not an economic right, so in industrial government the control and direction of business should be vested in the industrial citizens, the workers. These laws should deal with all matters concerning those who work. Not only would the workers determine the length of time they should work, but they would also determine their incomes, their share of the total production, choose their own associates and release them, elect their own leaders, promote and demote them, and decide upon all the policies of the business.

While the above proposition would have struck many people in Hapgood's time and, indeed, our own period today as a non-sequitur, nonsensical viewpoint at best—and as an extreme, radical and subversive idea at worse—it was not a political or revolutionary position, let alone trade union labor politics, in the ordinary sense of those words that Hapgood was here espousing. For Hapgood, the idea of industrial democracy was simply a logical, self-evident extension and *progression* of the American *political culture*, rooted in democratic values and norms, to the industrial setting. Justice in the workplace, just as

in government and political affairs, meant the elimination of autocratic decision-making power, based on the somewhat arbitrary privilege of ownership, in favor of democratic decision-making based on the right of all who are subject to such decisions to participate in the process. As Hapgood (1934, p. 6) wrote: "In a genuine democracy each one of us must have the opportunity to share in making decisions as to the rules under which we live together."

Yet while justice and democracy in the workplace was viewed by Hapgood as good and desirable for its own sake, he also emphasized that industrial democracy was vastly superior to its counterparts in promoting industrial efficiency. Industrial democracy was superior not only because it reflected American ideals of democracy, equality and justice; it was also superior because of its great utility in promoting organizational efficiency. Hapgood made this point clear in a speech he gave at the 1920 Annual Meeting of the company when he observed that workplace democracy eliminates "enormous waste" and "inefficiency." The key to avoiding what Hapgood called the "waste of brains," for example, and having "men and women in industry using their minds" on their jobs and in their work, is for them to have the "correct attitude toward the business." Yet in order for such an attitude to exist on the part of the worker it cannot be imposed externally from the outside; it must be voluntarily accepted and validated by the worker if workers are to strive to make themselves into "efficiency expert(s)." Workplace democracy was desirable for Hapgood because, rooted in the principle of justice and equality for all workers, it encouraged the individual worker to perceive his or her self-interest as being advanced when the business itself is advanced. The legitimacy of decisions arrived at collectively through a democratic process was thereby enhanced, increasing the likelihood of worker acceptance and compliance with those decisions. As Hapgood (1934, p. 34) later wrote: "When a group of people have authority to make the rules by which they live and labor, they will nearly always abide by those rules." In the language of modem sociology (Blumberg, 1968), worker alienation is reduced and worker satisfaction, commitment and productivity are enhanced through workplace democracy.

Hapgood (1920, p. 12) was critically engaging and decisively rejecting Taylorism, the   industrial efficiency model prevalent in his era. As Hapgood saw it, Taylor's so-called scientific management approach to the workplace was flawed because it failed to get at the root cause of worker productivity:

> You will recall that a man named Taylor made a great name for himself by what he called efficiency work. In my judgment he began at the wrong end; he went at it in the wrong manner. He tried to get increased efficiency by decreasing the amount of movement made by the employees, by putting in his watch system, by putting on tests... I do not think any efficiency movement will result satisfactorily unless the desire comes from the foundation -- from the men and women working in the factory. If you WANT to be efficient you will be. If you wait for some of us above you to force you into efficiency, you will not be.

Taylor approached the problem of worker efficiency externally, from the outside, as a technical matter to be solved administratively through a specification of the right organization of the work task. Hapgood instead approached the issue of worker productivity as a socio-political problem involving recourse to such fundamental principles as justice and democratic organization. Just as Hapgood viewed the rank-and-file worker as a social and political being with more or less the same basic needs, if not always the same talents, as the "technician" (supervisory, professional staff),[3] he likewise viewed the factory as a socio-political entity and challenge.[4]

Hapgood believed he understood better than Taylor what it would take to have workers identify with the business and to exemplify the same kind of commitment and dedication on the job as shown by owners, management, and other "technicians" (professionals).   What it would take, Hapgood (1934, p, 4) reasoned, is nothing less and nothing more than applying the American solution to government to the sphere of business and the establishment of industrial democracy. The solution seemed perhaps self-evident or obvious to Hapgood: "Government of the workers, by the workers, for the workers."

It is interesting to note, with regard to worker efficiency at Columbia, the conclusions of a contemporary, Paul H. Douglas (1922/23, pp. 22-25), who had studied Columbia: "On the whole...there seems to be more than substantial justification for Mr. Hapgood's belief that the company has fared better with the plan than without it...because it has resulted in the workers putting their best efforts and intelligence into developing the business." Douglas offered several examples of labor-saving devices created by employees: an automatic feed on the catsup-filling machine conveyor belt, a low-level vat in the kitchen from which soup ingredients are pumped into large kettles several feet above the floor, and an automatic process for cleaning chicken soup cans of fatty drippings after being filled. As further evidence of worker efficiency, Douglas (1926, pp. 39-40) cited the "eager and inventive spirit" reflected in Columbia's success in canning chop suey, which its rivals could not duplicate. He likewise reported that hourly output in 1922 was 46% higher than the 1918 average, and in 1924 it was 78% above that of 1918.

It is worth noting that Hapgood's emphasis on the principle of workplace democracy sharply differentiated him from the mainstream of labor no less than that of the business world of his time. Two examples may be cited to illustrate this point. First, Samuel Gompers (1920, p. 286), to alleviate the apprehension of business leaders in his advocacy of collective bargaining, opposed precisely the kind of worker control and participation put forward by Hapgood:
"Collective bargaining does not imply that wage earners shall assume control of industry, or responsibility for financial management... there is no belief held in the trade unions that its members shall control the plant or usurp the rights of owners."

Second, the American Federation of Labor in 1925 fully endorsed Taylor's system of scientific management. In so doing it embraced the basic philosophical tenets of Taylorism, which involved viewing the issue of industrial efficiency according to a rather narrowly defined technical perspective that excluded a concern with such fundamental humanistic issues as justice and democratic decision-making for workers in the workplace. Consistent with this philosophy, in fact, the A.F.L. rejected an application by Columbia for a union charter, as reflected in the following letter of November 12, 1932, from William Green,

President, American Federation of Labor, to the Columbia Conserve Company: "the conclusion reached by the Executive Council was adverse to the proposal, as...the relations between the Company and its employees are not the relations of employer with its employees, paid a stipulated wage per day or per week, but the employees are stockholders in the Company and are not paid on a wage working basis."[5] The American labor and trade union leadership, ironically yet perhaps not surprisingly, found itself in the position of rejecting one of the more progressive strands of the American nascent labor movement of the early twentieth century. Organized labor apparently had no more stomach for democracy in the workplace than did the mainstream business community.

Neither fish nor fowl, the Columbia Conserve Company, with its commitment to social justice in the workplace, did not fit into either the trade unionism or the capitalism of its day. The message was clear: Columbia along with the precious few other businesses organized around the principle of democracy, would be isolated from both traditional business and labor and would have to sink or swim, make it or perish, pretty much on its own.

The Early Years: 1917-1924

While Columbia had been in business for several years prior to the beginning of its experiment in workplace democracy, it was not until 1917 that it had produced a significant profit. Due in part to this financial success, the pro-worker sentiment of the firm's major owners, William P. Hapgood's mother and brothers, and the urging of Columbia's president, William P. Hapgood himself, Columbia took several important steps toward establishing democracy at the business in the period 1917-1924. These included: (1) a workers' council which was responsible for managing the business, (2) a profit-sharing plan for workers, and (3) employee representation on the Board of Directors.

Workers' control and involvement in managing Columbia began in 1917 with the creation of a leadership Committee consisting of ten persons, seven of whom were elected factory representatives and three others who were appointed by the owners.[6] The Committee had all managerial authority, subject only to the Board of Directors,[7] over policy and operations for the company. During the first year only, William P. Hapgood had the

right of veto over any of the Committee's decisions and, in later years, this veto power was extended to the Board of Directors.[8] In theory this Committee, and later the Council which replaced it, decided all matters by a simple majority vote, but in practice this body often sought to arrive at a consensus on matters it dealt with.[9]

Hapgood (1934, pp. 4-5) observed that the first problem in moving toward workers' control of the business, namely, gaining the trust of workers and overcoming their distrust of owners, was an easier one to solve than the second problem of overcoming workers' lack of confidence in themselves. Whether or not one accepts Hapgood's view of the relative ease of solving the first over the second problem, it seems clear that the Committee did not waste much time -- nor appear to have lacked enough confidence -- to test both the limits of its decision-making power and the extent of Hapgood and his family's commitment to sharing such authority with workers. Early on in its tenure in 1917, the Committee tackled two important issues: the schedule of working hours and the placement of rank-and-file workers on salary.

A work week of fifty-five hours during most of the year, except during the peak packing season from late August through October when longer hours were required, was the norm at Columbia. At the end of the second month of its operation, the Committee sought to change this norm by proposing a reduction from 55 to 50 hours per week. Perhaps not coincidentally, members of the Committee first brought this matter up for discussion during Hapgood's absence, when it was endorsed by those present. Although William P. recommended upon his return, and the Committee agreed, that the implementation of the decision be delayed for a month due to an increase of sales, the new fifty-hour week was enacted after this short delay. This was the norm at Columbia until 1921, when Council, after a brief trial period, reduced it to a forty-four hour work week (an eight-hour day, five days a week and a half-day on Saturday), excluding, again, the peak canning period from August through October which required a greater hours.[10] Shortly thereafter, in April of 1922, the working schedule was again changed to a five-day week and nine-hour day during the non-peak period.[11] The latter was reaffirmed in November 1923 with the added provision that

workers will be paid for a full ten hour day although they work only nine hours. [12]

It is worth noting that the canning industry was no different during Columbia's time than it is today, namely, a highly seasonal industry in which work is concentrated during the harvest period when products such as tomatoes must be packed within a very short time. It is certainly one of Columbia's most remarkable achievements that it was possible for the Committee in 1917 to discuss and eventually approve a policy of year-round employment for most employees. This was accomplished through placing the majority of workers, except for a small group of surplus temporary wage workers employed only during the canning season, on annual salary. As Hapgood (1934, p. 21) observed: "We finally agreed that our first responsibility thereafter should be regularity of employment... Accordingly we placed most of the wage force on a salary basis with the understanding that they would be retained by the year..."

The Committee was replaced in 1918 by a dual governing structure involving a Council, which assumed the Committee's former decision-making authority, and a Factory Committee, which became advisory to Council until 1920, when it was disbanded due to apparent lack of interest.[13] Council membership was initially restricted to supervisory staff such as department heads, while the new Factory Committee was an elected body of "rank-and-file" (i.e., non-supervisory) workers. Within the space of a few years, however, criteria for membership on Council was broadened sufficiently to be open to any regular, full-time employee who was willing and able to attend its bi-weekly meetings (Hapgood, 1934, p. 15; Douglas, 1922-23 & 1926). In June, 1921, Council decreed that any salaried employee could become a member by attending eight consecutive meetings; likewise any Council member who missed two consecutive meetings without reason could be dropped.[14] Even this restriction was removed in 1924 so that any employee, including wage workers, could attend and vote in Council meetings without prior attendance (except on an issue that the Council determined could be voted upon only by its senior members, a situation that occurred only once in 1925).

A very generous profit-sharing plan by any standard then or now was introduced at Columbia in 1917-18 in which all profits, after expenses and taxes, were to be divided equally between stockholders and employees. For this purpose an annual salary of $1000 was made the equivalent of $1000 worth of stock and both the worker and stockholder received the same dividend based on their $1000 "share." Profit-sharing was limited in 1917-18 to salaried employers and dividends were often paid in the form of stock which Columbia would buy back at par value from employees for cash. The dividend paid to stockholders and employees alike was 10% in 1917, 12% in 1918, 6% in 1919, 12.5% in 1922, and 10% in 1924. Columbia made no profit in 1920, 1921, and 1923, due to depressed business conditions. Workers' share of total profits amounted to 10.8% in 1917 and $11,800 was distributed to employees, workers' share was 8.7% of all profits in 1918 and $5,900 was allocated, workers' share was 8.8% of all profits in 1919 and $5,000 was distributed to workers, workers' share of profits was 14.6% in 1922 and $6,880 was distributed to employees, and workers' share of profits was 17.9% in 1924 and $12,600 was distributed to employees.

Beginning in 1920, at Hapgood's suggestion, two of Columbia's five-person Board of Directors were to be from the rank-and-file, non-supervisory class of employees.[15] Hapgood hoped that greater representation of the rank-and-file worker on the Board would alleviate any lingering concerns or doubts on the part of the rank-and-file that the interests of the majority of workers were not being safeguarded. Over time, as the membership and authority of Council increased, the Board of Directors became less and less prominent in company affairs to the point where it became a virtual rubber stamp for the decisions of Council.[16] Council dealt with a wide range of topics, including manufacturing decisions and marketing strategies, an employee classification system for salary and a determination of each employee's salary, including the salaries of Board members and company officers, as well as the range of benefits they should receive.

Placing Columbia's workplace democracy in perspective, a few facts concerning profit sharing and employee management in the industrial era of its time speak volumes. As of 1923, businesses with 250 or less employees represented 96.5% of all

manufacturing concerns and only 3.8% and 2.5%, respectively, of small plants offered profit-sharing plans and works councils.[17] In 1920, the National Industrial Conference Board found only 97 profit-sharing plans in existence in the country.[18] In 1919, there were but 18 works councils among industrial establishments (seven in the food industry) of less than 200 employees, and even fewer -- 12 -- by 1924.[19] And in no case did any of these works councils actually have managerial authority and responsibility comparable to that of Columbia's Council.[20] As one contemporary student of Columbia, Paul H. Douglas (1922/23, p. 6), observed: "Unlike every other shop committee that I know of, no subject was excluded from their consideration, for they were empowered to deal with any question that related to the factory as a whole, whether it had to do with adjusting 'wages, hours and conditions of labor' or general factory problems of management."

The Golden Years: 1925-1930

By the year 1925, Columbia had achieved considerable success in establishing workplace democracy through its employee management and profit-sharing plans. Norman Hapgood, William's brother and also a major stock-holder in the company, stated at the Annual Meeting of January 18, 1924, that Council "has really learned its job," in reference to its ability to successfully manage the company during a period when William P. Hapgood was ill and unable to work. Columbia had put into place by 1925 a number of progressive employee benefits and working conditions. In addition to placing workers on regular, full-time employment throughout the year and shortening working hours, workers also received a month-long vacation with pay, full pay due to sickness and injury, and a fully paid maternity leave of six weeks for both wage and salary workers -- the latter representing Columbia's innovative leadership in many areas taken for granted by labor today.[21] Yet even more was to be accomplished at Columbia in the next few years that would further solidify its framework of workplace democracy and significantly add to employee benefits and working conditions.

Perhaps the single most important event during this period was the offering and acceptance of a contract between stockholders (primarily the Hapgood family) and salaried

employers which provided for the eventual ownership of Columbia by its employees. Professor Douglas (1922/23, p. 32) of the University of Chicago, who had visited and studied Columbia in its early years, wrote: "It is conceivable that the absentee owners of the company may come to disapprove of the experiment and call a halt upon it." He concluded that it would be "desirable for the workmen gradually to take up the stock of the owners and thus come to own as well as to manage the industry." Accordingly, the Hapgood family began in late 1924 to discuss with Council a plan whereby employees could acquire ownership and control of Columbia. Professor Douglas in fact visited Council in March 1925 to discuss the Hapgood proposal with employees and, after revision and re-submission of the plan, a long discussion was held on December 18, 1925, in which Council voted 57 to 1, with one abstention, to accept it.

The new contract between Columbia's stockholders and its salaried workers assigned net profits to workers after (1) dividends of 10% were paid on common stock and salaries, [22] (2) reserves were set aside for taxes and depreciation, and (3) 10% of the remaining amount was set aside as a pension fund under control of Council. Net profits were to be used by workers to purchase common stock at $150 per share until all common stock had been bought. Not unlike the year 1917, when workplace democracy began at Columbia, 1925 was a very profitable year which resulted in some $50,000 becoming available to salaried employers for the purchase of common stock. Council decided on January 5, 1926 to establish a trust fund for workers overseen by three trustees elected by Council who would have legal title to the common stock acquired by this contract and the right to vote at the annual stockholders' meetings "subject to the advice and consent of Council." The final contract was signed on January 15, 1926, by 93 salaried workers. Due to profitable years from 1925 through 1930, with the exception of 1927, workers at Columbia acquired 51% of common stock in July, 1930, and legal control of the company, a fact that was widely reported in most major newspapers throughout the nation, including the New York Times, Indianapolis Star and Indianapolis Times. Within a few more years, workers collectively owned 63% of common stock.

Working conditions; including wages and other employee benefits, improved substantially during this period. When older workers were no longer able to work, they were provided with pensions.[23] Group life insurance was also made available to employees with the company paying 25% of the cost. A health committee was established in 1926 and successfully recommended to Council in 1927 that a physician be engaged to make daily visits to the plant for consulting about employees' illness and accidents. This program was expanded in 1929 to include regular examinations for employees and other medical intervention, including hospital care, at company expense. There were physicians on staff along with a medical advisor, [24] Columbia also took financial responsibility for the health care of dependents, at first by establishing a fund which would loan funds to employees to repay on the basis of ability to do so, and, then, later by underwriting the cost for all dependents.[25] Dental and eye care for employees, including the cost for one pair of glasses, was included as part of the health benefit.[26] And, indicative of their new positions as employee-owners, Council decided in July, 1929, that salaried employees would no longer be required to punch in on the time-clock.

Education was another central concern to Columbia that was demonstrated in several ways. It had become customary from the outset for outside speakers to be invited to speak at Council meetings on topics of general interest, especially those involving social and labor issues.[27] An arrangement between Antioch College, Ohio, and Columbia existed in which male and female students were hired for alternate, rotating six-week internships at the company.[28] Students from such universities and colleges as Ames Agricultural College, Iowa, Indiana Central University (now The University of Indianapolis), Butler University, and Earlham College, Richmond, were employed so that they might learn about industrial democracy and as a means of potential recruitment of college graduates to Columbia.[29] Columbia workers were given a chance to further their education through scholarships for summer school at the University of Wisconsin and other schools.[30]

Perhaps the most compelling evidence of Columbia's commitment to education is exemplified by its extraordinary efforts to "start an educational department to deal with the social

sciences, beginning with economics and the history of the labor movement." (Hapgood, 1934, p. 38)   Council made the decision to employ an instructor in "the history of economics and social philosophy" in July 1925. [31]   Several months later on November 13, 1925, on the recommendation of William P. Hapgood, Council made an offer to Jack Evans, a teacher who had experience instructing miners in Wales. Although initially reluctant to accept the offer,[32] Jack Evans did finally agree to join Columbia in November 1926,[33] assuming at first the roles of librarian and chair of the library committee.[34] Classes were begun in late February, 1927, and demand was sufficient by April of that year to require doubling the number of classes to alleviate overcrowding.[35] Another teacher and a graduate of Yale University, J. Levering Evans, was offered a position at Columbia in April, 1927, due to the apparent demand for classes.[36] This educational program was short-lived, however, due apparently to a lack of continuing interest on the part of workers. Hapgood (1934, p. 39) wrote: "The classes were held outside of working hours and most of the workers were too tired to apply themselves to a new undertaking following the regular day's work. It was difficult, also, for them to understand how the information they were acquiring in classes would assist them in business." The program was revived again in 1930 with 14 classes per week in such areas as Industrial History, Elementary Economics, and Labor Problems, with a total enrollment of 83 employee-owners. However, this program was once again abandoned with the advent of the Depression and the company conflict of 1932-1933.

Personnel issues, especially salary matters, appear to have dominated much of Council's attention throughout the mid to late 1920s. Prior to 1925 there were three or four categories for classifying most employees with the exception of supervisory staff such as foremen and forewomen, department heads, and other administrative personnel and excluding most salesmen who were on a commission basis. Women were paid on a parallel but lower scale. For example, the salary scale for males and females per week over the seven year period 1917 to 1924 was as follows (minimum, class c, to maximum, class a, rates):

YEAR	MALES	FEMALES
1917	$14 - 17	$09 - 11
1918	$17 - 19	$12 - 14
1919	$21 - 24	$13 - 15
1920	$22 - 26	$14 - 17
1921	$22 - 26	$14 - 17
1922	$22 - 26	$14 - 17
1923	$24 - 27	$16 - 18
1924	$24 - 27	$16 - 18

On January 23, 1925, Council abolished the foregoing classification system for salaries and appointed a committee to formulate a new plan. The main reason for dissatisfaction with the old system was that there were too few categories for satisfactory placement of all workers. Accordingly, the committee reported back on New Year's Eve day with a new salary scale of ten levels beginning with a minimum of $18 for level 1, $24 for level 5, $30 for level 9, and any amount over $30 determined by Council for level 10. The scale was gender neutral or the same for men and women, however, most women at Columbia tended to occupy positions at the lower end of the scale except for those few in an office or supervisory capacity. The salary scale as well as the philosophy underlying it was changed again on March 24, 1926, when it accepted a committee's proposal "to pay married man in proportion to his financial needs." Council decided to establish $24 per week as the minimum salary for a married man (versus $19 minimum for a single male), with the further stipulation that every man who currently received less than $30 would receive an additional $1 per week for each child under 16 years old, up to three children, and up to a maximum of $30. Payment over $30 per week was to be based only on merit and not on the basis of financial need.

The issue of gender equality under this new system of payment based on need was brought to Council on March 25, 1927, when it considered and voted down several motions concerning female heads of households being placed at the same minimum salary of $24 as men were then receiving.

However, as was the Columbia way, it was decided to defer this topic to a later meeting after a committee had time to study the matter and make a recommendation to Council.[37] It was agreed shortly thereafter that the marriage differential and child allowance would be paid to any woman who was the head of the household and the chief economic provider for her family, demonstrating Columbia's commitment to gender equality and justice. On this score, Columbia displayed a real commitment to gender equality in the workplace which was many years ahead of general American business practice.[38]

Apparently anxious about the newly revised salary schedule and those placed within it, Council appointed on May 20, 1927, a brand new committee, the Salary Key Committee, to examine the salaries of all employees and to suggest if necessary another new salary key. The committee reported back to Council in July, 1927 with the new salary key, which included not only familiar rating criteria such as work efficiency but also less familiar criteria such as understanding of Columbia' s co-operative goal. The new salary guidelines were approved and the Salary Key Committee spent the next half a year determining employees' salaries on this basis.

Several important policies in relation to salary issues were decided by Council in December, 1927. These included on December 3rd and 5th a unanimous reaffirmation of the belief in a minimum salary (then $19 per week), approval of a $9.50 per week marriage differential, and approval of a $1 per week increase in the child allowance to $2 per child per week.[39] On December 9th and 10th, Council decided that single men and women would begin at the same minimum salary, the marriage differential and child allowance would be paid to employed widows and widowers to enable them to care for their children, the single minimum salary would be raised to $20.50, and that the marriage differential would be an additional 50% of the single minimum salary (or $10.25).

As if all this were not enough, salary issues continued to be discussed in Council throughout 1928 and 1929. Hapgood (1934, pp. 28-29) summarizes this process and the final outcome.

At one time we spent over a year in an attempt to find a scale by means of which we could more clearly determine the contribution of the employee to the business, and thus estimate more exactly what his income should be. Finally a committee of the most able men and women in the plant was chosen to give this problem serious study.... In the early part of 1929, after the committee had reported its complete inability to find a satisfactory method of payment based on comparative merits, Council reviewed its whole experience with the problem and agreed unanimously that payment of salaries on the basis of need should henceforth be our method.

To pay wages and salary on the basis of need rather than merit represented a radical departure from the customary practice employee compensation. Throughout April and May, 1929, every employee's rating and salary was reviewed by Council according to two different sets of criteria: (1) efficiency and (2) need. Nearly every employee, except for a few technicians, received higher pay when being rated under the new system for payment according to needs. Council decided to pay on the basis of need except for those persons who wished to be paid strictly on the basis of efficiency because their salary would be higher this way. In addition a needs committee was charged with the responsibility of reviewing requests for special needs (Hapgood, 1934 p. 30). With the adoption of this salary plan based on need, Columbia clearly departed from the mainstream views of both big business and organized labor with regard to employee wages and compensation.

The Depression Years and Early Strains, 1931-1932
The financial impact of the Depression was initially very mild at Columbia. In 1930, Columbia was by far the leading national packer of private label soups for over 160 private labels, and these brands were distributed through 500 jobbers and over 250 distributors nationwide in most states and major cities/towns. Its business outlook in 1930 was excellent and, in the absence of clear economic signs of a severe and significant disruption of the business cycle just around the corner, Columbia entered the

1930s highly optimistic and quite unprepared for the economic decline that was to come.

The first indication that the financial situation of the company was more serious than anyone realized was the financial report of March 20, 1931, and news of a sharp decline of 30% in sales. Still, at this point in time, William P. Hapgood believed that the sales problem was primarily a marketing and distribution one involving jobbers and, therefore, a problem capable of remediation with greater sales effort on the part of the company. It became increasingly apparent, however, throughout the late spring and summer of 1931 that the general economic situation was becoming steadily worse and would likely remain so for some time. Canned soup, after all, had been bought by consumers for convenience and as a time-saver, and as the depression widened and deepened and more people lost their jobs and incomes declined, soup became a luxury that many could no longer afford.

In April and May, 1931, Council debated whether or not to release wage workers. After hearing the recommendation of a committee, and after much emotional debate and soul-searching, Council reluctantly voted on May 15, 1931 to let wage workers go. In retrospect, this lay-off would signal the beginning of difficult financial times at Columbia and would be the first of many cutbacks that would have to be imposed over the next months. Two weeks later, on May 29, 1931, Council discussed a proposal put forward by William P. Hapgood for a 50% salary reduction for all salaried employers in order to cope with the growing deficit. In part this suggestion resulted from Columbia's inability to repay, in view of the seriously depressed economy and resulting slow sales, a twelve month loan to Fletcher American National Bank of Indianapolis. Although another loan was secured from the Central Trust Fund of Chicago at a lower interest rate to meet the latter obligation, operating expenses were quickly outpacing slow soup sales and Council agreed on June 1, 1931, to the temporary salary reduction of 50% of the 1930 salary rate for as long as financial conditions made it necessary.

All cost cutting measures at Columbia were predicated on the co-operative principle that salary reduction was preferable to the discharge of any employee due to economic reasons.

Although some employees did resign or were fired for cause during this period, Columbia laid off no salaried employees due to financial exigency at this or any other point in its history, an exceptional performance for such a business at the time. By the beginning of September, 1931, salaries were raised back to 70% of the 1930 rate; by the beginning of October, 1931, to 80%. However, due to the worsening economic situation, another salary reduction in the spring of 1932 of about 20% was proposed, and on April 22, 1932, Council agreed after much discussion to reduce salaries to about 60% of their 1930 rate.

There was disagreement about whether health benefits and other aspects of the "social program," as it was referred to, should be sacrificed prior to a salary reduction, but a majority of workers favored retaining the benefits and, instead, reducing salary for all. As the economic situation continued to deteriorate, several additional cost-cutting measures were debated and eventually instituted within the next few months.[40] More drastic measures were voted by Council in May, 1932, including a further 33% reduction in payroll (every third paycheck was skipped) due to a lack of operating funds, elimination of free health care for dependents, and elimination of free meals at the plant during overtime.

Council had approved the first proposal for a 50% salary reduction on June 1, 1931 as a deferred payment, that is, with the assumption that the lost income would eventually be repaid. However, one year later, Columbia was still paying deferred salaries, when it was able to pay salaries at all, and in June, 1932, the company bookkeeper, Howard Herner, suggested that deferred salaries be removed from the company books and an unofficial list be kept of the income due each worker. Council passed this recommendation as a motion, but it was informed shortly thereafter by its CPA that this was an illegal practice and that Council should have canceled unpaid salaries in full, Council, therefore, reluctantly agreed on July 1, 1932, to officially cancel all deferred salaries, but in so doing it was informally understood that these would be paid back when the company was financially well.

After the cancellation of deferred salaries from the company's books, Columbia's operating loss was $70,000 as of July 15, 1932. With the use of available funds in the surplus

account, this deficit was reduced to about $40,000. Without the cancellation of deferred salaries from the books, the company would have been closer to $110,000 in the red, seriously impairing its financial independence and perhaps even risking receivership.[41] Nevertheless, the formal cancellation of deferred salaries was controversial and, for the first time perhaps at Columbia, a deep and lingering feeling of distrust and suspicion, if not outright hostility, appears to have existed on the part of more than a few workers toward the company and its leaders. The existence of such a divisive mood is reflected by the fact that the motion to officially cancel all deferred salaries was challenged, although unsuccessfully, by some employees just one week after Council had approved it.

One factor underlying this controversy and moral problem was the unresolved, structural tension—even contradiction—implicit in the dual role of worker-owner at Columbia. Workers were being asked to recognize that, as part-owners, they could not receive income for wages when the company was operating at a loss. At the same time, many workers saw themselves as employees who were entitled to a wage as long as they put in hours for the company, regardless of its financial situation. Workers were owners collectively under the trust arrangement, and majority ownership of the company enabled them to collectively administer and manage the firm; but individually the worker did not share directly in the financial aspect of ownership since he or she had no individual access to the wealth represented by the common stock as, for example, when or if he or she left the company. This tenuous, abstract character of worker ownership would play some role in fostering social unrest at Columbia in the months ahead.

Personal and Factional Conflict, 1931-1933

A second factor contributing to the morale problem at Columbia stemmed from major unresolved differences within the sales department regarding personalities, management styles, sales strategies, and opinions of how best to respond to the economic crisis. All of these various differences and tensions appear to have crystallized around William P. Hapgood's introduction and promotion of the Columbia label, which many in the sales department opposed.

Partly to offset the declining sales of private label soups, which were then having difficulty competing with Campbell's, William P. Hapgood, head of the sales department (as well as general manager and president), proposed a new marketing strategy to promote the sale of its soup. Columbia's story of workplace democracy, which had by this time received a good deal of local and national publicity, was to serve as the focus of a national advertising campaign.[42] Slogans included lines such as "made by cooks who care," and "the business without a boss," which was taken from an article in the Indianapolis Times of February 13, 1930, by its editor, Boyd Gurley. This article was reproduced in pamphlet form and provided to wholesalers and others for distribution to consumers. Advertisements were placed in local Indianapolis papers, the Times and Star, and national media such as the Christian Science Monitor. Even labels on cans told about the Columbia experiment:

> No wonder we make such fine soups, catsup, tomato juice and other products. We the workers own the business. We are proud we have succeeded, and succeeded because we have done better work because we cared. Not one of us has been discharged on account of hard times. For us there is no unemployment. There are 52 pay envelopes a year, old age pensions, expert care in sickness and in health, three weeks vacation with full pay. Why should we not make good products? If you think this plan should spread, and if you find this product is better because it is made by cooks who care, please tell your friends about it.

As another example, a twelve segment weekly serial, "Where Labor Recaps Its Full Reward," was run primarily in labor, co-operative and other newspapers. Articles written about Columbia by both those inside and outside the company, for example, "Where Workers Rule," by Powers Hapgood, which appeared in *The Railway Clerk*, also helped to publicize workplace democracy at Columbia around the nation. Finally, a speakers committee composed mainly of sales staff, including William P. and his son, Powers, was organized to provide speakers for church and college groups, labor unions, and business groups.

At first William P. 's publicity plan called for placing a reference to Columbia and its unique workplace democracy on the labels of private distributors for which Columbia packed. However, due to the reluctance of some private labels (including those in Indianapolis) to go along with this idea, Hapgood advocated selling soup directly under a brand new Columbia Conserve Company label. Such a step which would place it more or less directly in competition with Campbell's Soups. Hapgood was encouraged in this plan by a combination of (1) small but significant pockets of local markets throughout the United States where Campbell's soups had not penetrated and (2) strong grass-roots support among socially concerned and Church-based groups in New England (New Haven), the Midwest (for example, Michigan), the West coast, and elsewhere. Such groups of consumers were very attracted to the story of Columbia' s commitment to workplace democracy and appeared to be willing to help the company promote its soup.[43]

Canning for private labels had pretty much enabled Columbia up to this time to avoid high advertising costs, but the private label business was now clearly distressed and its future outlook uncertain. Hapgood' s new marketing program was designed to produce badly needed sales of Columbia soup, but it did have some risks. It was unclear whether the Columbia label could stimulate sufficient soup sales and, during a period of financial hardship and cutbacks for workers, it would be using scarce resources. Advertising costs had been very modest up to the late 1920s, while publicity and advertising costs for 1931 alone exceeded $40,000. This was roughly the same amount of deferred salaries which Council, as we have seen, officially canceled in July 1932. Some of the sales staff also argued that the Columbia label took business away from its own private label business which, if true, would be self-defeating.

Yet, at the same time, doing nothing was likewise not without risks of its own. The bottom line was that the company could not survive very long without increased soup sales. Could the new sales program succeed and, if so, could it succeed before the company went bankrupt? Or would it merely hasten bankruptcy? And, perhaps most importantly of all, could the controversy and differences of opinion relating to this and related matters be

satisfactorily resolved within the framework of workplace democracy at Columbia?

Disagreement and contention within the sales department over the Columbia label resulted, at the end of 1931, in the division of the sales department into two departments, one dealing primarily with the new Columbia label business in New England, the Midwest, the West, and the Chicago area, and the other with the remaining private label business.[44] This arrangement lasted only a few months, however, since it had become apparent that the structure was inefficient and all sales staff, with their consent, were again placed under the direction of Hapgood.

The business picture presented at the Annual Meeting of July 15, 1932, was grim and provided little basis for future optimism. Sales were down about one-third over the previous year, and there was a net operating loss for the year of $70,000. The bad news precipitated a tense atmosphere involving various charges concerning who and what was to blame for the current financial crisis. The Columbia label and Hapgood's autocratic style of management was cited by some as the leading cause, while others pointed to the factionalism introduced at the plant by the newer "college group" that was trying to impose "socialism" on the others. Still others cited deferred salaries as the reason. In spite of the foregoing expression of discontent by some, the same persons who had served the previous year were re-elected to the Board of Directors shortly later that evening at the stockholder's meeting.[45]

Relations between Hapgood and many in the sales department continued to deteriorate throughout the next several months, as evidenced by the confrontational and personal nature of the final Council meeting of the year. At the December, 29, 1932, meeting, Hapgood was attacked and rebuked by several members of his sales staff. John Brophy, a former trade unionist and relative newcomer, criticized Hapgood for his autocratic style of management. He also criticized Hapgood for certain aspects of the Columbia label project, especially the emphasis on the social program at Columbia to market soup. He suggested that "the foundation on which the publicity was based was based has been gradually destroyed... (and that) many of the elements which made the story valuable do not now exist." While

admitting that selling soup under the Columbia label was a correct decision, since it was selling quite well, many of the sales staff felt that too much money was being spent on an "advertising orgy." They also believed that the marketing program should emphasize price and quality over Columbia's workplace democracy, which they claimed was no longer in existence due partly to Hapgood's autocracy. Hapgood defended the decision to sell soup under the Columbia label. He pointed out that the publicity campaign, involving public speaking and advertising in selected papers, was actually very modest in cost, considering the results. Hapgood defended the promotion of Columbia label soup with an emphasis on the company's workplace democracy and resulting social programs. Finally, he suggested that for the staff to try to tell the manager or other "technician" (professional) how to lead a department was taking democracy to an "absurdity and ruin."[46]

An attempt was made at the first Council meeting of the new year, January 4, 1933, to restore at least some of the civility which had recently been lost by adopting a more formal requirement that persons stand when addressing the group. However, the rupture in social relations and community was far deeper than could be restored by such simple measures. This was clearly evident in a speech given by John Brophy directed against William P., in which he stated that 95 per cent of Columbia label sales would have been gained anyway without the assistance of the publicity program. He further accused William P. Hapgood of having an "obsession with show and front," and he suggested that all of the emphasis on publicity was "a form of self-intoxication" for Hapgood. Following Brophy's speech, another salesman, Frank Eustis, made the motion that no money be spent on publicity for the first six months of the year. Hapgood responded by explaining that they were in the middle of a promotional campaign in Michigan that relied upon public speaking and other publicity to sell soup, and that he had already made commitments to people which he felt obligated to honor. Eustis further stated that some of the speakers who were promoting soup were misrepresenting the program by the omission of important facts. He then digressed to a criticism of stockholders' contracts, dividends' problems, the relation between Columbia and the Hapgood Farm, and the bookkeeping

that was being done for the Hapgoods by the company. After much acrimonious debate and discussion, Eustis' s motion was passed by Council.[47]

Two days later, on January 6, 1933, another Council meeting was held in which Hapgood stated that he would resign within two weeks if he was not allowed full authority to run his department. Brophy immediately challenged Hapgood's demand as "undemocratic" and he claimed that Hapgood was asking for a "dictatorship." At this point William P. Hapgood withdrew from the meeting, leaving behind his brother, Norman, to represent his point of view. After some discussion, in which some of the sales staff argued in favor of accepting Hapgood' s resignation, the motion was made by Dan Donovan, an ally of Brophy' s (and brother-in-law to William's son, Powers Hapgood) and member of the sales department, not to accept Hapgood' s resignation.

Although Donovan's motion was passed unanimously, the major issue appeared unresolved, according to Norman Hapgood. Before William P. was invited back to the meeting, Norman gave a long speech in which "he made an effort to explain the meaning of the vote" regarding publicity on the previous Wednesday. He contrasted the goals and purposes of the "old guard or the builders" of the company with the "new group" of "hot-air artists whose platform is to fight, organize and speak." Norman declared that a choice must be made between William P. and "a small group of socialists and trade unionists." He further suggested that Council consider releasing two people in order to remove the major obstacle to harmony and to "make it possible (for the business) to go on." Norman put this in the form of a motion and asked that Council vote for "either Hapgood or Brophy-Tearney." Norman's motion was attacked by several members of the sales group. Out of a sense of solidarity with the two leaders, nine more individuals voluntarily added their names to the list along with Brophy and Tearney. However, before the motion was called for a vote, Norman left the meeting and returned with his brother. Speaking upon his return to the meeting, William P. offered to remain in his position as sales manager if Council would set aside its motion from two days earlier regarding publicity funds, which Council agreed to do. Hapgood also demanded that "trade-union political tactics" being used by some in the plant be stopped, as well as the personal,

ad hominem, attacks on him by Brophy. Brophy responded by accusing Hapgood of harboring a "Messianic complex," and of failing in practice to live up the ideals of democracy about which he had been preaching for so many years.[48]

What had begun ostensibly as a disagreement over advertising policy had escalated into a showdown between two factions for control of the company. On the one hand, there were the trade unionists and others within the sales department led by Brophy. On the other, there were the administrative staff and department heads, officers, and other long-time members of the organization, including William H. Hapgood. Obviously, such social and political conflict could not have come at a less opportune time for Columbia, given the on-going economic crisis which gave no sign of relief. Indeed, the financial report presented to Council on January 20, 1933, showed there had been a loss of $62, 000 over the previous six months and a loss of $12, 000 over the most recent two months alone. It was noted that the company probably had fifty more employees on the payroll than it could afford. Clearly, by adding more problems to its already pressing financial agenda, Columbia risked disintegration, bankruptcy, and receivership. No doubt the seriousness of the economic situation weighed heavily on the minds of the Hapgood faction as it considered its options for what, in its view, amounted to saving the business from certain ruin.

The Council meeting of Monday, January 30, 1933, lasting from 6:00 P.M. to 9:45 P.M., was without doubt the most controversial, ferocious and bitter assembly of workers ever held at Columbia. A few days earlier, Frank Eustis had decried the fact that too much power was concentrated in the hands of William P. Hapgood and a few others in the company, a situation that he claimed undermined "real industrial democracy" at Columbia. Accordingly, Eustis had made an unprecedented proposal to invest a substantial sum of money in the company if there was a re-election of all leaders within the plant under the authority of Council (virtually all managerial and administrative staff with the exception of the Board of Directors). No decision had been made on this proposal at the time it was presented, although there had been much heated discussion. It was the major item of business on January 30th when, after further

acrimonious debate and a call for a secret ballot, a motion to reject Eustis's proposal was defeated 57 to 43.

Just before the vote on Eustis's motion, William P. Hapgood revealed to Council that there had been efforts to arrive at a compromise prior to the meeting. These efforts involved his son, Powers Hapgood, who had close ties to members of the trade union faction and who had been recently recuperating at home due to an accident.[49] They also involved Brophy, Donovan and Tearney of the sales group. Hapgood's plan involved withdrawal of Eustis's motion and a sixty day truce. Hapgood observed with respect to his compromise plan that an "olive branch has been extended and it had been rejected" by the Brophy faction. William P. reported, further, that the Board of Directors had recently learned that it had the legal authority and obligation to direct the business. Specifically, he noted that the Directors could, individually, be held "criminally liable" for acts or omissions which led to destruction of the business. Accordingly, while the ballots on the Eustis motion were still being counted, William P. informed Council that the Board of Directors had met prior to the current meeting and, by a vote of 4 to 1, had empowered him, as President, to discharge Brophy, Donovan and Tearney immediately. This revelation stunned many of those present, since Council had assumed in theory and practice for years that it, not the Board, was in charge of such matters. After bitter personal remarks and heated exchanges between various persons, a motion was made to disapprove of the Board's action. It passed by a vote of 44 to 20, with 17 abstentions. Perhaps in part because of the Council's vote of disapproval of the Board's action, and perhaps in part because many still hoped for a more just resolution of issues "without bloodshed," efforts were made over the next few days to arrive at a more desirable way out of the present situation. A pivotal role in this regard appears to have been played by Powers Hapgood, who had strong personal, family and ideological ties to both parties in the conflict.[50] The conflict between his father and wife's relatives and his friends was literally tearing Powers apart emotionally.

Powers appeared at the Council Meeting of February 3, 1933, to share his perspective on recent events. He identified two main issues which needed to be addressed: (1) should a worker be discharged for merely stating his or her opinion in

Council? and, (2) has the Board acted properly by its assertion of authority over Council? To both of these questions, he replied in the negative, siding essentially with the Brophy-Donovan faction. At the same time, Powers defended the good intentions of William P. with respect to his commitment to democracy. Powers explained that he viewed the differences between his father and others on industrial democracy as rooted in an honest disagreement over where legislative and executive functions begin and end. He refuted the suggestion of duplicity against William P. and Norman Hapgood made by Frank Eustis' s question regarding the ownership of stock held by the brothers' wives by observing that "it happened to be true but other such statements had not always been true and no attempt had been made to give the right impression," noting that "it looked like it was simply an attempt to prove that the Hapgood brothers could not be trusted."

Powers offered two possible proposals for discussion. He suggested first the plan he favored, namely, an internal committee of five including two members from each faction and one impartial person. The committee would discuss the issues and report back to Council in two weeks. He also offered a second plan suggested by William P., namely, a committee composed of outsiders that would likewise study Columbia and offer recommendations on various issues. The outside committee might include Sherwood Eddy, Jerome Davis, Paul Douglas, and James Myers, individuals who were somewhat acquainted with the Columbia experiment and well regarded by both factions.[51] The latter proposal was eventually endorsed by Council after discussion.

It is an open question whether Power's appearance before Council and its adoption of this plan was, as Powers had hoped it would be, a healing rather than a widening of the breach.[52] As Brophy acknowledged, there had been much discussion on several issues and "the breach had been cut deep and wide." Nevertheless, a formal agreement between both factions and the Committee of Four was reached on February 26, 1933, and it was formally approved by Council the next day. The agreement was to run until April 1, 1934, and the Committee would make a number of recommendations on a number of issues of concern by November 1, 1933. During the interim, temporary limits were

placed on the authority and responsibilities of both the Board and the Council. Brophy, Donovan and Tearney were reinstated on condition that they agree to working for the common good and avoiding politics while at work. Future discharges by the Board were to be avoided except for cases of gross insubordination.[53]

Unfortunately, the agreement with the Committee of Four appears in retrospect to have been too little, too late, to bring about any meaningful cessation of political strife among the principals at Columbia. As events would show, the breach was, indeed, too deep and wide to be repaired. Within just a few weeks of signing the agreement, on March 13th, John Brophy and Ethlyn Christensen wrote a joint letter to the Committee objecting to the limits placed on Council meetings.[54] Powers Hapgood, perhaps sensing the futility of his attempt to secure a compromise between the factions, offered his letter of resignation to Council on March 17, 1933, stating that he no longer believed he could "be either happy or useful" at Columbia. Frank Eustis, meanwhile, had been engaged in an active campaign against both the Board and William P. Hapgood. This campaign included meetings with Columbia's major creditor and other activities seemingly contrary to the spirit, certainly, if not the letter of the February 26th agreement, which he had signed. In response William P. wrote a letter of April 3, 1933, to Jerome Davis about Frank Eustis's conduct requesting the Committee of Four to allow for the release of employees for reasons other than insubordination. The authority to terminate employees for inefficiency, subject to review by an independent mediator, was granted by the Committee of Four to the Board in a letter to William P. of April 11, 1933.[55] William P. requested Eustis's resignation in a letter of April 12, 1933.[56] Ethlyn Christensen and two others, including the Council chairman, protesting the inclusion of inefficiency as a basis for termination and lamenting the loss of democracy at Columbia under Hapgood's autocracy, tendered their resignations to Council on April 14, 1933.

Finally, in a letter of April 4, 1933, William P. wrote Jerome Davis with another request from the Board to be released entirely from the February 26th agreement with the Committee since "there is very little possibility of the two groups into which we have become divided finding a solution of these troubles by discussion and compromise. [57] William P. once again advocated

this position on Monday, May 8th, when he informed Council that it was high time for the worker-owners to decide between either himself or the Brophy and Donovan faction. The ostensible reason for Hapgood's demand was a hearing on the previous Saturday involving a hearing by the impartial arbitrator regarding the case of Frank Eustis who, refusing to resign, had been terminated by the Board. According to Hapgood, the administrative staff who had sat through the meeting had reported to him that they could not and would not go through such a "strain" again. The three men were asked to leave the meeting so that others could freely discuss the situation in their absence, but Brophy and Donovan left only after, upon their insistence, a vote was held on the will of the majority regarding their attendance.[58] After a long discussion in which procedural as well as substantive issues were discussed, three motions were made and voted upon: First, the motion to accept Hapgood's resignation was defeated unanimously; second, a motion to discharge Brophy was passed by a vote of 48 in favor with 14 opposed and 9 not voting; third, a similar motion to terminate Donovan was passed by a vote of 47 in favor with 13 opposed and 7 not voting.

William P. clearly had the overwhelming support of workers and why not? He and his family had demonstrated by word, deed and a sharing with workers of their business investment in Columbia their deep commitment to workplace democracy. The matter with Brophy and Donovan was not yet over, however. A Special Council Meeting was held on May 15, 1933, to consider a letter from the Committee of Four which disputed Council's authority under the agreement of February 26th to discharge an employee without review. Apparently Brophy and Donovan, who had long experience in rough and tumble workplace politics, had contacted the Committee of Four with their complaint. The letter to Council stated that either Brophy and Donovan were not terminated at all or, if so, they were entitled to an impartial review of their cases.

A motion was made in Council to cancel the agreement and to ask for the withdrawal of the committee. The rationale for this motion was the right to self-determination by workers-owners: the maker of the motion stated that members of the committee were unable to help those at Columbia solve their problems

because, on the one hand, they were both too distant and too unfamiliar with the details of their situation and, on the other, they simply did not have the responsibility to run the business which must accompany decision-making. It passed 58 to 1, with 3 abstentions. The Committee of Four, when informed by Council of its action by telegram, must have been surprised. They responded by stating that Columbia workers-owners needed their protection. The Committee also protested that Council's decision was illegal. After the passage of several months and further correspondence between Columbia and the Committee of Four, the Committee made good on its threat to lodge a "strong public protest and full report," an action which brought adverse publicity to Columbia. Public airing of the matter by the publication of the Committee of Four's report in several periodicals, which had previously been positive and supportive of the Columbia experiment in workplace democracy, created a public relations disaster for the company in the months following cessation of conflict.[59] As a result, Columbia lost whatever moral and competitive edge it may have had in the marketplace over its competition with respect to its claim to social justice in the workplace. In this respect it seems clear that the Committee of Four itself became too involved personally and failed to accept the fact that an overwhelming majority of workers had in a democratic fashion *voted* in favor of William P. versus the Donovan-Brophy faction. In retrospect, it appears that the Committee of Four lost sight of the forest due to its focus on a tree or two and not only failed to support workplace democracy when it should have done so but then out of spite did all it could to harm the company and workers who remained.

Declining Years: 1934-1943

The combination of economic depression and internal conflict had taken a considerable toll on the material and mental resources of the company. With respect to the financial condition of the company, Columbia had sales of $626,191 but a loss of $87,754 during the fiscal year ending June, 30, 1933. A very modest profit was made for several years afterwards, reaching a high of $46,648 in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1937. However, losses again occurred over the next several years until a profit of about $56,000 was earned in 1942. This was

immediately followed by a loss of a little under $20,000 in 1943.[60]
As Hapgood noted in a letter of November 27, 1939, to Mr.
Treadwell Cleveland of Allerton, Massachusetts, sales continued
to be the major business problem for Columbia during this
period, as it had been earlier:

> The outstanding material problem is sales. I think I did fairly
> effective work up to 1931 but since that time I have not been
> able to accomplish the sales results which are necessary if
> we are to return to the rate of earnings we secured prior to
> 1931. I know our chief problem but not how to solve it. It is to
> show our customers how to put up a successful battle
> against both Campbell and Heinz and particularly Campbell.
> That problem is what I call sales promotion. The national
> advertisers accomplish it by large scale and skillful
> advertising. That method is closed to us on account of the
> multiplicity of labels under which we pack our products.

Workers-owners at Columbia continued throughout this
period to be paid a portion of the 1930 base rates of $22 per
week for a single person, $33 per week for a married man/head
of household, with $2 additional for each child up to a maximum
of three children, as follows:

Fiscal year ending June 30,
1932	67.8%
1933	33%
1934	54.8%
1935	66.8%
1936	68.8%
1937	72%
1938	80%
1939	73.4%
1940	60%

On an annual basis in 1937-38, a single person earned $1094, a
married man with one child $1638, at Columbia.[61] This salary
figure does not include the value of additional benefits such as
health care, lunches, and life insurance contributions, which
amounted to an extra $3.50 minimum per employee per week. In

comparison, the Morgan Packing Company at Austin, Indiana, would have paid their employees about $650 per year, and the Stokely Brothers plant in Indianapolis a little more than Morgan, had such workers been employed the whole year, which typically was not the case in the highly seasonal canning industry.[62]

Understandably, in light of the earlier conflict, workers-owners appeared somewhat reluctant after May, 1933, to become involved in Council meetings and activities. Still, an exasperated William P. Hapgood called a special meeting of owner-employees at the end of 1933 in which he admonished them about their apparent lack of responsibility with respect to running the business. He advocated a return to the frequency and the responsibility of Council meetings and activities of the past, Those present agreed to do so, by a vote of 42 in favor, none opposed, and 7 abstentions, with the explicit understanding that Council action and decision-making would be subject to the Board of Directors.

An overview of Columbia's social program was presented for discussion purposes at a Council meeting of January 21, 1935, in which policies such as guaranteed employment, payment based on needs, health care, pensions, and life insurance were summarized and reviewed. At two Council meetings on March 6 and 8, 1935, several guest representatives from the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin spoke at length to Council about their own form of communal government and land ownership, As a result of these and other discussions held on these matters held over many months, Council made various changes in Columbia's social program. Tuition reimbursement for education was broadened to include instructional classes or courses of even indirect benefit to the company. Dependents were included once again in the free health care plan. Pensions were changed from being based on individual need to 50 per cent of the individual's salary at retirement. A voluntary group life insurance plan, for which the company paid 50 per cent of the cost, became obligatory with a rule that required every person to purchase at least $1000 of life insurance at a cost of $8.50 to the employee. And during early 1935, the prevailing need-based method of salary and wage compensation at Columbia was thoroughly reviewed and discussed. The Special Income Adjustment Committee was established to recommend salary adjustments

based on the responsibility of the position. However, after much discussion on the committee' s recommendations, no changes in the salary system were made.

Perhaps the most interesting and notable of Council's activities during this period was union interest and activity. William P. had reported at a Council meeting of June 1, 1937, that he had received a request for food donations from a C.I.O. leader who was leading a strike against the Morgan Canning Company of Austin, Indiana. Hapgood offered his view that Columbia should unionize, leading to a candid discussion of union issues and an invitation to a field representative of the newly formed C.I.0. Canners' Union to speak at a future Council meeting. Some voiced support for a union if it did not mean jeopardizing the social program, while others recalled the trouble with trade unionists a few years earlier. Partly at John Brophy's suggestion, Donald Henderson, President of the Canning Union, sent an invitation to through the Indiana C.I.O. organizer for Columbia to send representatives to a convention in Denver for the unionization of the canning industry. William P. Hapgood attended the convention on July 9, 1937, along with one other Columbia salaried employee and two wage workers.[63] The resulting report to Council was generally favorable, though it was not until April, 1938, shortly after Donald Henderson personally visited Columbia, that the company elected to establish a C.I.O. affiliate local of the United Cannery, Agriculture, Packing and Allied Workers of America. By April 18, 1938, 59 out of the 68 salaried employees had joined the union and on January 13, 1939, Council voted to make union membership made mandatory, making Columbia a closed shop. However, this requirement was abolished about a year later and, by late summer, 1940, the union came to an end due to a lack of interest on the part of workers.

Given the operating losses sustained by Columbia during much of this period, the company had been unable to pay any dividends on common or preferred stock since 1931. As a result, capital impairment to Columbia in June, 1940, was in the amount of $201,000 due to accumulated unpaid dividends and debts owed to the major creditor, the Continental Can Company. Since there was a total of $211,000 of common stock on the books, the value of the common stock at this time was essentially nil.

Accordingly, the Board arrived at a two-step plan in early 1940 to eliminate this financial impairment through a legal reorganization of the company. First, in order to facilitate reorganization proceedings in court, cancellation of the 1926 agreement between the Hapgoods and employees regarding the purchase of common stock was agreed to at a Council Meeting of April 19, 1940. It was explained that since employees already owned 63 per cent of common stock, they were the voting majority and they stood to gain nothing by the purchase of remaining stock. Second, a proposal was announced at the Annual Meeting of July 19, 1940 to reduce the amount of common stock issued by 95 per cent (the amount it was impaired) and to distribute the remaining 5 per cent on a pro rata basis. Although this stock reduction plan was accepted by those stockholders present by a vote of 47 to 0, it was later blocked by one stockholder and former employee, Frank Eustis. As a result of this one person's refusal, Columbia was unable to reorganize and eliminate its capital impairment until May 1944.

By mid-1942, Council meetings had become so rare that the question was asked at a Council meeting of July 24th whether it was even necessary to elect officers for the new year. At the July, 1942, Annual Meeting of Stockholders considerable dissatisfaction with current salary levels, in view of the rising cost of living, was expressed by several workers-owners. Hapgood responded by pointing out that it was not advisable to raise salaries in light of the large deficit, even though the company had posted its first profit ($56,000) in five years, since the future outlook was still uncertain. No action was taken by the Board or Council to raise salaries. The salary issue was apparently important to many workers-owners, insofar as the Board's apparent unwillingness to grant a raise appears to have served as the catalyst for the formation of an A.F.L. local at Columbia in the late summer of 1942. The new union's major demand, presented on August 14, 1942, was a raise for all workers. At the time, Columbia was paying $17 per week for a single woman, $23.50 for a single man, and $24.50 for a head of household with one child. The union was demanding a minimum of $22 per week for women and $30 per week for men. The Board agreed to raise wages for hourly workers from between 2.5 to 7.5 cents an hour, depending on classification. It was willing to allow any

salaried employee to switch to an hourly status and receive hourly wages. But it steadfastly refused to grant any monetary increase to salaried employees so long as they remained on salary (and enjoyed such benefits as permanent employment). Hapgood expressed his consternation at the workers-owners' demands: " I have been disappointed that very few of our salary workers have understood their responsibility in a partnership. That they have not taken this responsibility is clear, and that they will not take it is just as clear, because of the proposal they make..."[64]

At a Board meeting of August 24, 1942, attended by a Conciliator from the U.S. Department of Labor, the decision was made that the trust fund holding the collective stock of the workers-owners should be dissolved and the common stock distributed to individual employees. Accordingly, at the last recorded meeting of Council held on August 24, 1942, the position of the Board was reported and a motion to dissolve the trust was put on the floor for a vote, It was explained that the Board had met all of the union's demands with the exception of increasing the salaries of salaried employees. Hugh Gormley, the Indianapolis representative of the A.F.L., attended the meeting and endorsed the Board's proposal. During the discussion some workers-owners expressed concern about whether workers would still exercise control over the company subsequent to the dissolution of the trust. As Hapgood explained, they could in fact still maintain such control if they cooperated in voting their individual stock for Board members of their choice. Nevertheless, the motion was defeated by a two-to-one vote of 14 for and 28 against.

Although talks were scheduled between Columbia and union representatives on September 3rd, a strike occurred before that time on September 1, 1942, when all but 24 of 241 workers walked off the job. Both sides agreed to turn the case over to the National War Labor Board for arbitration, and the job action officially ended on September 6, 1942. The case was finally resolved on May 5, 1943, in a decision favorable to the Board.[65] As a result, it was agreed that all production employees, with the exception of those with supervisory responsibilities, had to join the union within ten days of employment with the company. Workers were to be paid on the wage scale the Board had

proposed prior to the strike, a maximum of $.625 for men and $.525 for women after 40 days of employment, and they would receive time-and-a-half for work over 40 hours.

Several months after the strike had occurred, on December 30, 1942, a majority of the remaining salaried employees filed suit for receivership, alleging gross mismanagement and several other charges against the Board and the Officers of Columbia. A trial was held several weeks later in January, 1943, in Marion County Superior Court, the outcome of which was that the judge denied the petition of the plaintiffs for a receiver. On February 15, 1943, the Trustees, who held the common stock that workers-owners purchased collectively under the agreement of 1926, filed a counter-suit to dissolve the trust. A hearing was held in May, 1943, and Judge Hezzie B. Pike handed down his decision, favorable to the company and the Trustees, on July 3, 1943. The judge re-affirmed his earlier finding that the company had not been mismanaged. Specifically, he determined that the business was not liable to present or former employees for any claim of back pay or deferred salary. The judge further found that the "said trust was terminated as of December 31, 1942." As a result, he decreed that "there is no right now available to any common stockholder to convert common stock... to preferred stock." He also noted that the pension plan which was part of the 1926 agreement had been "discontinued and abandoned by the consent of those interested" and that the company had no liability for it. Judge Pike also defined a procedure by which the 1,315 shares of common stock held collectively in trust would be distributed to individual employees by December 31, 1943. It was based on the number of months the employee worked between January 21, 1925 and December 31, 1942, as a portion of the total sum of such months worked by all salaried employees during this time period.

With the conclusion of the suit and the dissolution of the trust, the longest chapter of workplace democracy attempted by a business anywhere came to an abrupt, somewhat inglorious end. Columbia henceforth operated as any other capitalist enterprise did. As reported in Business Week (July 31, 1943), the legal resolution of the case represented the end of a dream of workplace democracy. Columbia' s financial situation improved a good deal after the end of World War Two. The

company largely became a profitable concern following the war years and it continued in the business of making soup, if not the production of justice, until it was sold in 1953 to John Sexton and Company for a sum of about $500,000. All in all, a total of $178,161 was paid to preferred stockholders, and $489,012 to common stockholders, upon conclusion of that sale.

Conclusion

In contrast to some writers (Vance, 1956) of the Columbia experience who have labeled it an "unsuccessful experiment in industrial democracy," I am more inclined to regard the Columbia experience along the same lines as does McQuaid (1976, pp. 510-511), namely, as "one of the most-successful attempts yet made to create a viable version of that cooperative industrial commonwealth which had inspired labor leaders, churchmen, and reformers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[66] In this respect, I believe the Columbia experience provides the student of industrial organization in general, and of workplace democracy in particular, with a most remarkable and unique opportunity to understand the challenges and constraints that must be faced by any person or group that would seek to actualize justice in the workplace.

What lessons are to be drawn from this interesting experiment in workplace democracy? I would like to respond to this question with a focus on two areas of interest: (1) Council structure and operation, and (2) the 1926 contract involving the new profit-sharing plan to acquire collective ownership by workers-owners of the company.

One major limitation of workplace democracy at Columbia had to do with the organization of Council, which reflected the strengths and weaknesses of the "town hall" approach to democracy with its direct representation by, and participation of, each individual member of the community on every single issue or matter that comes before it. Given Columbia's preference for such direct and total democracy, there was a tendency to create a system that was inclusive rather than exclusive of communal members, that is, one that enabled or maximized the participation by members of the community at Council meetings. Council operated, for the most part, on the basis of custom with few formal rules and with no written constitution or by-laws.

There were few requirements for membership to Council, and there were virtually no limits -- until 1933, when Council was reigned in by the Board of Directors -- on the authority and responsibilities of Council itself. There is no question that the combination of informality and absolute power of Council at times encouraged discussion and the expression of viewpoints among workers, as well as resulted in much innovation and experimentation, but it also tended to result in much micro-management and the failure to distinguish between operational and policy issues -- or what Powers Hapgood in 1933 referred to as the difference between executive and legislative power.

If Council had had a more clearly defined limit to its authority -- for example, Council had the authority to determine broad policies but not to directly supervise day-to-day operations, or to appoint department heads, but not the authority to attempt to manage such departments -- then the sales staff could not have tried in 1932-1933 to politicize their differences with their department head, William P., over publicity and advertising policy in Council, as they in fact did. In effect, the sales group was able to prevail upon Council to attempt to micro-manage the sales department as the sales staff saw fit on the issue of publicity. Such decisions ought to have been left to department heads or the professionals or "technicians" with the knowledge and expertise to effectively get the job done. Hapgood had undoubtedly been right on the issue of promoting the Columbia label, over the resistance of his staff, and he may well have been right on the need for even more marketing and "publicity" for it. As department head, he ought to have been relied upon to make such a call, at least until proven wrong, and not second-guessed by a Council which lacked the technical expertise to do so. Only if Council lost confidence with a department's leadership as a whole, should it act, and then its action should have been limited to appointing a new leader. As it was, Council had no such limitations to its authority.

And the responsibility for this latter structural and operational error in fact and perception resides with the failure of the owners, including William P., to have fully recognized the legal and practical problems associated with such total empowerment of Council. In the end, Columbia operated within the legal framework of incorporation that dictated the Board of Directors

was the final authority for all business decisions of the company. It is difficult to know with any certainty, but what if Council had been structured at the outset with a more realistic and limited sense of its scope and authority as enshrined in a set of by-laws, for example? William P.'s missionary-like zeal for direct, total democracy would not be tempered until many years later when it much too late to reconsider.

Nor was enough consideration given in establishing direct democracy at Columbia to the classic problem of demagoguery excess faced by all democracies, but especially direct democracies, beginning with ancient Athens. Emotional appeals and rhetorical excesses which cloud or circumvent reason are an inevitable part of the freedom of speech of democracy, but some consideration or safeguard needs to be given to prevent action or decision-making from being made in the "heat of passion." While such a concern may not have been present in the early days at Columbia when the goal was simply encouraging self-expression in Council meetings, it potentially became more of a problem as more self-confident and eloquent speakers joined Columbia. Without a way to limit debate and rhetorical excess, Council became an open battleground for war between the two factions in 1932-33. It did not help that the assembly immediately voted on proposals without some time for reflection on decisions.

Secondly, it seems clear that there was a fundamental flaw in the approach to worker ownership of Columbia envisioned in the 1926 contract. The basic problem is that the procedure was both an abstraction and a fiction: the purchase of common stock by workers, held in the collective trust, was essentially a gift from the Hapgood family who were the original capital owners (and there was no doubt resentment some felt about the owners' s generosity) since it was only through their willingness to share profits in this way that made the purchase of a majority of common stock possible. Since the worker never "owned" or possessed the profit to begin with, it was no decision or sacrifice on the part of the worker to use such funds to buy company stock. Insofar as the transaction was more or less an abstract fiction to account for the transfer of ownership from owners to workers, it did not represent a meaningful commitment on the part of the individual worker to assume the duty and responsibilities of ownership -- a criticism frequently leveled at

workers by William P. Hapgood. As result, concern over wages paid more honestly and directly reflected the Columbia worker's interest than owner's concerns.

It is worth noting that Columbia workers were still earning well above the national average wage of $12.50 in the canning industry in the early 1930s, even with reduced and occasional skipped paychecks (as they were a decade later in 1942 when they went out on strike).[67] In addition, no workers at Columbia were ever threatened with layoff due to the economic situation, while unemployment in the canning industry was at an all-time high of over 11 %. And Columbia workers continued to enjoy various health and other benefits that most workers elsewhere could only dream of. Objectively, in terms of absolute deprivation, workers at Columbia were doing quite well even in the midst of a depression and later recessions; yet, in terms of relative deprivation and self-perception, workers at Columbia appeared to underestimate their good fortune and situation. Obviously, whatever ownership of Columbia meant to workers, many of them took it to mean the right to enjoy direct economic benefit, and this message was not heard by those who had the power to distribute such resources.

Notes

1 The research upon which this paper is based has been on-going for many years, indeed, decades. I wish to acknowledge the generous financial support of the Indiana Historical Society and to Butler University for supporting my research in its early years. I especially wish to express my gratitude to the helpfulness of the library staff during my archival research period some years ago, especially Saundra Taylor, Curator of Manuscripts, at the Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, which houses the Columbia Conserve Company Collection. I am indebted to Kris Swenson for her research assistance on parts of this project. I am very grateful for information and interviews with Barta Hapgood Monro, daughter of Powers Hapgood and grand-daughter of William P. Hapgood; and to interviews with former Columbia employees, Frieda Shutters, Edna Pavy Clifton, and Mary Barron Lipferd. All references throughout this paper, unless noted otherwise, are to the Columbia Conserve Company Collection housed at the Lilly Library. Finally, I would thank my friend and colleague, Bruce Bigelow, for his critical readings and suggestions on this version of the paper.
2 The Columbia Conserve Company was first organized in 1903 when it purchased the Mullen-Blackledge Canning Company, located on South Meridian Street at Bluff Avenue in Indianapolis (Stockholder's Minutes, May 1, 1903; Vance, 1956, p. 16), The company remained at this site until 1910, when due to business difficulties it reorganized and moved to Lebanon, Indiana, for a brief

period of two years before relocating in 1912 to Churchman Avenue in Indianapolis (Stockholder's Minutes, November 4, 1910; Board Minutes, November 4, 1910; Vance, 1956, pp. 24-25).

3 See Hapgood (1934, p. 26): "I am frequently astonished at how impossible it is for the average businessman to understand the psychology of an employee."

4 Hapgood (1934, p. 12) wrote: "When a group of workers are associated together on a basis of equality in the problem of producing materials for the general welfare, they must deal, sooner or later, with social as well as material problems." See also Ibid., p. 30 and Hapgood' s discussion of the basic needs shared by all employees by virtue of their social, human nature which eventually served as the basis for determining income at Columbia.

5 Quoted in Hapgood (1934, p. 10)

6 Hapgood, 1934, pp. 15-16; 15-16; also Douglas 1922/1923, pp. 6-7.

7 Hapgood (1920, p. 3) observed: "the Council...is only subject to the ruling of the Board of Directors."

8 Hapgood, 1934, pp. 14-18; Annual Meeting Minutes, December 22, 1917; Board Minutes, May 22, 1918.

9 Hapgood, 1934, p. 15.

10 Council Minutes, May 4, 1921, p. 60.

11 Council minutes, April 19, 1922.

12 Council Minutes, November 2, 1923.

13 Council Minutes, November 9, 1920, p. 37.

14 Council Minutes, June 28, 1921, p. 66.

15 Annual Meeting of Stockholders, January 6, 1920, pp. 3-4.

16 As Hapgood noted at the annual meeting of 1923 concerning the election of Board members: "their function is purely legal, simply to take action as a Board whenever it may be necessary to confirm decisions of the Council." As we will see, this statement would come back to haunt William P. Hapgood a decade later.

17 Industrial Relations Programs in Small Plants, New York: National Industrial Conference Board, 1929, p. 1, p. 16, & p. 20.

18 Thompson, Kenneth M., Profit-Sharing, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949, pp. 11-12,

19 The Growth of Works Councils in the United States: A Statistical Summary, Special Report No. 32, National Industrial Conference Board (New York: 1925).

20 Mr. Sherwood Eddy, speaking at the Council Meeting of February 15, 1924, on the conditions of industry in China, India and Russia, as well as the Roundtree workplace innovations in England, declared that Columbia was the only concern in the world being managed as it was and that, as a result, he wished to invest in Columbia stock.

21 Douglas (1922/23, p. 18)) wrote of the maternity leave program at Columbia that it was "almost unique in this country."

22 As Hapgood (1934, pp.342-43) later noted, this contract had overlooked the obligation to preferred stock.

23 Initially, Council decided that pensions should be commensurate with need (October 21, 1927). Later it paid a fixed amount regardless of need and outside income.

24 Council Minutes (Human Relations Council), April 1929, note the hiring of an Indiana University dentist to survey dental needs. Council Minutes of December 9, 1929, show that medical treatment from July 1 through November 1, 1929,

cost Columbia $975.63 for employees, $824.75 for dependents, and $1618.40 for dental treatment. Council passed the Health Committee's recommendation that the company completely cover all medical and dental expenses for employees and their dependents at a projected cost of $10,000 to $15,000 per year.

25 Council Minutes, April 12, 1929. Note that health protection to dependents was under the discretion of of the Needs Committee. Council made this protection to dependents a basic benefit for all employees in December, 1929.

26 Council Minutes (Human Relations Council), May 24, 1929.

27 For example, Norman Hapgood often discussed labor and industrial issues in a global perspective at annual meetings and Council (Annual Meeting, January 6, 1920), Powers Hapgood gave a talk on the industrial situation of some of the eastern factories, Council Minutes, June 16, 1920 and Sherwood Eddy discussed industrial conditions in China, India, Russia and England on February 15, 1924; a talk by John Brophy on the labor situation and the mining industry on March 22, 1926.

28 Council Minutes, October 24, 1925; January 1, 1926.

29 Council Minutes, February 18, 1927; May 20, 1927. A few Columbia workers were recruited in this manner but, on the whole, it appears that Columbia was not very successful in attracting large numbers of college graduates, both male and female, to it. This was in spite of an excellent starting salary and other inducements offered to them. Perhaps the radical egalitarianism of the company, which held that there was no social status difference between office and workers, was too much of an affront on the new graduate's sensibility and also because a commitment to Columbia was antagonistic to the idea of a career with job mobility.

30 Council Minutes, June 8 and 9, 1926; August 20, 1926; May 20 and 27, 1927; June 3, 1927.

31 Council Minutes, July 24, 1925. This motion was reconsidered on July 31, 1925, in which there was a long discussion over whether the instructor should be American or foreign born.

32 Council Minutes January 12, 1926; February 12, 1926 (he doubted he could work or fit in at Columbia).

33 Council Minutes November 5, 1926; Hapgood, 1934, p. 39.

34 Council Minutes, December 3, 1926.

35 Council Minutes, February 22, March 2, and April 29, 1927.

36 Council Minutes, April 22, 1927. J. L. Evans was subsequently charged with the responsibility of acquainting himself with time study and studying plant efficiency as well as teaching it, Council Minutes, June 3, 1927. He resigned from Columbia in September, 1928, due to the lack of interest in educational classes (Council Minutes, September 10, 1928).

37 On April 22, 1927, Council formed a three person committee to make recommendations in particular cases of women who might qualify as heads of households.

38 There were limits, however, to the extension of equality and the challenge to traditional ideas of class and gender relations at Columbia. For example, with respect to the issue of racial and ethnic diversity, Council decided after some discussion not to employ African Americans at the plant becasue the latter, given their ehtnic-cultural difference, would probably not mingle well with other employees (Council Minutes, December 23, 1929).

39 The child differential, $2 per per child up to 3 children, was extended to wage workers in August, 1929.
4o Council Minutes, April 26 and May 18, 1932.
41 Council Minutes, July 15, 1932.
42 Council Minutes, October 10, 1930.
43 Council Minutes, November 30, 1931.
44 Council Minutes, November 30, 1931.
45 Council Minutes, July 15, 1932; also, wph, pp. 64-65
46 Council Minutes, December 29, 1932.
47 Council Minutes, January 4, 1933.
48 Council Minutes, January 6, 1933.
49 Powers Hapgood was running at this time for political office in Indiana as the Socialist candidate for governor; he was recuperating at home as a result of a gun accident.
50 He was the son of William P. and the brother-in-law of Dan Donovan. Powers's trade union credentials were impeccable and well respected by Brophy and Donovan.
51 Jerome Davis, Yale University Divinity School, had invited William P. Hapgood to write an article on the Columbia experiment for his book; Paul H. Douglas had studied and written both an article and a short monograph on Columbia in the early to mid-1920s; Sherwood Eddy and James Myers were both social activists.
52 Council Minutes, February 10, 1933. Powers acknowledges his concern on this point.
53 Agreement of February 26, 1933. A copy of this agreement as well as much of the correspondence relating to this matter between Columbia and the Committee of Four is reprinted in a pamphlet written by Norman Hapgood (1934a).
54 John Brophy Papers, quoted by Vance, 1956, p. 224.
55 Hapgood, 1934a, pp. 53-55 & 57.
56 Hapgood, 1934a, pp. 90-91.
57 Hapgood, 1934a, 3fn. , p. 6.
58 Council Minutes, May 8, 1933. The vote was 42 in favor, 10 opposed, 9 abstentions.
59 Telegram from the Committee of Four to the Columbia Conserve Company, May 16, 1933; Hapgood, 1934a, 10fn., p. 12. The role and response of The Committee of Four is an interesting one but space limitations prevent discussion here.
 60 Annual Meeting, July 19, 1940, and Auditor's Reports. Modest profits were shown for the remaining years through 1952.
61 Letter to Stockholders, William P. Hapgood, July 26, 1937.
62 Letter to Stockholders, William P. Hapgood, July 26, 1937.
63 Hapgood was on the welcoming committee, July 23, 1937.
64 Board Minutes, August 15, 1942.
65 Auditor's Report, 1943; Vance, 1956, p. 317.
66 Part of the issue has to do with the question of the generalizability of the Columbia experience to other businesses or, even more boldly, the prospect of the social transformation of society through the development of workplace democracy through the economic sector. See Douglas 1926, p. 57; Lauck 1926, pp. 233-242; Lasserre, 1931; for different views on this issue,
67 U.S. Department of Labor, Handbook of Labor (Washington, 1947, p. 54).

Beyond Thirty-Eighth-Parallel Politics: Masculine Ideals of a Hoosier Soldier in Korea

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In early 1951, as Chinese and North Korean soldiers were facing off with United Nation and South Korean troops in Korea, the President of the Boston Athletic Association, Walter Brown, barred three South Korean runners from competing in its annual marathon. The Association's leader complained that these men should be fighting while they were in the "flower of their manhood."[1] Athleticism and its accompanying qualities—competitiveness, strength, endurance, determination—were perhaps tied to men at their best in Brown's mind. Korean marathoners had finished the Boston race in the top three places in the previous year. Ironically the three Koreans were to have arrived in Boston using funds collected for their flight by American soldiers in Korea at the time. As with Brown, Private Joe Doe, a Hoosier soldier serving in the Korea War held notions of what it meant to be a man.[2] These ideals were left to us in a series of until now unexplored letters that he penned to his mother, the focus of this study.[3]

Scholars' attention to American masculinity and manhood has exploded in recent years.[4] Researchers have called for a broadened examination of expectations for men in multiple areas of their lives.[5] In an investigation of the Boy Scouts, Benjamin Jordan found that Progressive era gender history gets it wrong. Boy Scout laws articulated "a new vision of balanced, 'modest manliness'" not "a virile self-reliance that idealized 'primitive' non-white races."[6] John Worsencroft explored the world of post-WWII representations of masculinity. He identified the "warrior tradition [as] central to manhood, equaling courage and combat."[7]

In the Cold War narrative of Mike Hammer's novels, Matthew Brophy noted a discourse of "exceptionalist, heroic masculinity" in the person of Mickey Spillane who displayed a dualistic contrast of good to bad manhood. Spillane was cast as "primitive Cold Warrior, who single-handedly made sure that America's mannish women and soft men would not undermine its newly found global hegemony."[8] Among Spillane's masculine dualisms were such characterizations as pro/anti USSR, conformist/individualist, homosexual/heterosexual, dove or military warrior, and/or God-less/God believing and fearing.[9] Lois Benedict investigated how literary figures William Faulkner and John Steinbeck addressed harmful, twentieth-century forms of manhood.[10] The historical backdrop she elaborated from nineteenth to twentieth century portrayed manhood conceptions across epochs in American history, especially highlighting widely recognized works of E. Anthony Rotundo, Michael Kimmel, and Gail Bederman.

As in the case of Jordan's work, Pvt. Doe was shaped through his affiliation with the Boy Scouts.[11] Reflecting Worsencroft's theme, Doe could be found reading tales of Western heroes or captivated by Hollywood manly ideals in movies shown on his military base, though rarely mimicking them. There were dualisms, as with Hammer's Spillane script, in Doe's paternalistic views toward women or hostile attitudes toward alcoholic indulgence. Based on an analysis of his correspondence, however, Doe was less concerned with communism or military heroism than with other social worlds. His letters help us to locate his identity and highest aspirations within the realms of religion, family, work, fitness or future ambition for example.

This exploration elaborated the manhood ideals Doe expressed in his Korean War correspondence, casting them, initially, against a backdrop of two gender-focused historical works, Kristin Hoganson's *Fighting for Manhood* and K. A. Cuordileone's *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War*. Framing manhood requires mapping men's ideals across a wider spectrum of identity locations than merely that of the public or political realm, a world Doe infrequently engaged in his Army letters. Doe's notes, at times, exposed his ideals in regard to political party or issue politics of the day. The

overwhelming evidence in his letters to his Mother, however, suggested his ideals represented the worlds of family, religious conviction, economic necessity, among other areas, some new to the twentieth-century, others remaining tied to the nineteenth.

Two wartime-focused historical investigations, reviewed here, provided insights into how masculinity was defined during the late-nineteenth and mid-twentieth century. Both timeframes were crucial to this soldier's socialization by his grandparents, single mother, and institutions external to his family. The investigation then turned to Doe's Korean War correspondence and what it told us about his beliefs about men at their best. Finally, the study framed the soldier's beliefs and behaviors within discussions of masculinity provided by several leading historical scholars in the field. Doe's manhood ideals, across various social spheres, did not represent a dualistic portrait of manhood expectations as described by some historians. Moreover, though born during the Great Depression, Doe's masculinity was influenced by nineteenth- and twentieth-century models of manhood due to his Grandfather's influence, among other men, and the changing roles of women.

Eras of War and Masculine Meanings

One of two useful characterizations of manhood images and ideals centered on wartime was Kristin Hoganson's treatment of the debates surrounding U.S. intervention in Cuba and the Philippines in the late nineteenth century. The other was K. A. Cuordileone's focus on the transformation of the politics of manhood during a period tagged as a crisis of manhood in the early Cold War era. Hoganson's work was relevant because Doe's grandfather and primary male role model, Lewis Hoover, came-of-age during, and enlisted in, the Spanish-American War.[12] Therefore, masculine conceptions reflected in Hoganson's discussion very likely would have inhabited the thinking of Hoover, who was central to Doe's understanding of masculinity. Cuordileone's investigation overlaps more directly with Doe's formative experience since this scholar elaborated the changing cultural landscape from 1930s to early Cold War Era. Doe's letters were a cultural footprint of his coming-of-age during the first struggles of the Cold War.

Hoganson's investigation focused on the gendered language permeating the debate over whether the U.S. should go to war with Spain in 1898. She noted that American society had been at peace since the end of the Civil War and masculine role models who had served in that war were dying off. Politicos posited that their progeny were degenerating, and thus, strong bonds between martial images of manhood and related rationales for men's political leadership legitimacy were fading. Part of the evolving divide also came through new socio-political and economic realities—the end of open frontiers, urban infringement on rural simplicity, decline of artisan independence, adoption of Darwinian philosophy of survival through competitiveness, corporate constraints and dependence, and urban diversity and political defensiveness.[13] At the same time, groups of women were gaining political influence as shown by their advocacy for temperance for example. On the Spanish empire question, many were pressing for an arbitration treaty during debates over Cuban protectionism.[14] The contrasting sides framed their arguments as the type of manhood the country represented and, more than not, in dualistic terms.

Hoganson documented that the ideal man and nation were either dignified, mature, self-restrained, intelligent—consistent with our Founding Fathers—according to anti-imperialists or they were courageous, active, physically strong, passionate, energetic, aggressive, full of youthful virility, even athletic, in the eyes of jingoist, pro-war advocates.[15] In other words, for jingoists, a vote for arbitration was subject to a charge of lack of manhood and a national metaphor for timidity, lack of bravery, "flaccidity of body," weakness, and just the opposite, if for intervention.[16] The sinking of *The Maine* pushed the rhetoric to a new level. The event, according to war hawks, required the country's honor/manhood to be defended, which escalated the calls for aggression, toughness, and physical combativeness.[17]

Caricatures of presidential candidates were also cast as masculine or not. Anti-interventionists painted the pre-war William McKinley with the stripes of manly courage, self-control, statesmanship, bravery, great character. After intervention, McKinley's opponent, William Bryan, was touted by the same anti-interventionists as the one possessing masculine qualities of athleticism, and unyielding toughness, in sum, as a fighter.[18]

McKinley, in turn, was blasted as "stodgy" (not energetic), "squat and pursy," not "tall and lean like Thomas Jefferson," and lacking independence—in other words, not the ideal man or legitimate political leader.[19] Hoganson treats other topics—characterizations of Cuban soldiers, Cuban women, Spanish colonizers, Filipinos, among others—caught up in the gendered rhetorical dualisms projected by war debaters, which added more oppositional adjectives to the mix of manhood and national image.[20]

Cuordileone found that American middle-class men were caught up in yet another era of masculine identity crisis.[21] A range of experts, from the worlds of medicine to psychiatry to social critique, was identifying various factors as the culprits for the manhood malaise—soft "child-rearing practices," corporate dependency, sentimentality born of women's influence, indulgent civility, consumer-softened effeminacy, and over attachment to women. Many of these were concerns raised a half century earlier. Cuordileone posited, however, that most of these threads of crisis, and those added in the early Cold War era, combined to emphasize an overarching theme: "the passing of the autonomous male self."[22] The manifestations of the unstable male psyche included dependency, defenselessness, conformity, and other-directed focus. Modernity was thought to have disrupted the usual suspects of male identity, toughness and coarseness.

Particular events arising from the 1930s through the 1940s also haunted the male ego.[23] The Great Depression modified family expectations for breadwinners, placing many men in a dependent role. A decade later, Uncle Sam drafted millions of American soldiers to fight Fascists across the globe, plucking males from manhood duties as husband and father. War industries recruited women to work, creating a new norm for many—a new economic and psychological independence. All three events undercut the tradition with which many, if not most, Americans were comfortable —manhood as head of household, provider, dominant spouse.[24]

At the center of Cuordileone's investigation was the conservative attack on political liberals, more specifically, progressive liberalism. This thesis stemmed in good measure from the author's analysis of Arthur Schlesinger's book *The Vital*

Center—"an attempt to redefine a new anti-Communist liberalism" and align it with the wide swath of middle-of-the-road Americans.[25] The threat of communism required a masculine response, a "muscular" ideal, much as the jingoists had pushed a half-century earlier, in the era of U.S. imperialist expansion.[26] Unlike the earlier epoch, however, American culture had shifted to accommodate the new realities of post-WWII modernity, that is, to "consumerism, materialism, suburbanization, [and] leisure."[27] "Momism" was identified as part of the pathology as well, which combined "the perfect ball-busting female castrator and mind-controlling totalitarian tyrant" that "emasculated [the] husband and engulfed [the] son."[28] The artifacts of popular culture—novels, films, psychological treatises—underscored the consequences of modernity for masculine ideals, those such as mental toughness, self-reliance, moral strength, individuality, dominance, and appeals to logic.[29] Conservatives claimed that Progressive liberal ideology and its results had led the country astray, corrupting real men by appeals to sentimentality, other-directedness, calls to conform, and avoidance of hard choices.

The Alger Hiss and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg cases popularized and made concrete the anti-liberal claims.[30] Hiss, a Franklin Roosevelt devotee, member of Eastern establishment elite, New Deal lawyer, and State Department official was identified and convicted on the basis of alleged ties to the Communist Party. A man's allegiance, pro-or anti-Hiss, was a litmus test "that sorted out" the sentimentalists from the realists or the 'softs' from the 'hards' or the need to belong, from the strength to resist, the collective 'we' over the free 'I.'[31] Rosenbergs' act—shuffling explosive secrets to the Soviets—ripped open a veil that confirmed the worst among many Americans, that of conformity to liberal sentimentalism.[32] The highly celebrated incidents tied together all the conservative fears of male degeneracy—liberalism, Communist sympathizers, sexual immorality (i.e., pinkos/lavenders), Eastern elite and effete Democrat collusion and conformity. Manhood, so the scare-mongers protested, was being swallowed up in timidity, self-indulgence, intellectual and spiritual emptiness, indolence, and loss of individual identity. This all added up to American men who could no longer fulfill their rightful role as "strong, self-reliant citizenry" that made the U.S. so powerful.[33]

Just as Hoganson's *Fighting for Manhood* widened the investigative lens, if only marginally, to ideal masculine influences and characteristics beyond the world of public policy and formal politics, so did Cuordileone's study. Religious influence in the lives and public portrayals of candidates McKinley and Hoar reflected Hoganson's efforts to locate men's identify beyond the confines of politics. Cuordileone's investigation encompassed family life as central to manhood characterizations and persuasions, particularly in relation to the role of wives and mothers.[34] As mentioned previously, Momism, was part culprit. Women in these critical roles emphasized the rewards of work, not work itself, the imperative to "get along," the path of consumerism and keeping up with the Joneses; this orientation contrasted with ideal masculine ways tied to inner-directed characteristics—competitiveness, initiative, autonomy, productivity and paternalism.[35]

Nineteenth century norms of womanhood—passivity, maternalism, emotional support—had carried over to the twentieth century so that other directedness—serving others, defining self with respect to others, sacrificing self to husband and family—were incorporated in expectations of men, as the new family took shape. According to Cuordileone, this shift was partly born of a cultural "shift from production to consumption, from the Protestant ethic to the social ethic," and partly derived from the new imposition of the corporate world. The shift in expectations of men was explicitly tied to women's influence in the family and society, with a new twist: "Underneath the guise of maternal (and liberal?) selflessness always lay mom's demented desire to control and intimidate."[36] Control and intimidation were also tactics of Communists with similar end-goals, to seek ideological conformity. Many long-honored characteristics of men—achievement orientation, initiative, self-discipline, autonomy—were bowing to manhood roles such as family "companionship," hands-on parenting, and self-denial. These new manhood roles were perceived as too maternal and feminine.[37] Returning to the political thrust of her investigation, Cuordileone argued that liberals were able to reposition themselves as acceptable to the American political center only by recasting themselves as hard-line Cold War warriors. When advocating policies such as UN cooperation (among other

positions), however, liberals risked being associated again with feminine qualities (e.g., emotional, sentimental, tolerant, communitarian, cooperative, and pacifist).[38] Conservatives positioned themselves as father-figures as they supported harsh punishment for nations who advocate terrorism or resist valued masculine norms.

Hoganson's and Cuordileone's investigations revealed the pervasiveness of gender language as a vehicle to structure power, political debate, and manhood identity during wartime. More than not, gender ascriptions were cast as opposites. To win the public debate over intervening in Cuba, for example, jingoists cast their cause in the language of reinvigoration of masculine martial ardor, demonstration of courage, flexing of physical muscles, which was synonymous in their eyes with the desired national persona. Interventionists characterized those supporting arbitration as timid, lacking virility, and flaccid. In political ideological struggles surrounding the Communist threat and Cold War rhetoric, liberals were chastised by conservatives just as those seeking pacific resolutions a half century earlier. Cold warrior liberals sought to overcome such negatives by locating themselves as liberal warriors. Both groups sought to frame themselves as representing masculine norms. While the two authors indulged other areas of male identity tangentially— religious and family—the overwhelming focus of each was on formal politics. This paper widened the scope of investigation, even as it concentrated on only one soldier, to include other areas of men's lives and conceptions of manhood ideals, as Doe's letters revealed them.

It is important to keep in mind that unlike dualistic portraits of opponents as painted by Hoganson or Curodileone, Doe's political beliefs and behaviors did not adhere to strict, ideological positions, as hawk or dove. In one letter, he aligned himself to the Republican cause but did not lament U.S.-UN collaboration.[39] In another note, he complained about government generally and about concerns that the Republican presidential nominee might extend his term of duty, with little concern that the "Reds" were still undefeated.[40] Other correspondence highlighted his bias toward Senator Robert Taft, Eisenhower's presidential primary opponent, principally because Taft touted an isolationist policy.[41] At least three notes sent home zero in on participation in the

presidential election. In one, Doe announced, "I did receive my ballot; I filled it in voting for…"Ike," and later contrasted his preference with other soldiers, that is, "true army men" [who] "seem to be against Ike."[42] The troop's preoccupation, including Doe's, was that Ike might extend their length of service.[43] The totality of Doe's politically targeted thoughts paled in comparison to other realms in which he projected his manhood identity. It is to these other manhood ideals that we turn in the next section.

Pvt. Joe Doe—Ideals of Manhood

     The 85 letters that Pvt. Doe sent home to Indiana suggest a great deal about Army life of a Korean War non-combatant soldier, but more importantly for the focus here, about his beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviors, aspirations, relationships, and thus, in the end, about his ideals of what men should be.[44] In a self-affirming statement several months previous to the end of his service, Doe stated that he is "thankful I am who I am."[45] Doe's identity, however, was as complex as the roles he played—only-child, fiancé, grandson, non-career/behind-the-lines Army soldier/pharmacy technician, churchgoer, student, Anglo-American, middle-class male. Successfully completing pharmacy technician training, Doe nevertheless, was assigned to medic duties, then to a medical supply clerk role—what Doe disdainfully labeled "janitor," partially because these duties kept him from capitalizing on his training and fulfilling his role as a pharmacy technician.[46] Since his letters to others (e.g., grandparents, finance, church friends) during this timeframe were not available, we are limited to what he shared with his mother or, on very few occasions, stepfather.[47] So the side of Doe analyzed is not as robust, very likely, as it otherwise would be.

     Pvt. Doe had a wide-ranging set of attitudes about what manhood ideals should be. More specifically, his letters reflected attitudes toward personal and family responsibility (including gender roles within the family), moral considerations and church association, achieving goals in a purposeful life, and health and physique. Each of these items was elaborated, often in bits and pieces but in some detail, across his communication with parents—primarily his mother—during Korean War service. Church-going was a constant in his weekly, or at times, daily

activities. He alluded to missing his beloved home and family throughout the correspondence. Reflecting on his activities within a set of religious standards often in contrast to his fellow soldiers was also prominent in many letters. Outlining the logic and/or reasons for his decisions or to counter those of others was critical to his orientation. He pointed to other concerns as well, as discussed more fully below. Each of these worlds of manhood ideals will be elaborated in more detail as they relate to various topics from Doe's letters. These broad topics included daily work and leisure activities, reflections on the future, relationship expectations, and fulfillment of tradition.

Whether his focus was progressing up the ranks, planning for or working toward his civilian occupation or merely learning new skills to earn extra money, Doe signaled a desire to accomplish goals and find purpose. This ideal took shape early in his Korean War correspondence, as he explained the reason he joined the Army. Pursuing the pharmacy program at Butler University was not working out as planned.[48] Indeed, he described himself as a failure and embarrassment, and thus, searched for saving grace through enlistment.[49] Through unforeseen twists and turns of Army bureaucratic decision-making, however, Doe found himself back on track to learn the pharmacy field, this time through pharmacy technician training at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio.[50] There was nothing easy about the 16 weeks he spent studying general pharmacy, chemistry, and math, among other subjects.[51] School officials warned recruits that nearly half would flunk out within the first three weeks. This appeared to be the case.[52] Nevertheless, Doe was determined to succeed, even at the cost—he wrote his mother—of hours studying during the weekends, completing assignments in the latrine after lights were out in the barracks or attending study hall ("day and night"), after flunking a math test.[53] The extra effort aided his success.

After a month in Korea, however, Pvt. Doe faced new obstacles in settling in to his new role. Initially assigned as a pharmacy technician to the Third Clearing Platoon, Third Medical Battalion, Third Infantry Division, he began performing several medic type functions—attending to sick call patients, "making up ointments and liquids," giving shots and bandaging incoming wounded.[54] The post was located approximately 12 miles from

combat.[55] He shared that he was observing "lab technician work," and hoped to learn other skills. In another letter he declared, "Sunday…I will be in charge of the pharmacy."[56] Mixing drugs unfortunately was secondary to other chores such as facilitating drug transfusions.[57] Doe complained over a period of months that the Army had frozen promotions too.[58] The pace of work moved along unevenly and monotonously slow more often than not, so he enrolled in correspondence courses, accounting and trigonometry.[59]   After barely a month at this initial post, the Army shifted Doe to the 121st Evacuation Hospital, south of Seoul and much farther, nearly 70 miles, from the front line and from the possibility of performing in the field for which he trained.[60]

At the 121st Unit, Pvt. Doe spent most of his working hours as a medical supply clerk, requisitioning for and shelving incoming supplies or taking them to Seoul, sweeping floors, and issuing goods.[61] He attributed "getting all the old dirty jobs" to his low rank, which appeared to be frozen. To stay motivated he volunteered to be a reporter for the "Narcotic News," a "one page newspaper—both sides that is," published at the 121st Evacuation Hospital.[62]   Alarmed by how little he was using the knowledge and skills learned in pharmacy technician training, he enrolled in a bookkeeping correspondence course to add another skill set. His frustration with underutilization in pharmacy work prodded him to work toward other interim goals (e.g., making extra cash through standing guard for others). He also learned to sew on military insignia for fellow soldiers, which added to take home pay. Certainly earning as much money as possible, he wrote, will ease the transition to married life.

Doe was clearly dissatisfied with Army-life idleness and his lack of progress achieving competence in a future-oriented set of occupational skills. Several letters made manifest the reasons for his disappointment with his Army experience, particularly the lack of purposefulness of his role in the war effort, and in turn, his desire to pursue other occupational possibilities. Never intending to remain in the Army upon initial enlistment, his experience with lack of promotion, purposelessness, idleness, and Army inefficiencies had reinforced this mindset. After working hard to achieve his pharmacy technician status, he was disheartened by the outcome but motivated to seek out

alternatives. He was caught in the turmoil, perhaps, of too much time to think. Early in October, 1952, he shared with his mother that upon returning home, he would not reenter school, then, within the month, suggested that perhaps after completing Army service, he would go to night school and study business, while working up the chain at Standard Brands. [63] Near the end of the year, Doe had more than once stated that he had "pretty well give[n] up the idea of pharmacy."[64]

Doe's ideals about church and morality are intimated in connection to traditional patterns of church-going when he was back in the U.S., in relationships with family, friends, and Army leaders, in his allusions to behavior during leisure activities, even willingness to contribute to church from earnings. Significantly, he mentioned church in nearly one-third of the 85 letters. Early on, he intoned that church going is "odd" without his mother by his side.[65] His mother clearly influenced Doe, both with respect to religious devotion and lifestyle. He identified her standards as a sort of moral code—"I promise I will live up to what you have taught me."[66] Toward the end of his tour in Korea, he confessed "I didn't go to church again…getting to be a bad little boy," then as a justification asserted that he missed because duty called on a Sunday.[67] He reported his attendance during Easter and at other times while his ship navigated across the Pacific on its way to the Orient. During the voyage religious services were held every morning.   Tradition also played a part in the value of church for him. He grew up attending church with his mother and that habit was partly what defined ideal behavior.[68]

In one letter Doe ruminated on the future: "I will feel wonderfully free when I can settle down…have a home of my own, and one church to worship in."[69] Across several letters, as he moved from camp to camp, he reflected on his experiences while worshiping, including location (e.g., at times in the Mess Hall tent with descriptions of services, choir organs played, and the frequency of communion).[70] Since Doe was frugal, his willingness to tithe signaled the value he placed on the activity, no doubt partly rooted in tradition, but also, attention to biblical dictates. He also demonstrated his commitment to church in wedding planning, identifying who the minister might be. Later in his war service, he emphasized that his faith in God underlay his sense of calm when substituting as a guard for fellow soldiers.

Moreover, church affiliation also fit into Pvt. Doe's plans to connect with future friends and potential job contacts, once released from the military.

Adhering to a moral code was partly rooted in his understanding of the Bible. While cruising across the Pacific Ocean to his first overseas duty station, he observed that shipmates did not follow biblical strictures.[71] He engaged with religious literature as part of his routine, spending part of his leisure participating in devotional activities; a friend from home mailed copies of the periodical *Daily Word*. Doe also exchanged ideas about scripture with his finance.[72] Furthermore, he compared the sermons of various chaplains, touting "Chaplain Brown [as]…the best minister I have heard."[73] Brushes with wounded soldiers who came from the battle front for treatment, however, pushed Doe to question his faith.[74]

A strong moral code also led to judging the behavior of others. He lamented that his fellow soldiers indulged in the immorality of alcoholic drinks at the military base club. As part of his supply work, Doe commented that it "gripes me" when supplies include "beer and ice" at the expense of other "needed supplies."[75] Doe adamantly opposed liquor, condemning his fellow soldiers drinking habits, partly because he did not want to clean up the mess they leave. In one letter he stated, "I don't go to the service club because you either drink or dance, and I don't care about either."[76] Nevertheless, he was willing to share with his Mother that he nearly indulged himself, but thought better of it, based on inferences about what his mother would think: "bargained [during Bingo] for a bottle of whiskey [but] I really don't need it…do I."[77]

Church attendance was also officially encouraged, even incentivized. During induction and orientation ceremonies, the troops were counseled by the chaplain about maintaining good morals and going to church. Institutional incentives were awarded for those who attended. Doe underscored the advantages the Army provided to soldiers who attended church, assigning others in their stead during guard duty.[78]

This set of Korean War soldier letters also demonstrated ideals of commitment to family and being responsible, such as frugal spending while in the service or when planning for the soldier's future role as head of household with his finance.

Repeatedly throughout the letters Doe declared his love for home, at times, yearning to start a life in his own home as husband and father. Not long after his initial induction at Fort Custer, Michigan, he expressed "homesickness."[79] The drumbeat of missing home was constant. He identified it at various stages of service—medical basic training at Ft. Meade, Maryland, then at Pharmacy Technician training in San Antonio. Each stage of service was discussed partly with an eye toward opportunities to travel back home, including joining in on Christmas during the winter of 1951. In other letters, written while posted in Korea, Doe shared that he "really felt Christmas with morning worship service" but still missed the holidays with family.[80] Later, while stationed just outside Seoul, he calculated the distance between his hometown in Indiana and current military post and the length of time already served. He asserted that he was ready to return to the "good [ole] USA…anytime Ike is willing."[81] He also mentioned the letters he was sending to his Grandfather Hoover, who very likely continued to be a dominant adult male influence.[82]

Doe's correspondence also presaged the role he expected to play in married life, head of household and dominant decision maker. One letter described a gift, silk pajamas that he planned to buy his future wife, with directions not to wash them. The same note was filled with his plans as a married man, including budgeting, saving, and ideas related to first house and car purchases.[83] Another letter told of plans for Doe and fiancée, to stay with his mother, once married, until he got on his feet financially.[84] In several letters he explained how serving extra guard duty should bring in more money to buy a newer car or add to savings. Moreover, he communicated cost consciousness when planning an upcoming buying spree in Japan, again focusing on family and future household in regards to purchases, specifically, dishes and gifts for family members. Elsewhere he admonished his finance to restrict her thinking on car buying and not be persuaded by social pressure to want a new one. In the same letter, he told his mother that "she [finance] is wonderful about doing what I think she should."[85] Another note home, highlighted how he could obtain some cost savings by buying a family car "in Detroit," a deal set aside for GIs.[86]

He also needled his mother about working outside the home, urging her to quit work and instead rely on her husband "who should have the full responsibility."[87] The Army partly reinforced the role of men as workers outside the home during Doe's service in Korea by providing "houseboys" (i.e., Korean youth) to care for the quarters of soldiers.[88] On the other hand, Doe bragged that he cooked meals for a few fellow soldiers—"I am chief in Hut nine now….I do most of the cooking."[89] Doe sent much of his earnings to his mother for safe keeping, and looked forward to retrieving it once he returned home. He boasted that he was limiting his spending to $35 per month, so she does not need to send any. All of this saving was clearly linked to starting his own family upon discharge. Although struggling with finding an occupation, Doe asserted confidently his plans to marry his finance and looked forward to having a family.[90]

Health and physique were never far from Pvt. Doe's mind, particularly when receiving the care packages stuffed with food. In many of these letters, he acknowledged how much the food bolsters his spirits. But while asking his mother to thank various family and friends who sent the tasty goodies, he also recognized the connection between food mailed and weight gained. Initially he raised alarm about his appearance during Pharmacy Technician training, while studying for various chemistry, math, and other tests, a time of physical inactivity. He underscored the need to "exercise more" and "lose weight."[91]

After arriving in Korea, Doe discussed leisure-time activities such as volleyball contests among platoons. He frowned on their competitive nature, admitting that lack of height kept him from playing, and that he enjoyed only playing for fun and as a form of exercise, signaling that he was gaining too much weight.[92] Not infrequently, Doe took on extra opportunities for guard duty, which helped to pass the time and to shed unwanted pounds, boosting his fitness. Moreover, Doe applauded his stepfather at his new job that kept him fit and thin.[93]

The Army promoted the value of a healthy body and fitness as well, encouraging soldiers to play sports. Upon induction Doe was given a medical evaluation, and later, immunized before heading overseas.   The Army also provided check-ups for various problems; Doe complained of skin conditions, sinus

difficulties, abnormal teeth development, which required medical attention.

Historical Context and Influences on Doe's Ideals— Speculative Analysis

Reams of letters from any thoughtful, articulate Army private would, no doubt, provide us with some insight into American manhood ideals in the 1950s. Just as with any limited set of sources, however, a case study such as this did not permit us to generalize about 1950s Hoosier first-time soldiers, even those who might fit all the characteristics of Doe. On the other hand, the ideals represented by this Private's correspondence may enrich an on-going discussion surrounding masculine ideals of previous studies. Analyzing the results of this group of letters, which pointed to attitudes toward an ideal of masculinity with respect to personal and family roles and responsibility, morality and church association, achievement, and health and physique as they relate to a larger body of research, have deepened our understanding of the phenomenon. Moreover, this discussion magnified the complexity of ideals of manhood, beyond those identified in public policy debates and electoral politics. It is to this speculative analysis that we turn next.[94]

Previous masculine studies inform our efforts to frame Pvt. Doe's manhood ideals, particularly in relation to his stage of development, significant relationships, career aspirations, daily routines, and historical context. Doe was caught in the flux of societal changes—changing notions of gender roles in and outside the household, employment opportunities and training, and a new competitive and bureaucratic climate within the workplace, all of which was reflected in his correspondence. At the same time, Doe's primary male influence, his grandfather, who came of age in the last part of the nineteenth century, imposed a set of traditional expectations from that epoch. These evolving conditions—related to work, family, domestic duties, personal physique, fitness and health—when faced with earlier manhood expectations, were making the task of defining and/or proving manhood more difficult. Pvt. Doe, much like Theodore Roosevelt in his early twenties but a half century later, was struggling to prove his own masculinity in an era that was slowly evolving.

Several historians have focused on TR's widespread impact on what it meant to be a man at the turn of the century and beyond.[95] Bederman reviewed Roosevelt's ideological make-up as a young boy and image campaign after his election to New York assemblyman. As a sickly child, Teddy was greatly influenced by western novels depicting naturalist struggles and Darwinian theories of evolution. A unique "discourse of civilization" was the ideological result in which he combined these two areas of interest into a philosophy of white male supremacy and nationalism. While hanging on to his father's "Victorian code of bourgeois manliness"—including qualities such as strength, courage, self-restraint, gentleness, tenderness, and unselfishness, TR was attracted to "a more violent masculinity."[96] Nevertheless, after winning election to a NY State assembly seat, the press besieged Roosevelt for his effeminate characteristics, provoking the aggressive, violence-promoting Roosevelt out of his shell. TR, thus, produced big-game hunting books, fought in the Spanish-American War and pumped iron to highlight a more masculine image. Important for this investigation, his widely engaged ideology of masculinity and American superiority very likely would have been adopted by Pvt. Doe's Grandfather Hoover—a veteran of the Spanish-American War—and thus, trickled down to Doe's thinking. There is evidence of this in Doe's letters, for example, references to weight gain, desire to stay fit, lack of athletic size to compete, and reference to U.S. superiority.[97]

Like TR, Doe found himself preoccupied with proving his manhood. After failing at his studies in his first year at Pharmacy School, he enlisted in the Army during the Korean War to avoid hometown embarrassment and to build a new image. In an odd turn of events, previous to departure for Korea, the military bureaucracy directed him to Pharmacy Technician training. He shared with his mother that the recruits were told nearly half would fail in the first few weeks because of the academic rigor. Over a series of letters he assured his mother of his determination to succeed in chemistry and math work, which he did. He described his extraordinary efforts over a 16-week period (e.g., studying after hours in a lighted latrine, attending study hall sessions, and studying over the weekends), which was the key to his success. Unfortunately, once in Korea, the Army

brass assigned Doe to duties that did not permit him to utilize his pharmacy training (e.g., as medic, then medical supply clerk).[98] This turn of events pushed him to pursue other activities to prepare for post-military employment, including accounting and bookkeeping correspondence courses.

Unlike TR, Doe did not attempt to overcompensate for his lack of athletic bearing or physical competitiveness, another domain thought to be important to prove manhood.[99] Moderate exercise and extra guard duty met his needs to stay fit and healthy and to keep extra weight off. Rather than heroic masculinity, Doe appeared satisfied with Jordan's "balanced, modest manliness." Diminutive size hampered his efforts to propel the platoon to victory in regular games of volleyball, but his competitive instinct, superior skills and collegiality when playing a Lieutenant in ping pong over time led to a promotion.[100] Doe did share that he was watching his weight by eschewing home-baked goodies and displaying his stamina standing guard. His Western novel reading, perhaps, represented the fantasy of living the masculine ideal, the escapism or imaginative manhood alluded to by Jordan and Brophy.[101]

Doe was also contending with a work world that contrasted what Michael Kimmel labeled "Heroic Artisan" and that of bureaucratic cog and self-made man.[102] Opposite to TR's experience as cowboy rancher, leader of Rough Riders or African wild-game hunter, that is, one who had a great deal of control over his world, a world that radiated adventure, Pvt. Doe encountered a much more mundane existence. Within this environment, he was less able to exhibit those Roosevelt-like masculine ideals. His experience in the Army only heightened the sensitivity to the new bureaucratic order, including lack of control over work, limited feeling of personal significance and purposeless idleness.[103]

Reorienting oneself to large-scale, bureaucratic organizations and professional, impersonal training of the late 1800s was part of various masculine professions. Charles LaWall depicted similar evolution of pharmaceutical preparation and work beginning in the mid-nineteenth century.[104] As in the law profession and military world, pharmacy was dominated by men during the rise of professional schools and associations.[105] Part of the field's excitement was the opportunity to mix various

substances and experiment independently. News spread that apothecaries were discovering exciting new applications that were positively changing the face of medicine, including alkaloid, morphine, quinine, ether, among other compounds.[106] Along with powerful new treatments, however, came quacks and charlatans, and thus, the need for regulation, fraternal professional associations, and formal colleges of pharmacy with state regulated curricula. The rise of the pharmaceutical industry and retail transformed the nature of who produced the product, how it was distributed, and issues of professional control and profits. This shift from independent druggist to dependent, salaried professional marks one of the transformations that some historians have equated with a loss of agency or autonomy among men, increasing anxiety and the corresponding need to re-define and/or redirect masculinity.[107]

Re-engaging ideals of manhood in a "cult of masculinity" was in part the outcome of growing dominance of the organization man of the late nineteenth century, a rebellion against the life's routine and dullness. Some historians have pointed to the popularity of TR's masculine ideals as part of this new direction, that is, men as "armed protector and provider" and ideal women as "the housewife and child-bearer."[108] On the other hand, according to Margaret Marsh, men, in part, turned to play new roles in their families—a "model of domestic masculinity"—as a means to redefine manhood ideals.[109] This second—domestic—path followed from middle-class men having more secure corporate jobs and more leisure to devote to family and from changing women's roles outside the household, transforming marriage partners to companions.

And indeed, Doe's letters noted that his finance had been chosen the president of their hometown's Methodist Church Youth Fellowship and was also working, making money and deciding what to buy.[110] His mother was also part of the work world.[111] Yet Pvt. Doe's correspondence hints at a sort of schizophrenia between two contrasting gender expectations. In the greatest part of his letters, he signaled his contentment with inheriting the patriarchal role, in regard to his mother and his future wife (e.g., remarks poking fun at who should be the family breadwinner, about the money his mother will make, at his mother's choice for president, and about his fiancée's desire for

new car). He also took the lead on future spending decisions and frugality, laying out how the future couple would live based on his employment prospects and savings and spending habits in Korea.[112] On the other hand, he shared a softer, vulnerable side—fears of occupational failure, disenchantment with lack of promotion, acknowledgement of his physical limits in athletics, satisfaction that he is shielded from front-line combat, and unwillingness to engage in rough-play of cross-Atlantic initiation rites.

This gendered schizophrenia exhibited within Pvt. Doe's correspondence may also reflect what Anthony Rotundo described as "boy culture," a world of cross currents pitting paternal expectations and imitative acting out against maternal influence.[113] Doe's fears, mentioned earlier, were laid out for his mother as an appeal to her nurturing side, for emotional support, sympathy and kindness. Doe's correspondence also highlighted his desire to follow his mother's moral dictates, eschewing alcoholic beverages, praying, clinging to his religious faith and attending church. In this Pvt.'s life, Rotundo's words appear to ring true: "Women struggled…to exert moral power within the boy's world by implanting an active conscience in their sons…. Their moral and spiritual authority seemed immense to their sons."[114] In other letters, Doe attempted to approximate the role of masculine ideal toward mother and finance. Service in Korea provided the sort of space needed (much like the out-of-house experiences back home) to express the growing pains of playing the role of man while still seeking comfort from a mother's bond and care. Thus, another source of Pvt. Doe's manhood ideals was very likely a reflection of his stage of development and unique parentage.

Doe's correspondence spoke to several attributes of nineteenth-century boy culture—a world that seeks to approximate manhood ideals (e.g., constant competition and comparison and opportunities to demonstrate courage).[115] He wrote of his frequent participation with fellow soldiers in competitive sports —though he notes his interest in volleyball is strictly for fun and exercise.   Just as Rotundo's nineteenth century boys are full of energy, so too are the soldiers in this Third Medical Battalion. Doe trumpeted his success in pharmacy training, another area of competition, where he survived even as

most did not. Boy culture, we are told, is marked by a "constant process of comparison."[116] Doe's letters were filled with such comparisons—promotion, athleticism, guard duty toughness, level of morality and academic/professional success. It was clear from this soldier's correspondence that his experiences smacked of a distinct subculture—a strict hierarchy marked by the rank one achieved, the insignia one bore, the power one wielded (or did not) over others, a routine of standing guard, eating in groups at designated times, sleeping in close-quartered huts, playing volleyball or ping-pong or bingo to pass the time.

As Doe's letters suggested, the central thrust of an ideal man was the fulfillment of religious duty. Protestant traditions, faith, and beliefs were on display throughout the letters. They guided Doe's military and civilian activities, beliefs, relationships, and hopes. They were also the glue that cemented son to mother, and to fellow soldiers, relatives and friends. Frequent church attendance, worship, communion, bible study, tithing, a strong sense of ethics and scriptural moral code and religious holiday celebrations were all part of his ideal manhood. Doe was steeped in evangelical Protestantism, the topic of Clifford Putney's *Muscular Christianity*. In contrast to Putney's account, however, Doe was less bound to stereotypical masculine or feminine characteristics.[117]

Doe's particularistic religious influences may explain why he deviated from a dualistic portrait of either rough-hewn masculinity or effeminate manliness. During his childhood, Doe could be found at Garvinwood General Baptist Church in Evansville, Indiana, on Sunday, and in his tween/teen years, at the Evansville United Brethren congregation beginning with his confession of faith at 12 years of age.[118] Garvinwood Church projected a masculine headship. All Deacons and Trustees were men, and his Grandfather Hoover was elected to both posts.[119] Yet women held important church positions, particularly guiding the missionary work, including providing meals for the homeless. Doe also likely had heard of Miss Nellie Katherine Sirkle, "the first lady of the [Garvinwood] church to be licensed into the ministry," this "closely following on the heels of a revival with a lady evangelist."[120] In this setting, Doe also learned something of the need to stick to a "Scripture Plan," to give part of one's income, to "pray much…for the forward work of the kingdom of

God," to be "a servant…cultivat[ing] a Christian spirit towards each other; loving, meek, and kind, ever mindful of the opinion of others."[121] Moreover, young Doe was socialized to abstain from alcoholic beverages, to avoid dancing, to attend church regularly (or be dropped from the membership), to study the Bible, and to share the faith—to evangelize.[122]

Behaviors often associated with men serving in war—drinking, womanizing, smoking or committing 'heroic' acts of violence toward others—ran counter to the religious socialization in which this Private had been taught.[123] Doe communicated a distaste for such behaviors in regard to recreational and leisure activities—avoiding the military club and playing volleyball for fun and fitness, not competitively. Furthermore, he indicated he was happily serving the soldiers *behind the lines.* Just as Putney discussed, Doe may have adopted the new orientation, a shift from "bodily exercise profiteth little" to the body as a "temple," a temple that was to serve Godly ends.[124] But he was no TR, no rough rider. Moreover, inter-platoon volleyball matches, for example, helped to introduce soldiers to the new corporate world, requiring teamwork and sociability, an increasingly important thrust at the turn of the nineteenth century.[125] At times, corporate needs dove-tailed with Christian-ideal processes. Serving others in his capacity as a pharmacy technician or medic or as a medical supply clerk kept Doe from combat, a role that conflicted with his understanding of evangelical Christianity no doubt. Rather than seeing women as a threat to the church, as Putney argued, Doe adopted at least some of their attitudes and behaviors in concrete ways during the war: cooking for others, standing in for soldiers on guard duty or registering objections to unchristian behavior such as crowding out orders for necessary medical supplies with alcoholic beverages.

Growing up within the evangelical tradition for Doe meant towing the line between the patriarchal role played by Grandfather Hoover along with the spiritual leadership of men and women. He witnessed both grandparents and his mother leading church activities including Sunday School teaching and Youth Fellowship sponsorship.[126] Contrary to Putney's thesis, both Garvinwood General Baptist and Evansville United Brethren strongly embraced women and men who were willing to promote

the work of the church. Both institutions may have engaged particular scriptural precepts that sanctioned "manly exertion" (Mark 11:15), but not from fear of feminization of the church.[127] Providing a Boy Scout troop affiliation within the ecclesiastical sphere of activities also did not necessarily suggest a strong push to recapture some lost martial ardor, muscularity or aggression, as Jordan found.[128] Doe's letters did not reflect what Putney points to as the new masculine projection of Christ within Protestant churches—a hardy, muscular carpenter, a rugged nomad.[129] There is some evidence that the Boy Scouts of the 1930s did not resemble those of in the earlier decades, which may explain the difference.[130]

As this speculative analysis has demonstrated, Doe's ideals of manhood were likely tied to a wide array of influences entangled in significant relationships, career aspirations and corporate culture, unique developmental stage and personal characteristics, religious beliefs, and daily routines. Similar to the young TR, Doe sought to prove himself, this after failing at college. Swallowed in military bureaucracy, he learned to navigate a world filled with ennui, dependency, lack of autonomy, inefficiency, and promotional glass ceilings, one that would await him in the corporate world. Ideals such as patience and stoicism, cooperation and modesty, trumped muscular heroism and bravado as ideal attributes.

Protestant church ideology and the upsurge of women in the workplace and politics meshed well with aspects of corporate culture and behind-the-lines service to others. While men ruled the roost in professions such as pharmacy, law, and military leadership and often continued to model stereotypically masculine behaviors, Doe also witnessed strong women in church leadership roles, serving others and emphasizing moral imperatives. His mother, though seeking refuge at Grandfather Hoover's home following her divorce, also provided Doe with an exemplar of professional, career women that did not square with the behaviors or attitudes that his Grandmother Hoover exhibited. Even as he voiced his desire for his future finance to be a stay-at-home mother, he recognized the shifting cultural sand, a terrain that might not support the nineteenth-century ideal of husband, that of sole breadwinner.

This paper has provided an alternative to manhood studies of political gender rhetoric surrounding U.S. wartime policy and electoral politics. It has added to recent efforts by other scholars to enlarge the scope of masculine ideals, tapping new areas of men's lives, even as it drew on wartime soldier correspondence. The results of this case study suggested that this Korean War soldier from Indiana held to a mix of manhood ideals rooted in the unique historical context of family, work, religion, region, psychological development and changing societal norms. Private Doe did not fit neatly into stereotypical norms described by some historians but those that reflected his particularistic set of historical circumstances.

Notes

[1] "This Morning." *The Washington Post*, February 7, 1951. The topic of manhood was on the minds of Americans in various contexts during the Korean conflict: in the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committee hearings on General Douglas MacArthur's termination, at GOP presidential political rallies or local U.S. Army Draft Board meetings in mid-America, and splashed across newspaper columns, focusing on inadequate preparation of America's fighting men and what to do about it. Meanings of ideal men in these different forums concentrated, at least in part, on martial masculinity, as protectors of the home-front, as independent thinkers, and as indispensible to the nation. See for example, "M'arthur Views on China Backed by Wedemeyer, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 12, 1951. Letters to the Editor, *New York Times*, May 10, 1951; "Korean Errors Cited to G. O. P. by Wedemeyer," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 10, 1952; Fredrick Fox, "As Korea Comes Closer to Wauseon," *New York Times*, January, 14, 1951; "Air sick." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 3, 1952; Barbara Ward, "Lest 'the Dreadful Scales Begin to Dip'," New York Times, September 16, 1951.

[2] Joe Doe was a pseudonym used for purposes privacy.

[3] Doe joined the Army at the rank E-1 on 19 September 1951 and was honorably discharged 29 July 1953. Joe Doe, "DD214" (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government, nd.). The 85 letters available for this study are included in John Doe, Correspondence, 27 May 1951 to 25 June 1953, Dixon Collection.

[4] More than 150 dissertations on the topic have been published since 2005.

[5] Clyde Griffen, "Reconstructing Masculinity from the Evangelical Revival to the Waning of Progressivism: A Speculative Synthesis," in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, ed. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, 183-204 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Joshua S. Goldstein, W*ar and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). For academic treatments of images of American soldiers around mid-twentieth century, see Andrew J. Huebner's The Warrior Image (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2008) or

Christina S. Javis' The Male Body at War (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, 2004).

[6] Benjamin R. Jordan, "A Modest Manliness": The Boy Scouts of America and the Making of Modern Masculinity, 1910--1930." Phd diss., University of California-San Diego, 2009, 2, 71. Jordan's dissertation ideas have been published. See Benjamin Jordan, *"Conservation of Boyhood:" Boy Scouting's Modest Manliness and Natural Resource Conservation, 1910–1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[7] John C. Worsencroft, "Salvageable Manhood: Project 100,000 and the Gendered Politics of the Vietnam War" (Master's Thesis, Unversity of Utah, 2011), 10-23.

[8] Matthew Brophy, "Of Savage and Sacred Men: Primitive Masculinity and the Making of an American Empire" (PhD diss., State University of New York-Binghamton, 2010). 209.

[9] Ibid., 209-217.

[10] Lois G. Benedict, "Uncertain Men: Faulkner, Steinbeck and Modern Masculinities" (PhD diss., Lehigh University, 2010).

[11] Doe's Mother described that "[w]hile a boyscout [Doe's] pack was having a paper sale. He took his wagon and hauled papers and prodded other boys to work harder…." Edithe O. Winstead, "Memoirs, 1989" [unpublished] (hereafter EW Memoirs) (in possession of author), 24a.

[12] U.S. Census Bureau. *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population*; EW Memoirs, 3a-3b. Doe's Mother explained that her father (Doe's Grandfather) joined the U.S. Army "during the war with Spain," [and] was in Cuba and the Philippines." Ibid., 3b.

[13] Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine Wars.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 200.

[14] Ibid., 29-33.

[15] Ibid., 71, 101, 202; See problems with terms such as "courage" in E. Anthony Rotundo, "Boy Culture, Middle-Class Boyhood in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, ed. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 22-24.

[16] Hoganson, 91.

[17] Ibid., 71.

[18] Ibid., 91-101.

[19] Hoganson, 101.

[20] Hoganson briefly addressed the interconnected nature of Christian commitment, war stance, and political confrontation and related representations of masculinity. President McKinley and Senator George Hoar were the sole examples. Ibid., 102.

[21] K. A. Cuordileone, *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 2. 15.

[22] Cuordileone, 15. Italics added.

[23] Cuordileone, 13.

[24] Mirra Komarosky found in 1930s case studies that "being the provider plays some, but…only a small, part in determining prestige and powers of a husband." See her "The Breakdown of the Husband's Status," in *The American Man*, ed.

Elizabeth H. Pleck and Joseph H. Pleck (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 340.

[25] Cuordileone, 1.

[26] Cuordileone, 2.

[27] Cuordileone, 98.

[28] Cuordileone, 127. The author described the historical root for this type of brooding mom: the loss of "labor-intensive, pre-industrial duties in the home." Thus, the 1950s mom had more time to coddle, dote on, and "make dependent" young boys; [she] had more time to shop and more energy to pressure husbands to "keep up with the Joneses." The mid-century married mother "infected the family with her mindless consumerism." Ibid., 126-127.

[29] Cuordileone, 47, 124-125.

[30] Cuordileone, 40-46, 113-115.

[31] Cuordileone, 41.

[32] Cuordileone, 113-114.

[33] Cuordileone, 47.

[34] He also provided brief glimpses in other areas, for example, drawing on the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1957, corporate dominance and the sense of men's powerlessness or citing David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*, the shift from frontier to industrial world. Cuordileone, 103, 118.

[35] Cuordileone, 118.

[36] Cuordileone, 128.

[37] Cuordileone, 135, 154.

[38] Curodileone, 243.

[39] Doe to Mother, 13 August 1952.

[40] Doe to Mother, 27 August 1952.

[41] Doe to Mother 11 September 1952.

[42] Doe to Mother, 21 October 1952 and 6 November 1952.

[43] Doe to Mother, 3 February 1953 and 1 March 1953.

[44] Doe's military service in Korea was set in the context of the stalemate-negotiation/truce-seeking phase of the war, which historians have marked off beginning 16 May 1951, with armistice agreed to 27 July 1953. Stanley Sandler, *The Korean War: No Victors, No Vanquished (*Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 143-144, 261; see also James L. Stokesbury, *A Short History of the Korean War (*New York: William Morrow and Company, 1988); Doe arrived in Korea approximately 9 August 1952. Doe to Mother, 10 August 1952.

[45] Doe to Mother, 22 December 1952.

[46] Doe to Mother, 2 October 1952 and 31 October 1952. Dennis Worthen's investigation suggested that Doe's Korean War experience was not so unusual at mid-century. See his *Pharmacy in World War II* (Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, 2004), 156-157.

[47] For the unique role that mothers may played in the correspondence of male soldiers (e.g., manhood prescriptions and emotional needs), see Michael Roper, "Maternal Relations: moral manliness and emotional survival in letters home during the First World War," in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, eds. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 295-315.

[48] Joe Doe, "College Transcript," Butler University (Indianapolis, IN: Registrar's Office, 1956).

[49] Doe to Mother, 25 September 1951 and 31 March 1952.

[50] Doe to Mother, 3 February 1952. Joe Doe, "DD214."

[51] Doe to Mother, 22 March 1952. Pharmacy Technician training offered to recruits by the military very likely reflected the WWII "ninety-day curriculum," including "pharmaceutical arithmetic, chemistry, pharmacy, and therapeutics." Pharmacy was further subdivided to "general pharmacy and galenicals preparations and military prescriptions." See Worthen*, Pharmacy in World War II*, 160.

[52] Doe to Mother, 22 March 1952.

[53] Doe to Mother, 22 March 1952 and 9 April 1952.

[54] Doe to Mother, 15 August 1952.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Doe to Mother, 22 August 1952.

[57] Doe to Mother, 5 September 1952 and 10 October 1952.

[58] Doe to Mother, 27 August 1952 and 12 September 1952.

[59] Doe to Mother, 5 September 1952 and 7 October 1952.

[60] Doe to Mother, 15 August 1952 and 15 September 1952.

[61] Doe to Mother, 15 September 1952.

[62] Doe to Mother, 21 October 1952.

[63] Doe to Mother 12 October 1952 and 25 October 1952.

[64] Doe to Mother, 25 October 1952 and 6 November 1952. Pvt. Doe successfully completed his degree in Pharmacy at Butler University a few years after his honorable discharge from the Army. Joe Doe, "College Transcript."

[65] Doe to Mother, 24 September 1951.

[66] Doe to Mother, 16 August 1952.

[67] Doe to Mother, 19 April 1953.

[68] St. James United Brethren Membership Book [in possession of Josette Higgins, former church secretary]. Evansville, Indiana.

[69] Doe to Mother, 1 August 1952.

[70] Doe to Mother, 18 August 1952.

[71] Doe to Mother, 1 August 1952.

[72] Doe to Mother, 15 September 1952.

[73] Doe to Mother, 27 October 1952.

[74] Doe to Mother 11 August 1952.

[75] Doe to Mother, 3 September 1952.

[76] Doe to Mother, 6 October 1951.

[77] Doe to Mother, 22 December 1952.

[78] Doe to Mother, 13 October 1951.

[79] Doe to Mother, 27 September, 1951.

[80] Doe to Mother, 22 December 1952 and 2 December 1952.

[81] Doe to Mother, 1 March 1953.

[82] Doe to Mother, 29 January 1952. Doe's Mother split with her son's Father before his birth in 1930, and she and the baby Joe Doe lived with her parents until her second marriage nearly ten years hence, 12 June 1940. EW Memoir, Appendix and 22a. Joe Doe, "DD 214." Doe never met nor had direct knowledge of his biological Father. His relationship with his Grandfather, thus, was instrumental in understanding manhood ideals partly because of his close relationship with him and due to Doe's Mother's dependence on her parents

following the split. Hoover, Doe's maternal Grandfather, lived from 31 May 1878 to 31 December 1959. EW Memoir, Appendix.

[83] Doe to Mother, 13 November 1952.

[84] Doe to Mother, 20 November 1952.

[85] Doe to Mother, 13 November 1952.

[86] Doe to Mother, 17 April 1953.

[87] Doe to Mother, 11 November 1952; As Doe's Mother explained it, upon her return to Doe's Grandfather Hoover's residence following the split-up, she found success in sales, as a writer and broadcaster, then as "assistant buyer in Maternity Wear," all at the Baby Shop. Previous to this, she had worked nearly eight years at E.E. Kresge Dollar General Store and at other businesses, including G.E., Briggs Corporation, and Republic Aviation during WW II. Edythe Winstead, "Employment," *Polk's Evansville City Directory* (Evansville, IN: Data Business Group and R.L. Polk & Co., 1943), 652; Ibid., 1945, 777; Ibid., 1959, 601; EW Memoirs, 22b-23b.

[88] Doe to Mother, 21 January 1953.

[89] Doe to Mother, 3 February 1953.

[90] Doe to Mother, 11 August 1952.

[91] Doe to Mother, 22 March 1952.

[92] Doe to Mother, 7 September 1952.

[93] Doe to Mother, 21 October 1952 and 23 October 1952.

[94] Griffen used the term "speculative synthesis" in contrast to a crisis approach to manhood studies, drawing together more of an evolutionary and less unified conception. See his "Reconstructing Masculinity," 1990, 184. As Griffen suggested, investigating Doe's experience certainly demonstrated this investigation's interest in "identifying the variety of adaptations for different social groups in different settings…[including] family relationships, courtship and marriage, friendship, recreation, the workplace, religious [and] fraternal…associations, or politics." While this soldier's thoughts must, no doubt, reflect some self-censorship, all of these topics were discussed —some in great detail—in Pvt. Doe's correspondence. Due to the fact that Doe's Korean War service also fell outside of the 'battlefield' constructions of men, his ideals provided another example of variety even within the story of wartime soldiers. Ibid.

[95] See for example, Gail Bederman. *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Peter Gabriel Filene, *Him/her/self: Sex Roles in Modern America* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975); Rotundo, E. Anthony. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

[96] Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 172.

[97] In one letter, Doe wrote, "[Mom], I wish you would send me my gym shoes and swimming suit. I do have spare time on the weekends, and I need some exercise to take some of this excess poundage off. I have gained several pounds, so I am getting my little belly back." Doe to Mother, 29 May 1952. In other letters, he rejected Korean and Japanese cultural aspects (e.g., unsanitary eating habits, homes as shacks—"I would say at least 80% are dirty and almost unlivable in our way of thinking. It is almost like the colored part of Evansville,

although I would say worse in most instances"). Doe to Mother, 15 October 1952, 17 April 1953.

[98] Doe to Mother, 23 October 1952 and 31 October 1952.

[99] Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 242-243; E. Anthony Rotundo, "Boy Culture," 17-23.

[100] Doe to Mother, 11 June 1952 and 2 November 1952.

[101] Jordan, "A Modest Manliness," 100; Brophy, "Of Savage and Sacred Men."

[102] Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History (*New York: Free Press, 1996), 9.

[103] Doe to Mother, 27 August 1952, 29 September 1952, 7 October 1952, 10 October 1952, 15 October 1952.

[104] For parallels in law, see Michael Grossberg, "Institutionalizing Masculinity: The Law as a Masculine Profession," in Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen Clyde, ed., *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America. (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1990), 133-163; Charles H. LaWall, *The Curious Lore of Drugs and Medicines (Four Thousand Years Of Pharmacy)* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing, 1927).

[105] See lists of all-male faculty members at eighteenth-century pharmacy colleges, all male pharmacy association officers, the use of masculine pronouns and phrases such as "upholding brotherly feelings among the members," in early codes of ethics for pharmacists, in LaWall, *Curious Lore*, 1927, 490, 491-496, 499, 524-529, 583. Not much had changed at mid-twentieth century in military pharmacy. Worthen found that total undergraduate enrollment in the nation's colleges of pharmacy numbered 15,564 students, in 1946, 13,382 men and 2,182 women. He also noted a leader in the field of pharmacy during WW II voiced that "Few women are interested in entering the profession and of those who do enter, few devote a whole lifetime to it." See his *Pharmacy in WWII*, 183, 115.

[106] LaWall, Curious Lore, 454, 474.

[107] Margaret Marsh, "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870-1915," 111-112.

[108] Bederman *Manliness*, 111, 180.

[109] Marsh, *"*Suburban Men," 112-113.

[110] Doe to Mother, 18 September 1952. Doe's finance also had plans "to enter Lockyears Business College," according to her high school yearbook. *Bosse Senior Edition 52* (Evansville, Indiana: np, 1952).

[111] EW Memoir, 22b-23b; Doe to Mother, 22 December 1952 and 25 January 1953.

[112] For examples, he chided his mother: "Why don't you quick work? Money Bags?" and "[I'm] thinking of you as you start back to making your third million." And further, "I hope you like your new job a lot, for you might as well like it, for you will work at it all your life I guess, so you should be happy making all your millions. Sassy aren't I? Ha! "Doe to Mother, 22 December 1952, 25 January 1953, 3 March 1953.

[113] Rotundo, "Boy Culture," 1990.

[114] Rotundo, "Boy Culture," 28. More generally, Doe underscored that he wanted to "live a good life…up to your [Mother's] standards." Doe to Mother, 16 August 1952.

[115] Doe noted that his size undermined his ability to compete—a preoccupation Rotundo highlights as crucial in boy culture. Doe to mother 7 September 1952. In another letter, he emphasized his ping pong prowess as an endearing quality with an officer who later recommended him for promotion. Doe to Mother, 6 November 1952. Rotundo elaborated two types of values embraced in boy culture, those rooted in traits and behaviors and those honored in the structure of daily activities and experiences. The first type included size, strength, speed, endurance, loyalty, and courage ("highest esteemed"); courage was divided into stoicism and daring; stoicism encompassed "suppression of 'weak' feelings—fear, pain, grief." Daring, Rotundo explained, was cultivated by boy peers; stoicism, by adults who preached hard work and self-denial." Implicit structural values included mastery (e.g., skill and social—aggression/self-assertion), and above all, independence. See Rotundo, "Boyhood Culture," 22-24.

[116] Rotundo, "Boyhood Culture," 21.

[117] Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

[118] EW Memoir, 18a; John G. Hughes, "Garvinwood General Baptist Church Membership Book," [unpublished] (Evansville, Indiana); St. James United Brethren Membership Book.

[119] Garvinwood General Baptist Church, "Minutes," November 17, 1912 to September 27, 1932, 3, 16, 110. The job description for Garvinwood pastors began with "It shall be the duty of the Pastor to lead…worship… to administer the ordinances…to lead or direct mid-week services, and to have general oversight and leadership…. *He*…." Jack D. Boyer, "History of Garvinwood General Baptist Church," Master's Thesis (University of Evansville, 1985), 113, italics added.

[120] Ibid., 35-36.

[121] Ibid., 29. Doe likely was introduced to Jordan's modest manhood at Garvinwood as well, through the efforts of "the first Boy Scout [troop]" initially sponsored by Garvinwood in 1916. St. James United Brethren Church also promoted scouting. Ibid., 20; EW Memoirs, 24a.

[122] Boyer, History of Garvinwood, 26, 28, 33-35, 37-38.

[123] For accounts of soldiers with these stereotypical manhood norms in wartime during the first half of the century, see Julia Collins, *My Father's War: A Memoir* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2002); Lucinda Franks, *My Father's Secret War: A Memoir* (New York: Hyperion, 2007); Peter Richmond, *My Father's War: A Son's Journey*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996; Paul West, *My Father's War: A Memoir*. Kingston, NY (McPherson & Company, 2005).

[124] Putney, *Masculine Christianity*, 51, 55.

[125] Ibid., 71.

[126] EW Memoir, 5a, 24b.

[127] Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 11, 25.

[128] Jordan, "A Modest Manliness," 2009. See Putney, for opposing viewpoint, in *Muscular Christianity,* 70.

[129] Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 92-94.

[130] Ibid., 116-123.

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