This 1912 song, with music written by Hoosier composer Albert von Tilzer, reflects how the automobile pervaded American culture during the early twentieth century. The sheet music cover gives a sense of the freedom and enjoyment cars offered Hoosiers and all Americans.

6

Immigrants, Cars, Cities, and a New Indiana

Indiana holds by the pioneering culture . . . old-fashioned philosophies springing out of the soil and smelling of the pennyrile and the sassafrack [mint and sassafrass].

— *Irvin S. Cobb, 1924*

In the late nineteenth century Indiana moved along with the nation, experiencing increasing immigration, rapid industrial change that came with a new invention—the automobile, and big city growth. Indiana developed a culture of its own. Hoosiers claimed to be the most American of Americans, but they also developed pride in being different from Texans or New Yorkers. They liked the Indiana way of doing things, including being fiercely independent and self-sufficient, intensely political and wary of the government, and community-focused. However, economic growth in the late nineteenth century changed the old ways. Change promised a better life, for some, but not all. Some Hoosiers welcomed the new era; some found the changes threatening.

The Indiana Way

At the time of the American Revolution, Indiana was settled by Indian groups and a few Catholic French fur traders and families of mixed French and Indian blood, mostly from tribes associated with the Miami. After winning their revolution with the British, Americans who had been born in the eastern United States began to move west. The ancestors of most of the

Americans had come from England, Scotland, Wales, and the German principalities. Immigrants from Ireland and the German states started arriving in the early to mid part of the nineteenth century, and a few African Americans settled in the state, too, most near Quaker settlements.

By 1880 Indiana had become different than other states in an important way—Hoosiers were primarily American-born, white, and Protestant. Other states tended to have more immigrants, more ethnic groups, and more people of different religions. In 1880, 70 percent of Indiana's population had been born in the state. By 1920, 95 percent of Hoosiers had been born in the United States; 97 percent were white; and 75 percent of Indiana's church members were Protestants. There were also a few thousand Jews and a sizable number of Catholics. Regardless of nationality or religious affiliation, most Hoosiers lived in small towns or on farms.

Such homogeneity offered a foundation for building a Hoosier identity. Hoosiers could rightly think that they were all mostly alike and belonged together. Likely, too, this homogeneity contributed to a tendency to cling to old ways and question different

and new ways. Hoosiers preferred slow and gradual change. They tended to reject revolutionary proposals and disruptive arrangements. Consequently, Hoosiers hesitated to embrace people and ideas different from the Hoosiers they knew and the Indiana way of doing things. Nevertheless, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought revolutionary changes. By the early twentieth century Hoosiers were grappling with "new" immigrants recruited by factories producing new types of products, such as the automobile.

New Hoosiers

One of the most obvious changes came as a new wave of immigration from southern and eastern Europe flooded into the United States at the end of the nineteenth century. Speaking Italian, Greek, Polish, and many other languages, newcomers generally made their way from ports in Boston, Massachusetts; New York City; Baltimore, Maryland; or New Orleans, Louisiana, to Indiana. Although the immigrant population in Indiana increased, immigrants accounted for no more than 10 percent of the state's total population—a smaller proportion than in other industrial states. Still, the immigrants had a large impact on native-born Hoosiers.

Hoosiers struggled to accept people unlike them from the start. Most of the state's Indians were sent away by the 1830s, and blacks were barred from entering the state in its 1851 constitution. The "old immigrants," the Irish and Germans, received cool

or even hostile welcomes from native-born Hoosiers. They were different. Their language, their religion, their food, and their ways of doing things seemed strange. Would they and their children continue to be outsiders, or would they assimilate, that is, become like other Hoosiers? Long after they had assimilated, southern and eastern Europeans moved into the state, and Hoosiers asked these questions of the new groups. But even the least welcome of European immigrants had the chance eventually to become more like white, native-born Hoosiers.

African American Hoosiers

Unlike Irish Americans or Polish Americans, African Americans were not going to become "white." In 1850 about 1 percent of the people in Indiana were black. The small proportion of African Americans in Indiana was due in large part to generally held anti-black attitudes and discriminatory laws. Due to the ban on blacks in 1851, the proportion would change very little until after the Civil War. Blacks who did live in Indiana encountered challenges of race that persisted for generations.

During the 1870s many former slaves immigrated north to join relatives, find work, or just to get away from the South. Later in the century black people immigrated to Indiana for newly available factory jobs. By 1920 African Americans comprised nearly 3 percent of Indiana's population.

Logansport Drugstore

Busjahn and Schneider's drugstore with a soda fountain in Logansport, Indiana, in the early twentieth century is an example of how the children of immigrants became part of their new communities. Part owner John Busjahn was the son of German immigrants and his partner, John Schneider, was the son of a German and a Canadian immigrant.

Evansville Barbershop

William H. Glover's Shaving Parlor in Evansville. Although job opportunities for African Americans in Indiana were often limited and most worked for low pay, some found higher paying work in factories or as small business owners.

In 1885 Indiana passed a civil rights act that promised all people could eat in any public restaurant, get a hotel room, or go to a theater. The problem was that the law was rarely enforced; discriminatory practices were still the norm. African Americans found ways to help each other, however. Despite an often hostile climate, they began to seek ways to enjoy the same rights as other Americans. By 1900 black Hoosiers had most of the same legal rights as whites. They still could not legally marry a white partner or serve in the state militia; but black men could and did vote.

Factory Jobs and City Lives

For most newcomers the pull to Indiana was the possibility of a job, a better job than back in Ireland or Italy or rural Mississippi. European immigrants and African Americans provided essential labor for Indiana's new factories and cities. Employers could often hire them at lower wages than white, native-born Americans.

Most of the new factories were in cities, so it was to the growing cities that the newcomers migrated. South Bend, Fort Wayne, Gary, Evansville, and Indianapolis pulled them in. Newcomers often lived with people of similar origin, clustered in separate neighborhoods. Indiana cities became like patchwork quilts where Hoosiers sorted themselves by race, ethnicity, and class.

In his novel *The Magnificent Ambersons*, published in 1918, author Booth Tarkington wrote that in Indianapolis "all the women who wore silk or velvet knew all the other women who wore silk or velvet." Such wealthier, native-born Hoosiers knew each other, but usually not those people in their town who were poor, of foreign birth, or had dark skin. At the same time, a Polish American family in Indianapolis or South Bend knew mostly other Polish immigrants. They attended the same churches, shopped in the same stores, and joined the same organizations.

It would take time for Hoosiers of different backgrounds to learn to know each other—time to trust, respect, and even value differences. As much as traditional Hoosiers might have liked old ways, many gradually came to see benefits of new people and new technology. Newcomers brought their culture—food, music, and ideas—that added zest to Indiana's culture. New manufactured products brought jobs but also increasing prosperity to many, while new technology—especially the automobile—brought increasing freedom to most Hoosiers.

6.1

Immigrants Come to Indiana, 1850–1920

"Cooking, keeping house, and mending in the true German way are very much harder here. The good German wife also helps her husband in many tasks, which would never occur to a genuine Yankee woman."

— *German settler in Allen County, 1852*

Indiana seldom offered rags to riches for immigrants. Many groups came because conditions were very difficult in their native countries. Political upheavals in German lands, starting in 1848, forced many to leave. Widespread famine in Ireland drove thousands away from their homeland. Cheap and abundant land for farming and the enticement of jobs pulled the emigrants to America's shores. Even though cultural and economic circumstances in America limited upward mobility for many European immigrants, there was still enough work and freedom for many to hope that their future would be brighter if they crossed the Atlantic.

The Germans

German Americans settled in Indiana during the pioneer era and comprised more than half of the state's foreign-born population at the time of the Civil War. Governor Oliver P. Morton distributed a pamphlet in Germany detailing the advantages of settlement in Indiana in the 1860s. Some Indiana counties attracted large numbers of Germans, notably Dubois County in southern Indiana where a visitor would have heard the German language spoken on the streets, in churches, and in schools. Evansville, Indianapolis, and Fort Wayne were also magnets for large numbers of Germans.

There were so many German newcomers in the state by the 1850s that the legislature ordered the governor's message to be printed in German as well as English. In 1915 in Vanderburgh County, the grandchildren of immigrants who had come to Indiana before the Civil War were still confirmed in church services conducted in German. One woman recalled, "'If you weren't confirmed in German, you weren't confirmed. God didn't listen to you in the English language.'" German-language newspapers, schools, beer gardens, and social clubs helped preserve the homeland culture and make newly-arrived Germans feel at home.

Some German newcomers were Jewish. Although incidents of anti-Semitism occurred in Indianapolis, Wabash, and elsewhere, Jews and Christians interacted socially and in business but seldom intermarried. There were a few Jewish communities, including Ligonier in Noble County. By the end of the nineteenth century Ligonier came to be called "Little Jerusalem."

The Irish

In the mid-nineteenth century Irish immigrants were second in number to Germans in Indiana. By 1860 about 25,000 foreign-born Irish were living in Indiana. Many came during the canal craze of the 1830s and 1840s as workers to dig the canals. They also performed manual labor building railroads. The Irish in Indiana and other northern states formed regiments and fought in the Civil War—as did German Americans.

With the factory boom, many Irish moved to the larger cities in the northern and central part of the state. In Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, and South Bend blue collar, Irish factory workers were a common sight. Irish Catholics in these Indiana cities and elsewhere in the state formed their own parishes. They also formed ethnic associations, including units of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and Gaelic athletic clubs, which continued into the twenty-first century.

The New Immigrants

Other ethnic groups began to arrive en masse at the end of the nineteenth century. More came from southern and eastern Europe, from places that would

Turnvereine and the Athenaeum

Many of the Germans who immigrated to Indiana in the mid-nineteenth century sought freedom and relief from the failed democratic revolutions in their homeland. These immigrants were generally well educated, socially progressive, and believed that America was a place where they could freely pursue their ideals and retain their culture.

Many of the German immigrants who had fought for democracy to replace monarchy in German lands were dedicated to the teachings of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, the founder of the Turner movement that promoted the idea that a healthy body and healthy mind were inextricably linked. Followers of the Turner movement founded *Turnvereine* in cities such as Fort Wayne and Indianapolis. *Turnvereine* were German gymnastics and cultural clubs, often in substantial custom-built brick buildings. Organized in 1865, the Fort Wayne Turners still thrive today and promote athletic and civic programs.

The building shown here, known today as the Athenaeum, was constructed between 1893 and 1898 in Indianapolis and is one of the finest examples of German Renaissance

Revival architecture in the Midwest. Designed by two American-born architects of German parentage, Bernard Vonnegut and Arthur Bohn, it served as home to the Indianapolis *Socialer Turnverein,* a "house of culture" for the mind and body. Known originally as *Das Deutsche Haus* (The German House), the building contained a gymnasium, locker rooms, meeting rooms, auditorium, bowling alleys, concert hall, beer garden, and classroom space. An ideal educational facility, in 1907 *Das Deutsche Haus* became home to the Normal College of the North American Gymnastic Union, America's oldest institution for training physical education teachers.

Anti-German sentiment during World War I prompted the *Socialer Turnverein* to change the building's name to the Athenaeum. In 1973 the National Register of Historic Places added the Athenaeum to its roster. In 1991 the building became the property of the nonprofit Athenaeum Foundation. Many consider the thoroughly renovated building one of Indianapolis's architectural jewels. Behind its beautiful façade, as of 2013, the Athenaeum was home to ten prominent cultural organizations.

become countries such as Italy, Hungary, Austria, Greece, and Poland, and fewer from northern and western Europe, from countries such as France, Spain, and England. This wave of new immigration reached a peak in the decade before World War I.

Hibernians in America

Irish Americans, as other immigrant groups, formed organizations to celebrate their heritage. The Ancient Order of Hibernians formed in Indiana in 1871 as a fraternal organization for Irish immigrants and their descendants. Members organized Saint Patrick's Day celebrations—even eighty years after the organization's beginnings, as evidenced by this souvenir booklet. In the nineteenth century, the Ancient Order of Hibernians also provided insurance support for its members and spoke up for Irish American interests.

Southern and eastern European languages, businesses, and customs were most visible in South Bend and the Calumet cities, such as Gary and East Chicago. South Bend's Studebaker Company and Oliver Chilled Plow Works recruited workers from Hungary. U. S. Steel attracted many Poles, Lithuanians, Croats, and Slovaks to Gary. Gas belt cities such as Muncie, Anderson, Kokomo, and Fort Wayne received fewer new immigrants than the northern most manufacturing cities, which was also true of Indianapolis and Evansville.

Just as the old immigrants, the Germans and Irish, had seemed different to earlier generations of Hoosiers, the new immigrants appeared strange to people born in Indiana. Many were poor, and because they could not speak English they appeared ignorant and backward. Many native-born could not imagine how these newcomers might one day become "real Hoosiers."

Casting Department Employees at Studebaker, ca. 1901

The Studebaker Manufacturing Company in South Bend, Indiana, employed immigrants from Hungary, Ireland, and other European countries.

Shapiro's Grocery and Deli, 1950

Max Shapiro serves Frania Kaplan, a German Jewish immigrant, in Shapiro's Deli in Indianapolis in 1950. Jewish and non-Jewish residents in Indianapolis stopped by Shapiro's for good corned beef and fresh rye bread, among other treats. Today, the more than one-hundred-year-old deli remains a draw for any food lover.

Ethnic Hoosiers

In the end the ethnic history of Indiana and America proved immigrants and migrants could be embraced and accommodated despite their unique cultures.

— *John Bodnar, Introduction,* Peopling Indiana *(1996)*

Most immigrants lived in city neighborhoods among their own class and ethnic group. Eventually, some immigrant families improved their economic situation and moved out of the old neighborhood. German Jews in Indianapolis who had begun as peddlers and clerks on the south side moved to the north side. Eastern European and Russian Jews formed a vibrant community on the south side. There, in the first decade of the twentieth century, Louis and Rebecca Shapiro opened a grocery store of kosher foods. A century later, the fourth generation of their family owned iconic Shapiro's Delicatessen, serving more than one thousand hungry Hoosiers a day. In South Bend, Hungarian immigrants who worked in the Studebaker factory worshipped at Our Lady of Hungary Catholic Parish and School. Today, the parish's annual multicultural Harvest Fiestaval (fiesta and festival) raises funds to support the school and draws visitors from as far away as Detroit.

Descendants of immigrants who came to Indiana in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries assimilated and today proudly consider themselves Hoosiers. In turn, Indiana recognized, adopted, and now fully celebrates the rich and diverse contributions of their cultures.

6.2

African American Hoosiers

We feel that our real freedom dates only from the day we entered Indiana.

— Meeting of North Carolina Exodusters (black emigrants), Greencastle, Indiana, December 1880

The ancestors of most African Americans, unlike those of European immigrants, did not come voluntarily to America's shores; they came as slaves. After the Civil War freed the slave population, conditions in the South worsened for thousands of black families, so they boarded trains and headed north. Many came to the growing industrial towns of Indiana. The state's African American population grew faster than its white population. By 1900 Indianapolis had the seventh largest black population among northern cities.

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Color Lines Limit Opportunity

"The Negro suffers every type and kind of discrimination in this state that he suffers anywhere, even jim-crow theaters and moving picture houses. In fact our pictures in the mile square—that is downtown—refuse absolutely to admit Negroes."

— Freeman Ransom, Indianapolis attorney, 1933

Even in the north, most African Americans found conditions of daily life difficult because of racial discrimination. Again and again they were turned away, excluded, and restricted from jobs and community life. Even Booker T. Washington, an educator and one of America's most respected black leaders, was turned away from a hotel when he came to Anderson, Indiana, in 1900.

Some Indiana towns became known as "sunset" towns, all-white places where it was understood that no black person would remain after the sun set. Worst of all, there were lynchings in Indiana. The most notorious occurred in Marion on August 7, 1930, when a mob of angry whites broke three black teenagers out of the Grant County jail and lynched (hung) two of them—Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith—on suspicion of murdering a white man and raping his girlfriend. It was the last lynching in Indiana. Sixteen–year-old James Cameron, who survived, later became a civil rights activist.

The major challenge facing black families was earning a living wage. The only jobs most men could find were for unskilled labor

African American Waiter

A black waiter serves white passengers in the dining car of an interurban in 1908. Due to discrimination, waiting tables was often one of the few jobs open to African American men.

Bethel AME Church, Richmond

The Bethel American Methodist Episcopal Church in Richmond, Indiana, has a long, distinguished history. The Bethel congregation moved into this building in 1868. The church served many community needs, acting as a social, political, and cultural center for Richmond's African Americans. Ministers were also community leaders. For instance, James Townsend, who briefly served as Bethel's minister, went on to become one of Indiana's first black legislators in 1885.

as janitors, waiters, or hod carriers (laborers who carried supplies, such as bricks or plaster, to construction workers). Some black men found slightly better employment as barbers, blacksmiths, or railway workers. Very few labor unions welcomed black workers. While white women were finding low-paying jobs as sales clerks, telephone operators, and stenographers, black women often worked as cooks and maids. At L. S. Ayres, Indianapolis's largest department store, all elevator operators were black women; all porters were black men; all sales jobs were restricted to whites.

Color lines also ran through education. The common school movement in the mid-to late-nineteenth century excluded black children. Legislation from 1869 required school trustees to provide separate schools in areas with a sizeable black population—and integrated schools if not. Black elementary schools became commonplace in most Indiana communities with sizable black populations. In addition, the southern Indiana towns of Madison, New Albany, and Evansville opened segregated high schools in the 1880s. During this period, educational opportunities for black children did expand and there was some racial integration. However, this was also the beginning of a separate and quite unequal system.

African American Response

"We need some action out here. I don't want riots or anything like that. But I do want justice for all, and I don't believe in any isms but Americanisms. I want my sixteen year old son to know the true meaning of Americanism by seeing it practiced toward men regardless of color."

— Mayole Nelson, East Chicago, to secretary of NAACP, 1943

Despite color lines and limited opportunities, a small middle class of African American Hoosiers

National Negro Business League

The Evansville branch of the National Negro Business League received third prize in the National Clean Up and Paint Up Campaign in 1923. The campaign encouraged citizens nationwide to clean up their communities. Evansville had several active African American leaders in the business community, including W. A. Goins, a funeral home owner and Dr. George Washington Buckner, a physician.

developed. In Indianapolis, Evansville, and elsewhere there were black businessmen and professionals—restaurant and barbershop owners, insurance agents, doctors, lawyers, teachers, ministers, and newspaper editors. The black middle class nurtured associations and institutions essential to African American communities. African American Hoosiers created their own groups because they were excluded from white organizations and because they valued the pride and well-being that came from racial solidarity. The African American churches stood at the center of black communities, not just as places of worship but also as places of social action. African American newspapers were also important. By 1900 Indianapolis had three—the *Indianapolis World*, the *Freeman*, and the *Recorder*. Black lodges, clubs, and fraternal orders also grew.

In 1909 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) formed in New York City. Mary Ellen Cable, an educator, founded the first Indiana branch in Indianapolis in 1912 and served as its first president. NAACP branches subsequently organized in Gary, Evansville, Marion, Terre Haute, and Muncie.

Flossie Bailey, president of the Marion branch of the NAACP, is remembered for her courageous action before and after the 1930 lynching in her town. Bailey fearlessly tried to prevent the mob from murdering the young black men. After the horrendous deed occurred, she convinced local and state officials to bring the perpetrators of the crime to justice. Two of the accused lynchers were tried but acquitted by an all-white jury. Bailey's persistence resulted in the passage of a stricter anti-lynching law in 1931.

Madam C. J. Walker

"I got myself a start by giving myself a start."

— *Madam C. J. Walker, 1917*

Born to ex-slaves in Louisiana in 1867 and orphaned at age six, Sarah Breedlove knew loss, poverty, and back-breaking work. Before she was a teenager, Breedlove was a sharecropper and a laundress—two of the few jobs available to African American women.

Breedlove was a mother and widow by age twenty. When her husband died, she took her little girl, Lelia, to Saint Louis, Missouri, where she heard she could get work as a laundress. She lived and worked in that city for seventeen years, barely getting by. While in Saint Louis, Breedlove developed a formula to encourage hair growth and a way to straighten hair using a heated steel comb; both were designed specifically for black women. With these innovations Breedlove started her own business and sold her products door-to-door.

In 1905 Breedlove and Lelia moved to Denver, Colorado, where she worked as a cook for a pharmacist. While in Denver, Breedlove married a man named Charles Joseph Walker and applied his name to her products. She developed a successful mail-order business and soon saw the opportunity to expand.

In 1910 Sarah (Breedlove) Walker moved to Indianapolis to establish the headquarters of the Madam C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company of Indiana. She became the nation's first black woman millionaire. Walker became a powerful, influential, and generous social leader. She supported black schools and colleges, orphanages, the NAACP, and YMCAs, including the Indianapolis YMCA at Michigan and Senate in 1912. Educator, author, and presidential advisor Booker T. Washington dedicated this YMCA building in 1913.

After she became rich and famous, Walker frequently spoke to groups of African American women. On these occasions, she always emphasized that they needed to believe in themselves and be persistent. At one convention in 1913 she stated, "The girls and women of our race must not be afraid to take hold of business endeavor and . . . wring success out of a number of business opportunities. . . . I want to say to every Negro woman present: Don't sit down and wait for the opportunities to come. . . . Get up and make them!"

In 1916 Walker moved to New York City to have an East Coast base and expand her business internationally. She hired Vertner Tandy, New York City's first licensed black architect, to design a thirty-four-room mansion for her on the banks of the Hudson River. She named her home Villa Lewaro and furnished it with priceless art and antiques. Today it is a National Historic Landmark.

In 1919 Walker died at age fifty-one from complications of high blood pressure and kidney failure. Lelia (who had changed her name to A'Lelia) inherited Villa Lewaro and became president of her mother's business empire. The Walker Company is widely considered the most successful African American-owned business in the first half of the twentieth century.

MADAM C. J. WALKER COLLECTION, INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Madam C. J. Walker

Sarah (Breedlove) Walker, aka Madam C. J. Walker, sits in her new home, Villa Lewaro, in New York City in 1918 or 1919. The beautiful mansion was a sign of her business success.

This display shows some of the Walker Manufacturing Company's products for African American women, such as skin cream, powder, and lipstick.

6.3

Hoosiers Make Cars

"Highways and streets are not for the exclusive use of vehicles propelled by animal power."

— *Indiana Supreme Court, 1901*

Hoosiers have always loved cars. Early on, Indiana had more than its share of pioneering inventors and entrepreneurs who made horseless carriages. Later, the automobile changed many aspects of life in Indiana—where people lived and worked, what jobs they had, how they commuted to those jobs, and how they went about their daily lives. In essence, cars changed Indiana's economy and culture.

Elwood Haynes, Pioneer Automobile Maker

The discovery of natural gas in northern Indiana— back in the late [eighteen-] eighties—was responsible for the invention of the automobile.

— *Robert Paterson,* Gas Buggy *(1933)*

The inventive exploits of Elwood Haynes inspired the little-known 1933 novel *Gas Buggy* by Robert Paterson. Set in a fictional town modeled after Kokomo, Indiana, the novel is so obscure that a recent online search revealed that it was not in the Kokomo–Howard County Public Library. Today, Paterson is all but forgotten, but Haynes is still remembered as a significant American inventor whose gas-powered vehicle, appropriately named the Pioneer, put Kokomo at the forefront of early automobile production.

Haynes was born in Portland, Indiana, in 1857 and trained as an engineer in Massachusetts. He returned to Indiana and eventually moved to the natural gas fields of Jay and Howard Counties where he and other investors founded Portland Natural Gas and Oil Company in 1886. He superintended the laying of pipelines, drilling wells, and running the office's operations. Frustrated by the slowness of the horse and

buggy as he drove to survey the pipeline work, Haynes imagined a faster mode of transportation in the form of a mechanized vehicle. He settled in Kokomo and started building such a machine with the help of two mechanics, brothers Elmer and Edgar Apperson.

On July 4, 1894, Haynes test-drove his vehicle along the Pumpkinvine Pike near Kokomo. A year later he and the Appersons went into business together and started producing cars. Although Haynes–Apperson proudly used the slogan "America's First Car," others in America also made this claim. However, the Haynes–Apperson Company could certainly claim to be one of the first successful car manufacturers.

Haynes achieved other automotive "firsts." In 1899 he gained national attention for driving one of his cars from Kokomo to New York City, a distance of more than one thousand miles. In 1902 he entered a car in the first Long Island Non-Stop Contest and won a blue ribbon. After the Appersons left Haynes–Apperson to form a new company, Haynes renamed it the Haynes Automobile Company. Elwood Haynes died in 1925, not long after the last Haynes cars rolled off the assembly line.

Hoosiers Catch "Car Fever"

By 1910 the car was well on its way to becoming part of the Hoosier state's identity. One particular event sealed the deal—the Indianapolis 500. Two Indianapolis manufacturers, James Allison and Carl Fisher, led the effort to create the Indianapolis Motor Speedway as a way to test out new car models and celebrate them. The first Indianapolis 500 took place on May 30, 1911, and was wildly popular. Ray Harroun won the race in a locally-made Marmon Wasp that averaged 74.59 miles-per-hour.

As with many new inventions or forms of progress, there were naysayers who did not like cars or the noise and fumes they produced. The main character in Booth Tarkington's 1918 Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *The Magnificent Ambersons* spoke for these folks when he proclaimed that automobiles were "'a useless nuisance.'" "'They'll never amount

Elwood Haynes

In this 1894 photograph, Elwood Haynes sits in his first car, the Pioneer, one of the first cars to be powered by a small gasoline engine and one of the first to appear on American roads.

to anything,'" he stated. "'They had no business to be invented.'" The roar of many powerful car engines drowned out such opinions.

By 1919, 172 businesses in more than thirty Indiana towns were producing automobiles and auto parts, according to the U.S. census. Companies that once manufactured farm wagons, such as Studebaker in South Bend, transitioned to making cars. Other companies, such as the Auburn Automobile Company located in the northeastern Indiana town of Auburn, also emerged as successful car manufacturers. Businesses that supported the auto industry also developed in Muncie, Anderson, and Indianapolis, producing parts such as transmissions, generators, gears, and headlights.

A Major Automobile State

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan became the heart of the new American auto belt, with hundreds of manufacturers. Most of the small companies failed as the industry moved toward a big business model in the form of the "Big Three"—Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors—all based in Detroit. Some Indiana companies held on through the 1920s, but most went out of business. The Great Depression was the final blow for those that remained, including Marmon and Stutz. By 1930 fewer than 4 percent of Indiana-registered cars had been made in the state. Only South Bend's Studebaker hung on until 1963 when it, too, ceased production. Detroit, not Indianapolis, Kokomo, or South Bend, became the

world's Motor City. The Big Three crushed all competition.

However, even with the rise of the Big Three, Indiana remained a major automobile state, behind only Michigan and, occasionally, Ohio in production. Dozens of auto parts factories dotted the Indiana landscape, mostly from Indianapolis to the north and east in Kokomo, South Bend, Marion, Fort Wayne, Muncie, and New Castle. Anderson was possibly the most auto-dependent town, where Delco-Remy and Guide Lamp, both suppliers for General Motors, employed thousands of workers by the late 1920s.

Changes Brought by the Automobile

An' ther hain't a day rolls by that somebuddy hain't sellin' ther sewin' machine, or ther home, or somthin' t' pay on an automobile.

> — *Indiana humorist Kin Hubbard, 1923*

Although Bob Dylan did not release his song "The Times They Are a-Changin'" until 1963, the song might have been the anthem for the changes brought by the automobile. Cars altered America and Indiana in many significant ways. Most would agree that these changes had both positive and negative sides.

Even though some Hoosiers were perfectly happy with horses as a mode of transportation and were initially cautious about buying a car, automobile registrations doubled in the 1920s and horse-drawn traffic essentially disappeared from town squares. The car culture merged with the excitement of the roaring twenties. Young people were the first to embrace the new ways. Instead of waiting demurely in the front parlor for her boyfriend to call, a young woman heard the horn honk and ran out the front door to hop in the front seat. Off the couple sped to meet friends at a picnic or roadside restaurant. Country roads along rivers or between cornfields became lovers' lanes, causing handwringing and outcries from church and civic leaders, including one Muncie judge who called the automobile "'a house of prostitution on wheels.'"

Most Hoosiers embraced the new freedom that came with owning a car. They enjoyed driving to family dinners—or a diner—on Sunday after church, to the new state parks, or to visit friends in the next town. However, the freedom was not necessarily extended to Indiana's African American population. This is evidenced by *The Negro Motorist Green Book*, which was published in 1949 with the intent to give black travelers information that would keep them from running into difficulties. The guidebook listed the restaurants, gas stations, and lodging that welcomed African Americans in each state. Some hotels, restaurants, and other public places in Indiana turned away African Americans as late as the 1960s. In addition, during the early car era the Indianapolis 500 prohibited black drivers from competing. Despite this exclusion, African Americans still took part in Indiana's fascination with the automobile, organizing and racing in a separate "Gold and Glory Sweepstakes" at the state fairgrounds.

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Lexington Motor Cars

One of many auto manufacturers that sprang up across Indiana was the Lexington Motor Company, which opened a plant in Connersville, Indiana, in 1910. The company developed the Lexington motor car, such as this model from 1923, and participated in auto races. Like many early motor companies, Lexington had financial troubles and went through multiple owners before Auburn Automobile Company, owned by Errett Lobban Cord, finally bought the company in 1927.

Marmon Wasp

In this Marmon Wasp, named for its bright yellow body and black trim, Ray Harroun won the first Indy 500 in 1911 with an average speed of 74.59 miles per hour. Since then, car technology continues to advance. Today's racing cars are not only safer, but would also leave the Marmon in the dust at speeds hovering around 220 miles per hour! You can see this car and others at the Indianapolis Motor Speedway Museum in Indianapolis.

IMS PHOTO

More cars meant the need for more roads and better roads, but many Hoosiers opposed the taxes required to pay for building them. At the end of World War I there were almost no paved roads in Indiana. In 1919 the Indiana General Assembly created the Indiana State Highway Commission, which made the state eligible for financing from the federal government to build new roads. By 1925 there were more than a thousand miles of paved roads in Indiana and by 1940 more than ten thousand miles. All of the roads were financed by federal aid and user taxes.

Cars and the roads they ran on put an end to interurbans. Like the horse and buggy, they soon became obsolete. By 1920, the light, electric-powered trains carried people and freight at low cost and good speed on some twenty-six hundred miles of rails in the state. But the scheduled stops of the interurban could not compete with the freedom cars offered to Hoosiers.

Although the Great Depression dealt a death blow to interurbans, automobiles survived and thrived. Even in the crippled economy, Indiana gasoline consumption in the 1930s remained above the 1929 level. Car registrations dipped slightly after the stock market crash in 1929 but began to rise by 1933.

Rise of Unions

Labor unions, which were organized to negotiate workers' pay, hours, and benefits, formed gradually in the auto industry. In the 1920s Indiana was generally hostile to unions. However, with the formation of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in 1935, union organizers energetically recruited skilled and unskilled workers in the auto industry. In South Bend employees at Studebaker and Bendix (a GM supplier) formed UAW locals and hosted the second national convention of the new auto union in 1936.

Union activity on behalf of workers stirred up a lot of unrest and sometimes violence as community and business leaders did their utmost to keep the unions out. The UAW generally targeted large, stable GM shops for protest activities such as strikes. In Anderson, where there were eleven thousand GM workers in a city of about forty thousand, a sit-down strike instigated by the national UAW at Guide Lamp in 1937 resulted in anti-union retaliation and violence. The strikers eventually won and forced GM to recognize the union. The UAW became a powerful national organization that soon brought benefits such as establishing an eight-hour work day, overtime pay, and paid vacations to its blue-collar workers.

Automobiles and the American Dream

The good pay and benefits that came along with union jobs made the American Dream seem possible. Americans strove to achieve the dream of gaining a comfortable life by working hard and playing by the rules. Like all Americans, Hoosiers wanted their piece of that dream. The American Dream made car ownership a necessity. Consequently, public transportation began to decline in major cities such as Indianapolis. New interstates crossed the state and ringed cities. Drive-in restaurants, banks, and movie theaters became common. Malls sprang up, taking away shoppers from the stores on Main Street. Suburbs of single-

Car Safety Ad

This safety poster reminded automobile drivers to take caution near interurban lines, such as the Dixie Flyer line between Jeffersonville and Indianapolis. Hoosiers, like all Americans, had to adjust to a world of cars. In the early twentieth century, driving was made more difficult by few paved roads and traffic lights. By the time this poster appeared around 1925, however, automobile infrastructure was improving.

family homes sprawled around large cities and then became cities themselves.

The American fascination with cars and the rapid consumption of oil and gasoline lasted well past the middle of the century. The future seemed bright for automobile manufacturing and consumption. But that imagined future relied on cheap gasoline. An oil embargo in 1973–74, in which Arab oil companies refused to export oil to the United States for political reasons, was a wakeup call—Americans needed to ponder a mode of transportation that consumed less than a gallon of gas every twelve miles. In the early twenty-first century, America is still fine-tuning its relationship to the automobile.

Bendix Strike

After the United Auto Workers union gained a foothold in Indiana in 1936 among workers in South Bend's Bendix Corporation, the local union went on strike in order for the UAW to gain recognition with Bendix. Men and women workers sat down in the factory and refused to work. On November 26, 1936, Bendix finally gave in and recognized the UAW as the workers' representatives in labor talks and disputes. This strike, the longest of its kind at the time, transpired without violence and influenced workers elsewhere to join unions.

6.4

Gary, A New City

And I saw workmen wearing leather shoes scruffed / with fire and cinders, and pitted with little holes / from running molten steel, / And some had bunches of specialized muscles around / their shoulder blades hard as pig iron, muscles / of their fore-arms were sheet steel and they looked / to me like men who had been somewhere.

— *Carl Sandburg, "The Mayor of Gary," 1915*

Steel on a Sand Dune

The peaceful dune lands in northwest Indiana known as the Calumet Region, once home to Indian tribes, French fur traders, and later pioneers, was the last part of the state to be developed industrially. Calumet is a French version of the Potawatomi name of the two main rivers in the area, the Grand Calumet River and Little Calumet River.

The Calumet Region's tranquility vanished when industrialists discovered the area in the late nineteenth century. Factories and oil refineries were built on swamplands and sand dunes along Lake Michigan. In 1889 Standard Oil built a refinery in Whiting, in the northern part of Lake County. Twelve years later Inland Steel built the gigantic Indiana Harbor Works in East Chicago. But these were just warm-up acts for the U. S. Steel Corporation's even more ambitious project. In 1906 the company broke ground on what became the world's largest state-of-the-art steel works and company town of its time. The town, named after U. S. Steel chairman, Elbert H. Gary, is Gary, Indiana.

In 1909 U. S. Steel's Gary Works opened. Great Lakes' freighters and a web of railroad lines brought coal and iron ore to the massive complex. Great quantities of finished steel moved out. Even though they were built on sand, one observer wrote in 1920 that Gary's mills were "'so solid, so permanent, so strong.'" With the output of other factories in nearby towns such as East Chicago, Whiting, and Hammond, Lake County produced more than one-fourth of the state's total value of manufactured product by 1919.

City of the Century

Gary is nothing more than the product of effort along practical lines to secure the right living conditions around a steel manufacturing plant.

— *Eugene J. Buffington, Gary Land Company president, May 8, 1909*

U. S. Steel hired designers and planners to make Gary an appealing model town for the company's skilled workers and supervisors. Gary had paved sidewalks, manicured lawns, churches, a library, a YMCA, and brick buildings in the business district. Workers were able to purchase their own homes on original lots. The town also had a thriving cultural life with an orchestra and theater groups. By 1908 U. S. Steel had
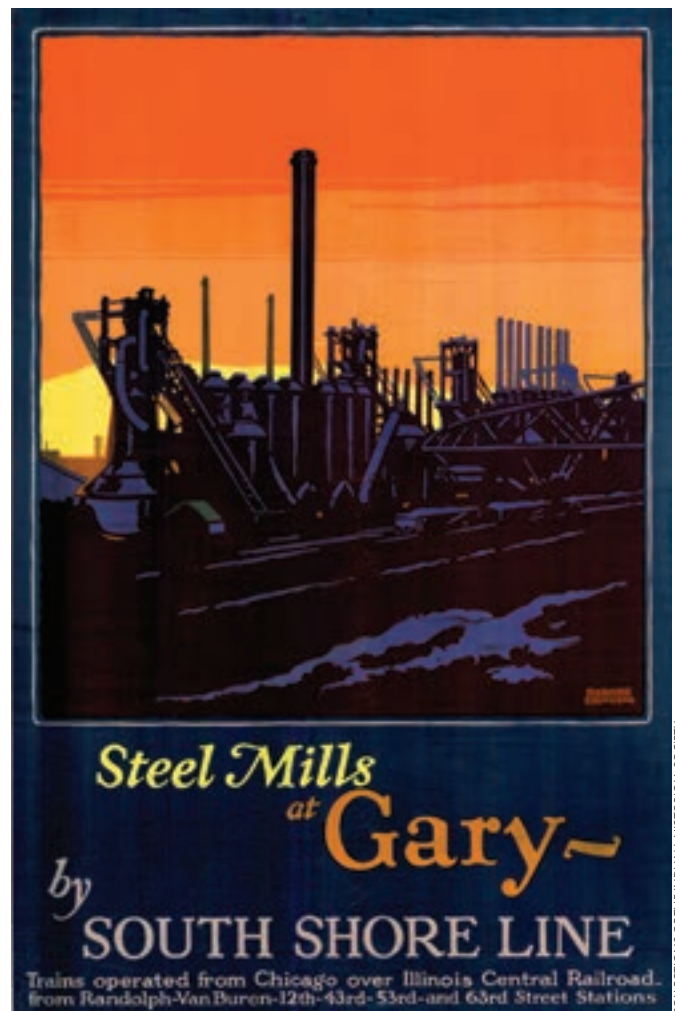
Freight trains connected industrial cities such as Gary to resource suppliers and steel customers. Early in the twentieth century commuter rails, such as the South Shore Line Interurban, connected the people of the Calumet Region to South Bend and larger cities such as Chicago.

Broadway, looking North from 7th Street, Gary, Ind.

Downtown Gary, 1920s

This 1920s scene of Broadway Street in Gary does not reveal that the business district was actually less than twenty-five years old at the time. The newly planned city boasted a host of stores and businesses rising above paved sidewalks.

spent more than $42 million on both the steel works and on town projects. Local boosters called Gary "'the Magic City'" and "'the City of the Century.'"

Gary city school superintendent William A. Wirt achieved national recognition by shaping the schools to the practical, everyday needs of society, particularly the industrial society of the Calumet Region. The "work-study-play" curricula included traditional academic subjects, vocational training, and physical education. The state legislature responded to the trend in 1913 by requiring schools in Indiana towns and rural areas to provide courses in vocational education, including agricultural education.

Like a giant magnet made of steel, Gary drew thousands of people who wanted a job in the massive steelworks. In the process, the city became a microcosm of America. African Americans came to Gary from the South; immigrants traveled to the city from eastern and southern Europe; and Mexicans crossed the nation's southern border and headed to Gary.

The Great Steel Strike of 1919

Although U. S. Steel put a lot of money and thought into creating a town for its workers, the company was less concerned about the harsh working conditions in the plants. Workers grew fed up working twelve-hour days, seven days a week. In September 1919 they protested by going on strike. The strike at Gary Works crippled the nation's steel industry. Fiercely anti-union, U. S. Steel refused to negotiate with workers and brought in strikebreakers—people who were willing to work where others were on strike—thus making the strike ineffectual. In this case the strikebreakers were mostly unskilled Mexican and African American workers.

Strikebreakers and police clashed with pro-union strikers, and the violence escalated. In October, fifteen hundred United States Army troops came to Gary to restore the peace. The strike ended in January 1920 with no concessions made by U. S. Steel. In 1923, under pressure from President Warren G. Harding, the company agreed to eight-hour work days. For the next two decades, there was little union activity in the steel industry.

The New Hoosiers of Gary

Fifty-two nationalities made their home in Gary by 1920. Specialty shops sprang up in ethnic neighborhoods. Polish meat markets displayed kielbasa and cured ham; Greek bakeries sold bread and cookies. The Europeans assimilated. Some of them moved out of Gary's factory jobs and into professional jobs. Doctors, lawyers, dentists, and architects had last names that ended with -vitz, -iski, -off, and -vich. Children

Emerson School, Gary, Indiana

At its inception, the Emerson School's Manual Training Department was one of the few in the state. Vocational training was part of the unique curriculum envisioned by Gary Schools superintendent William A. Wirt.

of foreign-born workers quickly learned English and spoke it without accents and acquired American slang and mannerisms; by the time they were in high school they were thoroughly Americanized.

On the south side of the original planned city of Gary, another Gary grew. Known as the "Patch," it was home to many African American and Mexican American unskilled laborers. The Patch did not have manicured lawns and stately buildings. Instead it had dilapidated boarding houses and saloons. African Americans and Mexicans experienced extreme discrimination. One Catholic priest told the Gary Rotary Club (a service organization comprised of professional people) in 1928, "'You can Americanize the man from southeastern and southern Europe,'" but you "'can't Americanize a Mexican.'"

Gradually, Mexicans settled in other towns in the Calumet Region and also in Saint Joseph, Allen, and Marion Counties and in scattered pockets across the state, even in small towns such as Ligonier, Huntington, and Clarksville. Hispanic grocery stores, small businesses, and Spanish-language churches appeared, and some second and third generation Mexican Americans moved into white collar and professional careers.

Changing with the Times

During its first fifty years Gary grew dramatically. The 1910 census reported a population of 16,802; by 1930 it had grown nearly six times larger with a population of 100,426. Founded as a steel town, Gary has always been a steel town. One historian noted "One of the results of this peculiar dependency upon one industry was that Gary, the 'instant city,' passed from birth to adolescence to middle age and into old age and decay in a mere seventy years."

Gary, more than many American cities, was hit hard in the 1970s by international competition in the steel industry, which forced it to update technology and lay off workers. Fluctuations in the national economy, including a troubled American auto industry and other variables, also played a part. With the need for fewer workers, Gary's population declined. Today it is around 80,000—less than half of what it was at the city's peak in 1960. Problems that hit many American "rust belt cities," areas distinguished by a decline in industry, aging factories, and a fall in population, hit Gary early and hard. These problems include white flight, the mass movement of white city-dwellers to the suburbs, crime, and decaying infrastructure, such as crumbling roads and sewers. In these ways, Gary is emblematic of how quickly the ups and downs of industry can change a city's economy and social dynamics.

Mexican American Family

A Mexican American family sits at the Gary Neighborhood House in 1939. The Neighborhood House helped immigrants settle into life in a new city by offering services such as sewing lessons, English classes, a nursery, and employment assistance. Mexican mutual aid societies also provided support with social opportunities and financial assistance.

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Essential Questions

1   What is meant by the term "the Indiana way"?

2   What factors motivated immigrants to leave their home countries and settle in Indiana?

3   In the mid-nineteenth century, most of Indiana's immigrants came from what two countries? In what Indiana cities did these groups tend to settle?

4   Where did late-nineteenth-century immigrants to Indiana come from? In what Indiana cities did the "new" immigrants tend to settle?

5   What specific challenges did African American immigrants to Indiana face?

6   Who was Elwood Haynes?

7   Name at least three ways in which the automobile changed life for Hoosiers.

8   Why was Gary referred to as the "Magic City" or "City of the Century" in the early 1900s?*

9   Name two ways that life in Gary was less than ideal. What ultimately caused Gary's decline?*

   See student activities related to this question.

Activity: Gary—City of Magic?

Introduction: Years of industrial growth and immigration brought significant changes to Indiana, a state in which agrarian traditions were strongly rooted. Conceived and built by the U. S. Steel Corporation as the world's largest steel works and company town, Gary embodied both the promise of economic growth and the accompanying social issues.

▶ **Read the following description of the founding of Gary published in a souvenir pamphlet, *Gary 1917–1918:***

Such a location was found in the state of Indiana on the south shore of Lake Michigan, some 25 miles south of the city of Chicago. Here the company purchased a tract of over 9,000 acres with a frontage on Lake Michigan of seven miles. One thousand acres of this property, including a water front two miles in extent, was selected as the site of the new steel plant. The property was a dreary waste of drifted sand, entirely uninhabited and covered with a scanty growth of grass and scrub timber. It was an ideal location for the purpose, for on one side it was accessible to the ore carrying steamers of Duluth, [Minnesota] and on the other side it was served by several trunk railroads, over whose tracks the coke and limestone could be brought in and finished products hauled away, without any intermediate handling or trans-shipment. (Beaudette, 4–5)

▶ **Consider the following questions and discuss your answers with a partner.**

1   How does the author describe the natural state of the site on which Gary was to be built? Is the description of the undeveloped land positive or negative? How do you know? What words does the author use to show positive or negative points of view?

2   What factors made the site an ideal location for U. S. Steel to build its steel works?

▶ **Now study the article below, which is included in *Gary 1917–1918*. After reading the article, complete the discussion questions that follow.**

"Gary, the City of Magic, Steel and Energy"
by H. R. Snyder

Many pens have been employed during the past decade in attempting to write the story of Gary. One frequently finds reference made to this City in current literature as the Magic City, and it has attracted the notice of publicists, historians and philosophers, far and wide. Sometimes it is called "The Wonder City," for in eleven years, there has sprung up on the sand dunes on the shores of Lake Michigan, in Northern Indiana, a settlement which has grown so rapidly that it is now believed to number in round figures some 75,000 people. This cosmopolitan city is represented by the most diverse nationalities of any city of similar size in the world. Many well-educated men have been attracted to Gary and make up its official, secretarial, business and professional life. But the great bulk of our adult population is made up of the working classes, attracted here by the good wages and regular employment afforded them in the great steel mills that run day and night the year round. The tremendous demands for steel, iron, shells, shops, ships, bridge-stuffs, railway iron, cannon, guns, and all kind of construction materials have been especially heavy on the Gary mills during the past three years. Immigration from Southeastern Europe having been cut off by the great world war, now in progress, raging in that continent, mill labor has been attracted from other quarters, and thousands of colored men have come from the cotton States of the South.

This gives our City a remarkable diversity of population, as originally manual labor was performed largely by Slavs, Magyars [Hungarians], Poles, Lithuanians, Czechs, Greeks, Turks, Ingo Slavs, Roumanians and others of that great conglomerate peoples who inhabit the Balkans.

Gary is noted for its steel works, built by competent engineers, embracing the most modern, scientific and mechanical intelligence. It is claimed that the Gary plant, which had originally as its base, eight blast furnaces, but recently reinforced by four more, is the most efficient and productive iron and steel works now in existence. The open hearth is the heart of the immense, pulsating steel mills. . . .

The original plant, which covered one thousand acres, is constantly expanding, being supplemented by the Drawn Steel Works, the Tin Mills, a great new Tube plant, and additions to the original shops and furnaces.

▶ **Discussion Questions: "Gary, the City of Magic, Steel and Energy"**

1 According to the author of this article, what was the estimated population of Gary in 1917, eleven years after its founding?

2 What adjectives does the author use to describe Gary?

3 According to the author, immigrants from what nations made up the workforce in Gary's steel plants?

4 Based on your knowledge of immigration to Indiana and the United States at large, would these groups be part of the "old" wave of immigration or the "new" wave of immigration?

5 The author also mentions another group of people drawn to Gary by the promise of jobs. What group was that?

6 Make a prediction about how people from so many different backgrounds got along with each other. Years later, when some of the steel jobs left Gary, how do you suspect the competition for jobs affected relations between different ethnic groups?

7 Examine the photo on page 159 titled "Downtown Gary, 1920s." Do you think this is a photo of a prosperous city? What do you see that makes you say that?

8 Log on to Google Maps and look up Broadway between 6th and 7th Avenues in Gary, Indiana, today. How do these recent images compare to the 1920s image on page 159.

> **A** Do you think these are photos of a prosperous city? What do you see that makes you say that?

> **B** What do you suspect happened to cause the changes you see?

▶ **Once you have completed the discussion questions, re-read the section of Chapter 6 about "The New Hoosiers of Gary" on pages 159–61. As noted there, many African Americans and Mexican Americans came to Gary in search of better-paying jobs and greater economic opportunity, but they encountered intense discrimination. Poet "Bob" Dyrenforth wrote of the promise of Gary in this verse that appears in the introduction to _Gary 1917–1918_:**

> _City of the sands, most marv'lous,_
> _Built as mankind said could'st not be,_
> _Wonder of man's work, and progress,_
> _Gary—"Bee hive" of our country,_
> _Symbol of our land's achievement;_
> _City made and kept ideal,_
> _True American—thy progress,_
> _Gary—wonder of our nation!_

▶ **How do you think an African American or Mexican American might have described Gary in a poem? Write a verse from the perspective of a member of a group that was not able to experience the promise of Gary in the same way as its white residents.**

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