A TALE OF TWO ORPHANAGES: CHARITY IN

NINETEENTH-CENTURY INDIANAPOLIS

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This thesis studies the way Indianapolis women and men from the 1820s to 1890s influenced the social development of the city through the creation and operation of benevolent institutions. Before the Civil War, Indianapolis citizens created benevolent institutions to aid individuals who could not care for themselves—specifically, individuals with physical and mental needs. When the city's population drastically increased following the Civil War (and the emergence of railroads), Indianapolis citizens began founding benevolent organizations intended to shape certain behaviors/control specific societal problems—specifically, juvenile offenders and prostitution.

A study of two Indianapolis orphanages reveals that some Indianapolis citizens established childcare institutions to care for individuals who could not care for themselves (i.e., dependent children) while other individuals created childcare institutions in attempts to control how children were raised. Founded in 1849 by white, Protestant Indianapolis women, the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society (WOFS) subscribed to the belief that poor children should be raised away from the influence of their parents in orderly environments so they would grow into productive, contributing members of society. Established in 1870 by Quaker women, the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children (IAFCC) did not subscribe to this belief. Rather, African American parents used the IAFCC as a means of temporary childcare during a family crisis.

The rich records left behind by the WOFS and the IAFCC allow for a study of these organizations' founding, finances, and operations. This thesis concludes that

African American parents had more agency with the Quaker-run IAFCC than white

parents had with the WOFS.

Anita Morgan, Ph.D., Chair

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<u>Introduction</u>

Eddie Anderson and Willie Fisher Ponds were separated by the color of their skin and twenty years. They never met, but their experiences were incredibly similar. Both boys grew up in Indianapolis orphanages. Both young men searched for their biological families. Both men received no help from the institutions that placed them with new families.

Born in late 1874, Eddie Anderson arrived at the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society in March 1875. His admission record states that he was only three months old. For the next four years, Eddie lived, ate, slept, and played at the Indianapolis orphanage. He was taken out in March 1879, but was brought back in 1882.[1] In September 1882, Eddie spent fifteen days in the asylum before being indentured to Mrs. Skillman from Peru, Indiana, over seventy miles away.[2] More than twenty years later, in December 1903, Eddie wrote to the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society from Sharpe, Kansas. He received no answer. After waiting several months, he wrote again.

> Superintendent of the Orphants Home
> Kind Sir-
> I wrote to you in Dec. 1903 and as yet I have not heard from you and
> fearing my letter or yours was misplaced I now write again, as I am
> interested to find out about my record and in what condition I was taken
> out of the Orphants home by mrs Skillman some 20 years ago. My name .
> . . I know was Edd Anderson but they changed it to Elmer Anderson and
> did me other meaness. I am totally ignorant of myself. they used to
> pretend as though I was adopted and was to get part of their estate . . .
> [when] I was of age then they turned me off without clothes hardly good
> enough to wear and not a cent to go on; now please do what you can for
> me if you have any knowledge as where my folks are please let me know
> and all that is of interest to me as I have been informed that my name, age,

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[1] It is unclear when Eddie came back to the orphanage between March 1879 and September 1882, because the admission records for 1880 and 1881 are inconsistent and the admission records for 1882 to 1884 are missing. Record of Children Admitted, 1871 – 1881, BV 3676, p. 105 and 238; Children's Bureau of Indianapolis Records (hereafter CBIR), Collection M0983, Indiana Historical Society (hereafter IHS).
[2] Indenture record for Eddie Anderson, BV 3687, p. 114; CBIR, IHS.

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and record you will have in your ledger. some of mrs Skillmans relatives say she had papers that I should of got concerning me and my relatives but they distroyed them so please now help me all you can.[3]

There is no indication that the asylum ever responded to Eddie's letter.  His letter is not mentioned in the Board of Directors minutes—it is simply stuck in between the pages of his original admission record.

On October 19, 1899 (seventeen years after Eddie was indentured), Nellie Fisher brought her son, Willie Fisher, and his three older siblings to the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children. Willie had just turned four years old. Willie spent the next four-and-a-half years at the Indianapolis orphanage before James D. Ponds adopted him. Willie left the asylum with Ponds on June 5, 1904, and traveled to his new home in Jonesboro, Indiana, also nearly seventy miles away.[4] Fourteen years later, Willie wrote to the institution from Akron, Ohio.

> I am writing you for some information regarding my age and my parents. I was put in your home when I was very small I was taken out in 1904 at which time I was 8 years old my name was Willie Fisher but some people by the name of "Ponds" adopted me I have never known who my real mother was in fact I would not know her if I saw her for it has been 19 or 20 years or possibly more since I saw her any how you have my record. I had 3 brothers all of whom stayed there and don't know who they or where they are. The head Lady who was in charge at the time I was there was Mrs. Taylor. If you can give me any information regarding this mater I would appreciate it very much.[5]

Like Eddie, Willie wondered about his past and his biological family. Although

they were from different families, spent several years in different orphanages,

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[3] Letter from Elmer Anderson to the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society, March 23, 1904; Admission record for Eddie Anderson, BV 3679, p. 88; CBIR, IHS.

[4] *Admission Record Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children, 1871-1900* transcribed and arranged by Jean Spears and Dorothy Paul (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1978), 46.

[5] Letter from William F. Ponds to the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children, July 23, 1918; Box 3, Folder 5; Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children records (hereafter IAFCCR), Collection M0165, Indiana Historical Society (hereafter IHS).

were treated differently by society for the color of their skin, and eventually resided in different states, Eddie and Willie had extremely similar experiences as orphans.

Eddie and Willie are two of several thousand children who spent part of their lives at an Indianapolis orphanage, and their letters illustrate the rich source material that has been left behind by the institutions that helped care for dependent Hoosier children. This thesis studies two of Indianapolis's nineteenth century orphanages, the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society (WOFS)—later called the Indianapolis Orphans Asylum—and the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children (IAFCC).[6] The institutional records from the two organizations demonstrate that the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society espoused a belief of "social control" while the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children did not. The records reveal that African American parents had far more agency (and a remarkable amount of influence in determining what happened to their children) with the orphanage for black children than white parents had with the orphanage for white children.[7]

Studying orphanages in Indianapolis provides insight into nineteenth-century views on childhood, parental rights, and community values in a prominent Midwestern city. Several scholars have already identified multiple reasons why Indianapolis is a city worthy of the historian's attention. In his 1977 doctoral

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[6] In 1875, the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society changed its name to the Indianapolis Orphans Asylum. To avoid confusion, I only refer to the orphanage by its original name, the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society (WOFS).

[7] As I explain further in chapter two, the "social control" theory was that if poor, dependent children could be kept from the corrupt influence of their parents and raised in an orderly environment, then they would grow into productive citizens.

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dissertation, historian Robert Barrows asserted that many scholars had "bypassed the nation's medium-sized cities en route to their studies of the metropolitan giants" even though the often-studied cities of Philadelphia, New York, and Chicago "were not representative of the 'typical' American urban experience."[8] Twenty-three years later, in his biography of the Hoosier reformer Albion Fellows Bacon, Barrows again argued that urban historians should give more attention to the nation's medium-sized cities, like Indianapolis, because they were more representative of the urban experience in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[9] In 1994, David J. Bodenhamer, editor for *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, gave another reason why scholars should study Indianapolis, arguing that it "is an important midwestern city with a rich heritage and increasing national prominence."[10]

Scholarly literature from various subfields inform this study of Indianapolis orphanage practices. Literature on the development of nineteenth-century towns and cities shows that Indianapolis's development is representative of medium-sized cities. Unlike Chicago, Cincinnati, or Louisville—prominent cities throughout the nineteenth century—Indianapolis remained a small, rural community for several decades and did not develop into a major Midwestern city until after the Civil War.[11] Similarly, Indianapolis did not develop like the

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[8] According to Barrows, "In 1920, 61 per cent of the nation's urban population still lived in cities of 250,000 or fewer inhabitants." Robert G. Barrows, "A Demographic Analysis of Indianapolis, 1870-1920," (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1977), 3.

[9] Robert G. Barrows, *Albion Fellows Bacon: Indiana's Municipal Housekeeper* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), xv.

[10] David J. Bodenhamer and Robert G. Barrows, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), vii.

[11] For further information on the populations of Chicago, Cincinnati, and Louisville, see Campbell Gibson, "Population of the 100 Largest Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States: 1790 to 1990," *U.S.*

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countless small communities that never grew into major urban centers. In other words, Indianapolis's development is unlike both larger cities and smaller communities—its development represents "the 'typical' American urban experience" of medium-sized cities.[12]

Historian Don Harrison Doyle studied the rise and fall of a small community by examining Jacksonville, Illinois—a Midwestern town that failed to develop into a significant city. Doyle's study of Jacksonville showcases how Indianapolis developed differently than the countless small communities that ultimately never became thriving cities. His *The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825 – 1870* argued that the main problem facing the nation in the nineteenth century was how to build new communities as increasing numbers of individuals and families moved west. Focusing specifically on communities that developed from small, rural settlements into cities, Doyle asserted that Jacksonville, Illinois, was typical of countless new towns in the nineteenth-century Midwest because it ultimately failed to achieve prominence as an urban environment.[13]

Doyle supported his argument about Jacksonville's typicality of a city that failed to thrive by studying the economic and social factors that led to the town's population growth (and ultimate stagnation). One of the main factors Doyle emphasized throughout

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*Census Bureau, Population Division,* revised November 2, 2000, accessed December 18, 2017, https://web.archive.org/web/20070314031958/http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027.html.

[12] Barrows, "A Demographic Analysis of Indianapolis," 3.

[13] Doyle states that "Jacksonville was typical of most new towns in that it aspired to urban greatness with only moderate success . . . for every Chicago, St. Louis, or even Springfield, there were hundreds of Jacksonvilles whose ambitions for urban prominence were betrayed by the conspiracies of nature, politics, and fate." Indianapolis, therefore, was not a typical example of Midwestern towns because it did not fail to achieve "urban prominence." Don Harrison Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-1870* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 5.

his work was the "booster ethos" prevalent in Jacksonville from its inception to its decline after the Civil War. According to Doyle, Jacksonville developed under the heavy influence of town boosters—individuals who attempted to bolster the town's economy by arguing for the creation of colleges, businesses, benevolent institutions, and anything else that would bring money and people to Jacksonville.[14] Indianapolis, however, did not have a major booster influence until after the Civil War. In fact, it was not until 1870—nearly fifty years after Indianapolis's founding—that the "Common Council commissioned a booster-style report to promote the city's economic advantage."[15]

Another factor Doyle emphasized was the diverse and mobile population of Jacksonville, arguing that it "became a central feature of nineteenth-century American life."[16] However, a mobile and immigrant population was not as prevalent in Indianapolis's early development as it was in Jacksonville's—Indianapolis did not have a very diverse population until after the Civil War. According to historian Emma Lou Thornbrough, "many people moving westward, especially European immigrants, by-passed Indiana and settled in the states to the north and west."[17] Individuals who did settle in Indianapolis—like Calvin Fletcher, Nicholas McCarty, and others—typically established roots in the new city instead of moving on after a few years. It was not until after the Civil War that the city's immigrant population grew.[18]

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[14] Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*, 62.
[15] Katherine E. Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, Indianapolis, 2015), 73. For an example of how boosters influenced Indianapolis's development in the twentieth century, see Christine Crosby, "'The Crossroads of the Air': Boosterism and the Development of the Indianapolis Municipal Airport, 1925-1939" (master's thesis, Indiana University, Indianapolis, 2015).
[16] Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*, 92.
[17] Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850-1880* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1965), 1.
[18] James J. Divita, "Demography and Ethnicity," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 53-55.

Doyle's work on Jacksonville mirrors the research in this thesis by examining the importance of benevolent institutions in cities. According to Doyle, Jacksonville was considered the "city of institutions" because it gained three of Illinois's major charitable institutions—the School for the Deaf and Dumb (1845), the Hospital for the Insane (1845), and the School for the Blind (1848).[19] Not only were these organizations "modern symbols of progress," they "were seen as rich fountains of public largess flowing into the local economy."[20] In other words, benevolent institutions were important to the development of towns because they embodied a growing society, and they brought tangible economic benefits to the communities where they existed.

Despite his clear claims that charitable societies influenced how a city was viewed (i.e., as progressive or stagnant) and bolstered the local economy, Doyle does not thoroughly examine the institutions in Jacksonville. Indeed, he only devotes eight pages to a brief overview of the benevolent institutions in Jacksonville. In his chapter on voluntary associations, Doyle only discusses churches, political parties, and "fraternal lodges, reform societies, literary clubs, and fire companies"—he does not mention the benevolent organizations where citizens (particularly women) volunteered their time and resources. This thesis agrees with Doyle's assertion that benevolent societies bolstered local economies and served as symbols of modernity. However, it examines Indianapolis institutions to a greater extent than Doyle, arguing that Indianapolis citizens improved their community through the creation and management of benevolent organizations.

While Doyle's study showcases Indianapolis's upward trajectory as opposed to many other Midwestern cities that failed to grow, John Mack Faragher's book, *Sugar*

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[19] Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*, 68.
[20] Ibid., 68-69.

*Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie*, reinforces the typicality of Indianapolis as an example of life in the nineteenth-century Midwest. Faragher studied the first generation of settlers in the rural community of Sugar Creek, Illinois, in order to "understand more about Americans of the early-nineteenth-century West, the region now called the Midwest."[21] Faragher's explanation of Sugar Creek's beginning and development parallels that of Indianapolis. For example, in both Indianapolis and Sugar Creek, settlers came from east-coast cities and settled in the Midwest. According to Faragher, "Robert Pulliam typified his generation of pioneers" by having origins in the east but roots in the Midwest, similar to famous Indianapolis settlers like Calvin Fletcher or James Blake.[22] Additionally, county government officials in Sugar Creek, like Indianapolis, operated on a part-time basis while continuing their occupations as farmers, lawyers, and merchants.[23] Because Indianapolis and Sugar Creek began, grew, and changed in extremely similar ways, Faragher's work shows that Indianapolis's development was not an anomaly.

More importantly, Faragher claimed that persistent families—those who settled in the Midwest and did not move on after a decade—were extremely influential to the development and survival of frontier communities. According to Faragher, only thirty-percent of families who moved west settled and remained in one place. Most families either continued farther west after a decade or returned to the East.[24] However, Faragher emphatically argued that persistent families—though a minority until the Civil War—"provided the continuity and cohesion necessary for communal life."[25] Although famous

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[21] John Mack Faragher, *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), xiii.
[22] Ibid., 4.
[23] Ibid., 137.
[24] Ibid., 50.
[25] Ibid., 52.

historian Frederick Jackson Turner "focused on those who moved," Faragher states "the community created by those who stayed behind is also a 'really American part of our history.'"[26] Calvin and Sarah Fletcher, James and Eliza Blake, Isaac and Julia Phipps, and Nicholas and Margaret McCarty (among so many others) are but a few of the many persistent families who shaped the cultural, economic, and social development of Indianapolis because they were the families who "remain for years in one spot, forming the mass of the settled population, and giving a tone to the institutions of the country; and at each remove, a few are left behind, who cling permanently to the soil, and bequeath their landed possessions to their posterity."[27]

While Doyle and Faragher's studies provide context for Indianapolis's development as a city, Kathi Badertscher's 2015 dissertation explores the history of philanthropy and gender roles in the Indianapolis community by examining the charitable institutions that flourished in the city during different time periods. Titled "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis, 1879 – 1922," Badertscher's work offers a comprehensive study of Indianapolis charity by chronicling the founding, development, and evolution of the Charity Organization Society (COS)—and the many benevolent institutions that operated under its guidance. However, Badertscher did not simply study the work of the COS; rather, she examined the women and men who managed the benevolent organization and argued that "gender, professionalization, and complex relationships all affected the COS's mission."[28]

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[26] Ibid., 52.

[27] James Hall, *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners, in the West* vol. II (Philadelphia: Harrison Hall, 1835), 67, as quoted in Faragher, *Sugar Creek*, 52.

[28] Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 3.

Prior to the creation of the COS, the size of Indianapolis allowed "neighborhood benevolence"—Indianapolis citizens volunteering their time and resources to help their neighbors in need.[29] However, Badertscher argued that by the end of the 1870s, the volunteer efforts of Indianapolis's citizens were not enough to lessen poverty. Badertscher concluded that "Indianapolis' growth, industrialization, and population heterogeneity all challenged traditional neighborhood benevolence as the primary remedy for assisting those in need" and by the end of the 1870s, "the conditions were ripe for a new leader and a new strategy to combat poverty in Indianapolis."[30] The COS developed in stages that Badertscher labeled the founding, maturing, and corporate phases. Badertscher studied each stage through the women and men who ran the organization and through the cultural changes that accompanied each new stage. Badertscher concluded "the women of Indianapolis exhibited more agency in their charitable work than is commonly understood during the organized charity movement."[31]

Badertscher's work compliments any study of Indianapolis charity by providing context for understanding the city's history of philanthropy as well as the role of women in benevolent societies. Specifically, her second chapter—examining the relationship between the size of the community to the philanthropic efforts of the city's residents—shows how Indianapolis citizens responded during different stages of the city's development. Additionally, Badertscher's focus on women's roles in the COS highlights the study of traditionally overlooked workers in benevolent institutions.

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[29] It was more than thirty years before the Indianapolis population was large enough to extend beyond the original city plat, known as the Mile Square. Lamont J. Hulse, "Neighborhoods and Communities," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 133, as quoted in Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 37.

[30] Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 108.

[31] Ibid., 402.

Indianapolis may be worth studying, but why should the historian examine orphanages, particularly an orphanage for black children and an orphanage for white children? In part, studying the IAFCC, an orphanage for Indianapolis's black children, is necessary because of the lack of literature on orphanages for African American children. Historian Jessie B. Ramey decided to study the Home for Colored Children in Pittsburgh specifically because "there was such a gap in the historiography on institutions for African American children."[32] Studying the WOFS, the white counterpart to the IAFCC, adds to the narrative by allowing comparison of how Indianapolis citizens responded to the needs of dependent black children and dependent white children.

Historian Timothy Hacsi agreed with Ramey, stating that the "greatest weakness [of the literature on poverty] remains children: for example, the literature on indenture, foster care and its predecessors, and the actual practice (as opposed to creation) of Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) is scanty and uneven."[33] Hacsi argued that studying orphanages revealed societal values about

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[32] Jessie B. Ramey, *Child Care in Black and White: Working Parents and the History of Orphanages* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 194. The gap in literature on African American orphanages is evident in Indianapolis scholarship since Thomas Cowger's article on the IAFCC is one of the only studies of this institution. In 2015, John Ramsbottom studied the IAFCC's latter years in the twentieth century. In 2017, Paul Mullins authored a blog post that examined the orphanage from its inception until 1922 when the county took over the institution. Both of these recent studies extensively cite Cowger's work on the IAFCC. Thomas Cowger, "Custodians of Social Justice: The Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children, 1870-1922" *Indiana Magazine of History* 88, no. 2 (June 1992), 93-110. John D. Ramsbottom, "Searching for Their Real Home: Dependent Black Children in Indianapolis, 1910-1940," *Traces of Indiana and Midwestern History* (Summer 2015): 34-43. Paul Mullins, "Orphans Across the Color Line: The Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children," *Invisible Indianapolis* (blog), February 21, 2017, https://invisibleindianapolis.wordpress.com/2017/02/21/orphans-across-the-color-line-the-indianapolis-asylum-for-friendless-colored-children/.

[33] Timothy A. Hacsi, *Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in American* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 5.

how to care for dependent children.[34] According to Hacsi, during the majority of the nineteenth century (and even into the twentieth century), orphan asylums were the primary means through which dependent children received care.[35] It is essential, therefore, to study the evolution of orphanage policies if one is to understand nineteenth-century views of children. If Indianapolis is a representative example of a nineteenth-century city, then a study of the city's child care institutions contributes to the overall literature on children and their care in the late nineteenth century.

Hacsi argued that a comprehensive study of American orphanages, across all regions, was necessary. Thus, Hacsi took a "national perspective," writing about the "commonalities and distinctions between asylums of different religious backgrounds and different regions."[36] Additionally, he studied the change that occurred over time in orphanage practices and policies by examining institutions from the 1830s to the 1930s. Using government records and reports from several dozen orphan asylums throughout the United States, he argued that American orphan asylums generally fell into one of three categories: the *protective institution* (where children were kept from the world beyond the asylum "in an effort to preserve an ethnic or religious heritage"), the *isolating institution* (where children were kept from the world beyond the asylum "in the hopes of breaking children away from their parents' world"), and the *integrative institution* (a twentieth-century model that helped "children interact with the world outside

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[34] In this thesis, I use the term "dependent children" to refer to children who received the majority of their care (even if only for a short period of time) from an orphanage or institution, not a family member.

[35] Hacsi, *Second Home*, 1.

[36] Ibid., 6.

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asylum walls").[37] According to Hacsi, orphanages in the nineteenth century were either protective, isolating, or a mixture of both.

Since its publication in 1971 (and the publication of a revised edition in 1990), historians have considered David Rothman's *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* as a classic for the study of benevolent institutions. Rothman explored the rise of the asylum during the Jacksonian era and examined the societal ideals that resulted in the establishment of orphanages. He argued that middle-class individuals and groups established penitentiaries, orphanages, insane asylums, and similar institutions "to promote the stability of the society" during a time when the nation was rapidly changing.[38] For several decades, scholars considered Rothman's thesis to be extremely accurate. Towards the end of the twentieth century, however, scholars complicated and challenged Rothman's argument by examining the individuals (rather than the societal ideals and institutional rhetoric) who lived in—or placed their children in—orphanages.

Clay Gish challenged Rothman's argument in her article, "Rescuing the 'Waifs and Strays' of the City: The Western Emigration Program of the Children's Aid Society." As the title suggests, Gish examined the Children's Aid Society of New York's (CASNY) famous practice of sending dependent children from crowded, east-coast cities to homes in the rural Midwest. Commonly known as "Orphan Trains," this program was pioneered by Charles Loring Brace, a man who believed that poor, dependent children

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[37] Ibid., 7.

[38] David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), xviii.

should be "saved" from the corrupt influences of their environments (i.e., their poverty-stricken parents and the vices of the city) so they would not grow into criminals and become societal burdens. Gish argued that historians had been focusing on the rhetoric of reformers like Brace, rather than the experiences of the individuals who participated in the emigration program. Through her research in both public and private records, Gish showed how poor children and families utilized the program in attempts to find work.[39]

Rather than focus solely on the reformers' ideologies (as Rothman did in his book), Gish studied the relationship between the institution (the CASNY) and the individuals who used the organization's services.[40] Using the client case records from 432 children as well as the CASNY caseworker's journals, Gish explained that nearly three-quarters of the children who the CASNY sent to foster homes came to the institution of their own (or their parents') accord. Gish's examination of the records revealed that approximately seventy-three percent of the 432 children came to the CASNY because a family member brought them "for temporary placement during some type of family crisis" (about 17.1 percent) or the child came to the institution "seeking entry into the labor force" (about 55.5 percent).[41] According to Gish, "less than one-quarter (21.3 percent) of those in the emigration program" arrived at the CASNY because they were "orphaned or abandoned."[42]

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[39] Clay Gish, "Rescuing the 'Waifs and Strays' of the City: The Western Emigration Program of the Children's Aid Society," *Journal of Social History* 33 no. 1 (1999), 121-141.

[40] Gish outlined several of her questions at the outset of her study, asking "Was the relationship between reformers and the working class a one-sided imposition of power and values, or was it more dynamic and dialectic? Were working-class parents and children passive victims or active participants in their own fates? How did children and their families experience the foster placement program?" Gish, "Rescuing the 'Waifs and Strays' of the City," 124.

[41] Ibid., 124.

[42] Gish claimed that "few children in the sample fit the profile of homeless, neglected, or abused 'waifs' that Brace liked to publicize." Ibid., 124.

Gish concluded that the CASNY records unmistakably showed that working-class and poor individuals (parents and children alike) used the CASNY's services for their own purposes. Whether parents used the institution as a temporary home for their children while they faced a family or financial crisis, or whether adolescents utilized the CASNY as a means to find employment, working-class individuals "exhibited enormous resourcefulness and agency" in their efforts to support themselves and their families.[43]

Ramey further explored this concept—of poor and working-class individuals using benevolent institutions as a means to provide for themselves—in her book *Child Care in Black and White: Working Parents and the History of Orphanages.* Ramey confirmed Gish's argument that working-class individuals demonstrated agency and control over their lives, despite some middle-class reform efforts at child-saving and social control. However, Ramey added the elements of race and gender to her analysis by writing a comparative study of two Pittsburgh orphanages—an orphanage for white children and an orphanage for black children. Ramey argued that the development of orphanage policies at the end of the nineteenth century "was premised upon and rife with gender, race, and class inequities."[44] Using the institutional records of the United Presbyterian's Orphans Home and of the Home for Colored Children, Ramey analyzed how different individuals influenced the operations of the two orphanages.

Ramey identified several "stakeholders"—groups of people who had ideas, and "sometimes competing agendas and expectations," about the purpose of orphanages in society.[45] The managers of child care institutions (almost entirely middle-class, white

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[43] Ibid., 137.
[44] Ramey, *Child Care in Black and White*, 2.
[45] Ibid., 195.

women) used the organizations as a meaningful outlet to work and interact outside the home, fulfill "a sense of Christian duty," and attempt to reform the poor members of society.[46] Working-class families (the individuals who placed their children within orphanages) used these institutions for their own purposes, typically as temporary solutions for child care during a family crisis.[47] Although they did not wield as much influence as the managers, reformers, "especially those at the local and state level," tried to impose their ideas about child care by advocating for the deinstitutionalization of children.[48] According to Ramey, all of these stakeholders affected the development of child care policy by reinforcing racial and gender stereotypes about how fathers and mothers provided for their children.[49] Ramey concluded that twenty-first century American parents have inherited a child care system that was built upon "gender, race, and class hierarchies" and that continues to reinforce "these social inequalities."[50]

Most recently, historian Megan Birk analyzed orphanage policies in the Midwest, examining the nineteenth-century practice of indenturing children on farms. In her *Fostering on the Farm: Child Placement in the Rural Midwest*, Birk claimed that placing out dependent children on farms was a vital step—and one that has been overlooked by scholars—in the evolution of child welfare policy. In this book, Birk details the different transitions in childcare policy, focusing specifically on how the problems in each stage of

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[46] Ibid., 195.
[47] Ramey's work shows that the experience of Indianapolis parents was not isolated. African American parents in Pittsburgh used the Pittsburgh Home for Colored Children in a similar manner as African American parents in Indianapolis used the IAFCC—as a temporary solution during a crisis.
[48] Ramey, *Child Care in Black and White*, 196.
[49] For example, Ramey claimed that orphanage managers idealized white fathers as "breadwinners" while labeling African American fathers as "absent fathers." Thus, white mothers were hardly ever expected to work and deserved the state's charity because they had lost their breadwinner. African American mothers, however, were expected to "carry the double burden of motherhood and wage labor." Ibid., 198.
[50] Ibid., 9.

caring for dependent children led reformers to advocate for a new system. By studying both the records of several Midwestern orphanages and the writings of reformers, she explains that the implementation and breakdown of placing out dependent children on farms (rather than in institutions) led to the creation of the modern foster care system.[51]

According to Birk, child-welfare reformers believed that dependent children should be placed with a family rather than in an institutional setting. Reformers advocated for children to be placed on farms because they believed that rural life instilled the "American values" of hard work, honesty, and democracy. The Midwest was the ideal location because Midwestern farmers were highly successful at producing food, farms throughout the Midwest were structured around small communities, and the Midwest was no longer in constant flux as thousands migrated to the region.  In other words, the Midwest was steady.[52]

However, using letters from placed-out children, descriptions from visitors to farms, and newspaper accounts, Birk showed that many farm placements were far from ideal. Because most farms were in isolated settings and institutions did not have well-regulated means for supervising placements, the environment was ripe for the neglect, mistreatment, and abuse of dependent children. According to Birk, the idea that rural farms were the best location to raise children contributed to the problem of many children being placed in isolated, unsupervised settings. Additionally, "the assumptions that the farm was healthy and farmers inherently good paved the way for abuse and neglect

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[51] Megan Birk, *Fostering on the Farm: Child Placement in the Rural Midwest* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2015). Birk studied the records of the poor farms, county homes, and children's guardian boards in eighteen Ohio counties, five Indiana counties, and five Illinois counties. She also studied the records from three state institutions in Ohio, three orphanages in Indiana, and one institution in Illinois. For a complete listing of the institutions Birk studied, see her bibliography on pages 214-215.
[52] Ibid., 17-42.

because many institutions saw little reason to invest money into supervising farmers."[53] While some children—like the famous sharpshooter Annie Oakley, a girl who spent two years of her childhood in an abusive farm placement—were able to vocalize what happened to them, "getting direct reports of abuse was more challenging the farther away agencies and institutions placed children from their point of origin."[54]

After detailing some of the horror stories that placed-out children told, Birk concluded that reformers sought to change the farm placement system because of the abuse. However, she also argues that institution's problems with supervising placed-out children was not the only contributor to developing a new policy for child welfare. By the twentieth century, the farm was no longer the main driver of the American economy. As the United States emerged from the First World War as an industrialized, modern economy, "it no longer served the best interests of the nation to place children [on farms] . . . Education, not work, became the hallmark of American advancement."[55] Thus, Birk showed how the breakdown of the farm system, the decline of the farm economy, and the rise of the modern industrial economy all contributed to the next transition in child welfare policy—paid foster care.

Collectively, the scholarly literature on urban development and orphanage practices provides context for understanding how Indianapolis grew and changed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The two valuable sets of primary sources that enable the study of specific Indiana orphanages are the records from the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society and the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children. Housed at

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[53] Ibid., 80.
[54] Ibid., 93. For Birk's description of Annie Oakley's childhood experience with a farm placement, see Birk, 78.
[55] Ibid., 179.

the Indiana Historical Society, the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society (WOFS) records presented several challenges. Founded in 1849 as a volunteer effort by Indianapolis women and men, the WOFS's early records are scarce—except for financial records that were kept with some level of consistency.[56] Collectively, the WOFS records contained the organization's constitution and by-laws, financial records, admission records, indenture/quitclaim records, and meeting minutes. However, the admission records begin in 1871, twenty-two years after the founding of the organization. Despite these deficiencies, newspaper articles from the 1850s and 1860s allowed me to supplement admission information missing from the sparse institutional records.[57] Newspapers were also vital in examining the operations of the society, because the society's meeting minutes began in 1886, thirty-seven years after the organization's founding.[58] Thus, study of the WOFS institutional records were supplemented by newspaper articles.

In contrast to the WOFS, records for the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children (IAFCC) are remarkably consistent and extant. The strength of the collection (also housed at the Indiana Historical Society) is in the Board of Managers meeting minutes and the admission records. Jane Trueblood, Mary Pyle, and Mary Carter—along with the other Quaker women and men who founded and maintained the IAFCC—gave lengthy and thorough reports every year at the society's annual meeting.

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[56] The WOFS might have kept better records that simply did not survive to the present day. The Children's Bureau of Indianapolis, the successor to the WOFS, does not have any records from the society's earliest days. The records housed at the Indiana Historical Society are the only institutional records that survive.
[57] The society's annual reports from 1852, 1862, and 1870 survived in newspaper accounts. "Report of the Widow and Orphan's Friends Society," *Indiana State Sentinel,* November 25, 1852, p. 2. "Indianapolis Orphan Society," *Indianapolis Star*, May 20, 1862, p. 3. "The Orphans Home," *Indianapolis News,* May 23, 1870, p. 4.
[58] It is extremely likely that the WOFS kept regular meeting minutes from its inception, but that these records did not survive the passage of time.

These reports typically contained admission and financial records from the year as well as descriptions of correspondence between the officers and children from the asylum who had been placed with a family. These annual reports, along with the shorter monthly meeting minutes, survive in the IAFCC collection and allowed study of the organization from its inception. Additionally, the IAFCC officers kept detailed admission records, listing the birthday, age when admitted, and gender of each child. They also recorded who brought the child to the asylum and who took the child out of the asylum. These admission records were transcribed by Jean E. Spears and Dorothy Paul (from the Family History and Genealogy section of the Indiana Historical Society) and published in 1978 as the *Admission Record Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children, 1871 – 1900.*[59]

Other published primary sources bolstered the information contained in institutional records and even added to the narrative. In addition to newspaper articles, the various Indianapolis and Marion County histories—published between 1870 and 1910—provided encyclopedic information on the institutions and valuable biographical details on the officers and volunteers. Although these city and county histories record details that are helpful in constructing a picture of an individual's life (i.e., when they arrived in Indianapolis, to whom they were related, what church they attended, where they worked, and so on), these histories are not flawless sources. Often, the authors of the histories gathered information through oral histories of Indianapolis residents or used their own memories of people or events. In other words, because the histories were based

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[59] *Admission Record Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children, 1871-1900* transcribed and arranged by Jean Spears and Dorothy Paul (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1978). BV 1506; IAFCCR, IHS.

upon the memories of individuals, details could have been remembered incorrectly or purposefully altered. Since the authors wrote these histories during a time when Indianapolis was rapidly changing, much of the information may have been idealized to make the recent past seem like a better, simpler time.[60] Despite the tendency for information to be idealized or misconstrued, the city histories were valuable resources for my study—they provided helpful demographic and biographical information on the women and men who shaped Indianapolis society and Indianapolis benevolent institutions.

This thesis is divided into three chapters. It would be difficult to understand the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society and the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children without understanding the broader network of Indianapolis benevolent institutions. Chapter one provides the context by examining the city's major benevolent institutions from the 1830s to the 1870s. During this time, the city's charitable organizations fell into one of three categories, and the community's development from a small town to a thriving city affected the types of benevolent institutions that Indianapolis citizens established.

In the early decades of Indianapolis's existence (the years prior to Indianapolis's first railroad and the Civil War), the residents of the small community established benevolent institutions to combat the problems they identified. Prominent citizens played

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[60] For example B. R. Sulgrove's description of the early State Legislature paints an idealized picture of honest, good men who sacrificed themselves in the interest of the state. While it may have been true that many individuals worked hard to make the state's politics equitable, Sulgrove's description of early Indianapolis is romanticized. "There were strong men among the legislators of the State in those days. The pay was trifle, and a trifling man could not afford to take such a place . . . Elections were rarely riotous and never corrupt . . . There was no money to buy votes, the consequence was a better class of men, in the average, than do the law-making now." B. R. Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County, Indiana* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1884), 96-97.

influential roles in founding charitable institutions to help individuals with mental or physical impairments, and Indianapolis women and men volunteered their time, money, and resources to keep these organizations functioning. The coming of the first railroad to the city in 1847 and the population spike that followed the Civil War drastically affected Indianapolis, launching the small town into a major city in less than one generation. The new stage in Indianapolis's development led the city's residents to establish new charitable societies. However, these new institutions were founded to combat social problems, not provide relief and education for individuals with a mental or physical impairment.

The city's first orphanage, the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society (WOFS), is the focus of chapter two. Founded in 1849 to help the community's growing number of widows and orphans, the WOFS operated much like the Indianapolis Benevolent Society in that ordinary women and men volunteered their time and resources to run the new organization. Women managers from various religious denominations managed the daily operations of the orphanage, raised money for the institution, and updated the community on the organization's work. As Indianapolis grew and changed, the city's first orphanage grew and changed. In the 1870s and 1880s, the WOFS emphasized the removal of a parent's influence over their child (through quitclaims), and placed children in homes where they could work and learn valuable skills (indentures). The indenture records reveal that some individuals used the indenture system in order to adopt children from the WOFS.

The city's first—and only—orphanage for African American children, the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children (IAFCC), is the focus of chapter

three. After the Civil War, the African American population in the state and in the capital city increased dramatically. As more African American families migrated to Indianapolis, the needs of dependent African American children increased. In the late 1860s, Hannah Hadley, a Quaker and president of the WOFS, launched the idea for an African American orphanage. Although it received much of its funding the same way the WOFS did (through the Marion County Commissioners), the IAFCC remained under Quaker control from its inception until 1922. The IAFCC records demonstrate that African American parents used the Quaker institution typically as a means of temporary child care during a family crisis, and the Quaker officers (unlike their WOFS counterparts) listened to the concerns of African American parents. The records show that African American parents had far more agency with the IAFCC than white parents had with the WOFS.

A study of the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society and the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children offers a snapshot of Indianapolis—its societal values, the effects the Civil War had on the city, and the development of a community from a small town to a major Midwestern city. More importantly, an examination of these Indianapolis institutions provides the opportunity to put children back into the story of nineteenth-century orphanages. Twenty-two years after leaving the WOFS, Eddie Anderson appealed to the emotions of the asylum directors in the hopes of getting an answer. "P.S. Kind Sir or Sirs" he wrote. "Just put your self in my place and see how anxious you would be to find out about your self and people."[61] Similarly, Willie Fisher wrote to the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children a second time and entreated the director for information. "Please tell me the history of my mothers life . . .

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[61] Letter from Elmer Anderson to the WOFS, March 23, 1904; Admission record for Eddie Anderson, BV 3679, p. 88; CBIR, IHS.

whether she deserves it or not I would go and find her for she in my own and dear mother . . . you being the onliest person I can confide with I am asking you of this favor for I am so lonely with out any relations."[62] Although they were separated by time and race, Willie and Eddie shared a similar experience—they both grew up in an Indianapolis orphanage, left the institution through indenture or adoption, and yearned to know more about their biological families.

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[62] Letter from William F. Ponds to the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children, August 12, 1919; Box 3, Folder 5; IAFCCR, IHS.

Chapter One: Citizens Respond: Charity in mid-Nineteenth Century Indianapolis

On a cool evening in early December 1851, Calvin Fletcher made his way to Alfred Harrison's house to attend the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society (WOFS) meeting. He later recorded in his diary his appointment by the Indianapolis Benevolent Society to meet with the new relief organization and "see if we could not act in concert in collecting old clothes &c."[63] His wife, Sarah, had attended meetings for the new society since December 1849 and now served as one of the managers.[64] Calvin joined the new organization and began to serve on its advisory committee in 1852. Throughout the remainder of his life, Calvin attempted to take care of the poor and desperate men, women, and children of mid-nineteenth-century Indianapolis.[65] As some of the first settlers to the new town, the Fletchers deeply committed themselves to improving the Indianapolis community.

Calvin Fletcher and his new bride, Sarah Hill Fletcher, were twenty-three and twenty years old respectively when they came to Indianapolis in early October 1821, less than a year after the swampy land in central Indiana had been chosen as the site for the new state capital.[66] Calvin practiced law and Sarah established the family in the young community—she provided food for her growing family, met and visited with neighbors,

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[63] Gayle Thornbrough, Dorothy L. Riker, and Paula Corpuz, eds., *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher* vol. IV, (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society), 349.

[64] Thornbrough, Riker, and Corpuz, *Diary of Calvin Fletcher* vol. IV, 155-156; W. R. Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch of the Railroad City, A Chronicle of Its Social, Municipal, Commercial and Manufacturing Progress with Full Statistical Tables* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Journal Print, 1870), 197.

[65] The first year Calvin Fletcher is listed in the WOFS annual report on the advisory committee is 1852. He continued to serve for over a decade, but it is unclear when he stopped serving. Calvin's last mention of working with the organization is in 1864. He died in 1866. "Report of the Widow and Orphan's Friends Society," *Indiana State Sentinel,* November 25, 1852, p. 2.

[66] Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis: The History, the Industries, the Institutions, and the People of a City of Homes*, Volume II (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1910), 643. "Timeline," *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 1479.

and managed the family's affairs while Calvin was away.[67] Although "almost penniless," Calvin's investments in land and Sarah's "industry, economy and good management" enabled the Fletcher family to slowly amass what became an extensive fortune.[68] The Fletchers used this fortune, their resources, and their influence to shape the social, political, and benevolent work of the new city.

In his work, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830,* historian Richard C. Wade argued that the "growth of urbanism was an important part of the occupation of the West, and it provided the central experience of many settlers who crossed the mountains in search of new homes."[69] Countless individuals and families, like the Fletchers, left Eastern cities and traveled to the West in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Many of these settlers found land and opportunities in newly-established towns that eventually grew into major cities.

According to Wade, settlers heading west searched not only for good, rural land, they also searched for young, developing cities where they could establish their businesses. Wade stated that "many settlers came across the mountains in search of promising towns as well as good land. Their inducements were not so much fertile soil as opportunities in infant cities."[70] This argument is reflected in Calvin Fletcher's decision to move to Indianapolis. Young and newly married, he looked toward Indianapolis for

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[67] Calvin's diary is replete with descriptions of the work Sarah accomplished. He recorded when she made sugar (vol. I, p. 149), planted a garden (vol. I, p. 60-61), served as a midwife and a nurse (vol. I, p. 241 and 302), made clothing (vol. II, p. 233), and oversaw the butchering of animals (vol. II, p. 259). According to historian John Mack Faragher, "it was the work of farm wives that made the difference between success or failure of productive strategies" and "women produced an abundance of goods without which a family found it hard to survive." Faragher, *Sugar Creek*, 101.
[68] Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis* vol. II, 647.
[69] Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 2.
[70] Ibid., 35.

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business opportunities. On July 16, 1821, while living in Urbana, Ohio, Fletcher wrote, "I this day formed a new plan to go to the capital of Indiana. I find it will be with much difficulty that I can get in to business here [in Urbana] as it is ingrossed [sic] by many men who cannot get away."[71] Rather than stay in Urbana where he faced competition, Calvin moved west to a new town for the express purpose of finding more opportunities. By settling in a young city, the Fletchers became community leaders who helped shape the development of the area for nearly half a century.

However, settling and remaining in one area was not common during the early nineteenth century. According to Faragher, nearly seventy-percent of household heads (i.e., men, typically fathers or men who provided for others) moved to a new area every decade.[72] Faragher explains that mobility shaped the settlement of the American West, stating that many families continued to move farther west each decade or simply gave up and returned to the East. Although this mobility shaped how the West was settled, the thirty-percent of families who did *not* relocate every decade—families which Faragher terms "persistent families"—also had a significant impact on western settlement. Faragher claims "though persistent families constituted only a minority before the Civil War, it was this 'core' of families that provided the continuity and cohesion necessary for communal life."[73] Persistent families—families who settled and remained in one place— were the ones who influenced the culture of an area because they opened businesses, visited sick neighbors, debated and implemented political changes, and cared for the poor and dependent.

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[71] Thornbrough, *Diary of Calvin Fletcher* vol. I, 37.
[72] Faragher, *Sugar Creek*, 50.
[73] Ibid., 52.

Like many other western communities, early Indianapolis was developed and shaped by persistent families. Rather than continuing west or returning east, Calvin and Sarah Fletcher settled in Indianapolis and influenced that community until their deaths three and four decades later. Along with the McCartys, the Morris's, the Phipps, the Sheets, and many others, the Fletchers turned an area of swampy land in central Indiana into a self-sustaining community by planting their family roots, remaining for the rest of their lives, and contributing to the benevolent and social life of the young city.

As one of the persistent families in Indianapolis, the Fletchers faced individual as well as community problems. According to Doyle, new communities like Indianapolis "were beset by a multitude of problems, ranging from the individual's needs for food and shelter to the collective struggle of nascent towns to gain a solid economic base."[74] Doyle asserted that these problems "stimulated intensive cooperative interaction in politics and voluntary associations as the pioneers met the challenges of community-building together."[75] The Indianapolis community grew slowly in its first decade, but by the 1830s, Indianapolis citizens faced the collective challenge of how to care for individuals and groups who could not care for themselves. They responded by forming benevolent institutions. An examination of five benevolent institutions formed in Indianapolis between 1835 and 1877 reveals that men and women shaped the social environment of the young city by establishing and volunteering their time and energy to these organizations.

Indianapolis benevolent institutions fell into one of three categories: institutions intended to care for individuals with a physical/mental need, institutions intended to

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[74] Doyle, *The Social Order of a Frontier Community*, 7.
[75] Ibid., 7.

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www.manaraa.com

address a social need, or institutions intended to provide for dependent children. An examination of these institutions showcases how the persistent families in Indianapolis shaped the culture of the city even as it grew and changed. Prior to the Civil War, "the public conscience of the state was becoming aroused to the duty of care for the blind, deaf and dumb, and insane."[76] Accordingly, the Indiana Institute for the Deaf and Dumb (founded in 1843), the Indiana Institute for the Education of the Blind (established in 1847), and the Indiana Hospital for the Insane (opened in 1848) were all established specifically for individuals suffering from physical or mental disabilities.[77] Indianapolis citizens recognized the medical needs in their community and established charity institutions to fill the need.

By the post-Civil War years of the late 1860s and early 1870s, the Indianapolis community had changed drastically. Fathers who left to fight in the war never returned, prostitutes thronged to the city because of the many soldiers encamped there, and soldiers and their families often decided to stay in the city after the war. The drastically increasing population transformed the small town into a young city and with this transformation came new charity institutions. Following the Civil War, benevolent organizations began to address social problems, such as juvenile offenders and prostitution. The Indiana House of Refuge (founded in 1867) and the Home for Friendless Women (proposed in 1863 and opened in 1870) were both opened in efforts to reform those populations.[78]

The third category of benevolent institutions in Indianapolis, orphanages (further discussed in chapters two and three), spanned the decades preceding the Civil War and

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[76] Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis* vol. I, 109.
[77] Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 84. Indianapolis's City Hospital was proposed during this time, but the institution did not open until the Civil War.
[78] Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 383 and 126.

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the years following the war. The city's first orphanage—the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society—was founded in 1849 and opened as an asylum in 1855. Established before the war, this institution grew and changed with the city and greatly increased in size as a result of the Civil War. Following the war, an orphanage for the city's German population, the German Protestant Orphans Home, opened in 1867. In 1870, a group of Indiana Quakers created the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children and opened a building in 1871.

Although these benevolent institutions can be divided into separate categories, they have some commonalities. First, they were statewide institutions (meaning they accepted individuals from all over the state) headquartered in or near Indianapolis. Second, and more importantly, they were created by ordinary women and men from Indianapolis, individuals who volunteered their time and resources to address community problems and shape the social landscape of the young city. Finally, many of the individuals who founded, managed, or financed these benevolent institutions were the men and women of persistent families—individuals who settled in Indianapolis and did not return East or travel farther West.

In Indianapolis newspapers and city histories, the term "old citizens" is used as a mark of distinction and honor, given to those who were not just alive in the early days of the city but to those who were actively involved in shaping the community. In a newspaper article from 1892, "the old citizens" of Indianapolis are described as "those who were men and women active in the society and business of Indianapolis half a century ago."[79] In another newspaper article, the old citizens are defined as "persons who

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[79] "The City in Olden Times," *Indianapolis News*, November 12, 1892, p. 8.

helped to lay the moral and industrial foundations of our city."[80] As an examination of the Indiana Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, the Indiana Institute for the Education of the Blind, the Indiana Hospital for the Insane, the Indiana House of Refuge, and the Home for Friendless Women shows, one of the main avenues through which the "old citizens" of Indianapolis influenced their community was through benevolent work.

The network of charitable institutions in Indianapolis began with the Indianapolis Benevolent Society (IBS). Founded on Thanksgiving Day in 1835, the IBS was the first systematic charity organization in the city and was managed entirely by volunteers.[81] The small size of the community—there were only an estimated 1,900 people living in Indianapolis in 1830—allowed volunteer-based organizations like the IBS to exist.[82] The creation and work of the Indianapolis Benevolent Society illustrates how the citizens of small town Indianapolis made change—they recognized a need and volunteered their time and resources to address it.

In the mid-1830s, Indianapolis residents faced the struggles of pioneer life— weather that destroyed crops, lack of food, outbreaks of sickness, or the death of a family member. Each of these incidents had the potential to send a pioneer family directly into poverty, particularly during the harsh winter months. If a father died or abandoned his family, then a widow and her children needed help essentially overnight. If the creeks flooded and destroyed a farm family's crops, then the family plunged into poverty, needing food and resources. If a young mother died during a cholera outbreak, then the

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[80] "Early Days," *Indianapolis News*, August 2, 1879, p. 2.
[81] Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 62. According to Badertscher, leading Indianapolis citizens had already been providing for their poor neighbors with "food, clothing, and sometimes money" out of their own pockets. In 1835, these citizens formed the IBS to continue doing this work in a more systematized fashion.
[82] "Population," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 1504.

father quickly became unable to care for both his young children and his land. By 1835, Indianapolis residents joined together to address the poverty in their midst.[83]

James Blake, Calvin Fletcher, and James M. Ray led the effort to provide for Indianapolis's poor. Like Fletcher, Blake and Ray both settled in Indianapolis during the summer and fall of 1821. Blake arrived the earliest of the three, coming to Indianapolis on July 25, 1821. For the next fifty years, Blake—one of the most prominent citizens in the Indianapolis community—took an active role in everything from Sabbath schools to the State Board of Agriculture to construction of the first State House. Local historian B. R. Sulgrove remembered him, along with James Ray and Nicholas McCarty, for building Indianapolis's first steam mill—an action considered vital to the future of manufacturing in the city.[84] Throughout his life, Blake served as president or director of the Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis Railroad, the Indianapolis branch of the State Bank, the Indianapolis Benevolent Society, the Mutual Fire Insurance Company, and the Indianapolis branch of the Sanitary Commission.[85] Sulgrove stated that "no citizen has ever been more closely identified with the rise and progress of the city and its philanthropic and benevolent institutions than he."[86] Unsurprisingly, Sulgrove asserted that Blake was "admired and revered by all" and ascribed to him the honorary term of "old citizen."[87]

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[83] Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 42.

[84] In 1884, Sulgrove described Blake as a "pioneer in the manufacturing which is now so vital an element in the city's prosperity." Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 86.

[85] Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 63. According to Dunn, the Sanitary Commission was a national organization "formed to look after the health and comfort of the soldiers in the field" (Dunn, vol. I, 226). In addition to having a leadership role in the previously mentioned organizations, Blake was also a member of various other societies. Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis* vol. I and II, 226, 143, 342, and 360.

[86] Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 86.

[87] Ibid., 87 and 471.

Along with Blake and Fletcher, another citizen who stands out in city histories as one of the "oldest and most prominent citizens" is James M. Ray.[88] Settling in Indianapolis at the age of 20 or 21, Ray was foundational to the development of Indianapolis's many charity institutions and businesses through his voluntary work as an organization's secretary. He served as Marion County's first clerk and filled that position from 1829 to 1834, before becoming cashier of the State Bank. He was the secretary or treasurer of multiple organizations and societies for nearly three decades. In fact, Sulgrove states

> It may be noted here that Mr. Ray was secretary of pretty much every organization ever formed during the first thirty years of the city's existence. Whether town-meeting or bank directory, fire company or missionary society, James M. Ray was invariably made its business manager or secretary. It is to his undying honor that he always served and was never paid.[89]

More importantly, many in the community trusted Ray. Sulgrove stated that "his word was as good as any other man's oath," to the point where Ray became "Governor Morton's most trusted agent during the [Civil] war, and managed all the external finances of the State during that momentous period."[90] As cashier of the State Bank, Ray was trusted with the finances of the Indianapolis community; as Governor Morton's agent, Ray was trusted with the finances of the State during the country's greatest time of upheaval. Together, James Blake, Calvin Fletcher, and James M. Ray led the effort to establish the IBS.[91]

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[88] Ibid., 98.
[89] Ibid., 105.
[90] Ibid., 105.
[91] Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 2.

The IBS formed, "irrespective of religion," to address poverty in the Indianapolis community with Blake, Fletcher, and Ray as the new organization's president, secretary, and treasurer respectively.[92] According to nineteenth-century author W. R. Holloway, "its plan [was] simple"—the city was divided into districts with "a gentleman and a lady of the highest respectability" assigned to collect donations from the residents of that district.[93] The assigned man and woman—known as "visitors"—collected "anything the destitute could use," mostly clothing, firewood, and money.[94] Material donations were taken to the IBS depository who distributed them upon the request of a member of the executive committee, while financial donations were taken to the IBS treasurer.[95] The IBS contracted with two Indianapolis grocers to provide $1.50 worth of groceries per week to poor families and used monetary donations to pay for these groceries.[96]

Not only did Indianapolis men and women create and manage the IBS through their voluntary efforts, the organization existed for many years because of the willing donations of Indianapolis citizens.[97] For years, Indianapolis residents like Calvin Fletcher walked from door-to-door—interacting with their neighbors, explaining the work of the IBS, and identifying needy families—to ask for donations. In December 1844, Fletcher

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[92] Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 199.

[93] Ibid., 199 and 50.

[94] Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 117.

[95] Ibid., 379. The "depository" was an IBS officer who kept the non-monetary donations until they were distributed to the poor.

[96] For comparison, "$1.50 in the year 1835 is equivalent in purchasing power to $39.67 in 2017." Thus, in 2017 terms, the IBS supplied close to $40 per week for grocery money. *Inflation Calculator*, http://www.in2013dollars.com/1835-dollars-in-2017?amount=1.50.

[97] According to one newspaper article, "James M. Blake, Calvin Fletcher, James M. Ray, Alfred Harrison, and Mrs. John Wilkins were prime movers" in the creation of the IBS. In this instance, "Mrs." was likely a typing error, because Mrs. Eleanor (John) Wilkins is not mentioned in any other sources as helping found the IBS. Fletcher, Blake, and Ray are lauded as the organization's founding fathers. However, many Indianapolis women served as visitors, carrying out the work of the institution by assessing the community's needs. "The Organized Charities," *Indianapolis News*, November 30, 1895, p. 7. Patricia A. Dean, "Charity Organization Society," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 402.

wrote in his diary that he "rose Early as soon as it was fairly light. I went with my basket to see what the district assigned to me would give for the poor . . . I was fortunate in getting 72 pieces of very good clothing."[98] In a single day, one man was able to collect 72 pieces of clothing for his destitute neighbors! In 1850, an Indianapolis woman *donated* 20 pieces of clothing to the IBS in one day![99]

Although it was the "most extensive, active, and effective of the city's charities," the IBS was only the beginning of Indianapolis's charity network.[100] In the 1840s, Indianapolis citizens were concerned about how to care for residents with physical and mental disabilities, and Indiana lagged behind other Midwestern states in creating institutions for individuals who were deaf, blind, or "insane."[101] In Indiana, prior to the mid-1840s, individuals who could not speak or hear, were blind, or "the still more unfortunate class, who have been deprived of Reason," were not cared for in asylums or even in hospitals.[102] Rather, their care—if they were cared for at all—was provided by family members, friends, or individuals who willingly offered to help. If no one cared for them, many individuals (particularly those who suffered from a mental disability) simply wandered the countryside, hungry and exposed to the elements.[103]

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[98] Thornbrough and Riker, *Diary of Calvin Fletcher* vol. III, 101.

[99] Thornbrough, Riker, and Corpuz, *Diary of Calvin Fletcher* vol. IV, 245.

[100] Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 117.

[101] The terms "deaf," "dumb," "lunatic," and "insane" were used throughout the nineteenth (and into the twentieth) century to describe individuals with physical or mental disabilities. In this work, these nineteenth century terms are used only when they are part of an organization's title (i.e., the Indiana Institute for the Deaf and Dumb). If they are not used as part of a title, these nineteenth century terms have been replaced with modern terms such as "hearing impairment," "individual who cannot speak," or "mental disability."

[102] Indiana *House Journal,* 1841-42, pp. 594-599, as quoted in Donald F. Carmony, *Indiana, 1816-1850: The Pioneer Era* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1998), 314.

[103] Carmony, *Indiana, 1816-1850*, 314. The delay in establishing benevolent institutions to care for individuals' medical needs stemmed from the size of the state's population and Indiana residents' reluctance to pay for such organizations. During Indiana's early history, many Hoosiers believed the government should have a limited role and were thus unwilling to pay taxes to fund government services. As the state's population increased, however, and the volunteer efforts of individual family members and

By the late-1830s and early-1840s, Indiana residents believed they were falling behind the progress of other states and that the Indiana government needed to step in and create institutions for these "unfortunate individuals." Sometime in 1841, two doctors from Fountain County wrote "a very forcible letter" to the Indiana governor "pointing out the evils of the existing treatment of the insane and the progress of other states, on which a favorable report had been made."[104] This led to the establishment of a committee from the Indiana House of Representatives which "insisted that proper treatment of the insane required the 'establishment of a Lunatic Asylum' with appropriate facilities and trained physicians to care for them."[105] Even with this pressure, the Indiana Hospital for the Insane did not open for another five years.[106]

According to Sulgrove, James Blake "was the first to urge upon the Legislature the importance of establishing a hospital for the insane, and opened a correspondence with the Eastern States on the subject."[107] Undoubtedly, Blake's influence in the community, along with the "forcible letter" from Dr. John Evans and Dr. Isaac Fisher of Fountain County, directly contributed to the founding of the Hospital for the Insane. Blake and another Indianapolis pioneer, Dr. Livingston Dunlap, worked with Dr. Evans to select a location for the new hospital, and, once the site was chosen, they "were ordered to begin work on the building."[108] Thus, Blake and Dunlap contributed to the creation of the Hospital for the Insane which was finally established in 1848.

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friends was not enough to care for individuals with physical or mental illnesses, Indiana citizens agreed that state-funded institutions were needed. Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 576.

[104] Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis* vol. I, 109.

[105] Carmony, *Indiana, 1816-1850*, 314.

[106] Thornbrough and Riker, *Diary of Calvin Fletcher* vol. III, 344.

[107] Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 86.

[108] Ibid., 123.

While Blake, Dunlap, and Evans worked to create the Hospital for the Insane, other residents from the city and the state worked to establish more benevolent institutions. William Willard came to Indianapolis from Ohio in 1843 and traveled around the state recruiting pupils for a deaf school which he opened that year. In 1844, by an act of the state legislature, the small, private school was transformed into a state-funded asylum. Although Willard was not an Indiana native or an "old citizen" of Indianapolis, many Indianapolis residents had advocated for the establishment of such an institution since the early 1840s, and several prominent citizens became trustees of the Indiana Institute for the Deaf and Dumb once it came under state control. The new trustees—including prominent citizens like Henry Ward Beecher, Dr. Livingston Dunlap, and Judge James Morrison among others—set about locating a permanent building for the institute. After renting space at various locations, a new building for the institution was constructed and opened in 1850.[109]

While Willard and Indianapolis citizens worked to found and open the Indiana Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, James M. Ray worked to create an institution for individuals who were blind. Holloway stated that "the first effort on their behalf was instigated and directed by James M. Ray, to whom the Indiana Institute for the Blind is more indebted than it is to any other man living."[110] In the mid-1840s, Kentucky had a successful Blind Asylum and Ray arranged for one of the teachers, William H.

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[109] Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis* vol. I, 110. Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 187. Henry Ward Beecher, famous orator and pastor of a church in Brooklyn, spent about a decade of his life in Indianapolis as the pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church. He was a member of several organizations, including the IBS and the Indiana Historical Society. For further reading, see William L. Isley, Jr., "Henry Ward Beecher," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 315-316.
[110] Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 78.

Churchman, to hold an exhibition at the Second Presbyterian Church in Indianapolis.[111]

After witnessing Churchman's teaching methods at the exhibition, many Indiana

legislators were convinced of the school's effectiveness and success at teaching those

who were blind. In 1845, the state imposed a tax to raise funds for the asylum and Ray

served on the building committee. On October 1, 1847, the Indiana Institute for the

Education of the Blind opened.

Despite Indiana's seemingly slow start, the state eventually caught up with its

neighbors and by 1848 had established the Indiana Institute for the Deaf and Dumb

(1843), the Indiana Institute for the Education of the Blind (1847), and the Indiana

Hospital for the Insane (1848), all located in or around Indianapolis.[112] These three

institutions showcase the response of Indianapolis residents to the medical needs in their

community and in their state. As eastern states and neighboring Midwestern states

created institutions for those with physical or mental impairments, Indianapolis citizens

led the charge in establishing similar institutions for their own state. According to

Sulgrove, James Blake "opened a correspondence with the Eastern States on the subject"

of a hospital for the insane.[113] Similarly, James M. Ray corresponded with the Kentucky

Blind Asylum in efforts to establish a similar institution in Indiana. Kentucky's Blind

Asylum was not the only organization that incited Indianapolis citizens to action; Dunn

asserts that "Kentucky served as an example and a spur to Indiana in the matter of

benevolent institutions. Its deaf and dumb asylum was advertised here, ten years before

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[111] One of the city's oldest and largest churches, Second Presbyterian Church "took a prominent part in the frontier civic life of the state capital." William L. Isley, Jr., "Second Presbyterian Church," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 1246-1247.

[112] Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 84.

[113] Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 86.

we had one."[114] Indianapolis citizens observed the "progress" of other states, they identified the medical needs in their state, and they responded by establishing institutions, all in less than a decade.

When these three institutions were established in the 1840s, both the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb and the Institute for the Education of the Blind operated as schools, while the "Indiana Lunatic Asylum" (as it was called in the 1840s) functioned as a hospital. Not only did the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb teach its students "the same subjects which were taught in the public schools" but it also trained its pupils for a trade or occupation.[115] In a letter dated May 21, 1855, Amelia Matilda Murray (a British writer who visited the North American continent and subsequently published an account of her experiences) described her visit to the benevolent institutions in Indianapolis. Governor Wright took Murray to the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb and the Institute for the Education of the Blind, and she recorded that "the deaf and dumb make shoes and bonnets, farm, &c., so as to acquire a knowledge which enables them to gain their future livelihood."[116] She also noted that girls were taught how to sew, cook, and wash laundry.[117]

Located approximately two miles east of the city just beyond Washington Street, the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb erected two large buildings in 1848-9 (within five years of its founding) on "one of the most beautiful spots in or about Indianapolis."[118] The institution had substantial grounds which spanned 105 acres and contained

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[114] Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis* vol. I, 110.
[115] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era,* 579.
[116] Amelia Matilda Murray, *Letters from the United States, Cuba and Canada* vol. II (London: Savill and Edwards, 1856), 188.
[117] Ibid., 188.
[118] Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 187.

walkways, elaborate shrubbery and trees, a flower garden, and a conservatory. Any "deaf mutes in the state between the ages of ten and thirty" were housed and taught for free at the institute because the state provided funding for the institution.[119] In fact, the Indiana Institute for the Deaf and Dumb was the first deaf school in the nation to house its residents free of charge.[120] In 1850, the institute had approximately one hundred pupils and by 1870, the number had almost tripled with two hundred and sixty-four individuals utilizing the services of the organization that year. [121]

Similar to the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, the Institute for the Education of the Blind provided free services, educated individuals in the same subjects that were taught in public schools, and worked to give their students a skill to support themselves. Founded in 1847 with a permanent building erected in 1851, the Institute for the Blind occupied eight acres northeast of the city's center. According to Thornbrough, "in the school pupils were given board and tuition without charge and were taught academic subjects and also music and handicrafts."[122] L. S. Newell taught music while the matron, Mrs. Margaret Demoss, taught the handicrafts. Additionally, Samuel McGibbin served as assistant mechanic and Holloway describes pupils learning trades in the institution's workshop building, indicating that the students received education in music, handicrafts, and mechanical trades.[123] In 1870, the institution was approximately half the size of the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, having one hundred and seven students.[124]

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[119] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 579.
[120] Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 85.
[121] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era,* 579. Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 188.
[122] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era,* 579.
[123] George S. Cottman, "The Founding of the State School for the Blind: A Biography of William H. Churchman," *Indiana Magazine of History* vol 10, no. 1 (1914), 79. Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 187.
[124] Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 187.

While both of these benevolent institutions functioned as schools, the Indiana Hospital for the Insane operated as a hospital. In 1845, the Legislature authorized Dr. John Evans, Dr. Livingston Dunlap, and James Blake to select and purchase a site for the new institution. The new hospital opened in 1848 with five patients. By the end of the 1850s, the hospital had three hundred patients, and by 1870, it saw nearly eight hundred individuals in one year. According to Thornbrough, calling the new institution a hospital reveals the midcentury conception that "insanity" was a curable "disease" and that the Indiana Hospital for the Insane was expected to cure its patients.[125] In his 1870 history of the city, Holloway recorded that during the previous year, "792 patients were under treatment . . . 317 patients were discharged; of whom 187 were restored."[126] Thornbrough also cited Governor Hendricks who reported to the Legislature in 1875 that approximately fifty percent of the patients at the hospital had been cured. However, as Thornbrough argues, the hospital likely discharged patients in order to make room for new patients so "the reports give a too optimistic picture of the percentage of cures."[127]

In order to "cure" its patients, the hospital administration employed a technique which at the time was called "moral therapy" and what Thornbrough calls "psychiatric treatment"—"Reading, music, games, handicrafts, and sewing were introduced for their therapeutic values, and a religious program for patients was begun."[128] Patients also had dozens of acres of land which they used for agriculture because "Patient employment in farm and domestic work also was considered therapeutic."[129] Located on 160 acres

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[125] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era,* 577.
[126] Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 185.
[127] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era,* 578.
[128] Ibid., 577.
[129] Ellen Dwyer, "Central State Hospital," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 398.

approximately three miles west of the city off Washington Street, the institution

contained about forty acres of grounds which surrounded the building, twenty acres of a

forest grove, and the rest (approximately one hundred acres) "used for agricultural

purposes, being tilled by the patients."[130] As the century progressed, the institution also

used drugs to treat its patients.[131]

The establishment of the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, the Institute for the

Education of the Blind, and the Hospital for the Insane demonstrates the role of

Indianapolis citizens in creating change in their state. Observing the progress of other

states and feeling the twinge of the "public conscience . . . to the duty of care for the

blind, deaf and dumb, and insane," Indianapolis residents advocated for the establishment

of benevolent institutions, spurred Indiana legislators to action, and served on various

committees for these organizations. Although they were all state-funded institutions,

these three institutions were built in or near Indianapolis because of its central location in

the state.

When it came to establishing a charitable hospital for the city, it took leading

Indianapolis citizens over ten years to get approval from the city's council and the

Indianapolis community at large. By the middle of the century, Indianapolis—with a

population of just over 8,000 in 1850—did not have any general hospitals and it would be

almost two decades before one was established.[132] During these early days in Indiana's

history, family members cared for their sick relatives, or (if the case was bad enough) a

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[130] Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 185.

[131] Ellen Dwyer, "Central State Hospital," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 398.

[132] "Population," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 1504.

local doctor visited the house and treated the sick patient. At the time, "The general public equated the world 'hospital' with 'pest house.'"[133]

In Indianapolis, some individuals believed the city needed a hospital. As early as the 1830s, Dr. Livingston Dunlap thought that growing cities needed hospitals, but he did not attempt to establish one until later. By the 1850s, Dr. Dunlap was on the city's recently-created board of health, a commissioner of the Indiana Hospital for the Insane, and a prominent "pioneer of the city."[134] He consistently advocated for the creation of a city hospital, but it was not until an outbreak of smallpox plagued the city in 1855 that he gained support. The city council authorized the creation of a city hospital in 1856 and the building was finished in 1859, just northwest of the city. In the time it took to construct the building, "the smallpox scare had dissipated, insects swarmed the area, farm animals trampled the [new hospital's] fence gates, and the roof already leaked. Any popular support that had existed for the project rapidly evaporated as prostitutes and derelicts moved in."[135] The city council considered selling the building, repurposing it, or giving it to the Sisters of Charity, but every proposal was defeated, until the Civil War erupted and the city allowed the federal government to use the building as a military hospital.

The city council had attempted to get the building off their hands and likely would have succeeded without the war. Sulgrove argues that the building would have "gone the way of other such efforts if the outbreak of the war had not compelled the national

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[133] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era,* 581. The Indiana Hospital for the Insane (established in 1848) was not opposed by the public because it was not viewed as a "pest house" as a general hospital was. A "pest house" was a building where individuals with infectious diseases were held. For further reading on a pest house at Indiana University, see Amy Jankowski, "The Old 'Pest House': Early Medicine on the Indiana University Campus," *Blogging Hoosier History*, February 17, 2011, https://blogs.libraries.indiana.edu/iubarchives/tag/pest-house/.

[134] Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 141. Kathi Badertscher, "A New Wishard is on the Way," *Indiana Magazine of History* 108 no. 4, 345-82.

[135] Badertscher, "A New Wishard is on the Way," 345-82.

government to use it for its original purpose."[136] According to Badertscher, "the 1861 outbreak of the Civil War gave the City Hospital a new lease on life."[137] After the war, under the leadership of Dr. John M. Kitchen, the Indianapolis City Hospital was officially established and opened for patients in 1866, a full ten years after Dr. Dunlap convinced the city council to erect a hospital. Although it was designated as a benevolent institution, the new hospital "accepted both paying and charity patients."[138]

The Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, the Institute for the Education of the Blind, the Hospital for the Insane, and the City Hospital—all created to help Indiana residents with mental and physical needs—operated throughout the 1850s. In 1861, the nation erupted into civil war and the state of Indiana, including its capital city, changed. The Civil War affected Indianapolis by drastically increasing its population.[139] Between 1860 and 1870, the population more than doubled, rising from 18,611 to 48,244. Interestingly, during the same timeframe, the population of the state actually declined, decreasing from approximately 1.85 million to 1.68 million.[140] During a decade when the state experienced a slight population decrease, Indianapolis experienced the greatest population increase it had seen since the city's founding. Thornbrough describes the postwar years as a time of "intense activity and rapid growth" for Indianapolis.[141] Additionally, Indianapolis became a large production hub during the war, manufacturing ammunition and other supplies for the Union Army. According to Thornbrough, "The

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[136] Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 141.
[137] Badertscher, "A New Wishard is on the Way," 345-82.
[138] Ibid., 345-82. Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era,* 582.
[139] The establishment of Camp Morton as a "rendezvous for Indiana troops, a camp for Confederate prisoners, and a United States hospital" added to the population increase. Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 395. For additional reading, see Lloyd A. Hunter, "Camp Morton," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 381-382.
[140] "Population," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 1504.
[141] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 559.

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influx of troops into the city during the war and the demand for supplies for the military organization provided a powerful stimulus to growth."[142] The railroad boom of the 1850s also enabled population expansion because it connected the previously landlocked city to the rest of the country through a rapid means of transportation.[143] With this growth and increase in manufacturing, men and women flocked to the city looking for work.

The increasing population, the growth of industrialization, the explosion of railroads, and the aging (and sometimes death) of many of the city's earliest settlers in the years following the Civil War created a new stage in the development of Indianapolis. Before the Civil War, Indianapolis was still a small community with active citizens who were involved in nearly every aspect of society. After the war, an increasing population launched Indianapolis from a small community centered on farming and small businesses to a relatively large city with major railroad hubs that allowed populations to flow in and out of the city. Before the war, the city's benevolent institutions met the needs of those in the community who had a physical or mental impairment.[144] After the war, the Indianapolis community and its leaders identified new problems in their rapidly changing community—problems with prostitutes and minors who, in their view, were not raised to become contributing members of society. In other words, as the city changed, the problems the community faced changed. As the problems changed, the charitable organizations changed. In Indianapolis, post-war benevolent institutions attempted to fix

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[142] Ibid., 559.

[143] Ibid., 318. Indianapolis's first railroad arrived in 1847 with more and more railroads appearing throughout the 1850s.

[144] This statement excludes the IBS—this organization does not fall within the category of aiding an individual's mental or physical needs.

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new social problems. A brief examination of the Home for Friendless Women and the Indiana House of Refuge exhibit this transformation.

As early as 1863, construction began on a home for the so-called "friendless" women in the city. The war brought soldiers to the city and the soldiers attracted prostitutes, a result which the leading citizens of Indianapolis did not welcome or want in their community.[145] In 1862, "Mayor Caven called the attention of the Council to the evil, and its effect in filling the jail with such inmates."[146] In November 1863, Calvin Fletcher complained of "lewd women" sleeping in his stables, and a year later, he went directly to Indianapolis Mayor John Caven and requested that a "police force . . . take 5 or 6 abandened [sic] women" who had been camping on his property.[147] Indianapolis citizens identified what they viewed as the cause of this problem—single women who did not embody the image of a good, domestic housewife—and immediately sought out a solution.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the presence of prostitutes challenged societal notions of gender as women worked outside the home and made money through "immoral" means. In her article on prostitution in the Ohio Valley cities of Cincinnati and Louisville, historian Anita Ashendel states that the middle class society in these cities aimed to eliminate prostitution from public view in order to preserve a social order based on "purity, domesticity, and self-control."[148] The ideal that a woman remained in the

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[145] Indianapolis newspapers are filled with accounts of prostitutes being sent to jail and men being fined for "associating" with them. For examples see: "City Items," *Indianapolis Star*, May 30, 1865, p. 3. "City Items," *Indianapolis Star*, June 5, 1865, p. 3. "City Items," *Indianapolis Star*, June 8, 1865, p. 3. "City Items," *Indianapolis Star*, June 21, 1865, p. 3. "City Items," *Indianapolis Star*, August 10, 1865, p. 3. "City Items," *Indianapolis Star*, October 25, 1865, p. 3.

[146] Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 383.

[147] Thornbrough and Corpuz, *Diary of Calvin Fletcher* vol. VIII, 246 and 470.

[148] Anita Ashendel, "Notorious Homes of Harlotry: Regulating Prostitution in the Ohio Valley, 1850-1860," *Ohio Valley History* 3 no. 1 (Spring 2003), 18.

home, piously raising children and caring for her husband, was shattered by the reality of prostitution in the nineteenth century. Ultimately, because many nineteenth-century cities (including Cincinnati, Louisville, and Indianapolis) blamed prostitutes for chaos and violence, "most prostitutes lived in poverty and suffered from periodic arrest, fines, and imprisonment."[149] In Indianapolis, newspaper editors published stories of prostitutes being jailed and dying of exposure "to warn the public of the horrors of the profession and the need to remove at least these most unfortunate women from society."[150]

Leading citizens responded to this "great evil" by creating a benevolent society—an institution that would "serve as a prison for the vicious and intractable [and] as a home for the more mild and teachable."[151] Stoughton Fletcher, Sr., (Calvin's brother) donated land in 1863 and construction on the home began. When work on the building stalled because of the financial burden of the war, Indianapolis women created "a society for the aid and improvement of abandoned women" in 1866.[152] Officially chartered in March 1867, the new society, titled the Home for Friendless Women, worked with the city's Young Men's Christian Association to obtain a temporary house to board women who had nowhere else to go.[153]

Toward the end of the 1860s, the city began to recoup its financial state so "the city and county appropriated $7,500 each" and leading Indianapolis citizens—including James M. Ray, William S. Hubbard, and Calvin Fletcher—donated money and land to the Home for Friendless Women for the construction of a new building.[154] Although

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[149] Ibid., 27.
[150] Ibid., 27.
[151] Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 195.
[152] Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 383.
[153] Ibid., 383. Similar to Indianapolis, a Home for the Friendless and Female Guardian Society opened in Cincinnati in 1854 to "aid prostitutes or 'fallen women.'" Ashendel, "Notorious Homes of Harlotry," 25.
[154] Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 196.

intended for prostitutes, any abandoned woman who needed help could utilize the services of the new benevolent institution which aimed to "inculcate the inmates with Christian teaching and staunch work ethic."[155] Completed and opened in 1870, the building could house up to one hundred women at a time and averaged between five hundred and six hundred individuals per year.[156]

At the same time that Indianapolis citizens were concerned about addressing the issue of "immoral" and "abandoned" women, they also researched and discussed how to help minors who committed crimes. With juvenile offenders being sent to the state prison, this issue had been discussed by reformers and politicians around the state for several years. The 1851 Indiana constitution mandated that the General Assembly construct "houses of refuge" for the state's juvenile offenders "but the legislature was slow to implement this provision."[157] Finally, in 1867, the General Assembly passed an act establishing "A House of Refuge for the Correction and Reformation of Juvenile Offenders" and appropriated $50,000 for the cause.[158]

Similar to the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, the Institute for the Education of the Blind, and the Indiana Hospital for the Insane, the Indiana House of Refuge was a state-funded charitable institution that accepted individuals from the entire state. Controlled by a board of commissioners appointed by the governor, the first three managers of the institution were from the far eastern, the southeastern, and the far

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[155] Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 94.

[156] Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 196. Ashendel, "Notorious Homes of Harlotry," 28. In two of the major Ohio Valley cities, Cincinnati and Louisville, society leaders attempted to regulate prostitution in order to keep it out of the public eye. The profession threatened the image of a middle-class society founded on order and morality, so leaders in Cincinnati and Louisville attempted to shut down brothels through regulations and fines.

[157] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era,* 594.

[158] Ibid., 595. Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 126.

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northern regions of the State—Charles F. Coffin of Wayne County, Judge A. C. Downey of Ohio County, and General Joseph Orr of La Porte County. However, the two hundred and twenty-five acre campus in Plainfield was chosen because of its central location in the state and close proximity to the capital city.[159] In efforts to learn how they should operate the house of refuge, the founders visited similar institutions in Chicago and Cincinnati and the Ohio State Reform Schools. According to Holloway, "the Board unanimously adopted what is known as the 'Family System.'"[160] In this system, the inmates lived in a "family" group of fifty boys with each group assigned a "House Father" and an "Elder Brother" to oversee the boys. Each family had its own living space and the House Father and Elder Brother were under the guidance of the superintendent.[161]

The large campus included a farm, a library and reading room, and a workshop building—the boys spent the first half of their day in school and the latter half "engaged at some useful employment, either on the farm, or in the garden, or shoe-shop, or tailor-shop, or chair-shop, or some other division of the domestic department."[162] The goal of the institution was not only to keep boys and young men out of a jail cell but also to educate and train them in a useful skill.[163] The founders of the Indiana House of Refuge educated and trained the boys at the institution because they feared that if the boys had no skills, they would turn to crime and contribute to an increasingly chaotic society.[164] This

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[159] Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 126.
[160] Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch,* 190.
[161] Ibid., 190. Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 596.
[162] Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 192.
[163] According to Rothman, asylums like the House of Refuge were founded out of a desire to "promote the stability of the society" and "to insure the cohesion of the community" in a changing world. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum*, xviii.
[164] Ibid., 210. Rothman states that both "the founders of orphan asylums and houses of refuge shared fully with the proponents of other caretaker institutions a fear that anyone not carefully and diligently trained to cope with the open, free-wheeling, and disordered life of the community would fall victim to vice and crime."

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belief was reflected in Holloway's description of the House of Refuge. Holloway praised the institution, stating that it "is a success beyond all expectations, and it has already demonstrated its value to the State by converting to a life of usefulness and respectability, many neglected children who would, but for its saving influence, have been miserable waifs among the scum of society."[165] Indianapolis feared an untrained and unskilled class of neglected children, so the Indiana House of Refuge was established to be a solution to this feared problem.

On January 23, 1868, the first boy came to the Indiana House of Refuge, and soon over two hundred boys lived on the campus.[166] According to Thornbrough, "The law provided that at the discretion of the judge or jury any person under eighteen years of age who was liable to be confined in a state prison or county jail might be sent to the house of refuge."[167] Boys destined for the state prison or county jail were not the only individuals who were accepted at the Indiana House of Refuge. Boys who could not be controlled by their parents, children of parents or guardians who did not want to control or discipline them, or destitute boys "who were in danger of being brought up to lead an 'idle and immoral life'" were all eligible to live and be trained at the Indiana House of Refuge.[168] Male youths did not even have to break the law in order to be housed at the Indiana House of Refuge, they simply had to be in danger of not becoming a hardworking, productive, moral man.[169]

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[165] Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 192.
[166] Ibid., 191. Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 596.
[167] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era,* 595.
[168] Ibid., 595.
[169] Ibid., 595. According to Thornbrough, individuals were sent to the House of Refuge "at the discretion of the judge or jury." As Rothman explains, there was a growing fear in the nineteenth century that boys who were not given direction, training, or discipline would grow up to become a burden on society because they had no skills to contribute. Boys especially needed to be instilled with principles of hard work and morality so they would use crime to survive. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum*, 210.

Both the Home for Friendless Women and the Indiana House of Refuge received glowing reports for their work and their results. Regarding the Home for Friendless Women, Holloway stated that the inmates "more or less benefitted, and many of them greatly" and that "the success of the Home has exceeded the expectations of its benevolent founders."[170] He went on to describe the type of women who benefitted the most from the services of the home—women he described as "lost girls."

> "Lost" girls—"lost" in the dreariest sense of the word—"lost" in their own reckless abandonment to vice—"lost" in the judgement and estimation of society—shelterless [sic] and utterly depraved—whose only home was the jail, the low brothel, or the open air—have found in the Home a refuge, and a restoration to the community's and their own respect.[171]

Rather than a factual account of women's experiences before and after living in the home, Holloway wrote an idealized description of what he and the Indianapolis community wanted inmates' experiences to be. Indeed, his book on the history of Indianapolis was published in 1870, the same year that the Home for Friendless Women opened their permanent home. Holloway would not have had enough time to study the effects that the home had on the women who lived there before writing this description.

Similarly, the Indiana House of Refuge also received glowing reports from the governor, contemporary historians, and citizens. Holloway described the institution as "successful beyond all anticipation" while "Governor Baker said that it exceeded his most sanguine expectations."[172] Intended to keep juvenile offenders from following a trajectory toward becoming adult offenders, the institution was successful if it reformed these potentially harmful members of society. The organization's glowing reviews

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[170] Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 195 and 196.
[171] Ibid., 196.
[172] Ibid., 131. Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era,* 596.

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indicate that the Indianapolis community believed that it would successfully reform its inmates and spare society from the damage that could have been done had these juvenile offenders grown up without any order, instruction, and discipline.

Studying the charitable institutions established in Indianapolis reveals the shifts that occurred as the city grew and changed. Indianapolis began as a small, close-knit community of persistent settlers and remained small for the first several decades of its existence as the state's capital. During this time (the 1820s to the 1840s), Indianapolis citizens responded to the needs in their community by working together to solve problems. Ordinary women and men volunteered for the IBS, going door-to-door in the city to seek donations for their poor neighbors. In the 1840s, Indianapolis and Indiana residents established, managed, and financed the state's first schools for individuals with hearing or visual impairments and the Indiana Hospital for the Insane.

By 1870, Indianapolis had changed drastically. The city was nearly fifty years old, the Civil War and the coming of railroads had caused the population to surge, and many of the "old citizens"—the persistent families and inaugural leaders of the circle city—had died. A growing society, a country deeply divided, and an uncertain future caused Indianapolis residents to worry more about specific societal issues. The Home for Friendless Women and the Indiana House of Refuge were intended to control what were viewed as societal problems—issues that would have alleged disastrous effects on society if they were not stopped. Although the benevolent institutions established in the 1840s to care for individuals' physical and mental impairments still functioned in Indianapolis after the war, benevolent institutions intended to reform society began to take center stage.

All of the institutions examined thus far fit into either the medical category (institutions created to care for an individual's physical or mental needs) or the social reform category (institutions intended to reform the problems in society). The third category of benevolent institution that appeared throughout the nineteenth century in Indianapolis was the orphanage category (institutions intended to care for dependent children). Unlike the previous two categories, orphanages in Indiana in the mid- to late-nineteenth century were not created by the state. They were established entirely by the work of private benevolent groups or churches. Additionally, orphanages appeared in Indianapolis during the 1840s (the decade when the institutes that provided for individuals with medical needs were established) *and* during the postwar years (the time when homes for prostitutes and juvenile offenders were created). This third category essentially blended the other two categories—not only did orphanages appear in Indianapolis both before and after the Civil War, but these institutions were intended to care for those who could not care for themselves *and* to reform society by instructing the next generation.

Chapter Two: "Shield from inherited perversions of nature:" A Case Study of the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society

Sometime in the late 1840s or early 1850s, an Indianapolis woman was suddenly left alone when her husband died. At the time, Indianapolis was a small community with only one railroad line, difficult and often impassable roads, and a river that was barely navigable and only during certain times of the year. The woman had friends "at a distance" but did not have the resources to get to them, especially with the lack of transportation options. In late 1851 or 1852, the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society stepped in and gave the woman "the means of returning to her home."[173] In their treasurer's report, the society recorded the use of five dollars "to aid a widow in getting to her friends."[174] Without the help of the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society, this young woman may never have been able to return to friends and family after her tragic experience in Indianapolis.

Since 1835, Indianapolis citizens worked through the Indianapolis Benevolent Society to provide relief to the poor and destitute in the community. By 1849, members of that society and other Indianapolis women recognized the ever increasing needs of a specific group—widows and orphans. As a rapidly changing city, Indianapolis experienced economic booms and depressions within the first few decades of its existence which led to an increased number of women and children who needed financial support. Additionally, as many families settled in the area (after leaving behind everyone they knew), women and children were left in new surroundings with no connections or friends if a husband died. Accordingly, members of the Indianapolis Benevolent Society

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[173] "Report of the Widow and Orphan's Friends Society," *Indiana State Sentinel*, November 25, 1852, p. 2.
[174] Ibid.

and the Indianapolis community formed the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society (WOFS).

Like the Indianapolis Benevolent Society, this new organization helped women and children by giving them clothing, room and board, and other relief. The institution was organized in 1849, during the same time period that Indianapolis citizens founded the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, the Institute for the Education of the Blind, and the Hospital for the Insane, a time when "institutional care was so much the fashion."[175] An examination of the WOFS—its beginning, the Indianapolis citizens who founded it, and how it was managed—reveals a picture of Indianapolis during a time of transition. Citizens of the small town responded to problems by volunteering their time and resources to address the issue. By the 1870s, however, the small town had transformed into a substantial city, and the policies of the WOFS shifted as the community changed. When Indianapolis citizens created the society, the goal was to "relieve suffering" but by the 1870s, the focus of the institution shifted to raising children in environments where they would develop into productive citizens.[176]

The records left behind by the WOFS reveal how the organization was founded, managed, and funded. Although invaluable, these records do not tell the story of the individuals whose lives were affected most by the asylum—the children. In her 2015 book, historian Catherine Jones states "children usually leave behind few archival traces" because they were "marginalized from power, often illiterate, and theoretically confined

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[175] "History of the Children's Bureau, 1851-1977," Box 1, Folder 1, p. 2; CBIR, IHS.
[176] "Report of the Widow and Orphan's Friends Society," *Indiana State Sentinel*, November 25, 1852, p. 2. The relationship between social control and benevolence is complicated. It is likely that many of the WOFS managers (even in the 1870s) worked through the orphanage to be charitable and not simply to save dependent children from their parents. However, the records strongly suggest that social control was a main goal of the institution, especially following the Civil War.

to the private realm."[177] In a time period when children were to be seen and not heard, it comes as no surprise that children are often lost in the historical record.

Despite the gap in sources, studying children is possible. Jones asserts that "records created by federal authorities, private correspondence, newspapers, and child-serving institutions like orphan asylums and schools furnish materials for putting children back into the story."[178] A study of the WOFS—why the officers founded the institution, who financed the organization, how a changing Indianapolis culture affected the society, and the policies that directly affected the children living within the home—provides insight into how and why Indianapolis citizens cared for dependent children. It allows Hoosier children to be put "back into the story" of nineteenth-century child care policies.

In his landmark study, David Rothman attributed the rise of the asylum during the Jacksonian Era to a cultural mindset that viewed the presence of the poor, criminal, and destitute as evidence of societal failure. By the early to mid-nineteenth century, middle- and upper-class Americans attempted to "save" the poor, destitute, and dependent by establishing asylums where these individuals could live and learn in an orderly environment—away from the "the open, free-wheeling, and disordered life of the community."[179] Efforts at reform led to the creation of penitentiaries, insane asylums, almshouses, and orphanages. Rothman argues that citizens established orphan asylums, like the WOFS, to ensure that dependent children would not "fall victim to vice and crime" but would instead grow up as skilled, contributing members of society.[180]

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[177] Catharine Jones, *Intimate Reconstructions: Children in Postemancipation Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015), 11.
[178] Ibid., 11.
[179] Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum*, 210.
[180] Ibid., 210.

www.manaraa.com

Rothman's argument is supported by looking at the ideology of Charles Loring Brace, the founder of the Children's Aid Society in New York. Historian Clay Gish explains that Brace started the Children's Aid Society and developed the concept of orphan trains in order to remove children from their parents' influence.[181] According to Gish, "the mission of the emigration program was the removal of as many poor children as possible from the 'contaminating influence' of their families to 'good Christian homes' in the Midwest."[182] Brace advocated sending poor children from east coast cities (where their families lived) to rural communities in the Midwest, thereby—he believed— "breaking a chain of 'hereditary pauperism' and transforming the city's potentially 'dangerous classes' into productive citizens."[183]

Brace believed that sending children to work on Midwestern farms was the best option for ensuring that children developed into productive members of society. Historian Megan Birk's recent work shows that by the middle of the nineteenth century, reformers feared that "the servile, dirty, and charity-dependent child would . . . grow up to be a drain on society, continuing the problem of dependency into further generations."[184] Birk asserts that placing children on farms (as indentured children) was the form of child care that followed the Jacksonian era's emphasis on asylum care, but preceded the twentieth-century development of the foster care system. Indianapolis citizens established and managed the WOFS during a time when both the Jacksonian era ideologies of institutional care and Charles Loring Brace's ideals of farm placement flourished. The

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[181] From the 1850s to the 1920s, poor children in east-coast cities were placed out to rural farms in the Midwest and West. Since the 1970s, the practice has been referred to as the "orphan trains" since the children were sent west on trains. For further reading, see Marilyn Irvin Holt, *The Orphan Trains: Placing Out in America* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).
[182] Gish, "Rescuing the 'Waifs and Strays' of the City," 121.
[183] Ibid., 122.
[184] Birk, *Fostering on the Farm*, 18.

records left behind by the institution tell a complicated story involving the Indianapolis organization, Indiana parents, and Hoosier children.

On February 13, 1851, the Indiana General Assembly chartered the Widows' and Orphans' Asylum of Indianapolis.[185] Nineteen Indianapolis women managed the new asylum, filling the following positions: president, three vice-presidents, secretary, treasurer, and a board of twelve directors.[186] Nine Indianapolis men (often the husbands of the women officers) made up a committee "to advise and cooperate with the Board in securing their benevolent designs."[187] In total, twenty-eight Indianapolis residents (nineteen women and nine men) constituted the officers of the WOFS.

In addition to the twenty-eight officers, the WOFS formed a visiting committee.[188] Much like the Indianapolis Benevolent Society, the new institution assigned a visitor to each district of the city. The visitor requested donations from Indianapolis residents and sought widows and orphans who needed the new institution's help. Unlike the Indianapolis Benevolent Society—which assigned a male and a female to each district—the WOFS only appointed females to their visiting committee. Indeed,

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[185] The society subsequently changed its name from the Widows' and Orphans' Asylum to the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society (WOFS). "Charter," p. 3, BV 3653; CBIR, IHS. Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 87.

[186] Constitution, article 4, BV 3653; CBIR, IHS. The constitution does not list the officer position of "depositary," but the position was filled by a woman officer for the first few years. In later years, rather than "depositary," there was the position of "corresponding secretary."

[187] Constitution, Articles 4 and 10, BV 3653; CBIR, IHS.

[188] The by-laws for the WOFS state that twelve women would constitute the visiting committee. However, it does not appear that the visiting committee always had twelve members. An 1850 newspaper that lists all of the officers of the new society lists eleven women on the visiting committee. In his entry on the orphan's home, Holloway lists ten women as serving on the visiting committee. By-Laws, section XIII, BV 3653; CBIR, IHS. "Officers of the Widows' and Orphans' Friend Society of Indianapolis," *Indiana State Sentinel,* April 18, 1850, p. 1. Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch of the Railroad City*, 197.

other than the nine male officers on the advisory committee, the society was managed entirely by women.[189]

The women and men who started the WOFS were more of Indianapolis's "old citizens," the "persistent families" who influenced and molded the Indianapolis community through their work and their relationships with each other.[190] Many worked through politics to shape the development of the young Indianapolis. Of the sixteen men married to founding officers of the WOFS, at least eight were involved in city or state politics.[191] Of the nine founding men on the advisory committee, eight were involved in politics.[192] Some even volunteered to help enforce specific laws concerning certain social behaviors. In 1847, a committee of Indianapolis men formed to "aid the constituted authorities in suppressing gambling, drinking, and other vices, and to see that the laws of the land are enforced."[193] These citizens voluntarily formed a "Committee of Fifteen" to

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[189] According to historian Timothy Hacsi, it was not uncommon for nineteenth-century orphanages to be managed by women. In fact, "most private orphan asylums were begun and managed by groups of women… [who] manage[d] the daily operations of most children's institutions and usually had at least some say in making major policy decisions." Hacsi, *Second Home*, 75.

[190] Faragher states that families who remained in one area provided "the continuity and cohesion necessary for communal life." By settling and remaining in one place, these Indianapolis citizens molded Indianapolis society through their influence in the community. Faragher, *Sugar Creek*, 52.

[191] Austin W. Morris was a member of the Indiana legislature (Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, vol. I, 81). Alfred Harrison was the Directory of the State Sanitary Commission (Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 123) and a member of the State Central Committee ("State Central Committee," *Richmond Weekly Palladium,* February 8, 1840, p. 3). William Sheets was elected Secretary of State in 1832 and 1840 (Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, vol. II, 730; Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 124). James Morrison served as a judge, Secretary of State, and the State's first Attorney General (Nowland, *Early Reminiscences of Indianapolis*, 212-216; Woollen, *Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana*, 476). John A. Wilkins was a town trustee (Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 110). Calvin Fletcher was a state senator from 1826 to 1833 (*The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 578). Albert G. Willard was a town assessor from 1838 to 1840 (Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 486). Ovid Butler appeared on the ballot as "an electoral candidate for the Free Soil ticket" in 1848 and 1852 ("Death of Ovid Butler., Sr.," *Indianapolis News*, July 12, 1881, p. 4).

[192] The only founding member of the advisory committee who does not appear to have any involvement in politics is Judson Osgood. Henry Ohr was the City Treasurer for two terms in the 1840s ("Death of an Old Citizen," *Indianapolis News*, April 5, 1876, p. 4), and Nicholas McCarty served as state Senator from 1848 to 1851 (Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 100).

[193] "Citizens' Meeting," *Indiana State Sentinel,* December 16, 1847, p. 4.

ensure the restriction of these activities. Of the "Committee of Fifteen," five were founding members of the WOFS advisory committee and six were married to founding women officers.[194] The old citizens wanted Indianapolis society to adhere to certain values, so they volunteered their time to enforce laws or worked through politics to influence the developing city.

Additionally, the founders of the WOFS were active in several different religious denominations throughout the city. Some individuals probably only attended church while others involved themselves in the work of the congregation or attempted to influence a denomination's beliefs (particularly concerning the use of instruments in worship).[195] One founding member was even married to a minister.[196] Although the majority of these officers attended a Methodist church (there were two Methodist churches in Indianapolis at the time of the WOFS founding), the WOFS was not solely managed by members of one denomination.[197] A Lutheran, an Episcopalian, and a Quaker were all founding members of the charitable institution (see table 2.1).

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[194] Ovid Butler, Alfred Harrison, Austin W. Morris, John Wilkins, Calvin Fletcher, and William Sheets were all members of the Committee of Fifteen. "Committee of 15," *Indiana State Sentinel,* December 30, 1847, p. 1.

[195] For example, Austin Morris was not involved in religion until he converted to Methodism during "the great revival" at the age of 34 (Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, vol. I, 592). In contrast, William Sheets was a member of the First Presbyterian Church "nearly the whole time since his first residence in the city" until his death, a period of nearly forty years (Nowland, *Early Reminiscences of Indianapolis*, 270). Similarly, Judge James Morrison was a "Senior Warden of Christ Church" for twenty-five years (Nowland, *Early Reminiscences of Indianapolis*, 215). Some Indianapolis citizens were extremely opinionated concerning religion. Alfred Harrison, one of the wealthiest members of the Methodist Church, was "opposed to the renting of pews or seats in the house of God" (Nowland, *Early Reminiscences of Indianapolis*, 156). Isaac Phipps and John A. Wilkins both attended the Methodist Church and opposed the use of instruments in worship (Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, vol. I, 185).

[196] Josephine Cressy's husband, Timothy R. Cressy, was a Baptist minister for six years in Indianapolis. Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, vol. 568. Henderson, Harold, "Early Midwestern Orphanage," *Connections* 51 no. 1, p. 7.

[197] Wesley Chapel and Roberts Chapel were the two Methodist churches in Indianapolis at the time of the WOFS founding. Kevin J. Corn, "Methodists," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 996.

Table 2.1. Denominations of the WOFS founding officers.[198]

| Name | Position | Spouse's Name | Denomination |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jane M. Morris | President | Austin W. Morris | Methodist |
| Caroline Harrison | VP | Alfred Harrison *(Advisory Committee member)* | Methodist |
| Mary R. Sheets | VP | Williams Sheets *(Advisory Committee member)* | Presbyterian |
| Mrs. Judge Morrison | VP | Judge James Morrison *(Advisory Committee member)* | Christ Church (Episcopalian) |
| Julia Ann Phipps | Treasurer | Isaac N. Phipps | Methodist |
| Josephine Hollinshead | Secretary | J. B. Hollinshead | Unknown |
| Eleanor Wilkins | Depositary | John A. Wilkins *(Advisory Committee member)* | Methodist |
| Sarah Fletcher | Manager | Calvin Fletcher | Methodist |
| Jane Graydon | Manager | Alexander Graydon | Presbyterian |
| Mrs. McGuire | Manager | Unknown | Unknown |
| Josephine Cressy | Manager | Timothy R. Cressy | Baptist |
| Maria D. Willard | Manager | Albert G. Willard *(Advisory Committee member)* | Plymouth Church (Congregational) |
| Sarah Underhill | Manager | R. Underhill | Friends (Quaker) |
| Rachel Irwin | Manager | Unknown | Unknown |
| Diantha Dunlap | Manager | Dr. Livingston Dunlap | Unknown |
| Elizabeth Butler | Manager | Ovid Butler *(Advisory Committee member)* | Disciples of Christ |
| Mrs. J. T. Williams | Manager | Unknown | Unknown |
| Ann M. Williams | Manager | Unknown | Unknown |
| Mrs. James Hall | Manager | Unknown | Unknown |
| Mr. Nicholas McCarty | Advisory Committee | Mrs. Margaret McCarty | Baptist |
| Mr. Henry Ohr | Advisory Committee | Mrs. Ohr | Lutheran |
| Mr. Judson Osgood | Advisory Committee | Mrs. Osgood | Baptist |

Although they came from different denominations, the founders of the WOFS did not

want their religious beliefs—or anyone else's—to dominate and influence the work of the

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[198] Table compiled by the author using the following sources: "An Act to Incorporate the Widows' and Orphans' Asylum of Indianapolis," 13 February 1851, BV 3653; CBIR, IHS; and "Officers of the Widows' and Orphans' Friend Society of Indianapolis," *Indiana State Sentinel*, April 18, 1850, p. 1. The Constitution lists the names of the officers and the newspaper article lists who filled what position. To determine the names of spouses and religious affiliation, city histories, newspaper articles, and obituaries were accessed.

new institution.[199] To ensure that no single denomination dominated the WOFS, the officers established in the organization's constitution that "no denominational preferences, or sectarian relations shall be permitted to govern any of the acts or operations of this Society, either in elections or benefactions."[200] Although each society meeting opened with "reading a portion of Scripture and prayer," the constitution mandated that the officers could not allow their denominational preferences to interfere with the organization's work.[201]

The denominational diversity of the WOFS board of officers reveals the small-town nature of the Indianapolis community in the late 1840s. Although they attended different churches, the men and women of Indianapolis were neighbors, friends, and business associates. Calvin Fletcher and Ovid Butler (members of different denominations) were law partners for over a decade.[202] Nicholas McCarty and James Blake (members of denominations with different beliefs) both worked together to build the city's first Steam Mill.[203] From the city's beginning throughout the mid-nineteenth century, denominational differences did not inhibit the cooperation of Indianapolis citizens. When the needs of widows and orphans became apparent, Indianapolis women

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[199] Although the officers attended different churches, all of the officers attended Protestant churches. A Catholic orphanage did open in the city in 1873 but is beyond the scope of this study. James J. Divita, "Catholics," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 389. For a further discussion of Catholic and Jewish orphanages across the nation, see Hacsi, *Second Home*.

[200] Article V, p. 8, Box I, Folder 2; CBIR, IHS.

[201] By-Laws, section II, p. 12; CBIR, IHS. According to Hacsi, creating a nonsectarian orphanage was not uncommon for Protestants in the nineteenth century. Hacsi, *Second Home*, 19.

[202] Connie J. Zeigler, "Butler, Ovid," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 370.

[203] Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, vol. I, 104. McCarty was a member of the First Baptist Church while James Blake was a Presbyterian.

and men worked together, regardless of their different religious preferences, to create a solution.[204]

In addition to their involvement in the city's political and religious affairs, the WOFS officers contributed their time and resources to various societies, including social, cultural, and charitable organizations. Some of the founding men belonged to the Free and Accepted Order of Masons and were involved in the local growth of that group.[205] In 1850, many of the founding women worked to raise money for one of the city's fire companies by hosting a fair.[206] And throughout the early decades of Indianapolis's existence, many WOFS officers—or the husbands of officers—influenced Indianapolis culture by promoting temperance.[207] The settlers influenced the development of the city through working in their city's politics, hosting fairs to benefit organizations, meeting in their fraternal societies, worshipping in their churches, and creating charity institutions to help their neighbors.

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[204] In her work on Indianapolis charity, Badertscher states that Indianapolis citizens crossed paths in so many settings (politics, work, social functions) that it created an environment for discussing problems in the community and working together to create solutions. "Indianapolis pioneers worked, governed, socialized, and worshipped in close connection that allowed the recognition of public concerns and development of solutions, regardless of form or societal sector." Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 61.

[205] After his death in 1851, Austin Morris (the husband of the WOFS first president, Jane Morris) was described as "one of the best known and most influential Secretaries the Grand Lodge of Indiana ever had" and "a prominent and leading Mason of [Indiana]" (Woollen, *Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana*, 508). William Sheets was also involved in Masonry. A member of that society, he was on the building committee to construct a Masonic Temple in Indianapolis (Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, vol. I, 374).

[206] In efforts to raise money for the Independent Relief Fire Engine Company, Indianapolis women planned, organized, and hosted a fair benefitting the company. Among these women were WOFS founders Caroline Harrison, Julia Ann Phipps, Josephine Hollinshead, Eleanor Wilkins, Sarah Fletcher, Ann Morrison, and Diantha Dunlap. "Independent Relief Fair," *Indiana State Sentinel,* December 19, 1850, p. 2.

[207] In 1838, the "friends of temperance" held a statewide temperance convention in Indianapolis. Seven men married to WOFS officers (and four founding members of the advisory committee) attended the convention. Three of them—John Wilkins, Isaac Phipps, and Albert Willard—served as convention delegates from Marion County. William Sheets, Austin Morris, Calvin Fletcher, and Henry Ohr attended the convention. Although they did not attend this particular convention, founding members Alfred Harrison and James Morrison had been involved in the city's temperance society since 1829. "Indiana State Temperance Convention," *Richmond Weekly Palladium*, July 14, 1838, p. 2.

In the early days, the WOFS operated with the following resources: money obtained through membership dues, individual donations, and, eventually, city and county funds. A woman had to pay one dollar per year to become a member of the institution, and a man had to pay three dollars per year. If a woman donated ten dollars or a man donated thirty dollars, s/he became a lifetime member.[208] Charitable contributions and fundraisers financed the institution—officers sought donations from individuals and annual reports published in Indianapolis newspapers updated the community on the society's financial situation.

In 1852, the organization's third annual report announced to the community that they needed money to build an asylum. The report described the desired asylum as "simply a plain and comfortable dwelling, capable of accommodating fifteen or twenty persons; such a house as could be built and finished for $2,000."[209] The officers then reported that they put together a committee to "solicit subscriptions" for the project and emphasized that many other Indianapolis citizens had already contributed. The report singled out two individuals by name, "Col. Drake and Col. May, have generously donated us two lots, which, in addition to the one we have purchased, form beautiful and commodious grounds for an Asylum."[210] The officers concluded this section of their report by stating, "a number of gentlemen have subscribed liberally, and where it is known that we need more funds, we are confident there are many others who will assist us according to their means."[211] In addition to asking for donations, the officers explained the full situation to the community—outlining the sum needed and pointing out that land

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[208] Constitution, Articles 2 and 3, BV 3653; CBIR, M0983, IHS.
[209] "Report of the Widow and Orphan's Friends Society" *Indiana State Sentinel,* November 25, 1852, p. 2.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Ibid.

had already been acquired for the asylum—and finished by cleverly insinuating that all Indianapolis residents could contribute, giving as much or as little as "their means" allowed.

Although the fundraising efforts of the officers ultimately worked, it would still be three years before a building was constructed for the WOFS. In the early years, before it had a building, the society functioned much like the Indianapolis Benevolent Society, accepting money and clothing donations from Indianapolis residents and distributing those resources to indigent widows and orphans. They also paid to board destitute women and children in private homes as plans to construct a building loomed in the background. From November 1851 to November 1852, the society spent a total of $187.58—the largest percentage being $63.50 "for board of Orphans." The society also paid $17.00 "for house rent," $15.75 "for groceries," $4.50 "for nursing the sick," and $6.23 "for clothing for Orphans." In addition to the money spent on clothing, the society also accumulated items of clothing through donations. During this year, 294 pieces of clothing were donated to the society and the society gave away 250 pieces of clothing.[212]

By 1855, the society had raised enough money to construct a permanent home. The list of 217 financial contributors for the year "commencing November 1855" contained many prominent Indianapolis citizens including James Blake, James M. Ray, Daniel Yandes, and all of the officers and members of the advisory committee.[213] By the early 1860s, the Marion County Commissioners began paying "twenty-five cents a day

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[212] Ibid.
[213] Constitution, BV 3661, p. 6-9; CBIR, IHS.

for the board of each inmate."[214] In June 1860—the first time the County Commissioners appear in the society's financial log book—the County Commissioners paid $86.70 to the society for the "board of orphans."[215] Funding from private donations, fundraising efforts, and the County Commissioners allowed the asylum continuously to grow and change over the next several decades.

By 1862, with its own building, the WOFS operated on a much larger budget. The annual report for the 1861-62 fiscal year noted that it "received in the Asylum fourteen children, of whom two have been adopted, three bound out and one has died."[216] The officers did not mention whether or not the society helped any widows during the year, but acknowledged that the report was less detailed than usual due to its president's poor health.[217] Despite the president's health and the temporary lack of a treasurer, the officers managed to update the Indianapolis community on the institution's finances. From June 1861 to May 1862, the society acquired $947.82 and spent $778.07. During that same timeframe, the County Commissioners provided $314.52, approximately one-third of what the society received financially for the year.[218]

Beginning in 1860, the County Commissioners consistently supplied the largest sums of money to the WOFS. During the Civil War years (with the exception of 1863), the County Commissioners were the main financers of the institution—indeed, their support seems to be what kept the orphanage open during the chaotic years from 1861 to

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[214] "History of the Children's Bureau, 1851-1977," Box 1, Folder 1, p. 3; CBIR, IHS. The author states that by 1862, Marion County contributed $1.30 per week for each child. Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 382.
[215] Accounts, 1860-1880, BV 3657, p. 4; CBIR, IHS.
[216] "Indianapolis Orphan Society," *Indianapolis Star*, May 20, 1862, p. 3. The society's fiscal years ran from June to May, so the 1861-62 report covers the time from June 1861 to May 1862.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Accounts, 1860-1880, BV 3657, p. 20, 34, 42; CBIR, IHS.

1865 (see table 2.2). Interestingly, the relationship between the County Commissioners

and the WOFS is an early example of a government contracting with a non-profit

organization to fulfill a specific need. The county paid a fee (twenty-five cents per day,

per child) so the WOFS could operate and care for Indiana's dependent children.

Table 2.2. Money received from County Commissioners during Civil War years.[219]

| Year | Total amount received during year | Amount received from County Commissioners during year | Percent |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| 1861 | $693.09 | $541.33 | 78% |
| 1862 | $726.23 | $245.38 | 34% |
| 1863 | $822.62 | $37.75 | 5% |
| 1864 | $1483.25 | $570.05 | 38% |
| 1865 | $2241.04 | $967.53 | 43% |

As the above table shows, the County Commissioners, on average, funded forty percent

of the institution's yearly budget during the Civil War. Thus, although the WOFS was

established and managed by Indianapolis citizens who volunteered their time and money,

the society could not have survived the turbulent war years without support from the

county.[220]

Even with the support of the County Commissioners, the WOFS almost closed

because of their financial state. During 1860, 1861, and 1862, the society barely met its

yearly expenses. In their 1861-62 annual report, the officers declared "in a financial point

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[219] Accounts, 1860-1880, BV 3657; CBIR, IHS. This book contains the donations received and the expenses made by the society each month. To create a concise table of the County Commissioners funding during the Civil War years, I added the monthly funds for those years and displayed the sum in the table. The monthly records of these financial amounts are found on the following pages: 1861, pages 12, 14, 18, 20, and 34; 1862, pages 42 and 46; 1863, page 48 (it is unclear why the County Commissioners supplied such a small financial sum to the society in 1863. It could have been the result of the war, or there could be poor record keeping for that year.); 1864, pages 52, 54, and 56; 1865, pages 58 and 60.
[220] Hacsi's overview of nineteenth-century orphanages reveals that Indianapolis was ahead of its time in providing government funding to its orphanages. Hacsi asserts that orphanages in California and New York (in the 1890s) benefitted from government funding, but that "in most other states, there was no government funding available and little county or city money for orphan asylums." Hacsi also claims "most Midwestern governments gave little aid to private asylums in the late nineteenth century." This is clearly untrue for the WOFS in Indianapolis, since the Marion County Commissioners consistently provided a major portion of the institution's funding. Hacsi, *Second Home*, 93 and 32.

of view the year has been discouraging . . . and the question has more than once been considered whether it would not be best to give up the society altogether."[221] Rather than give up, the officers continued the organization, but the last two years of the war became extremely difficult as less and less funding arrived. In 1863 the society received $822.62 but spent $968.67, leaving a deficit of $146.05 at the end of the year. Again, in 1864, the institution received $1483.25 but spent $1583.44, leaving a deficit of $100.19. After leaving a deficit two years in a row, the officers pleaded with the Indianapolis community to support the institution. In May 1865, the *Indianapolis News* stated "we have been requested to call the attention of our citizens to the condition of the Orphan Asylum in this city" and described the situation—"there are twenty children at present in the Asylum, and it is absolutely necessary that contributions be made for them, or else the doors must be closed, and then these little foundlings be taken care of in some other manner."[222] The appeal to the community worked and more funds began to arrive. In 1865, the society received $2241.04, nearly $800 more than it had received in 1864. By the end of 1866, the society received $3469.63, over $1200 more than it had received in 1865 and almost $2000 more than it had received in 1864.[223]

The increased funding came from the city government and private donations from church groups, schools, public organizations, and individuals. It did not come from a single source. In October 1865, the officers petitioned the City Council "for an appropriation in behalf of city foundlings, for the use of the Orphan Asylum."[224] A week later, the City Council passed an ordinance appropriating "$200 for the benefit of City

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[221] "Indianapolis Orphan Society," *Indianapolis Star*, May 20, 1862, p. 3.
[222] "Orphan Asylum," *Indianapolis Star,* May 24, 1865, p. 3.
[223] Accounts, 1860-1880, BV 3657, CBIR, IHS.
[224] "Proceedings of the City Council," *Indianapolis Star,* October 24, 1865, p. 3.

foundlings, to be paid to the Orphan Asylum."[225] By the end of 1867, the City Council

donated $125.00 per month to the institution. The City donated a total of $750.00 from

November 1867 to May 1868—six donations of $125.00. In May 1868, however, the city

stopped funding the institution as more organizations and individuals donated to the

society.[226]

The first appearance of a large, private donation ($50.00 or greater) in the

society's financial ledger is found in May 1866 when a "committee of gentlemen"

donated $50.00. The next private donation (one that did not come from the county or city

government, or from the visiting committee actively seeking donations from Indianapolis

residents) was two years later in May 1868. Throughout the late 1860s and early 1870s,

the largest, private donations came from the society's anniversary celebrations, benefit

events, and the estates of individuals who bequeathed money to the institution (see table

2.3).[227]

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[225] "Proceedings of the City Council," *Indianapolis Star,* October 31, 1865, p. 3.

[226] It is unclear why the city stopped donating to the WOFS. It could have been due to a lack of funds on the city's part, or to the increased funding to the WOFS from various organizations and individuals.

[227] Hacsi states that benefit events ("concerts, performances, and fairs") were a common method through which asylums raised money. Hacsi, *Second Home*, 96.

Table 2.3. Large, non-county donations to the WOFS.[228]

| Date | Donor | Amount Received | Type |
|---|---|---|---|
| May 1866 | Committee of gentlemen | $50.00 | Organization |
| May 1868 | Collection at Anniversary | $206.61 | Anniversary Donation |
| September 1868 | Masonic Banquet | $143.45 | Benefit Event |
| October 1868 | Drummer Boy Benefit | $600.00 | Benefit Event |
| January 1869 | "Proceeds Brown's note and interest" | $201.00 | Bequest/individual donation |
| May 1869 | Collection at Anniversary | $131.91 | Anniversary Donation |
| January 1870 | "Estate of C. Fletcher" | $100.00 | Bequest/individual donation |
| November 1870 | "Mrs. M. Givan's Estate" | $470.00 | Bequest/individual donation |
| April 1871 | "From Estate of D. V. Cully" | $500.00 | Bequest/individual donation |
| June 1871 | Collection at Anniversary | $148.26 | Anniversary Donation |
| November 1871 | "From Fairs Bouths" [sic][229] | $790.10 | Benefit Event |
| May 1872 | "Proceeds of Fair" | $837.94 | Benefit Event |
| May 1872 | Ladies of Christ Church Guild | $200.00 | Organization |
| June 1872 | Academy of Music Entertainment | $188.00 | Organization |
| November 1872 | "Money from Willard Note" | $287.32 | Bequest/individual donation |
| February 1873 | Library Association | $323.25 | Organization |

Overall, the WOFS received donations from multiple sources—not only did they receive

money from the city government, the county government, and individuals, they also

received funding from religious, educational, and public organizations. In less than a

year, the orphanage received funding from a religious group (the Ladies of Christ Church

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[228] Accounts, 1860-1880, BV 3657, pages 66, 88, 90, 92, 94, 102, 110, 124, 130, 134, 142, 148, 152, 158, and 162; CBIR, IHS. To compile this table, I listed all of the donations that were over $50.00 which did not come from the county, city, or donations collected through the WOFS visitors committee.

[229] This probably refers to a booth the society had at a benefit fair.

Guild), a school (the Academy of Music Entertainment), and a public organization (the Library Association).

Funding for the institution increased as the organization grew—more children needed food, more rooms needed furnishings, a matron had to be paid, and so forth. The society's most regular expenditures were groceries and the matron's salary, but many of the larger expenses involved maintaining the building. In January 1868, one of the institution's largest bills, $618.70, was paid to the Tutewiler Bros, manufacturers of "stoves, tin-ware and house-furnishing goods."[230] Later in the year, in October and November, the sum of $743.45 was given to the building committee to make needed improvements and expansions on the building.[231] Although the society did not keep consistent admission records until 1871, increased financial need reveals that the institution increased dramatically in size during its early years. According to Sulgrove, the County Commissioners based their funding to the orphanage on how many children were living in the asylum ("twenty-five cents a day for the board of each inmate").[232] Thus, increased funds from the County Commissioners reflected an increased number of children at the orphanage. Three newspaper reports (one published before the Civil War, one published during the conflict, and one published a few years after the war's end) supplement the financial records and show the actual number of children at the society (see table 2.4).

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[230] R. L. Polk & Co., *R. L. Polk & Co.'s Indianapolis City Directory* (Indianapolis: R. L. Polk & Co., 1868), p. 212.
[231] Accounts, 1860-1880, BV 3657, p. 83, 93; CBIR, IHS.
[232] Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 382.

Table 2.4. Finances and number of children at the WOFS.[233]

| Year | Financial amount received | Financial amount spent | Children received during the year |
|------|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1851-1852 | $313.78 | $187.58 | "several families" |
| 1861-1862 | $947.82 | $778.07 | 14 children |
| 1869-1870 | $4,402.31 | $3,273.36 | 124 children |

In the ten-year span from 1852 to 1862, the number of children in the institution did not increase drastically but a building was constructed for the society. In the eight-year span from 1862 to 1870, however, the institution witnessed a much larger increase, taking in 110 *more* children in 1870 than it had in 1862.

From its beginning in 1849 until the Civil War, the WOFS operated in a straightforward manner—children arrived at the society (whether an adult brought them or they came themselves) and the officers raised money in order to keep the asylum's doors open. The railroad boom of the 1850s and the Civil War in the early 1860s created a population spike that strained the WOFS. It was during this time of transition that the organization's quitclaim and indenture practices emerged as significant institutional policies.

Prior to the 1850s, the majority of Indiana's population and business centers were located in the southern regions of the state, especially near the Ohio River. Railroads allowed more and more individuals and businesses to relocate to Indianapolis, placing

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[233] The annual reports published in Indianapolis newspapers for these years list the expenditures and donations received by the society during the years, as well as the number of children in the asylum during the year. "Report of the Widow and Orphan's Friends Society," *Indiana State Sentinel*, November 25, 1852, p. 2. "Indianapolis Orphan Society," *Indianapolis Star*, May 20, 1862, p. 3. "The Orphans Home," *Indianapolis News*, May 23, 1870, p. 4.

them at a more central location for statewide business.[234] In fact, the emergence of railroads "imparted a vibrant economic life to the towns far removed from the rivers" (like Indianapolis) because it gave individuals across the state the ability to move to new cities—bringing their trades, skills, and businesses with them.[235] According to Thornbrough, the construction of the Madison and Indianapolis rail line "was a major factor in the emergence of Indianapolis as the largest city in the state" because it enabled citizens and businesses from the landlocked city to reach other portions of the state (and country) quicker than ever before.[236] It also allowed citizens from all over the state to relocate to the growing capital city.

Fourteen years after the first railroad came to Indianapolis, the Civil War erupted, further contributing to the city's population growth. Although several thousand individuals left the city to serve in the army, thousands more were stationed at military camps in Indianapolis—"sometimes as many as 12,000."[237] In the earliest months of the war, volunteers flooded the city. According to historian John D. Barnhart, when "Governor Oliver P. Morton called for troops, volunteers came forward in such numbers that Indiana's quota could have been filled thrice."[238] Combined with the booming railroad expansion, the years surrounding the Civil War were a time of intense growth for

[234] Unlike ships and boats—the primary form of transportation in the early nineteenth century—railroads were not dependent on waterways. This allowed rail lines to crisscross landlocked Midwestern states to provide a faster means of transport. Richard Sisson, Christian Zacher, and Andrew Cayton, eds, *The American Midwest: An Interpretive Encyclopedia*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 1347.
[235] *The American Midwest: An Interpretive Encyclopedia*, 1347. Although Indianapolis was nestled along the White River, the river did not provide a consistently navigable route.
[236] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 323. Thornbrough states that "no other development [in the mid-nineteenth century] had more far-reaching effects upon the state than did railroads."
[237] Richard S. Skidmore, "Civil War," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 442.
[238] John D. Barnhart, "The Impact of the Civil War on Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History* 57 no. 3 (1961), 185-224.

Indianapolis. The city's population nearly tripled from 1860 to 1870, increasing from 18,611 on the eve of the war to 48,244 after the war.[239]

Not only did the city's population as a whole increase, the population of dependent women and children increased as well. According to historian Anita Morgan, enlisted men from Marion County alone left behind 5,273 dependent family members who "could have been eligible for government aid to soldiers' families."[240] In other words, this number only represents those in Indianapolis who were eligible for government aid, it does not represent all mothers and children in the city who had a family member serving in the military. With more than 5,200 dependent women and children in the city, the number of women and children who had a husband/father never return from the war was likely in the hundreds if not thousands.[241] The number of widows and orphans increased as a result of the war, undoubtedly contributing to the growing size of the WOFS.

As the WOFS grew, changed, and operated under new leadership, many policies were implemented that directly affected the lives of the children in the orphanage. Quitclaims and indentures brought the greatest change. A quitclaim occurred when a child's parent or guardian agreed in writing to give their parental rights to the asylum. In other words, the parent(s) relinquished their responsibility and involvement in their child's life and the asylum became the new guardian. An indenture occurred when the asylum "placed out" a child to an individual or family to receive room, board, and

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[239] "Population," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 1504.
[240] Anita Morgan, "'The Responsibilities of a Community at War:' County and State Government Aid to Hoosier Soldiers' Families during the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History* 113 no. 1 (March 2017), 59.
[241] Thornbrough provides an excellent overview of Indiana's involvement in the Civil War, including the number of Hoosier casualties. She states that over the course of the war, 25,028 Indiana troops died either on the battlefield or from disease. Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era,* 160-61.

education in exchange for labor. The WOFS records contain over three hundred quitclaim

contracts and over one hundred indenture contracts. These documents record the name,

age, and gender of the child being quitclaimed or indentured, the name and residence of

the parent, and (for indentures) the name and residence of the new adult guardian.

When a mother or father brought her/his child to the WOFS, s/he typically signed

a quitclaim—a legal document through which parents relinquished all authority and

guardianship of their child.[242] Between the 1870s-1890s alone, hundreds of parents

signed a page-long quitclaim, stating "I . . . hereby do release, surrender, grant and

voluntarily abandon said child . . . to said corporation."[243] On November 6, 1883, Sarah

Spencer signed her seventeen-month-old son, William, over to the WOFS because her

husband had died.[244] After signing the quitclaim, it is unlikely that Sarah ever regained

guardianship of her son.[245]

The WOFS quitclaims were pre-typed forms with blank spaces for the parent's

name and the child's name. The language of the documents indicates that these legal

transactions were intended to be permanent. Parents had to "covenant and agree" to

abandon children during their minority; parents agreed that the WOFS could indenture a

child, have the child adopted, or appear in court on behalf of the child; and parents

conceded to "*irrevocably* relinquishing and granting to said corporation . . . [their] right

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[242] According to Black's Law Dictionary, a quitclaim is "The release of a claim, title or interest. The claim to something is relinquished and set aside . . . Also acquitting or giving up one's claim or title." Black's Law Dictionary, online, http://thelawdictionary.org/letter/q/page/16/.

[243] Quit Claim records, BV 3679; CBIR, IHS.

[244] Quit Claim record for William Spencer, BV 3678, p. 142; CBIR, IHS.

[245] Unlike the IAFCC (which is discussed in chapter 3), the WOFS contains no records of parents regaining guardianship of their children after signing a quitclaim.

and title to said child" (emphasis added).[246] The firm language clearly paints the picture of a final, legal arrangement that could not, under any circumstances, be undone.

The WOFS records indicate that the institution placed a strong emphasis on having a quitclaim signed for children. Article XI of the 1851 constitution stated plainly and forcefully that "the children committed to this Institution must be given wholly to the care and superintendence of this Society; the surviving parent, or relatives, (as the case may be, [sic]) shall not interfere in any manner with their government, education, or pursuits during their residence in the Asylum."[247] By 1898, the organization had updated Article XI to state "No child can be received in the Asylum unless the parent, guardian or relative, as the case may be, shall relinquish all authority over the child in its government, education or otherwise."[248] The WOFS even had a blank copy of a quitclaim printed in the constitution under Article XI, stating "Any parent or guardian wishing to place a child in the Asylum . . . shall sign a quitclaim, the form of which is here shown."[249] The language of the WOFS's founding documents and constitution is clear—the institution aimed to eliminate a parent's involvement if his/her child resided at the asylum.[250] Between 1870 and 1884, 358 children had quitclaims signed for them at the WOFS.

Reports from the WOFS indicate that the purpose of quitclaims was to remove children from "corrupt" influences. In the 1852 yearly report, the president stated "the

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[246] Quit Claim records, BV 3679; CBIR, IHS.

[247] "An Act to Incorporate the Widows' and Orphans' Asylum of Indianapolis," 13 February 1851, Article XI, BV 3653; CBIR, IHS.

[248] "Constitution and By-Laws, 1898" Article XI, p. 6; CBIR, IHS.

[249] Ibid.

[250] According to Hacsi, the practice of quitclaims was not uncommon for nineteenth-century orphanages. "Some asylum managers wanted legal guardianship of all the children they accepted. They hoped this would help them to avoid interference by parents while the child was in the asylum. It would also make it easier to discharge children as apprentices or, in later years, to free or board home." Hacsi, *Second Home*, 126.

design of our Society is two-fold: To relieve suffering, and to elevate the social and moral condition of the poor and deserving."[251] By their own admission, elevating the *moral* condition of the poor was a primary goal of the managers. The president went on to state "it is absolutely necessary that we should have an Asylum, in which to place the objects of our care . . . Children, especially, cannot be benefited by good influences, until they are with-drawn from evil associations."[252] In 1895, the managers of the asylum still believed that their work would result in productive citizens. The 1895 report once again stated the goal of the asylum—"the design is to train, educate and shield from inherited perversions of nature. In their adopted homes our children become citizens, and we are much pleased to learn of their good conduct and prosperity."[253] By having parents relinquish all involvement in their children's lives, the quitclaims essentially "saved" children from their parents.

Comments from visitors further reflect the prevailing belief that children should be raised away from corrupting influences (even their parents) to keep them from becoming dependent drains on society. Visitors "from more than a dozen states, and as far as San Francisco, Minneapolis, and New York" left their impressions of the home in the visitor's ledger.[254] One individual commented "I was well pleased by the order."[255] Another wrote "government admirable" and "very nicely organized."[256] Others remarked on the cleanliness of the asylum and the appearance of the "little waifs."[257] One visitor

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[251] "Report of the Widow and Orphan's Friends Society," *Indiana State Sentinel,* November 25, 1852, p. 2.
[252] Ibid.
[253] "Orphans' Asylum Reports," *Indianapolis News*, May 22, 1895, p. 2.
[254] Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 92.
[255] Officers, Managers, and Advisory Committee, 1867-1905, BV 3652, p. 25; CBIR, IHS.
[256]Ibid., p. 33.
[257] Ibid., p. 59.

went so far as to say the home was a "better home than many [have] with parents."[258] Individuals who came to tour the asylum were pleased to find that poor, destitute, "little waifs" were being raised in an orderly environment, away from the influence of their parents.

The WOFS policy of quitclaims directly affected the lives of children in the orphanage. At seventeen-months-old, William Spencer probably could not remember his mother, Sarah, or the fact that she signed her guardianship over to the WOFS. Some children, however, were old enough to remember. Lizzie Burkhart was almost seven years old, and her brother Porter was five years old, when their father, John, signed a quitclaim on October 21, 1875.[259] At ages seven and five, Lizzie and Porter were undoubtedly old enough to remember going to the orphanage, but not old enough to understand why their father had to take them there. Lizzie and Porter both remained at the institution for at least a year.[260]

While the quitclaims affected children by legally removing them from their parents' influence, indentures affected children at the WOFS by sending them from the orphanage to live with a new family. Between 1875 and 1885, the WOFS "bound out" 152 children by agreeing that these children would work for an adult (or a family) in exchange for room and board. The WOFS indenture contracts stated that the adult guardian would receive the child's "service and custody during said period, which by the

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[258] Ibid., p. 36. Charles Loring Brace's ideology that children needed to be removed from the "'contaminating influence' of their families" was felt by the visitors to the WOFS. The emphasis on order, cleanliness, and good government is apparent in the comments. Gish, "Rescuing the 'Waifs and Strays' of the City," 121.

[259] Quit Claim record for Lizzie and Porter Burkhart, BV 3688, p. 109; CBIR, IHS.

[260] Lizzie and Porter still appear in the admission records a year after their father brought them to the WOFS. Record of Children Admitted, 1871 – 1881, BV 3676, p. 156 and 157; CBIR, IHS.

laws of the State a master has over an indentured apprentice."[261] The contracts also identified the responsibilities of the adult. The society required the new guardian to "carefully keep and rear" the child; "provide for [him/her] in sickness and health"; and "supply [him/her] with suitable food and clothing."[262] In addition to these vital necessities, the indentured child's new guardian must "teach [him/her] to read and write the English language, and to know and practice the general rules of arithmetic."[263] Thus, in addition to providing for the child's physical needs, adult guardians had to educate an indentured child as well. In an ideal setting, the child would also learn "some useful trade or occupation," but only if the guardian "deemed [it] best."[264]

The 152 indenture records provide a glimpse of a WOFS policy that sent children all over the Midwest.[265] Some of the children stayed in Indianapolis once indentured, but the majority moved out of the city, out of Marion County, and some even moved out of Indiana with their new guardian(s). Of the 152 children indentured from the WOFS, 29 were indentured to individuals who lived within Indianapolis. In different terms, less than one fifth of the indentured children (19%) stayed in the city. One Indianapolis resident, Levi S. Burnham, signed an indenture contract for a five-year-old girl. Born on June 13,

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[261] Indenture records, BV 3687; CBIR, IHS.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Ibid.
[265] While only 152 indenture contracts remain, evidence indicates that this policy was practiced on a larger scale than the surviving records show. In 1884, John S. Tarkington—the lawyer for the WOFS—prepared a pre-typed, fill-in form for the WOFS to use whenever a child left the asylum (through adoption, indenture, or any other means). He sent a letter admonishing the Board of Managers to use this new form to keep better records, stating that the only written records kept by the asylum when a child left were the indenture papers. Tarkington asserted that even the indenture records were not representative of how many children left the asylum because "One half the persons who take children neglect or refuse to execute indentures." In other words, adults took children without leaving a written record of an indenture contract! Tarkington's statement indicates that the 152 indentures are a sample of what was likely hundreds of indentures. Indenturing children from the WOFS was not a one-time policy that only lasted for a decade. Rather, the policy of indenturing children spanned multiple decades and likely involved several hundred children (if not more). Letter from John Tarkington to WOFS, July 1, 1884, BV 3679; CBIR, IHS.

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1872, Margaret Ellen Hadden came to the orphanage sometime before January 1878.[266] On January 10, 1878, Levi Burnham took Margaret to his residence at 172 Broadway, roughly two miles southeast of the orphanage's location at 711 N. Tennessee Avenue (what is today the corner of Capitol Avenue and Fourteenth Streets).[267] He also promised to give Margaret "a bed and bedding and two suits of good clothes" once she reached the age of 18.[268]

While Margaret remained in the city, the majority of the children who left the WOFS through an indenture did not stay. Eighty-one percent (123 out of 152) of the children were indentured to individuals (or couples) who lived outside of Indianapolis. A small number of children (14 of 152, approximately 9%) left the city but remained within Marion County (see figure 2.1). Alice Pittman, for example, went to live with and work for a man in Southport, an area roughly ten miles south of the city (and on the southern border of the county). James McNutt promised the twelve-year-old Alice fifteen dollars and "two good suits of clothing and a bed and bedding" when she turned 18.[269] Six days after taking Alice from the WOFS, James McNutt traveled the ten miles back to the institution (on a winter day in early January) to sign an indenture for another child. McNutt returned to Southport with four-year-old Henry Eut. Henry had been brought to the orphanage on October 31, 1876, a week after Anna and Mary Eut arrived.[270] Two months later, the society indentured him to James McNutt.

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[266] The indenture record for Margaret lists her birthday and age, but unfortunately, it is unknown when she came to the WOFS—the inconsistent admission documents do not record when the child was brought to the orphanage. Indenture for Margaret Hadden, BV 3687, p. 41; CBIR, IHS.

[267] R. L. Polk & Co., *R. L. Polk & Co.'s Indianapolis City Directory*, 153 and 146.

[268] Indenture record for Margaret Hadden, BV 3687, p. 41; CBIR, IHS.

[269] Indenture record for Alice Pittman, BV 3687, p. 29; CBIR, IHS.

[270] The records do not say, but Anna and Mary were probably Henry's sisters or cousins. Anna and Mary arrived at the WOFS together on October 24, 1876. The two girls stop appearing in the admission ledger by

The aspect of the WOFS indenture policy that perhaps affected children the most was when a child moved from the institution to a rural setting. The majority of the children who left the WOFS through an indenture—potentially as many as eighty percent—moved from the developing and growing city to a rural setting (see figure 2.1). According to Birk, indenturing children to a farmer was the preferred option because the child would learn the values of hard work and integrity.[271] Thus, the majority of the WOFS children were indentured to individuals in rural settings. However, by the end of the century, issues of abuse and neglect crept into public knowledge, causing reformers to evaluate the system.[272] Placement in a rural setting was ripe for these issues to develop because organizations (like the WOFS) did not have the resources to follow up on indentures or correspond with children about how they were treated. The preference for rural placements "made placed-out children exceptionally vulnerable."[273]

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December 1876, but there are no records for where they went. Record of Children Admitted, 1871 – 1881, BV 3676, p. 153 and 155; CBIR, IHS.

[271] See Birk, chapter 1, "The Rural Ideal," in *Fostering on the Farm*, 17-42.

[272] According to Birk, "abuse, neglect, and overwork all emerged as serious and problematic issues facing advocates of free placement homes because they refuted the notions on which rural placement was based." Birk, *Fostering on the Farm*, 80.

[273] Ibid., 103.

Figure 2.1. Location of WOFS indenture placements.[274]



**Location of WOFS Indentures**

(Bar chart — Y-axis: NUMBER OF CHILDREN, 0 to 100; X-axis: LOCATION)
- Indianapolis: 29
- Marion County: 14
- All other Indiana counties: 93
- Out of State: 16
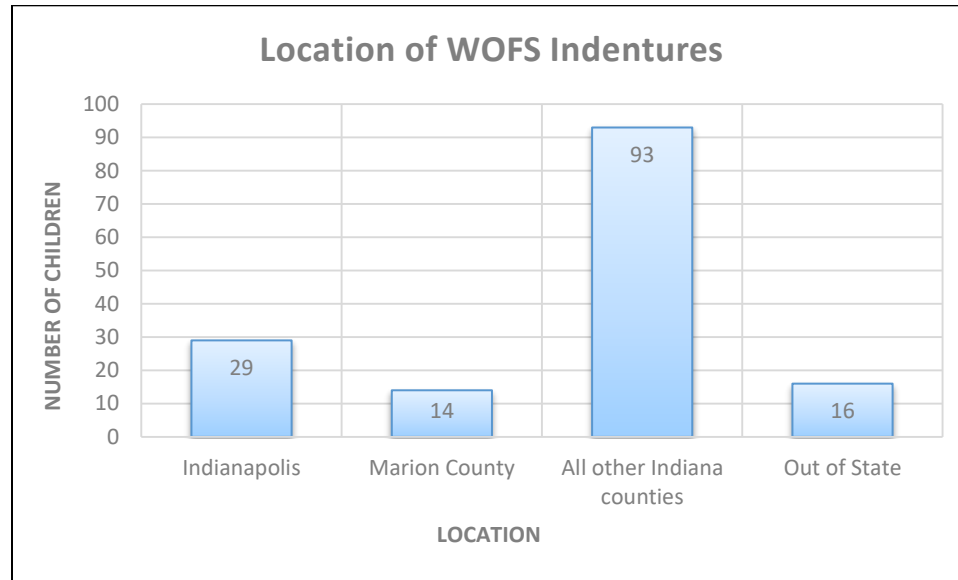
While many children were placed out to individuals who used them only for their labor, some Indiana men and women actually used the indenture system to adopt a child. Taken at face value, the WOFS indenture documents do not indicate that the system was also used as a means to adopt—the records merely state that the new guardian received the child's service in exchange for room and board. However, census records reveal that some adults actually adopted the children for whom they had previously signed indentures. Margaret Hadden for example—who was indentured to Levi Burnham in 1878—appears in the 1880 census as Nellie Burnham, Levi (and his wife Lydia's) seven-year-old daughter.[275]

The story of Arthur and Daisy Branham is similar to Margaret's. In January 1880, the WOFS secretary recorded that "Harriett Branham gave a quitclaim to her 2 children Arthur & Daisy Branham, born Sept 8th, 1878, twins. Mother destitute and unable to care

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[274] The WOFS indenture contracts always listed where an adult guardian lived. I compiled this information into the four categories listed on the chart. Indentures, BV 3687; CBIR, IHS.

[275] 1880 U.S. census, Marion County, Indiana, population schedule, Indianapolis, p. 35, dwelling 244, family 253, Nellie Burnham; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com.

for them properly."[276] The Branham twins were only fifteen months old at the time. In March 1880, Henry C. Long, an Indianapolis resident who operated a lumber yard in the city, signed an indenture contract and took both of the Branham twins to his home at 351 North New Jersey Street. Henry and his wife Sarah had been married since 1870 but they had no children until Arthur and Daisy came to their home.[277] In the 1880 census (which was taken three months after Henry took the children from the WOFS), Arthur and Daisy were listed as Henry W. Long and Alice N. Long, Henry and Sarah's son and daughter.[278] Although he had signed an indenture contract, Henry and his wife wasted no time in changing the children's names and treating them as their own. By 1900, Henry W. (Arthur) was married, owned his own home, and worked in an Indianapolis lumber yard, undoubtedly the same lumber yard his adopted father, Henry C., operated. Alice (Daisy) was living at home and attending school in 1900. She married in 1905.[279]

There are multiple other examples of children who seem to have been indentured by the WOFS but in practice were adopted by men and women.[280] However, there are

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[276] Notes on Children, 1877-1882, BV 3677, p. 33. CBIR, IHS.

[277] The 1900 census lists Henry and Sarah's marriage year as 1870. It is highly likely that Henry and Sarah (after eight years of marriage) would have already had biological children in 1878. The fact that they did not indicates that the couple perhaps could not have biological children which is why they adopted Arthur/Henry and Daisy/Alice. 1900 U.S. census, Marion County, Indiana, population schedule, Indianapolis, p. 4B, dwelling 91, family 91, Henry C. and Sarah C. N. Long; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com.

[278] 1880 U.S. census, Marion County, Indiana, population schedule, Indianapolis, p. 4, dwelling 49, family 37, Alice N. and Henry W. Long; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com.

[279] 1880 U.S. census, Marion County, Indiana, population schedule, Indianapolis, p. 4, dwelling 49, family 37, Alice N. and Henry W. Long; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com.
1900 U.S. census, Marion County, Indiana, population schedule, Indianapolis, p. 4B, dwelling 91, family 91, Henry C. and Sarah C. N. Long; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com.
Indiana, Select Marriages Index, 1748-1993, Alice N. Long; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com.

[280] Ora Merriman was indentured to Andrew and Louisa Lower in 1875 at 19 months old, but he is listed in the 1880 census as their "A. son"—shorthand for *adopted* son. His last name was changed to Lower and he grew up with the family in Hendricks County (1880 U.S. census, Marion County, Indiana, population

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just as many examples of children who truly were indentured from the institution. Jacob L. Toner signed an indenture contract for eleven-year-old Katie Smith on August 5, 1879. He agreed to give her "a good bed with bedding and two suits of good cloths" along with ten dollars when she turned 18.[281] In the 1880 census, Katie was listed as the Toner's servant.[282] This was not the first time that Jacob and Melinda Toner had kept a servant. Ten years earlier, seventeen-year-old Jennie McDonald was listed as the family's domestic servant in the 1870 census.[283] Mary LeDuke's story is not much different— except that Mary was indentured twice from the institution. In 1876, Josiah L. Burton from Martinsville signed an indenture for the eight-year-old Mary, but he returned her to the WOFS less than two months later and argued that returning her within two months should "annul this indenture."[284] Mary was at the orphanage less than a year before she was indentured again, this time to William H. and Ellen E. Graham from Newton County.

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schedule, Indianapolis, p. 6, dwelling 52, family 52, Ora C. Lower; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com). Jessie Galleher was indentured to John and Mary Dawson in 1878 at the age of 13 months. The Dawsons changed her name to Emma Dawson and listed her in the 1880 census as their adopted daughter "taken from orphans home [in] Indianapolis" (1880 U.S. census, Clinton County, Indiana, population schedule, Perry Township, p. 13, dwelling 130, family 135, Emma J. Dawson; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com). Some couples even came from out of state to adopt from the WOFS. Charles and Margaret Jarrell came from Dayton, Ohio, and signed an indenture for Charles Wilmot-Carson in 1877. Three years later, in the 1880 census, the couple had changed the boy's last name to their own and listed him as their son (Indenture record for Charles Wilmot-Carson, BV 3687, p. 31; CBIR, M0983, IHS; and 1880 U.S. census, Montgomery County, Ohio, population schedule, Dayton, p. 18, dwelling 164, family 181, Chas. Jarrell; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com).

[281] Indenture record for Katie Smith, BV 3687, p. 60; CBIR, IHS.

[282] 1880 U.S. census, Johnson County, Indiana, population schedule, Edinburgh, p.30, dwelling 299, family 321, Katie Smith; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com.

[283] 1870 U.S. census, Johnson County, Indiana, population schedule, Blue River Township, p. 38, dwelling 281, family 316, Jennie McDonald; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com.

[284] Indenture record for Mary LeDuke, BV 3687, p. 17; CBIR, IHS.

Three years later, in 1880, Mary still lived with the Grahams and was listed in the census as their servant.[285]

Like the examples of children who were adopted through the indenture system, there are numerous examples of children who were truly indentured through the system.[286] Although tracking individuals through the population census presents several difficulties, the census provides information on what happened to the children once they left the WOFS, while the indenture contracts simply give demographic information and dates.

While the census records are invaluable in discovering what happened to children when they left the WOFS, the demographic information contained in the indenture records provides valuable information on the institution's policy as well as nineteenth-century views on indenture and adoption. For example, the records indicate a preference for girls over boys, even though there were more boys available to be indentured/adopted from the Indianapolis institution. Of the 152 WOFS indentures, 91 of the children (sixty percent) were female, and 61 of the children (forty percent) were male. This number is not representative of the ratio of girls to boys at the WOFS, for, during the same timeframe, there were significantly more boys than girls at the asylum. Throughout the

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[285] Indenture record for Mary LeDuke, BV 3687, p. 33 CBIR, IHS. 1880 U.S. census, Newton County, Indiana, population schedule, Jefferson Township, p. 13, dwelling 144, family 150, Mary L. LaDuke; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com.

[286] Belle Draper is listed as Peter and Caroline Zurbrigg's servant in the 1880 census (1880 U.S. census, Bartholomew County, Indiana, population schedule, Columbus Township, p. 17, dwelling 154, family 160, Belle Draper; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com). Anna Bell Gershner is listed as W. H. and Sarah Bussell's boarder (1880 U.S. census, Hamilton County, Indiana, population schedule, Clay Township, p. 27, dwelling 242, family 252, [Anna] Bell Gershner; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com). Lula Jane Coover is listed as Martin and Eleanor Deck's ward, probably because she was only five years old and not old enough yet to work (1880 U.S. census, Macon County, Illinois, population schedule, Oakley, p. 8, dwelling 62, family 62, Lula J. Deck; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com).

1870s, there was an average of sixteen more boys than girls per month at the WOFS. In 1878, the average number of girls per month at the asylum was less than half of the number of boys (see figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2. Average number of girls and boys at the WOFS.[287]
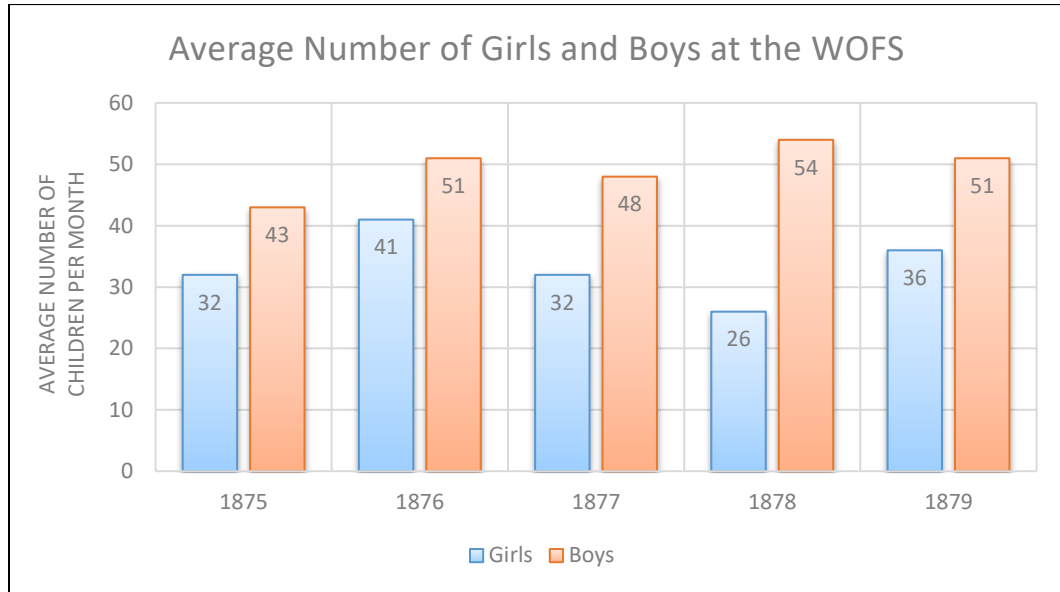


Intriguingly, the number of boys and girls indentured does not reflect the number of boys and girls at the asylum—if anything, it is the opposite.

In 1878 for example, fifteen children were indentured with the number of boys indentured drastically lower than the number of girls. In 1878—a year when there was an average of twenty-eight more boys than girls per month (see figure 2.2)—four of the fifteen children indentured (27%) were boys. The remaining eleven children (73%) were girls. Despite the much higher percentage of boys at the asylum, a higher number of girls were indentured.

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[287] Record of Children Admitted, 1871 – 1881, BV 3676; CBIR, IHS. The asylum admission records from the 1870s list the number of boys and girls at the asylum each month. Using the numbers from each month, I calculated what the average was for each year and used the results to make this chart.

The higher number of girls indentured could be because adult guardians had to give boys more money when they completed their indentures.[288] With the WOFS indentures, boys almost always received $100 to $150 upon completion of their indentures, while girls received $5, $10, $25, $50, or simply a bed, bedding, and two suits of clothing.[289] Lizzie Young Conversa was one year old when she was indentured on April 12, 1876. The WOFS agreed to indenture her for the next seventeen years, with only the promise of five dollars and "a good bed and bedding and two suits of suitable clothing" at the end of her indenture.[290] According to the contracts, boys were indentured until the age of twenty-one while girls were indentured until the age of eighteen (or until they got married). This could be another reason why adult guardians preferred girls over boys—they did not have to commit to caring for a girl as long as they had to commit to caring for a boy.[291]

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[288] The WOFS records do not provide evidence of a reason for why more girls were *adopted* than boys, only why more girls were *indentured* than boys. Since the WOFS indenture system was used as a means for both adoption and indenture, it is impossible to determine which children were adopted and which were indentured without tracking every child through the population census. Because the majority of the 1890 census was destroyed in a 1921 fire, it is impossible to track all 152 children in the population census. Therefore, my argument in these paragraphs is an explanation for why more girls than boys would have been *indentured*. Kellee Blake, "First in the Path of the Firemen: The Fate of the 1890 Population Census, Part 1."

[289] There are a few examples of girls receiving as much as $100 when they finished their indentures. However, these are exceptions. Of the 91 girls indentured, only 19 were promised $100. Of the 61 boys indentured, 55 were promised $100 or $150.

[290] Indenture record for Lizzie Young Conversa, BV 3687, p. 21; CBIR, IHS.

[291] Birk, *Fostering on the Farm*, 37. Birk argues that the preference for indentured girls over boys could also be due to nineteenth-century notions of gender and masculinity. According to Birk, "While boys helped as physical laborers, farmers and their wives wanted girls who could assist with housework. Placed-out girls often performed jobs identical to those of the women of the house." These jobs included "making breakfast before moving on to tasks such as laundry, ironing, mending, cooking, and farm chores such as milking, caring for chickens, gardening, or aiding in field work." So, while boys only helped with farm work, girls helped with housework *and* farm work. Because of notions of gender responsibilities and masculinity, it is extremely unlikely that a boy would have helped with laundry, cooking, or cleaning. However, a girl could help with gardening, field work, milking, and caring for animals *in addition* to laundry, cooking, and cleaning. It comes as no surprise then that adult guardians preferred indentured girls over indentured boys, since they did not have to provide for girls as long; they did not have to pay girls as much (if anything!); and they could use girls to work in both the house *and* on the farm.

Of the 152 children indentured from the WOFS between 1875 and 1885, the average age was seven years old. However, this average does not reflect the extremely young ages that the WOFS indentured children. Twenty-six of the 152 children indentured (seventeen percent) were aged two years old or *younger* (see figure 2.3). Goldy Star was a newborn baby when the WOFS indentured her to Thomas Hackleman in Knightstown, Indiana—she was four days old.[292] Charles Kibben was not much older—the WOFS indentured him when he was only eighteen days old.[293] Nearly a third of the children were aged five years old or younger when they were indentured—50 of 152 (thirty-three percent).

Figure 2.3. Ages of children when indentured from WOFS.[294]



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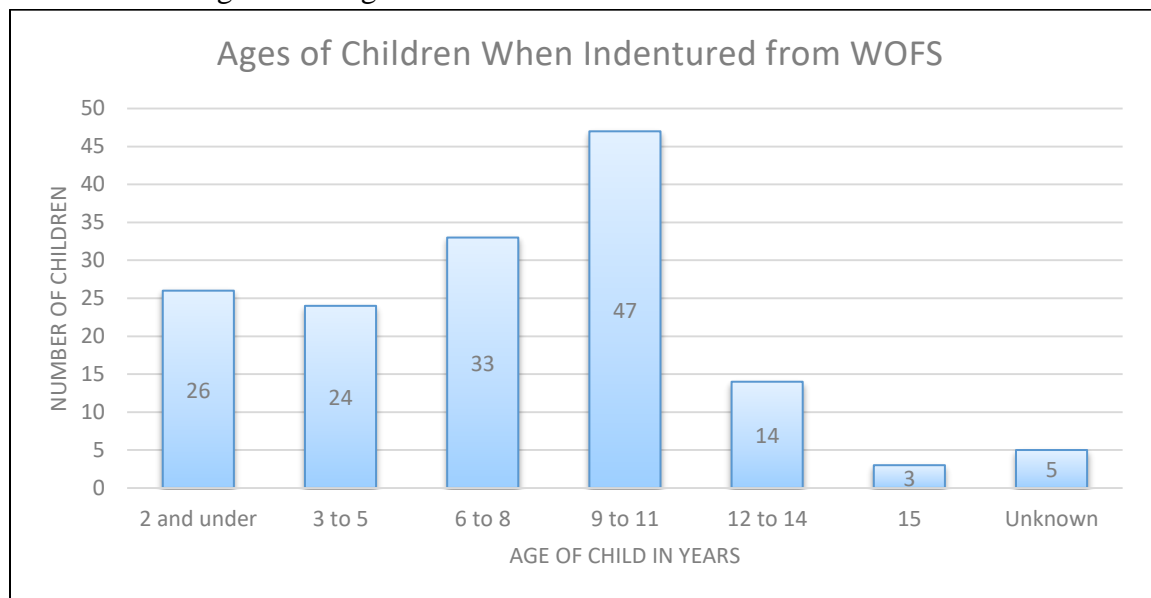
[292] Indenture record for Goldy Star, BV 3687, p. 126; CBIR, IHS.
[293] Indenture record for Charles Kibben, BV 3687, p. 92; CBIR, IHS.
[294] Indentures, BV 3687; CBIR, IHS. Each indenture contract (with minor exceptions) includes the age of the child when he/she was indentured by the asylum. I used these records to examine the ages of the children and compile this chart.

Although the majority of the children indentured from the WOFS (97 of 152—sixty-four percent) were over the age of six, the WOFS indentured a significant number of young children, toddlers, and newborn infants.

During the same time that Indianapolis residents started benevolent institutions to help those with physical and mental impairments, Indianapolis citizens created a benevolent society to help widows and orphans. From its small beginning in 1849 to its overcrowded years during the 1870s, the benevolent institution saw hundreds of children pass through its doors. Due to the work of the society—mainly through quitclaims and indentures—and the individuals who kept it going, hundreds of Indiana children were given a new life, some for the better and some for the worse. Ultimately, by the 1870s, the WOFS transformed into a society that worked to "save" Hoosier children from the influences of destitute parents and disorderly environments.

By the 1870s, Indiana had undergone tremendous change, Indianapolis had changed, and the WOFS had changed. The state experienced the transportation boom with railroads—not only did it allow Hoosiers to travel more easily around the state, but it connected the state to the rest of the country. According to Thornbrough, "In 1850 there were only about two hundred miles of completed track in the state. By 1880 there was a network of over four thousand miles, reaching into almost every county and connecting Indiana with both the east and west coast."[295] For Indianapolis, the emergence of railroads directly affected the city by enabling more and more people to travel to the state capital and make the city their permanent home. The Civil War also impacted the

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[295] Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era,* 318.

state and the city, as thousands of individuals left the state and thousands more passed through on their way to the bloody battlefields.

In addition to changing the state and the city, the railroad boom and the Civil War both changed the WOFS by causing greater numbers of children to need its services. The death of many of the founders of the benevolent organization changed the institution as well. Many of the founders of the society were middle-aged when they founded the institution in 1849. Jane Morris, the inaugural president of the society, died in 1877. Both Calvin and Sarah Fletcher had already preceded Jane in death, Sarah succumbing to a severe sickness in 1854 and Calvin in 1866. Caroline Harrison had also died sometime prior to 1865, and her husband Alfred died in 1891. Mary Sheets outlived her husband by nearly twenty years, but she died in 1892. By 1892, all of the founding members of the WOFS had died, and a new generation of Indianapolis leaders took their place.[296]

Hannah Hadley, an Elder in the Quaker church, became the president of the WOFS in 1863 at the age of 37.[297] For the next two decades, she led the WOFS, signed hundreds of indenture contracts for children in the asylum, updated the Indianapolis community on the institution's development, and worked to start a similar orphanage for destitute African American children. According to Dunn, African American children were not admitted to the orphanage in the late 1860s, but Hadley "initiated the movement for a colored orphan asylum."[298] The efforts of the new president of the twenty-year-old

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[296] By the time of Mary Sheet's death in 1892, almost all "of those who can properly be called old citizens" had died. "The City in Olden Times," *Indianapolis News*, November 12, 1892, p. 8.

[297] Hannah Hadley resigned from the presidency in 1884 after "more than twenty years" filling that position. She likely became president of the institution in 1863 (Mrs. C. G. Perkins was president in 1862). Born in 1826, Hannah was 37 years old in 1863. "Hannah T. Hadley Dead," *Indianapolis News*, November 14, 1898, p. 8. "Indianapolis Orphan Society," *Indianapolis Star*, May 20, 1862, p. 3.

[298] Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, vol. I, 627.

WOFS ultimately resulted in the creation of Indiana's first and only orphanage for

African American children.

Chapter Three: "It was thought best to meet with the colored people:" A Case Study of the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children

On a chilly November day in 1871, an Indianapolis woman brought her five-year-old son, Isaac Abbott, to the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children. She signed a quitclaim—relinquishing her parental rights—and left her son at the orphanage. Three months later, she returned with a baby girl, Isaac's sister, whom she also left at the asylum. On February 21, after thirteen days at the institution, the baby girl was returned to her mother.[299] Isaac, however ate, slept, learned, and played in the orphanage with the other children for the next year. When he first arrived, there were only six other children in the orphanage. On October 13, 1872, after eleven months in the asylum, Isaac went to live with Emma Wiggins of Indianapolis.[300]

Isaac Abbott and his baby sister are two of more than 3,000 children who lived at the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children between 1871 and 1922.[301] Immediately following the Civil War, the Widows and Orphans Friends' Society (WOFS) was the only orphanage in the city. The war caused an increased number of dependent children in the city, so by 1867, members of the Indianapolis German community started an orphanage, the German General Protestant Orphans Home.[302] Although the city now had two orphanages, there were no institutions for African American children. In 1869, under the direction of Hannah Hadley, the WOFS paid for

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[299] It is unclear whether the mother came for the child or the officers of the institution returned her to the mother. The records do not say.

[300] *Admission Record Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children, 1871-1900*, 1. Board of Managers Meeting Minutes, BV 1502, p. 6; IAFCCR, IHS.

[301] Cowger, "Custodians of Social Justice," 109. Thomas Cowger, "Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis,* 766.

[302] For further reading on the German Protestant Orphans Home, see Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 383; Richard W. Smith, "Pleasant Run Children's Homes," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* 1119; and Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 95-96. The name of the institution changed in 1971 to the Pleasant Run Children's Home.

"the board of a colored child," but did not admit the child into the institution.[303] According to Dunn, the WOFS did not admit African American children, so Hannah "initiated the movement for a colored orphan asylum."[304] As a result, Hannah's husband, William, and several other Quaker couples established the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children (IAFCC).

An examination of the IAFCC, especially regarding how the children left the institution, reveals the story of Indiana parents who had far more agency in deciding their children's future than parents connected to the WOFS. From the outset, Quaker couples sought the input of the African American community when they determined to establish an orphanage specifically for African American children. Likely modeled after the city's twenty-year-old orphanage, the WOFS, the IAFCC garnered funding from similar sources, emphasized education/learning a skill in the same way, and followed similar indenture and quitclaim policies. However, unlike the WOFS, the IAFCC allowed parents to have much more control over when their child left the institution. The IAFCC served as the city's first—and only—orphanage for African American children, but it also doubled as a childcare facility that allowed desperate parents to ensure their children had room and board.

Historian Jessie B. Ramey explored this concept of orphanages as childcare facilities in her 2012 book *Child Care in Black and White: Working Parents and the History of Orphanages.* In this work, Ramey provides "the first full-length comparative study of black and white child care in the United States" by comparing two orphanages in

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[303] Accounts, 1860-1880, BV 3657, p. 97, 99, 101; CBIR, IHS.
[304] Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, vol. I, 627.

Pittsburgh at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.[305] Ramey debunked the common misconception that children in orphanages had no living parents. Sharing the story of her own great-great grandfather (who, after the death of his wife, placed his children temporarily in a Pittsburgh orphanage), Ramey explained "that the vast majority of 'orphans' in orphanages at the turn of the last century actually had one or even two living parents."[306] Ramey compared two orphanages in Pittsburgh—the United Presbyterian Orphan's Home and the Home for Colored Children—to show that many parents, particularly working-class parents, used orphanages during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries as temporary childcare institutions. The IAFCC records confirm Ramey's argument that parents utilized orphanages in order to keep their children fed and clothed when they were unable to provide these needs themselves.[307]

Unlike the WOFS, a single religious denomination operated the IAFCC from its beginning until the state assumed control of the institution in 1922. Members of the Society of Friends founded the benevolent organization, managed the institution, and financially supported the asylum. Dating from seventeenth-century England, the Society of Friends was a religious group whose members (commonly known as Quakers or Friends) were known for "their plain style of living, and their belief in the 'Inward Light'—that each soul had a certain measure of divine light that, if heeded, would lead to salvation."[308] A plain, quiet lifestyle and the doctrine of Inner Light are not the only aspects of Quakerism that have interested scholars. The Quakers' long history of

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[305] Ramey states in her introduction that she examines the years 1878 to 1929. Ramey, *Child Care in Black and White*, 1-2.
[306] Ibid., 1
[307] Ibid., 1.
[308] Thomas Hamm, "Society of Friends (Quakers)," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 1276.

advocating for African Americans has led some historians to "describe Quakers as America's first abolitionists."[309] Although many likely viewed African Americans as inferior, Quakers in general were far more egalitarian than many other individuals or religious groups in the United States. The Friends in Indianapolis were no different, evidenced by their care for poor African American children.[310]

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Quakers from Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia migrated to Indiana and Ohio, some arriving in Indiana as early as 1806.[311] In 1821, the same year that settlers moved to Indianapolis, Quakers began settling in Plainfield, Indiana. By 1853, as the area increased in population, the White Lick Monthly Meeting established a meeting at Plainfield with a group forming in Indianapolis in 1855.[312] In 1858, the Society of Friends established the Western Yearly Meeting, a group that included all the meetings from central and western Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa.[313] In a little over a decade, the Western Yearly Meeting became crucial to the establishment of the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children.

The daughter of Joel and Elizabeth Wright, Hannah Taylor Wright, was born in Fayette County, Indiana, on February 2, 1826. William Hadley, the son of John and

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[309] Badertscher, "Organized Charity and the Civic Ideal in Indianapolis," 96.

[310] The Friends in Indianapolis were not the first group of Quakers to establish an orphanage for African American children. According to Hacsi, "in the 1830s, two Quaker women founded the Association for the Benefit of the Colored Orphan in New York City after learning that none of the city's institutions would accept two black orphans they were trying to help." Hacsi, *Second Home*, 27.

[311] Willard Heiss, *A Brief History of Western Yearly Meeting of Conservative Friends and the Separation of 1877* (Indianapolis: John Woolman Press, 1963), 1.

[312] Ibid., 2. Thomas Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 13. Thomas Hamm, "Society of Friends (Quakers)," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 1276.

[313] Heiss, *A Brief History of Western Yearly Meeting of Conservative Friends and the Separation of 1877*, 2. The Western Yearly Meeting of Friends oversaw all of the quarterly meetings in western Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa. The quarterly meetings oversaw monthly meetings. The Indianapolis Monthly Meeting of Friends, for example, reported to the Plainfield Quarterly Meeting of Friends, which reported to the Western Yearly Meeting of Friends.

Hannah Hadley, was born in North Carolina on June 30, 1823. In 1848, Hannah Wright and John Hadley married and moved with their two small children to Indianapolis in 1853.[314] Although it was the state's capitol, Indianapolis was still a small town with a close-knit community of settlers. Almost immediately, William and Hannah contributed to the religious environment of the city—in 1854, a year after coming to Indianapolis, they held meetings for the Society of Friends in their home because the denomination did not have a building.[315] They also became involved with the Plainfield Quarterly Meeting of Friends. William served as a correspondent for the Western Yearly Meeting, and Hannah became an elder in the church.[316]

Whether from personal conviction or because they involved themselves in the Quaker church, William and Hannah took an interest in the city's African American community. Even before the Civil War when the African American population in Indianapolis was small, Hannah "took an active part in caring for the colored people of the city."[317] In 1863, Hannah became the president of the WOFS, and the orphanage paid to board a destitute African American child in 1869. A year later, the IAFCC was officially established. Although Hannah was never an officer for the institution (likely because she was president of the city's already-existing orphanage), William was one of

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[314] Microfilm reel 1611; Society of Friends Records, 1803-1962, IHS. "Hannah T. Hadley Dead," *Indianapolis News*, November 14, 1898, p. 8.
[315] Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, vol. I, 626.
[316] William G. Hubbard, ed., *Book of Meetings: Containing an Account of the Times and Places of Holding the Meetings of the Society of Friends in America, Together with a List of Recorded Ministers in London and in American Yearly Meetings* (New Vienna, Ohio: 1878), 111. "Hannah T. Hadley Dead," *Indianapolis News*, November 14, 1898, p. 8. Hannah's obituary also described her as an "Elder" in the Friends church.
[317] "Hannah T. Hadley Dead," *Indianapolis News*, November 14, 1898, p. 8.

the founding members of the IAFCC's board of directors and he remained in that role for over a decade.[318]

William and Hannah were not the only Quaker couple who founded and managed the IAFCC—several other Quaker husbands and wives directed the institution. William and Mary Pyle worked with the orphanage from its beginning. Described as "an active worker for charitable institutions in Indianapolis," Mary T. Pyle devoted decades of her life to her church and the orphanage for African American children.[319] Born in New York City in 1824, Mary and William moved to Indianapolis in 1863. At the time of her death in 1916, she "was the oldest member of the First Firends' [sic] church" and had "served as an elder for more than forty years."[320] She was one of the founding members of the IAFCC and served as the secretary of the institution for over thirty-five years, faithfully recording the business of the institution in the monthly meeting minutes and writing a portion of the asylum's annual reports.[321] Like his wife, William L. Pyle was involved in the Quaker church and the IAFCC for multiple decades. Described as a "pioneer of Indianapolis," the "Father of the Western Yearly Meeting," and "devoted to church and charity work," William was the treasurer, the clerk, and on multiple committees for the Western Yearly Meeting and was "noted for his knowledge of church law and church

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[318] William was on the Board of Directors until at least 1883 and likely until his death in the spring of 1889. In the 1890 annual report, the officers of the society wrote, "We meet this nineteenth anniversary under the shadow of a cloud because of the death of our late Pres. William Hadley, who had been solicitoris for this institution for so many years." The secretary used the term "solicitoris" to commend Hadley's work in soliciting funds for the institution. Board of Managers Meeting Minutes, BV 1503, p. 95; IAFCCR, IHS. "The Colored Orphan Asylum," *Indianapolis News*, March 22, 1883, p. 3. "Colored Orphan Asylum Board," *Indianapolis News*, April 30, 1890, p. 1.
[319] "Mrs. May Pyle, Age 92, Charity Worker, Is Dead," *Indianapolis News*, September 5, 1916, p. 1.
[320] Ibid.
[321] Board of Managers Meeting Minutes, BV 1502, p. 1-2; IAFCCR, IHS. "Election of Officers," *Indianapolis News*, March 15, 1906, p. 14.

custom and this made him a parliamentary authority at the yearly meeting."[322] In addition to his work with the Society of Friends, William was on the orphanage's Board of Directors for over three decades—from its inception in 1870 to his death in 1907.[323]

Several other Quaker couples pioneered the work of the IAFCC and operated the institution for decades. Mary Carter was the asylum's first treasurer and served from 1871 to 1880. During this same period, her husband, John Carter, was on the Board of Directors.[324] Carrie E. B. Evans was the orphanage's first corresponding secretary and served in that position until 1878, at which time she became one of the institution's vice-presidents. Altogether, Carrie was an officer for over two decades, from 1871 until 1892. Her husband, Joseph R. Evans, joined the Board of Directors in 1876 and served until 1892.[325] Similarly, Esther Blair was one of the first vice-presidents and filled that role until her husband's death in 1879. Her husband, Solomon Blair, was on the Board of Directors from its beginning until his death.[326]

Although her husband was never an officer for the IAFCC, one of the most dedicated women to work with the institution was its first president, Jane Trueblood. Born in 1818, Trueblood came to Indianapolis in 1862 and, according to Dunn, "was an

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[322] *Minutes of Western Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held at Plainfield, Hendricks County, Indiana* (Indianapolis: John G. Doughty, Printer, 1873), 51 and 69. "Father of Western Yearly Meeting Dead," *Indianapolis News*, April 5, 1907, p. 7. "Breaks Burial Lot Vacant 43 Years," *Indianapolis Star*, April 6, 1907, p. 3.

[323] Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch of the Railroad City*, 198. "Election of Officers," *Indianapolis News*, March 15, 1906, p. 14. "Death Came to Leading Friend," *Richmond Item*, April 6, 1907, p. 3. Pyle was elected to the yearlong position in March 1906 and died in April 1907 just as his year on the Board of Directors concluded.

[324] Board of Managers Meeting Minutes, BV 1502, p. 2 and 118; IAFCCR, IHS. "Colored Orphans," *Indianapolis News*, May 12, 1879, p. 4.

[325] Board of Managers Meeting Minutes, BV 1502, p. 2; IAFCCR, IHS. "Colored Waifs," *Indianapolis News*, March 15, 1876, p. 2. "Colored Orphans' Home," *Indianapolis Journal*, March 20, 1892, p. 8.

[326] Board of Managers Meeting Minutes, BV 1502, p. 2; IAFCCR, IHS. "Colored Orphans," *Indianapolis News*, May 12, 1879, p. 4.

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efficient minister for 30 years in the Indianapolis [Friends'] church."[327] For twenty years, Trueblood was president of the IAFCC—she led the institution from its inception, was reelected every year to the position of president, wrote detailed reports each year for the asylum's annual meetings, and represented the institution at public events. She spoke with Sulgrove about the orphanage when he wrote his entry on the organization for his *History of Indianapolis and Marion County, Indiana* in 1884, and she always kept the Indianapolis Benevolent Society and the wider network of charities apprised of the institution's work.[328] At the age of 73, she was reelected president of the organization but died before the completion of the year.[329] The remaining IAFCC officers adopted resolutions, "expressions of sympathy with the bereaved family of our loved sister and co-worker . . . who so earnestly and faithfully served as President of the Board of Managers of the Home for Friendless Colored Children" and who "labored for the homeless and friendless."[330] The officers later described Trueblood as "a warm and sympathetic friend" to the children and "a faithful and prayerful adviser" to the institution's Board of Managers."[331] Trueblood's dedication to the orphanage and to the poor and destitute left a lasting impression on her fellow officers.

When Trueblood first became president of the IAFCC in 1871, she worked with fourteen other women and ten men, all members of the Quaker church. The individuals

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[327] Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, vol. I, 627.

[328] For Sulgrove's entry and Trueblood's comments, see Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 383. "Charity Here at Home," *Indianapolis News*, December 2, 1889, p. 2. *Year Book of Charities, 1889-1890: Addresses Given on Phases of Charity at the Fifty-Fourth Anniversary of the Indianapolis Benevolent Society, Also Reports of the Indianapolis Benevolent Society, Charity Organization Society, Dime Savings and Loan Association, and Others*, (Indianapolis: Baker-Randolph Litho. and Eng. Co., 1891), xxxii, 47-48.

[329] Trueblood died on August 8, 1891, a few months after being reelected president of the IAFCC. "Deaths," *Indianapolis News*, August 12, 1891, p. 6.

[330] Board of Managers Meeting Minutes, BV 1503, p. 106-107; IAFCCR, IHS.

[331] *Year Book of Charities, 1889-1890*, 47-48.

who operated the home consisted of a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, a matron, and "a Board of Women Managers who directed the daily activities of the asylum and a male Board of Directors who managed the home's finances."[332]

In the years between 1860 and 1870, the African American population in Indiana doubled while the population in Indianapolis more than quadrupled. According to Thornbrough, "between 1860 and 1870 the colored population [in Indiana] increased from 11,428 to 24,560."[333] In Indianapolis, the smaller number of African American individuals meant that the city experienced a greater increase. In fact, "On the eve of the Civil War there were only 468 African-Americans in Indianapolis, slightly less than 3 percent of the population."[334] By 1870 however, the African American population in Indianapolis numbered 2,931—over six times what it was before the war![335] This drastic increase in population outpaced the spike in the Indianapolis population that occurred after the war. In 1860, the city had a total population of 18,611; by 1870, the total population numbered 48,244.[336] Although this is an impressive boost, the city's total population increased by a factor of two-and-a-half, while the African American population increased by a factor of more than six.

The growing African American population does not indicate that Indianapolis provided a welcoming environment for African Americans. To the contrary, "African-

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[332] Cowger, "Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 766. According to Hacsi, it was common for an asylum to have "management structures in which men controlled monetary decisions and women ran the asylum on a daily basis." Hacsi states that the Cincinnati Orphan Asylum and the New York's Colored Orphan Asylum are both examples of asylums that had women managers but male financial officers. The IAFCC, like the WOFS, followed this structure. Hacsi, *Second Home*, 79.
[333] Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana: A Study of a Minority*, 206.
[334] Emma Lou Thornbrough, "African-Americans," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis,* 5.
[335] U.S., *Ninth Census, 1870.* vol. I, *Population,* 172, as quoted in Cowger, "Custodians of Social Justice," 94.
[336] "Timeline," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis,* 1482.

Americans were not citizens in the eyes of the law and were regarded by most whites as basically an inferior and degraded people."[337] African Americans in Indiana could not vote, send their children to public schools, serve in the military, or marry a white individual. The state's 1851 constitution even barred African American individuals and families from residing in the state.[338] Although the population increased, laws, prejudice, and racism still made life in Indianapolis unequal and extremely difficult for African American individuals. Additionally, because finding employment was harder for African American men and women, the number of impoverished families increased.[339] For many mothers and fathers, their financial conditions eventually prevented them from being able to feed and care for their children. Despite the hostile conditions, African Americans still migrated to Indiana in unprecedented numbers and increasingly settled in cities rather than rural communities.[340]

By 1869, the Hadleys, the Pyles, Jane Trueblood, and others in the Quaker community saw the need for an African American orphanage in Indianapolis. Quakers from the Plainfield Quarterly Meeting had already been helping African Americans in Indianapolis, so they knew the needs of the community.[341] In August of that year, the Indianapolis Monthly Meeting committee—a subset of the Plainfield Quarterly Meeting—reported "a concern for the better care of the Colored orphans" in the city.[342] In response, the Plainfield Friends formed a "sub-committee to confer with the standing

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[337] Thornbrough, "African-Americans," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis,* 5.
[338] Ibid., *5.*
[339] Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana: A Study of a Minority,* 211.
[340] Ibid., 206.
[341] Thornbrough writes, "Among other activities, Quakers maintained a storeroom in downtown Indianapolis where they distributed clothing to colored refugees." Ibid., 211.
[342] "Minutes, Board of Directors, 1869-1956," BV 4985, p. 1; Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children Addition (hereafter IAFCCA), IHS. The Indianapolis Monthly Meeting of Friends reported to the Plainfield Quarterly Meeting of Friends which reported to the Western Yearly Meeting of Friends.

committees of White Lick and Fairfield Quarterly and invite their co-operation" in determining a solution.[343] After a month of work "to ascertain the extent of necessity for an Asylum for destitute colored orphans of Indianapolis and vicinity," this subcommittee—that included future officer William Hadley—reported to the Plainfield Quarterly Meeting.[344] They described how they determined whether or not the city needed an asylum:

> It was thought best to meet with the colored people, and accordingly a time was appointed and we did meet with them at a public meeting held for that purpose . . . in Indianapolis, where the need of an Institution of the kind was discussed and nominations were made to ascertain the probable number now needing the fostering care of some such Institution which developed the fact that the number of destitute orphans without visible means of support or any permanent home now in the city and vicinity is so great as to require a systematized effort and concerted action.[345]

In order to determine the need for an orphanage in Indianapolis, the individuals on the committee went straight to the source—the African American community. The Quakers were able to seek the input of the community they were trying to help because they had previously established relationships with that community. In his study of the IAFCC, Thomas Cowger stated, "it appears from the evidence that everyone associated with the operations of the home was white."[346] However, the individuals who conducted the initial work for the institution actively sought to include the voice of the community they attempted to help. The consultation with the African American community convinced the Quakers that an institution for destitute African American children was imperative.

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[343] Ibid., p. 2.
[344] Ibid., p. 3.
[345] Ibid., p. 3-4.
[346] Cowger, "Custodians of Social Justice," 98.

In addition to seeking out the council of the African American community, local Quakers discussed the proposition of an African American orphanage with the Marion County Commissioners. Since 1861, the County Commissioners had financially supported the WOFS so they apparently felt compelled to help fund the Quaker's proposed benevolent society. The committee formed to ascertain the need for an orphanage in Indianapolis reported to the Plainfield Quarterly Meeting "the Commissioners of Marion County were consulted and they so far encouraged the movement."[347] According to the committee's report, the County Commissioners even stated, "if a house and grounds should be provided and put under judicious management, that they would feel under obligations to make quarterly appropriations for their support and maintainance [sic] equal to the amount appropriated to the paupers of the county Asylum."[348] With the support of the African American community and the Marion County Commissioners, it took little time to establish the IAFCC and construct a building.

Funding for the new institution came in a variety of ways, but predominantly from the Marion County Commissioners and the Western Yearly Meeting of Friends. In 1870, the Western Yearly Meeting's Executive Committee on Freedmen donated five hundred dollars for the institution to use in the construction of a building.[349] A year later, in 1871, William Hadley wrote to the Western Yearly Meeting, updating them on both the progress and the work that remained. He reported that a building had been constructed, but that the new home still needed quite a bit of work. Officers needed funds to maintain

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[347] "Minutes, Board of Directors, 1869-1956," BV 4985, p. 4; IAFCCA, IHS.
[348] Ibid.
[349] *Minutes of Western Yearly Meeting of Friends*, 1870, 49.

and winterize the new home, construct outhouses, and "enclose the grounds, put up the necessary out-buildings, furnish the building with stoves and other necessary comforts for the winter."[350] Hadley requested the "Yearly Meeting to donate five hundred dollars."[351]

After deliberation and "a free interchange of sentiment," the Western Yearly Meeting agreed to donate the money to the IAFCC.[352] However, these efforts were not enough—William Hadley asked a third and fourth time (in 1872 and 1873) for the sum of five hundred dollars "to assist in the maintainance [sic] of this charitable institution" and the Western Yearly Meeting donated the money.[353] It was not until 1873 that Trueblood reported that additional rooms, a washhouse, and a woodshed had been added, "making [the home] much more commodious."[354] The Western Yearly Meeting kept the IAFCC afloat with its donations for the first four years, but there are no records of the Western Yearly Meeting donating to the orphanage after 1873.

Although the Marion County Commissioners agreed from the beginning to subsidize the IAFCC, the first mention of their funding is found in Trueblood's 1873 annual report. She thanked the County Commissioners "for their quarterly assistance," but did not record the amount they gave.[355] The year 1875 is the first time the IAFCC treasurer recorded the County Commissioners supplying money to the institution. In 1875, the IAFCC received $3799 in funding with $3350 coming from the Marion County Commissioners—eighty-eight percent of their budget for that year! Throughout the

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[350] *Minutes of Western Yearly Meeting of Friends*, 1871, 61-62.
[351] Ibid., 61-62.
[352] Ibid., 61.
[353] *Minutes of Western Yearly Meeting of Friends*, 1873, 51.
[354] "Minutes, Board of Women Managers, 1871-1883," BV 1502, p. 22; IAFCCR, IHS.
[355] Ibid., p. 22.

1880s, this trend continued as the County Commissioners provided an overwhelming amount of the IAFCC's yearly budget (see table 3.1).[356]

Table 3.1. IAFCC funding received from County Commissioners.[357]

| Date | Total amount received | Amount received from County Commissioners | Percent |
|------|----------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------|
| 1882 | $4126.22 | $3961.75 | 96% |
| 1883 | $4836.79 | $4471.20 | 92% |
| 1884 | $5828.84 | $5169.75 | 89% |
| 1885 | $7721.25 | $6970.75 | 90% |
| 1886 | $7487.71 | $5663.88 | 76% |
| 1887 | $6234.30 | $4021.75 | 65% |
| 1888 | $7086.95 | $5585.40 | 79% |
| 1889 | $9213.63 | $7455.05 | 81% |
| 1890 | $7264.44 | $5722.50 | 79% |

On average, from 1882 to 1890, the County Commissioners supplied eighty-three percent of the IAFCC's yearly budget. Funding from the County Commissioners directly correlated to the number of children in the home, because the county paid "twenty-five cents a day for the board of each child."[358] At this rate, it cost the County Commissioners $91.25 to board one child in the asylum for a single year.[359]

The Marion County Commissioners consistently paid the largest sums of money to the IAFCC, but they were not the only financial contributors to the institution. According to Thornbrough, "the largest single gift was the bequest of a colored man."[360]

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[356] Similar to the WOFS, the IAFCC received much of its funding from the Marion County Commissioners, a fact that makes Indianapolis stand out among other nineteenth-century orphanages. According to Hacsi, in many "states, there was no government funding available and little county or city money for orphan asylums," and "most Midwestern governments gave little aid to private asylums in the late nineteenth century." Since the Marion County Commissioners consistently provided over three-quarters of the IAFCC's yearly budget, Hacsi's claims are strikingly untrue for Indianapolis. Hacsi, *Second Home*, 93 and 32.

[357] Table compiled by author from the treasurer's yearly reports. Board of Managers Meeting Minutes, BV 1502 and 1503; IAFCCR, IHS.

[358] Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 383.

[359] $0.25 x 365 = $91.25

[360] IAFCC began accepting children from outside Marion County very shortly after it opened. According to Cowger, records indicate that children from as many as thirty-five Indiana counties received care at the IAFCC. Cowger, "Custodians of Social Justice," 101. Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana,* 378.

In 1864, a well-known and comparatively wealthy African American man named John Williams was murdered at his home in Washington County. Thornbrough states that William Lindley, a Quaker man and the executor of John Williams' property, donated $5,750 (the sum of Williams' wealth) to the IAFCC.[361] According to historian Lillie Trueblood, who recounted the tragic story in a 1934 article, Williams' will stated that his money should go towards the education of African American children in Indiana.[362]

By 1871, the IAFCC had enough funding to construct a building. Located at 317 West Twenty-First Street, the institution opened its doors in June 1871 and cared for eighteen children in its first year, including Isaac Abbott and his baby sister.[363] By the 1890s, the IAFCC cared for "over 170 [children] annually," accepting children "up to age fourteen."[364] During a child's time at the IAFCC, the institution provided food, a bed, and a strict schedule that included times for religious teaching and "a secular education to shape children's characters and prepare them for responsible lives."[365] The children arose at 5:30 a.m., ate at 7:00 a.m., 12:00 p.m., and 5:30 p.m. every day and were sent to bed after "religious devotional exercises" at 6:30 p.m.[366] From the beginning, the institution held daily devotions, operated a Sabbath School, and had a governess teach the children.[367] Trueblood wrote in 1877, "the educational interests of the school are good

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[361] Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana,* 378. Cowger states, "it appears likely, although the evidence is not conclusive" that Williams' money was given to the IAFCC. Cowger, "Custodians of Social Justice," 100.

[362] Lillie Trueblood, "The Story of John Williams, Colored," *Indiana Magazine of History* 30 (June 1934), 149-152.

[363] Cowger, "Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 766.

[364] Cowger, "Custodians of Social Justice," 102. Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana*, 348.

[365] Cowger, "Custodians of Social Justice," 105.

[366] Ibid., 105.

[367] "Minutes, Board of Women Managers, 1871-1883," BV 1502, p. 35; IAFCCR, IHS.

and many of the children are quick in their perceptive faculties, as [sic] also retentive of what they have learned."[368]

By 1886, the Indianapolis public school system provided a teacher to operate a day school at the institution. The children studied for three hours each day under the teacher's guidance.[369] In the organization's annual reports, Trueblood often commented extensively on the school, explaining that the children were doing well. In 1888, Trueblood wrote that the children were "obedient, orderly and industrious, and are making progress in their studies."[370] She went on to describe how the teacher split the students into groups that received instruction at different times of the day because there was not sufficient seating for all of the children. In addition to studying "reading, writing, arithmetic, and elementary geography," girls learned "domestic skills" while boys learned "manual labor."[371] The boys and girls in the IAFCC followed this schedule until a family member took them out of the home, the officers found a home for them, or the officers indentured them.

Although some children ran away from the IAFCC or the officers sent them to a different institution (the Indiana House of Refuge or the City Hospital for example), the majority of children left one of three ways—through a home placement, through an indenture, or by returning to a family member. The first avenue through which a child left the asylum was used often and garnered high praise from the officers and even the children. From the beginning, the IAFCC officers worked to find "comfortable homes in

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[368] Ibid., p. 75.
[369] Cowger, "Custodians of Social Justice," 106.
[370] "Minutes, Board of Women Managers, 1883-1902," BV 1503, p. 72; IAFCCR, IHS.
[371] Cowger, "Custodians of Social Justice," 106.

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Christian families" for the children.[372] These placements were not the result of an indenture, they were the result of the IAFCC officers placing a child in a home to live with (not work for) an individual or family. According to Trueblood, the IAFCC placed children in homes "where they are treasured much."[373] The IAFCC home placements were more similar to an adoption than an indenture. In fact, there are several instances of Trueblood using the term adoption when giving reports on the placements. In her 1883 report, Trueblood recounted "a boy who lives a few miles out of the city came with his *adopted* mother on Christmas week and repeated a long poem" (emphasis added).[374] In another report, Trueblood stated that a girl had been placed with a family "who wish to adopt her, saying 'she is so much improved and attached to us it would be hard to be parted, and she calls us Papa and Mama.'"[375] More than once, Trueblood used the term adoption to refer to the process.

Many adults reported favorably to the institution about the home placements. According to Trueblood, one adult stated "I am much pleased with him I think he is better and more obedient than a white boy."[376] Another reported "Willie is going to school, he is the only colored boy in his grade, and is learning fast . . . we think he is about as good a boy as most of his age."[377] Another adult shared, "Frank is perfectly happy, I am well pleased with him, find him a very nice child, takes great interest in his

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[372] "Minutes, Board of Women Managers, 1871-1883," BV 1502, p. 34; IAFCCR, IHS.
[373] Ibid., p. 131. According to Hacsi, "by the late nineteenth century, indenture was becoming relatively rare in many states, and asylum managers who placed children actively sought free homes, where children would be taken in for love rather than as workers." Although the IAFCC was not ahead of its time, it was ahead of its contemporary, the WOFS—an institution that still indentured children into the 1880s. Hacsi, *Second Home*, 105.
[374] "Minutes, Board of Women Managers, 1883-1902," BV 1503, p. 4; IAFCCR, IHS.
[375] "Minutes, Board of Women Managers, 1871-1883," BV 1502, p. 94; IAFCCR, IHS.
[376] Ibid., p. 94.
[377] Ibid., p. 131.

school work."[378] Trueblood even received reports from children about the home placements. In 1877, Trueblood reported "letters from children shew [sic] they are doing well and the grateful tribute from some of their hearts is 'May Gods blessings rest upon you all forever, I thank you a thousand times for such a good home, I am going to school and every body [sic] seems kind to me."[379] Another year, Trueblood reported, "A letter from one boy came this week, he had a good home, went to school & was doing well."[380] Throughout her time as IAFCC president, Trueblood shared reports nearly every year that reflected favorably on the home placements.

Some of the IAFCC's home placements actually resulted in an adoption. In May 1880, the asylum secretary recorded that William Gale went "to Janetta Williams."[381] By the time the 1880 census was taken a month later, Janetta and her husband Wallace had changed William's name to Thomas and identified him as their adopted son.[382] Many children from the orphanage have a similar story.[383] George Riggs' story is different, however, because he was first indentured and then adopted. On August 8, 1871, an Indianapolis township trustee brought five-year-old George Riggs to the IAFCC. A

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[378] Ibid., p. 131.

[379] Ibid., p. 75-76.

[380] "Minutes, Board of Women Managers, 1883-1902," BV 1503, p. 29; IAFCCR, IHS.

[381] *Admission Record Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children*, 48.

[382] 1880 U.S. census, Marion County, Indiana, population schedule, Centre Township, p. 21, family 13, Thomas Gale; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com.

[383] Louisa Grayson's adoptive parents, Isaac and Emelia Hamilton, changed her name to Jessie M. Hamilton. They adopted her from the IAFCC in 1901 when Louise/Jessie was 2 years old (*Admission Record*, 53; 1910 U.S. census, Marion County, Indiana, population schedule, Indianapolis, p. 9B, dwelling 113, family 114, Jessie Hamilton; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com). Thornton and Carolina McNeal changed Francis Davis' name to Hattie McNeal after they adopted her in 1879 (*Admission Record*, 32; 1880 U.S. census, Hamilton County, Indiana, population schedule, Adams Township, p. 3, dwelling 20, family 21, Hattie McNeal; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com). Although census records typically are needed to determine whether a child was adopted, the IAFCC documents sometimes record when a child was adopted. In 1873, the secretary wrote, "Ruth Ann Butler (colored), wife of Robert Butler… took babe and adopted" (*Admission Record*, 6). Again, in 1878, the secretary recorded, "John Brown, Mrs. Bradford adopts him" (p. 8). All of these children, including Willie Butler and George Riggs, were adopted by African American families.

month later, the society indentured George to David F. Washington, an African American resident of Indianapolis. In October 1883, it was reported to the orphanage "Lucy Bullett, Cleveland, Ohio, mother-in-law to the above [David Washington] adopted George as her son. He is doing well and preparing for the ministry."[384]

While some children left the IAFCC through home placements that resulted in adoption, many children lived in homes for a time, then returned to the orphanage. Isaac Abbott, for example, went to live with Emma Wiggins in October 1872. He returned over a year later in February 1874.[385] Clarence Alexander had a similar experience. He went to live with a barber named Aaron Saunders in April 1883. He returned over a year later in December 1884.[386] In the majority of the entries, the secretary did not state why a child was returned or who returned the child. Some entries, however, state the reason. In some cases, the child returned because of the adult's changing circumstances; in others, the adult returned the child because of his/her behavior. After living with a woman in Noblesville for five months, Charlina Coleman returned because "the lady dying to whom she went."[387] In another situation, Mrs. Elizabeth Warman returned Kate Jones to the institution after only a month because Kate was "not proving as honest as she should be."[388]

Some children endured multiple home placements during their time at the IAFCC. From the age of five to the age of ten, Kate Irvin lived in five separate homes in four different Indiana counties. Kate's cousin, John Sleet, brought the five-year-old girl and

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[384] The admission record does not state who gave the report. *Admission Record Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children*, 115.
[385] Ibid., 1.
[386] Ibid., 3.
[387] Ibid., 26.
[388] Ibid., 76.

her two older siblings to the institution in 1886. Within a year, Kate went "to a home with Sadie Valentine (Col.) Lebanon, Boone Co."[389] Kate was returned eight months later for unknown reasons. After living in the orphanage again for two months, Kate went "to Dennis and Cornelia Campbell, Danville, Hendricks, Co."[390] After seven months with the Campbells, Kate returned to the asylum for unknown reasons. She spent five months in the home before going "to live with Mrs. Eliza P. Herring, Greencastle."[391] Kate lived with Eliza Herring the longest, but after almost two years, Eliza returned Kate to the IAFCC because she was "not sufficiently truthful."[392] For the third time in her young life, Kate spent a few months at the Indianapolis orphanage before being placed with another family. This time, Kate went to live with "Lizzie Venable and husband who have no children and live near the Atlass works. (Col.)."[393] Kate lived with the couple just over a year before they brought her back to the IAFCC, claiming that she had hydrophobia. The IAFCC secretary noted that Kate "had no symptoms of such after coming back."[394] After a month back in the orphanage, Kate was placed with "Mrs. Harvey of Irvington," almost five years to the day since she was first placed in a home.[395] Her name does not appear in the admission record again.

By the age of ten, Kate had presumably lost at least one of her parents (since her cousin is the one who brought her to the asylum), was separated from her three siblings, lived with five separate families in four different counties, and was said to be untruthful and hydrophobic. For five years of her young life, Kate moved from a home to the

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[389] Ibid., 69.
[390] Ibid., 69.
[391] Ibid., 69.
[392] Ibid., 69.
[393] Ibid., 69.
[394] Ibid., 69.
[395] Ibid., 70.

orphanage, from the orphanage to a home, and back again. Kate's story of home

placements is representative of many children who passed through the doors of the

IAFCC.[396] Although most children were not placed in as many homes as Kate was,

hundreds of children who lived at the orphanage left the institution through a home

placement.

If a child did not leave the IAFCC through a home placement, they typically left

through an indenture or by returning to a family member. Like the WOFS, the IAFCC

used indentures—a legal agreement where a child went to an individual or family to

receive room, board, and education in exchange for labor. In contrast to the WOFS, the

IAFCC indentured a significantly smaller number of children, and the institution used the

indenture contracts for true indentures, not adoptions.[397] From 1876 to 1886, there are

only 38 records of IAFCC indentures, twenty-five percent of the WOFS's 152

indentures.[398] Both Indianapolis institutions used the same document for indentures (the

only difference being the name of the orphanage) meaning that both organizations

stipulated the same responsibilities for adults wishing to enter into an indenture

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[396] Between the ages of 8 and 10, Harry Hart lived with three different families in a span of two years (*Admission Record*, 62-64). Roy Hughes, between the ages of 10 and 12, lived with three separate families. Two of the families only kept him for three months before returning him to the asylum (*Admission Record*, 66). Kate's sister, Francis, lived with three different families in a five-year span before running away (*Admission Record*, 69-70). Anna Philipps came to the orphanage at age 4, and stayed until her first home placement at age 8. In a seventeen-month window, Anna lived in four different homes and was indentured once (*Admission Record*, 108-110).

[397] For an explanation of how the WOFS indenture system was used for both indentures and adoptions, see chapter 2, pages 82-85. Because the majority of the IAFCC indentures took place in the 1880s, it is difficult to use the census to confirm that these indentures were true indentures because the 1890 census was mostly destroyed in a 1921 fire.

[398] The WOFS indentures are from the years 1875-1885, while the IAFCC indentures are from the years 1876-1886. This is because there are no IAFCC indenture records from the year 1875, but no WOFS records from the year 1886. To keep both sample sizes within a 10-year window, I have analyzed WOFS records from 1875-1885 and IAFCCR from 1876-1886. These are the only years from which the indenture records come.

agreement.[399] Given that both the IAFCC and WOFS had the same indenture policies,

why would the IAFCC have indentured such a smaller number of children? The sizes of

the orphanages undoubtedly contributed to this variance in figures, but the asylums were

not different enough in size to account for the drastically lower number of IAFCC

indentures.[400] The difference is rooted in how African Americans were treated following

the Civil War. According to Ramey, African American parents were extremely hesitant to

allow their children to be indentured because of the attempts to force African Americans

back into slavery post-emancipation. Ramey explains:

> In the wake of Reconstruction and the flagrant abuse of imposed
> apprenticeships throughout the South—in which white landowners had
> newly freed-children bound to them, often without the parents' knowledge
> or against their wishes, and sometimes through the use or threatened use
> of violence—African American parents had reason to be deeply suspicious
> of the binding out process.[401]

Trueblood also encountered this fear among the Indianapolis African American

community and explained in her 1880 annual report that many were hesitant to bring their

children to the asylum.[402] Understandably, the IAFCC did not indenture a large number

of children because of the real fear that indentures were an attempt to re-enslave African

Americans.

Despite the hesitancy towards indentures from the African American community,

the IAFCC still indentured a small number of children. Of the more than 3,000 children

who lived at the orphanage between 1870 and 1922, the institution only indentured 38

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[399] For a description of what the indenture contracts stipulated, see the section on indentures in chapter 2, pages 78-79.

[400] In 1884, the average number of children at the WOFS was 100 while the average number of children at the IAFCC was 62. Thus, the IAFCC was approximately sixty-percent as large as the WOFS, but only indentured twenty-five percent as many children. Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*, 382-3.

[401] Ramey, *Child Care in Black and White,* 94.

[402] "Minutes, Board of Women Managers, 1871-1883," BV 1502, p. 130-131; IAFCCR, IHS.

children. Alonzo Harris was one of these children. After being placed in a home (but returned), Alonzo was indentured to Mrs. Charity Staples on November 22, 1877.[403] Three years later, the 1880 census listed Alonzo as Charity's servant, confirming that his indenture was a true indenture.[404] Although the IAFCC used indentures infrequently, some children left the institution as indentured servants, almost exclusively to white individuals.[405]

The third—and most frequently used—avenue through which children left the IAFCC was by returning to their parents or a family member.[406] Many parents used the orphanage as a temporary solution and came back for their children when they were able to support them again.[407] According to Trueblood, many African American parents were extremely unwilling to part with their children but desperation drove them to come to the orphanage. In her 1880 report, Trueblood wrote, "we do not find our colored citizens so ready to surrender their little ones to others care, the memory of other years of servitude under the hands of cruel task masters & sold one from the other into different hands is

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[403] *Admission Record Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children*, 55.

[404] 1880 U.S. census, Marion County, Indiana, population schedule, Indianapolis, p. 12, dwelling 109, family 123, Alonzo Harris; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com. The 1880 also confirms that the IAFCC indentured George Bass. The census lists George as Hiram Green's servant in 1880, five years after he left the asylum with the man (*Admission Record*, 8; 1880 U.S. census, Jennings County, Indiana, population schedule, Columbia Township, p. 28, dwelling 245, family 249, George Bass; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com). The 1900 census listed Hattie Marshall as Edgar A. Hunt's servant (1900 U.S. census, Marion County, Indiana, population schedule, Indianapolis, p. 1B, dwelling 21, family 21, Hattie Marshall; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com). The census also reveal that Hiram Green, Edgar Hunt, and Charity Staples were all white.

[405] Due to the destruction of the 1890 census, it is difficult to determine exactly how many children were indentured to white individuals versus black individuals. In all of the above examples (see footnote 404), the individuals who had an indentured child from the IAFCC were white.

[406] Ramey's analysis confirms what the IAFCCR show, that most children in orphanages at the end of the nineteenth century "actually had one, if not two, living parents." Ramey, *Child Care in Black and White*, 41.

[407] According to Ramey, parents brought their children to orphanages often due to a "family and financial crisis." Ibid., 1.

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still fresh with them."[408] According to Trueblood, many parents—upon bringing their children to the asylum—said, "don't give my child away as I hope soon to be again able to care for them."[409]

True to their word, many parents were able to care for their children once their circumstances changed. Some parents brought their children to the society while they dealt with a sickness, the death of a spouse, or the desertion of a spouse. Annie Gilbert stayed at the IAFCC for three months in late 1877 while her mother was in the hospital. Once her mother recovered, Annie returned home.[410] Similarly, five-year-old Shelly Hancock arrived at the orphanage in May 1883 because his father was sick. After twelve days in the asylum, Shelly's recovered father took him home.[411] In 1890, after the death of his wife, Alphonso Day paid six dollars a month while his three children stayed at the institution. After three months in the asylum, the "Day children went to their father who got his house built."[412] John Bartlett put his four children in the orphanage after his wife left in 1895 and agreed to pay two dollars per week. Evidently, the act of putting the children in the institution caused John and his wife to resolve their differences. After eleven days in the institution, the Bartlett children went home "to reconcilled [sic] parents."[413]

While the above children lived at the IAFCC for a few weeks to a few months, many children waited years before a parent could care for them again. Cases such as

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[408] "Minutes, Board of Women Managers, 1871-1883," BV 1502, p. 130-131; IAFCCR, IHS.

[409] Ibid., p. 131. Ramey's claim that "most [parents] viewed institutionalization as a temporary necessity and fully expected to claim their children after a time" bolsters Trueblood's report of parents promising to return for their children. Ramey, *Child Care in Black and White*, 54.

[410] *Admission Record Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children*, 49.

[411] Ibid., 58.

[412] Ibid., 34.

[413] Ibid., 16.

these were usually the result of a parent's death.[414] Eight-year-old Harry Farley's mother died in 1889, so his father placed him in the IAFCC and paid twenty-five cents a week. A year later, Harry's father remarried and took his son from the asylum.[415] Thomas and Hannah Gatewood were four and two years old respectively when their mother placed them in the IAFCC in 1883. After two full years in the asylum, Thomas and Hannah went "with their mother, remarried, to St. Louis."[416] Walter and Minnie Blackwell waited over four years before their father was able to care for them again. On January 10, 1890, John Blackwell brought his nine-year-old son and seven-year-old daughter to the orphanage. On February 16, 1894, the admission document records that John Blackwell returned for his children. By 1900, Walter and Minnie lived with their remarried father and stepsiblings in Indianapolis.[417]

Like the Bartlett children, the Gatewood siblings, Harry Farley, and others, many children in the asylum returned to parents or family members. In their annual reports, the officers of the society listed how many children had been cared for in the asylum that year and how many were "returned to relatives or a home found for them" (see table 3.2).

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[414] Ramey, *Child Care in Black and White,* p. 47. According to Ramey, "the loss of a spouse, generally through death, desertion, or sickness, was frequently the key precipitating event leading to children's institutionalization."

[415] *Admission Record Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children*, 44.

[416] Ibid., 50.

[417] Ibid., 14. 1900 U.S. census, Marion County, Indiana, population schedule, Indianapolis, p. 6A, dwelling 113, family 115, Walter and Minnie Blackwell; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed October 10, 2017, http://ancestry.com.

Table 3.2. Number of children received compared to children placed in homes.[418]

| Date | Number of children received during year | Number of children who had home placements or returned to relatives | Percent |
|------|------|------|------|
| 1873 | 30 | 12 | 40% |
| 1874 | 31 | 13 | 42% |
| 1875 | 94 | 40 | 43% |
| 1876 | 97 | Unknown | |
| 1877 | 106 | 46 | 43% |
| 1878 | 75 | 24 | 32% |
| 1879 | 80 | 27 | 34% |
| 1880 | 90 | 44 | 49% |
| 1881 | 89 | 31 | 35% |
| 1882 | 100 | 48 | 48% |
| 1883 | 123 | 52 | 42% |
| 1884 | 134 | 55 | 41% |
| 1885 | 125 | 46 | 37% |
| 1886 | 138 | 58 | 42% |
| 1887 | 139 | 70 | 50% |
| 1888 | 132 | 59 | 45% |
| 1889 | 143 | 63 | 44% |
| 1890 | 145 | 69 | 48% |

On average, between the years 1873 and 1890, forty-two percent of the children who were cared for in the IAFCC returned to family members or had homes found for them.[419] Tracking the exact number of children who returned to their families (as opposed to going to a home that the officers found) is difficult because the IAFCC officers added these different categories together in their reports. However, in their 1890 report, the officers did differentiate between these categories. Of the 69 children sent to homes or relatives in 1890, "twenty five (25) have gone to homes, 44 have been returned to parents

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[418] Table compiled by author using the information listed in the IAFCC's annual reports.

[419] Many children returned to recovered, reconciled, or remarried parents. Others, like Susan Jane Bacham, returned to a family member. Susan was only in the orphanage for six days before her grandmother took her (*Admission Record*, 6). Nellie Bell was brought to the orphanage in 1874 at the age of two. A year later, she "went to her aunts" (*Admission Record*, 7). Two-year-old Mollie Buckley was only in the orphanage for six days before she went "to an aunt in Kentucky" (*Admission Record*, 9). Hattie Grayson spent nine days in the orphanage when she was three months old before going to her step-grandmother (*Admission Record*, 50).

or friends as they were prepared to care for them."[420] Nearly double the number of children who had homes found for them were returned to their friends or family members. This indicates that a higher number of children probably returned to their family, relatives, or family friends each year than the number of children who went to homes that the IAFCC officers found.

More children went to homes with relatives than to homes the IAFCC officers found because the institution included the parent's input. The IAFCC records reveal that African American parents had remarkable agency in determining their child's future.[421] Not only did parents have the freedom to take their children out of the orphanage, but some parents requested that their child be placed in a specific home and the institution listened. In February 1880, after two-and-a-half years in the orphanage, Franky Hamlin went "to live with Zechariah Milton at mother's wish."[422] Willie Higgins was only in the institution for two weeks in 1889 before going "to live with a minister his mother knows."[423] Some parents even took on the role of the society and found their own homes for their children. Alpheus R. Phipps left the orphanage in November 1880 because his "mother got a home for him."[424] In 1886, Ellen Hicks went "to a home that her mother found for her."[425] One mother even arranged an indenture for her child. Sally Smith spent one day in the IAFCC. Her mother brought her to the asylum on August 27, 1880. The next day, the secretary recorded "Sally Smith [left], her mother takes her to bind out to a

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[420] "Minutes, Board of Women Managers, 1883-1902," BV 1503, p. 95; IAFCCR, IHS.

[421] Before the institution was established, the Quaker founders sought the input of the African American community (see explanation, page 102). According to Ramey, by the end of the twentieth century, scholarly literature on orphanages stressed "the agency of the working class in using institutions for their own purposes." Ramey, *Child Care in Black and White*, 3.

[422] *Admission Record Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children*, 55.

[423] Ibid., 61.

[424] Ibid., 108.

[425] Ibid., 59.

white lady."[426] Unlike the WOFS, African American parents had the freedom to stipulate to the IAFCC where their children lived and the society respected those wishes.[427]

The IAFCC even went against the clear, binding language in their quitclaims and allowed parents to take their children home after they had signed a quitclaim. The IAFCC used the same quitclaim forms as the WOFS, which had a parent sign that they "hereby do release, surrender, grant and voluntarily abandon said child" and concede to "irrevocably relinquishing and granting to said corporation . . . [their] right and title to said child."[428] Despite the clear terms that parents agreed to, evidence reveals that the IAFCC did not allow quitclaims to be final and binding. Rather, the IAFCC—on several occasions—canceled quitclaims at a parent's request. On April 1, 1873, Hannah Gibson signed a quitclaim for her seven-year-old son, Hannibal. Although Hannah "covenanted" that the IAFCC would have custody and guardianship of Hannibal for the next decade at least, the institution voided the quitclaim within two years and allowed Hannibal to return to his mother. The admission record for Hannibal states that, on January 4, 1875, "Hannibal Gibson went to live with his mother, she having married again."[429]

In another instance, a mother signed a quitclaim that the IAFCC voided four days later because the father came to claim his daughter. Rosanna Stewart only stayed in the asylum from April 6 to April 10, 1882, because "the father, Thomas Marshall, claimed her. Voided [quit]claim."[430] Again, in 1895, the IAFCC voided a quitclaim because the

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[426] Ibid., 126.

[427] There is no evidence in the WOFS records that parents could tell the organization where to place their children or that parents had the same level of agency. By the late 1890s, the WOFS constitution specifically stated that parents who brought their children to the institution had to relinquish their parental rights (see chapter 2, page 76).

[428] IAFCC quitclaim, Box 3, Folder 7; IAFCCR, IHS. The only difference between the WOFS quitclaims and IAFCC quitclaims was the name of each institution.

[429] *Admission Record Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children*, 48.

[430] Ibid., 128.

mother simply changed her mind. Alfred Helm was brought to the IAFCC six days after his birth. Four days later, on September 7, 1895, Alfred's admission record reads, "quit claim cancelled. Mother taking him back."[431] Throughout the 1870s to 1890s, the IAFCC allowed parents to take their children from the institution.[432]

Although the WOFS (both the officers and the visitors to the institution) subscribed to the belief that children should be kept from the corrupt influence of their parents to avoid becoming burdens on society, the IAFCC held a more complex view.[433] In her 1876 annual report, Trueblood wrote "Many of the children placed in this Institution would inevitably become burdens to society; hence the necessity of the promotion of every measure which may act as a preventive to crime and pauperism."[434] Trueblood, like the society around her, believed that dependent children—if not properly cared for—would become societal burdens.[435] However, Trueblood's 1876 report is the *only* instance where she mentioned children becoming burdens on society. Trueblood spent the greater part of her reports writing about the children who returned to their families and the successful stories of home placements. The IAFCC was not exempt from societal attitudes towards dependent children, but the institution focused more on children

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[431] Ibid., 64.
[432] There is no evidence that the WOFS ever allowed a parent to regain custody of their child after signing a quitclaim. Furthermore, the number of quitclaims reveals that these institutions held different views on the necessity of quitclaims. Between 1870 and 1884, 358 children had quitclaims signed for them at the WOFS. During the same time period, only 25 children had quitclaims signed for them at the IAFCC—a mere seven percent of the WOFS quitclaims. While the IAFCC was smaller than the WOFS, it was not small enough to account for this drastic variance in the number of quitclaims. The drastic difference in the number of quitclaims—combined with the fact that the WOFS dedicated a section in each update of their constitution to emphasizing the importance of quitclaims while the IAFCC only mentioned quitclaims in their by-laws—shows that the IAFCC did not view quitclaims as necessities like the WOFS did. (For the WOFS view on quitclaims, see chapter 2, pages 76-77.)
[433] For further explanation on the WOFS view, see chapter 2, pages 76-78.
[434] "Minutes, Board of Women Managers, 1871-1883," BV 1502, p. 60; IAFCCR, IHS.
[435] For further explanation on this reasoning, see Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum*. For explanation on the specific ideology of Charles Loring Brace, the founder of the Children's Aid Society of New York, see Gish, "Rescuing the 'Waifs and Strays' of the City."

returning to their families or finding a good home than on avoiding every corrupt influence. Trueblood's 1876 report indicates that the organization subscribed to the belief that dependent children could grow into burdens if not kept from corrupt influences. However, the actions of the institution—revealed through the minimal amount of indentures and quitclaims, the high rates of children returning to families, and parents' ability to regain custody of their children after signing a quitclaim—reveals that African American parents had far more agency with the institution than the city's orphanage for white children.

The Quaker officers' connections with—and sensitivities to—the African American community in Indianapolis influenced how they operated the IAFCC. Even before they established the IAFCC, Quakers, like Hannah and William Hadley, sought to help the African American men, women, and children who arrived at Indianapolis in greater and greater numbers following the Civil War. Their desire to help caused the Quaker community in and near Indianapolis to found the state's first and only orphanage for African American children. From the very beginning, the Quaker officers desired to include the voice of the African American community—evidenced by their consultation with them prior to establishing the IAFCC—and continued to listen to their concerns once the asylum had been established.

By 1920, the Quaker church—the society that founded, operated, and managed the IAFCC and cared for over 3,000 African American children—could no longer maintain the orphanage. Since the Civil War, African Americans had steadily migrated to Indiana, but the population increase "was greatly accelerated in the first two decades of

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the twentieth century."[436] The First World War caused a need for unskilled laborers, which resulted in many African Americans, migrating from southern states and southern Indiana to Indianapolis. From 1910 to 1920, the African American population in Indiana jumped from 60,320 to 80,810 with the vast majority settling in urban areas.[437] The population spike put a strain on the IAFCC. In November 1920, the officers "requested the board of county commissioners to take over the orphanage as a county institution . . . The directors explained that there has been such a growth in the institution that it can no longer be maintained by the church."[438] In 1922, after fifty-two years of caring for the African American children of the city, the Quaker church turned over control of the orphanage to the county.

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[436] Clifton J. Phillips, *Indiana in Transition: The Emergence of an Industrial Commonwealth, 1880-1920* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1968), 370.
[437] Ibid., 370.
[438] "County May Take Over Colored Orphanage," *Indianapolis News*, November 30, 1920, p. 17.

Conclusion

According to historian Timothy Hacsi, "the first half of the nineteenth century was the heyday of charity in the United States."[439] Indianapolis, like many other urban centers, contributed to this "heyday of charity" by establishing benevolent organizations to provide solutions for specific situations. Caring for dependent children—whether orphans or not—was one need that many institutions across the United States aimed to meet. The Widows and Orphans Friends' Society (WOFS) and the Indianapolis Asylum for Friendless Colored Children (IAFCC) were two of Indianapolis's three orphanages that cared for dependent Hoosier children in the nineteenth century. A study of these institutions offers a snapshot of nineteenth-century Indianapolis—its societal values, the effects the Civil War had on the city, and the development of a community from a small town to a major Midwestern city. More importantly, an examination of these Indianapolis institutions provides the opportunity to reveal some of the stories of nineteenth-century children.

The benevolent institutions studied in this thesis illustrate how Indianapolis citizens responded to their community's needs. In 1835, when Indianapolis had less than 2,500 inhabitants, James Blake, Calvin Fletcher, and James M. Ray led the charge in establishing an organization that would help their poor and desperate neighbors—the result was the Indianapolis Benevolent Society. As the city (and state) grew, the needs of individuals with mental and physical needs became more apparent, leading to the creation of the Indiana Institute for the Deaf and Dumb (1843), the Indiana Institute for the Education of the Blind (1847), the Indiana Hospital for the Insane (1848), and the City

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[439] Hacsi, *Second Home*, 76.

Hospital (1866). The city's growing population also led to the founding of the WOFS—the city's first orphanage—in 1849.

The nation's great crisis, the Civil War, launched Indianapolis from a small town to a growing city in the same decade that many of Indianapolis's original settlers—the persistent families who shaped the economic, political, and social development of the city—died. A new generation of Indianapolis leaders, a changing city, and the explosion of the population led Indianapolis citizens to establish the Indiana Home for Friendless Women (1863) and the Indiana House of Refuge (1867) in efforts to reform specific behaviors. By the end of the decade, the needs of African American families became apparent, leading a group of Quaker women to establish the IAFCC in 1870.

An examination of nineteenth-century Indianapolis is a study of a city in transition. Indianapolis following the Civil War was vastly different than the Indianapolis which had been founded in 1821. The roughly fifty-year span from 1821 to 1870 brought tremendous change to the city. Not only did the city's population increase, but the demographic diversity of the city changed. More immigrants, African Americans, and Catholics settled in what began as a predominately white, Protestant city. Railroads enabled businesses and factories to flourish in a city that began as an economy driven by agriculture. Despite the many changes Indianapolis faced, one characteristic remained constant throughout the nineteenth century—benevolent institutions. From the creation of the Indianapolis Benevolent Society in 1835 to the founding of the Charity Organization Society in 1879, Indianapolis citizens identified the needs in their community and volunteered their time, energy, and resources to create charity institutions that addressed those needs.

Although Indianapolis citizens formed the city's many benevolent societies, the founders of different organizations did not always have the same motives. The records left behind by the WOFS and the IAFCC reveal that the two organizations had different goals regarding children's interaction with parents. The WOFS managers (white, middle-class, Protestant women whose husbands were involved in nearly every aspect of Indianapolis life) espoused a belief of social control, attempting to remove poor children from the "corrupt" influence of their parents through quitclaims—legal documents in which parents signed their parental rights to the institution. The IAFCC managers (white women deeply involved in the Quaker church) held a more complex view. Although the society's president occasionally embraced social control rhetoric, the institution did not emphasize the importance of quitclaims (as the WOFS did). Rather, the IAFCC managers enabled children to return to their parents, families, or friends—in some cases, even after a quitclaim had been signed.

In his comprehensive study of nineteenth-century orphanages, Hacsi determined that it was not uncommon for orphanages to have differing policies regarding children and their parents. He stated "some asylums wanted to return children to their parents, while others tried to block children off from their former lives."[440] The IAFCC managers wanted children to be reunited with their families or placed in homes "where they are treasured much."[441] The WOFS managers, however, asserted that "no child can be received in the Asylum unless the parent, guardian or relative, as the case may be, shall relinquish all authority over the child."[442] Both Indianapolis orphanages may have been

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[440] Ibid., 6.
[441] "Minutes, Board of Women Managers, 1871-1883," BV 1502, p. 131; IAFCCR, IHS.
[442] "Constitution and By-Laws, 1898" Article XI, p. 6; CBIR, IHS.

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founded to care for poor and desperate Hoosier children, but the organizations held different views on whether or not children should be reunited with their families. Ultimately, African American parents had more agency with the IAFCC than white parents had with the WOFS.

Both Indianapolis orphanages examined in this thesis left behind rich record collections that allow for the study and comparison of these organizations. However, a more extensive comparison could still be made. In *Child Care in Black and White: Working Parents and the History of Orphanages*, historian Jessie Ramey wrote an exhaustive comparison of an orphanage for black children and an orphanage for white children in Pittsburgh.[443] In her study, Ramey analyzed factors such as: how often did fathers bring children to orphanages as opposed to mothers? How many children were full orphans, half-orphans, or had two living parents? What was the occupation of parents who brought children to orphanages? How long did children typically stay in an orphanage? Ramey's findings reveal that working-class parents, both black and white, utilized orphanages for temporary child care during a family crisis.

An extensive study of the WOFS and IAFCC, similar to Ramey's, would be possible using census records to track parents (when a parents name is listed in the record) and children. However, such a study would be impeded by inconsistent record keeping (in the early years of the WOFS) and the 1890 census (which was destroyed in a 1921 fire)—causing such a study to need to begin in 1900. This thesis—which examines both orphanage's founding and early growth—lays the groundwork for a further, full-length study of Indianapolis's orphanages in the twentieth century.

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[443] Ramey, *Child Care in Black and White*, 1-2. According to Ramey, her work is "the first full-length comparative study of black and white child care in the United States."

Alternatively, an analysis of the German General Protestant Orphan Home (GPOH) would provide valuable insight into the German immigrant culture that shaped Indianapolis.[444] In 1867, German Americans in Indianapolis established the Deutschen Allgemeinnen Protestantischen Waisenvereins as a response to the growing number of orphaned children that followed the Civil War.[445] In 1971, the managers changed the organization's name to the Pleasant Run Children's Home. An examination of the Pleasant Run Children's Home would complement this thesis and contribute to the overall study of Indianapolis orphanages. It would be especially interesting to discover how the German orphanage interacted with parents—was the institution more similar to the WOFS or the IAFCC in its view of parents' rights? The GPOH records are housed at the Indiana Historical Society, ready for analysis.

Studying orphanages can at times be disheartening. Stories of neglect, abuse, abandonment, indenture, and death are found throughout the WOFS and IAFCC records. Stories of family separation, a longing for one's biological family, and ultimate disappointment are also prevalent. Eddie Anderson and Willie Fisher both grew up in Indianapolis orphanages and tried to find their biological families as adults. Neither the WOFS nor the IAFCC kept a record indicating they ever responded to Eddie or Willie's letters. The men likely never succeeded in finding their biological parents.

Despite the stories of heartache and death, there are stories of hope, adoption, and life. Some adults adopted children from the WOFS through the indenture system. IAFCC

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[444] Giles R. Hoyt, "Germans," in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 618. According to Hoyt, "people with ancestral ties to Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, and other German-speaking provinces of central and eastern Europe constitute the largest ethnic group in Indianapolis and have since the city's formative years."

[445] Collection Guide; Pleasant Run Children's Home Records, 1867-1985 (hereafter PRCHR), M0227, IHS. The organization changed its official language from German to English in 1918.

officers continually sought to send children to good homes. Some children wrote to the orphanage after they had been placed in a home to say they were happy. The records of the WOFS and IAFCC tell real stories of ordinary women and men, boys and girls who lived and died in nineteenth-century Indiana. More importantly, the records provide the opportunity to share the stories, both of heartache and joy, of Hoosier children. The records enable the historian to put "children back into the story" of nineteenth-century orphanages.[446]

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[446] Jones, *Intimate Reconstructions*, 11.

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Curriculum Vitae

Emily Anne Engle

EDUCATION

Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis
Master of Arts, History                                            2018
Concentration in Public History

Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis
Bachelor of Arts, History                                          2015
Minors in Theatre and Classical Studies

PROFESSIONAL AND RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Public History Intern                                          2016-2017
Exhibitions Department
Indiana Historical Society

Public History Intern                                          2015-2016
Office of Communication Education and Outreach
Indiana Supreme Court

Research Assistant                                             2014-2015
Frederick Douglass Papers
IUPUI

Research Participant                                          Summer 2013
Undergraduate Research Opportunities Program
    -   Research project at the Benjamin Harrison Presidential Site
IUPUI

Poster Presentation                                          November 2013
19th Annual Indiana University Undergraduate Research Conference
Indiana University

ORGANIZATIONS

Graduate Student History Association
        President                                             2016-2017
        Member                                                2015-2018

Phi Alpha Theta, history honors society
        President                                             2014-2015
        Member                                              2014-present

Phi Eta Sigma, national honors society
President                                                  2012-2013
Student Advisor                                            2013-2015
Member                                                    2012-present

Alpha Lambda Delta, national honors society
Student advisor                                            2013-2015
Member                                                    2012-present


HONORS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND AWARDS

Patricia Graham Graduate Fellowship                        2015-2016
Phi Eta Sigma Graduate Fellowship                          2015-2016
Liberal Arts Faculty Medal of Academic Distinction              2015
Seregny Award for Best History Student                          2015
Rebecca E. Pitts Scholarship                               2014-2015
Mary F. Crisler Research Scholarship      2013-2014 and 2014-2015
Loretta Lunsford Scholarship                               2013-2014
IUPUI Top 100 Student                                          2014
Alpha Lambda Delta James G. Stemler Study Abroad Scholarship    2014
Phi Eta Sigma Founder's Fund Scholarship                       2013