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A PUBLICATION OF THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TRACES

OF INDIANA AND MIDWESTERN HISTORY SUMMER 1996 \$5

STEPHEN E. AMBROSE

on the Hoosier at Supreme Headquarters



THE MONON LINE ♦ BUILDING 314 ♦ GERMAN FURNITURE



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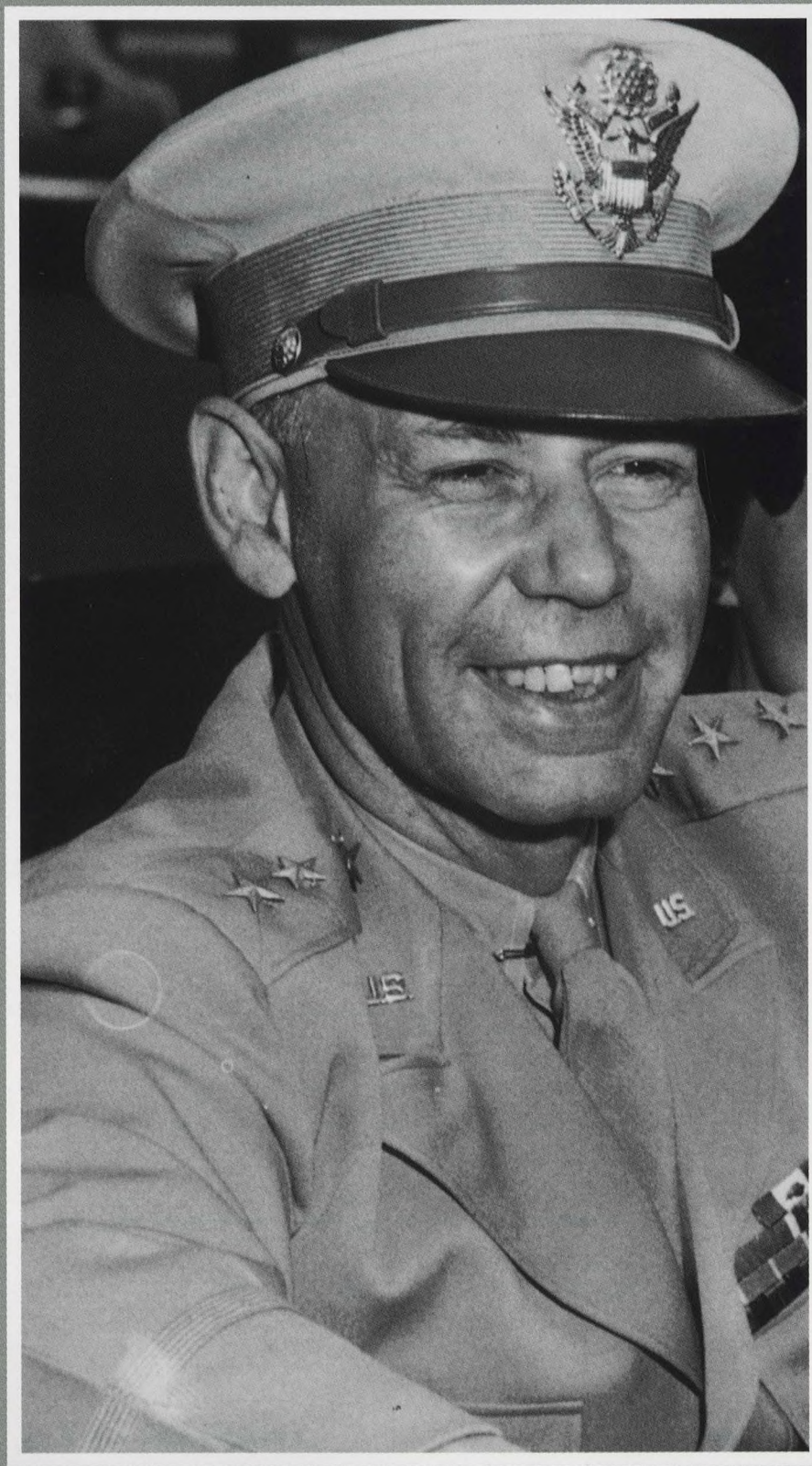
STEPHEN E. AMBROSE

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At My Father's Grave

ROBERT KETTLER

COVER: LIEUTENANT GENERAL WALTER BEDELL SMITH (CREDIT: GARY YOHLER/FREDRICK VOLLRATH, TIFFANY STUDIO, INDIANAPOLIS TIMES COLLECTION). INSIDE FRONT COVER: ENGINEER CHARLES MARTIN OILS A WHEEL ON A MONON STEAM LOCOMOTIVE (CREDIT: IHS C6540). ABOVE: THE MONON BEGAN AS THE NEW ALBANY AND SALEM RAIL ROAD (CREDIT: IHS MONON COLLECTION). OUTSIDE BACK COVER: "MONON: THE HOOSIER LINE" (CREDIT: IHS MONON COLLECTION).



GARY YOUNG/FREIBRICK VOLLBATH, TIFFANY STUDIO, INDIANAPOLIS TIMES COLLECTION

ON 20 JUNE 1945 LIEUTENANT GENERAL WALTER BEDELL SMITH RETURNED TO HIS HOMETOWN OF INDIANAPOLIS FOR A PARADE THROUGH DOWNTOWN AND A LUNCHEON AT THE CLAYPOOL HOTEL. AS GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER'S CHIEF OF STAFF, SMITH HAD PRESIDED OVER GERMANY'S SURRENDER A MONTH AND A HALF EARLIER.

THE ULTIMATE SPEAR CARRIER

W

ALTER BEDELL SMITH ALWAYS WANTED TO BE A SOLDIER. THAT'S WHAT THOSE WHO KNEW HIM AS A CHILD REMEMBERED MOST ABOUT HIM WHEN THEY ANSWERED QUESTIONS FOR EAGER INDIANAPOLIS REPORTERS IN LATE SEPTEMBER 1943. HAVING RISEN FROM PRIVATE IN THE INDIANA NATIONAL GUARD TO CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ALLIED FORCES HEADQUARTERS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, SMITH HAD RECENTLY SIGNED THE ARMISTICE ENDING HOSTILITIES WITH ITALY, AND THE NEWSPAPERS SCRAMBLED TO PUBLICIZE THE CONNECTIONS TO HIS HOMETOWN.

His Aunt Lena Bedell recalled for the *Indianapolis Star* how he had tamed a neighborhood bully at the age of seven and how he would fill her parlor with toy soldiers when he visited, "ambushing them under rocking chairs and deploying them in battle formation sometimes as far as the dining room." Called Bedell as a child, his mother's maiden name, Smith was known as Beetle to those, like Eisenhower, who were close to him. His Aunt Lena thought that more people in Indianapolis would know who he was if he still went by Bedell publicly instead of the name that often appeared in the papers, "Gen. Walter B. Smith."

Cronies from the old neighborhood remembered him as "Boodle," a nickname derived from his stocky build, and described him as a "scrapper" who led them in drills in his backyard, where an old streetcar served as military headquarters. Here Boodle also instilled in at least one of them an appreciation for "sub-rosa" cigars. More stories about Smith surfaced in the hometown papers after the D-Day invasion, revealing the major role he played in its planning and management as Eisenhower's chief of staff, and again after he signed the German surrender document on 7 May 1945 in Reims, France.

In June upwards of 50,000 people lined the streets of Indianapolis, many waiting for more than an hour, to get a glimpse of their conquering Hoosier hero during a ten-minute parade that one newspaper dubbed "the briefest in the city's history." Not much interested in selling war bonds, the ostensible purpose for his visit, Smith nevertheless told those assembled at a luncheon, "You can't imagine what it means to get back home to friendly people." Governor Ralph F. Gates read a telegram from Supreme Commander Eisenhower that ranked Smith "with or above history's greatest chiefs of staff of field forces" and stated that his "con-

tributions to the Allied cause in Europe have not been excelled by any other individual in the entire Allied Expeditionary Force." Smith replied: "His praise for me is wrong in that it does me far too much honor. My job has been one of planning the battles in comparative safety behind the lines. I genuinely regret I could not have shared the hardships with the men on the front lines." It was the same tone he had used during a press conference before the parade started, telling his scribbling audience that he was "no national hero—just a spear carrier."

Though Smith succeeded in the military beyond his wildest boyhood dreams, according to his biographer D. K. R. Crosswell he never got over the nagging regret that he did so not as a valiant field commander but rather as the quintessential professional manager. Smith would later serve his country as ambassador to the Soviet Union, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and undersecretary of state, and after leaving public service he would parlay his experience and connections into a substantial fortune. His career as a soldier, however, culminated in the joyous celebration in Indianapolis on 20 June 1945, when the veil of obscurity behind which he had assiduously labored as the supreme commander's chief of staff briefly lifted.

In this issue acclaimed historian Stephen E. Ambrose—author of numerous books, including multivolume biographies of Dwight D. Eisenhower and Richard M. Nixon, the compelling narrative *D-Day*, and the currently best-selling *Undaunted Courage*—surveys the match "made in heaven" between Eisenhower and Smith that played such a crucial role in the Allied victory in Europe.

J. KENT CALDER
Managing Editor

04/13/39
2001 83 JUL
For 124 years

INDIANA'S MONON RAILROAD WAS LIKE THE FRIENDLY FAMILY DOWN THE BLOCK WHOSE MEMBERS CHARACTERISTICALLY BUMBLED, STUMBLED, AND FELL BUT ALWAYS LANDED ON THEIR FEET AND CAME UP SMILING. THE MONON, LIKE THOSE MYTHICAL NEIGHBORS, WAS UNCOMPLICATED, HOSPITABLE, SOCIABLE, AND FOLKSY, PRONE TO MISTAKES BUT ADMIRER FOR GIVING IT THAT OLD COLLEGE TRY AND BOUNCING BACK.

YET FOR ALL ITS SHORTCOMINGS AND SELF-INFLICTED WOUNDS, THE MONON SURVIVED TO BECOME A HOOSIER INSTITUTION THAT CALLED ITSELF THE "LIFELINE OF INDIANA." IT WAS SO PROUD OF ITS HOOSIER HERITAGE THAT IT EMBLAZONED "THE HOOSIER LINE" IN BOLD SCRIPT ACROSS THE NOSES OF ITS POWERFUL NEW DIESEL LOCOMOTIVES AND THE SIDES OF ITS FREIGHT CARS SO THAT EVERYONE WOULD KNOW. IT IS INSEPARABLY BOUND UP WITH MANY OF INDIANA'S GREATEST ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND MOST FAMILIAR INSTITUTIONS.

Richard S. Simons

RIGHT: THE NEW HOOSIER
MAKES ITS EXHIBITION RUN IN
THE SUMMER OF 1947 WITH
ELECTRO-MOTIVE F-3 No. 81
LEADING THE WAY.
THE HOOSIER WAS THE
MONON'S FAMED EVENING
CHICAGO TO INDIANAPOLIS
TRAIN.

THE MONON RAILROAD

TRACES

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SOCIETY LIBRARY**





Summer 1996

COURTESY DAVE FERGUSON'S PHOTO ART, IHS KCT246

The Monon's problems began with its original route, which was never intended for use by a railroad. Indiana's mammoth internal improvement program of 1836 included a macadam road between New Albany and Crawfordsville, and the state spent \$339,000 for grading before the entire program collapsed. To salvage what it could, the state approved construction of a privately owned railroad instead, and in 1847 the New Albany and Salem Rail Road was incorporated. It shortly began construction over grades and alignments intended for a highway, which were much different than the requirements of a railroad. The goal was not Crawfordsville, but a line all the way to Lake Michigan.

Early management committed some colossal blunders. The founders conceived of the railroad as a transporter of central Indiana agricultural products to Ohio River steamers at New Albany and built the easiest grades southbound. Instead, the Monon primarily carried southern coal and other cargo to northern ports, and the heavy grades worked against it. Developers also planned on Michigan City becoming the preferred Great Lakes port and built there instead of to Chicago. They spent nearly thirty years attempting to rectify their mistake.

Moreover, although its owners considered the railroad a river-traffic feeder, it inexplicably stopped five blocks short of the Ohio River in New Albany. Rails were laid on city streets in four cities and towns, handicapping operations for nearly a century and a half. (Lafayette became famous for its downtown traffic snarls whenever Monon trains crept along Fifth Street.) And while the operators attempted to build a branch to Indianapolis, the state's most important terminal, they gave up, only to regret the decision and correct it at great cost.

It all began, however, as a gleam in the eye of James Brooks, a visionary New Albany merchant. He and six quickly gathered associates met on 2 July 1847 and, as the first shareholders, adopted the name New Albany and Salem Rail Road Company. By 1 July 1848 Brooks, who had been elected president, had the entire thirty-five miles under contract. The first train arrived in Salem on 14 January 1851.

Stopping only to catch their breath, the directors pushed on, determined to reach Crawfordsville, where

a railroad was under construction to connect with the Wabash and Erie Canal at Lafayette. The original plan to build from Salem directly to Bedford was shelved under the pressure of substantial stock subscriptions from residents of Orleans. Consequently the line turned almost due west at the boundary between Washington and Orange Counties and at Orleans turned north on a five-degree curve, one of the sharpest in the system. The road then continued through Mitchell and Bedford to Bloomington, which it reached on 11 October 1853. In January 1854 it reached Gosport.

By this time, the Crawfordsville and Wabash Railway had completed its line from Crawfordsville to

Lafayette, where shippers found a direct outlet to the East over the Wabash and Erie Canal to Lake Erie and beyond. Since it fit precisely into its New Albany-Michigan City plans, the New Albany and Salem acquired the Crawfordsville and Wabash for approximately \$400,000 divided between cash and assumption of bond liabilities. By pushing its own road northward

**IT WAS SO PROUD OF ITS HOOSIER
HERITAGE THAT IT EMBLAZONED
"THE HOOSIER LINE" IN BOLD SCRIPT
ACROSS THE NOSES OF ITS POWERFUL
NEW DIESEL LOCOMOTIVES AND
THE SIDES OF ITS FREIGHT CARS
SO THAT EVERYONE WOULD KNOW.**

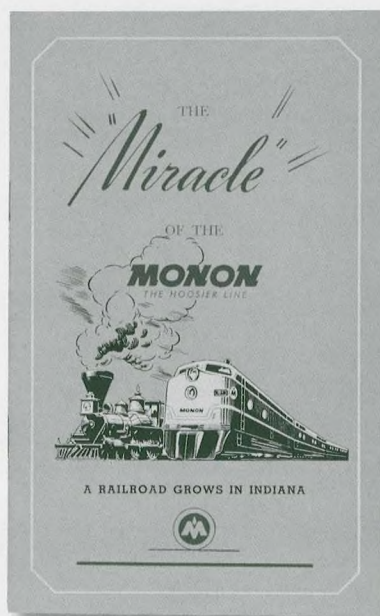
from Gosport to Crawfordsville, fifty-six miles away, the New Albany and Salem now had a continuous line from New Albany to Lafayette.

Meanwhile, the New Albany and Salem pushed south from Michigan City and by October 1853 the first train chuffed into Lafayette. The first through train from Michigan City arrived in New Albany on 30 June 1854, where fifteen thousand enthusiasts observed its coming with a mammoth celebration. Typically Monon, the festivities occurred four days after the train arrived.

But completion came at a price. Chronically short of money, the New Albany and Salem found rough going for the Michigan City segment. At the same time, the Michigan Central Railroad, battling its rival, the Michigan Southern, for early entry into Chicago, struck a deal with the NA&S for use of its unlimited charter to build from Michigan City to the Illinois state line. In return, the Michigan Central bought \$500,000 worth of New Albany and Salem stock. The proceeds financed the Michigan City-Lafayette line, and the NA&S clung to the thin hope that it, too, could reach Chicago. Such hopes were dashed, however, when the road later was placed in receivership, a victim of the panic of 1857, high bonded debt, and a drought that halted Ohio River



IHS C6852



IHS MONON COLLECTION

TOP: ENGINE 422, AN EARLY-TWENTIETH-CENTURY STEAM ENGINE BUILT BY ALCO-BROOKS. STEAM LOCOMOTIVES REQUIRED REGULAR MAINTENANCE AND FREQUENT SERVICING. **BOTTOM:** WORKING TO REVITALIZE THE MONON, JOHN BARRIGER OVERSAW THE RAILROAD'S TRANSITION FROM STEAM TO DIESEL POWER IN THE LATE 1940S. HIS EFFORTS TO MODERNIZE THE RAILROAD WERE PART OF THE "MIRACLE OF THE MONON" PROCLAIMED IN THIS PAMPHLET.



COURTESY DAVE FERGUSON'S PHOTO ART, IHS KCT245

RAYMOND LOEWY USED A KENTUCKY DERBY THEME IN STYLING THE INTERIOR OF THE DINING-BAR-LOUNGE CAR. A NOTED INDUSTRIAL DESIGNER KNOWN FOR THE STREAMLINED BEAUTY HE BROUGHT TO INDUSTRIAL OBJECTS, LOEWY HAD DESIGNED THE NEW BROADWAY LIMITED FOR THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD IN 1938.



COURTESY DAVE FERGUSON'S PHOTO ART, IHS KCT242

traffic and depleted Hoosier crop yields. With the action went the original charter rights, as well as James Brooks's control and the name New Albany and Salem.

Service between Lafayette and Michigan City had scarcely begun before the road ran headlong into one of the seriocomic incidents that dogged its heels to the end but endeared it to its admirers. Principal actor and undisputed star of the drama was Horace Greeley, distinguished editor of the *New York Tribune* and later a presidential candidate, who is sometimes credited with the advice, "Go West, young man"—advice that he took but regretted. Greeley didn't like his trip.

After speaking at the 1853 Indiana State Fair in Lafayette, Greeley attempted to board a New Albany and Salem train for Westville where a carriage was to meet him for the trip to another engagement at La Porte. In an incredible comedy of errors, Greeley, following well-intentioned but mistaken directions, attempted to depart from the wrong station, watched his train disappear over the horizon, was stymied by indifferent employees, and hours later left town on a freight train that included five carloads of live hogs.

With rising indignation, Greeley's dispatch to the *Tribune* described how the locomotive traveled thirteen uncertain miles to Brookston, waited two hours for fuel and water, and immediately broke down once under way. Determined to press on, Greeley borrowed a handcar, requisitioned the necessary human motive power, and started toward Culvertown, forty-three miles north, where a serviceable locomotive was said to be stationed.

"We were . . . propelling by two," Greeley wrote, "as if turning a heavy, two-handed grindstone . . . the car, about equal in size to a wheelbarrow and a half, just

managed to hold us and give the propellers working room. To economize space, I sat a good part of the time facing backward, with my feet hanging over the rear of the car, knocking here or there on a tie or bridge timber, and often tickled through my boots by the coarse, rank weeds growing up at intervals between the ties and recently stiffened by the hard October frosts."

Shortly after midnight, Greeley, at his curmudgeonly best, told how he arrived at Culvertown (now San Pierre) only to find the locomotive gone. His propellers would go no farther. Undaunted, he began pounding on doors until he had awakened enough fresh motive power to propel him to Westville, twenty-four miles beyond.

At 4:00 A.M. he arrived after making his way through the ghostly Kankakee swamp under a full moon and crossing the river "on a pok-erish bridge of native timbers wherein the Kankakee oozes and creeps sluggishly westward. . . . They say the Kankakee has a rapid current and dry, inviting banks from the point

where it crosses the Illinois line, which might tempt one to regret that it did not

cross the line 40 miles higher up. . . . Bunyan might have improved his description of the Slough of Despond had he been favored with a vision of the Kankakee marshes."

Once rid of Greeley, the Monon went about its business more conventionally. But not for long. Only four years after the first train rattled and bounced the length of the line financial problems forced it into a ten-year trusteeship, followed by the first of several receiverships. During this period, the road changed its name to the Louisville, New Albany, and Chicago Railroad to reflect its newer, broader vision and to reaffirm that Chicago was still the goal.

MONON ROUTE
 "The Hoosier 'Railroad'"
 SHORTEST LINE
 BETWEEN
 INDIANAPOLIS AND
 CHICAGO

MONON ROUTE
 "The Hoosier 'Railroad'"
 THE LINE TO
 FRENCH LICK SPRINGS, IND.
 World Famous Health and
 Pleasure Resort

THE traveler who wishes to see Indiana must go riding on the Monon. It was the first iron trail to be pushed from one end of the state to the other. That is why so many worth-while things may be seen from the car window.

The Monon pathway is by open prairies and deep woodland, across the Kankakee and Tippecanoe and Wabash, up to the gates of important cities, and through the quiet shades of college towns. It links the Ohio with the Grand Calumet and

lays a friendly hand on factories, fields, and quarries through an important chain of counties.

The name "Monon" is Indian. It means "swift-running." The railway began to make history some eighty years ago. My first dream, as a Hoosier boy, was to ride away on the Monon toward the Heaven-piercing spires of LaFayette or Michigan City. The Monon is "catty-cornered" to the whole State of Indiana, and all its trains are "Hoosiers."

—GEORGE ADE.

CHICAGO — JUNE 1 — NOVEMBER 1, 1933

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THE MONON COLLECTION

IN DEVELOPING PUBLICITY, THE MONON CALLED ON POPULAR INDIANA HUMORIST GEORGE ADE TO TOUT THE RAILROAD'S MERITS.



LOCAL TRADITION IN THE TOWN OF MONON, WHICH WAS NAMED AFTER A STREAM RUNNING THROUGH IT, HELD THAT THE NAME WAS A POTAWATOMI WORD MEANING "SWIFT RUNNING," ALTHOUGH "TO CARRY" IS A CLOSER TRANSLATION. THE MONON ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT USED THE NATIVE AMERICAN HERITAGE BEHIND THE RAILROAD'S NAME IN ITS PROMOTIONS.

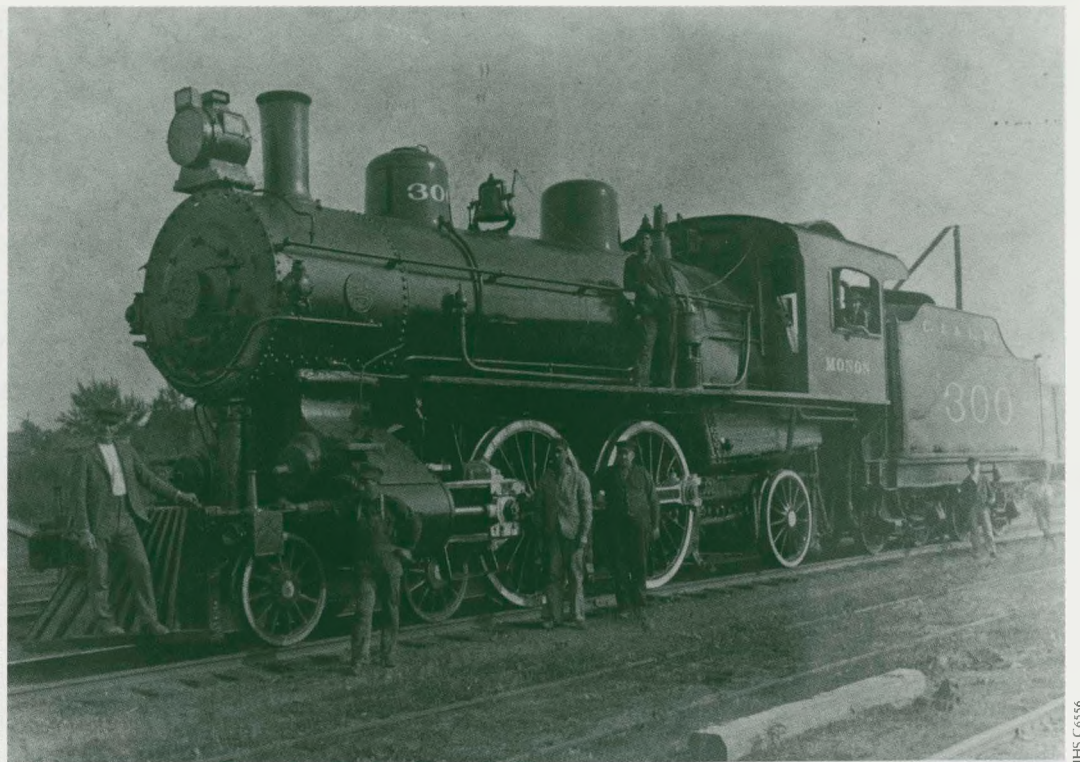
It reached its goal in an unexpected way in 1883. As early as 1865 promoters had attempted to connect Indianapolis and Chicago by forming the Indianapolis, Delhi, and Chicago Railway. Not much happened until 1872 when it attracted the attention of a vastly larger undertaking, the Chicago and South Atlantic Railway, which proposed a line between Charleston, South Carolina, and Chicago. The ID&C would form the northern segment.

Despite many miles of grading in Indiana, Illinois, and the Carolinas, the project collapsed in 1875, but the ID&C emerged independent and determined. With new financing in place, the road completed its initial segment and ran its first train between Bradford, later renamed Monon, and Rensselaer on 14 February 1878. More than a year and a half later, on 4 September 1879, the first train entered Delhi. By this time, the ID&C had become the Chicago and Indianapolis Air Line Railway, and its stated terminals fit neatly into the LNA&C's long-range plans. In 1881 the Air Line sold to the LNA&C, which formally merged it in 1883. The railroad took its nickname, which later became its corporate title, from the White County town of Monon where the original New Albany–Michigan City route and the Air Line crossed.

With its two main lines in operation, the expansion-minded Monon turned to branch acquisitions. In 1886 it acquired two short railroads, one connecting Orleans and French Lick and the second extending from Bedford to Bloomfield. The French Lick road lived on passengers; the Bloomfield line, on freight.

The eighteen-mile branch from Orleans carried the nation's elite to the nationally renowned resorts at French Lick and West Baden. During the pre-auto days and into the 1920s, the Monon operated up to twelve trains daily, which included Indianapolis–French Lick trains jointly with the Pennsylvania Railroad and through sleeping cars from such distant points as New York. On Kentucky Derby weekend, extra trains ran on the French Lick branch nearly with streetcar frequency.

The rustic forty-one-mile narrow-gauge Bedford and Bloomfield Railroad, which began life under the grandiose name of Bedford, Springville, Owensburg, and Bloomfield, gave the Monon a long-sought entry into the revenue-rich Indiana coal fields, although the right of way was cheaply constructed, the rails were flimsy, and its only major bridge was weak. The Monon immediately laid a third rail on the first six miles out of Bedford to accommodate its heavy limestone traffic.



LEFT: IN 1933 THE MONON CARRIED HOOSIERS TO THE CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXPOSITION IN CHICAGO. OVER THE YEARS, THE RAILROAD RAN A NUMBER OF SPECIAL PASSENGER TRAINS, INCLUDING BACK-TO-SCHOOL, FOOTBALL, AND INDIANAPOLIS 500 SPECIALS, BUT PERHAPS THE MOST POPULAR WERE THE DERBY TRAINS THAT RAN ON KENTUCKY DERBY WEEKENDS. **RIGHT:** SOME OF THE CREW POSE WITH ENGINE 300, A STEAM LOCOMOTIVE BUILT BY BROOKS LOCOMOTIVE WORKS IN 1901. THE PILOT (COWCATCHER), HEADLAMP, AND BELL WERE NECESSARY SAFETY DEVICES FOR TRAINS THAT RAN ON UNFENCED RAILWAYS AND OFTEN AT NIGHT.

Despite occasional mishaps and inconveniences, the fourteen-mile-an-hour passenger train was known affectionately to its hill country neighbors as “Old Nellie.”

During the 1880s the railroad attempted to penetrate the eastern Kentucky coal fields but aborted its plans. Disputed financial obligations incurred in Kentucky forced it into the courts, where federal judge and future U.S. president William Howard Taft found the railroad liable. This threw it into another receivership in 1896. It emerged as the Chicago, Indianapolis, and Louisville Railway. In 1902 the Louisville and Nashville Railroad and the Southern Railway acquired 93 percent of the common stock.

One of the company's first moves was to build a new route into the southwestern Indiana coal fields, this time from the northeast. By 1907 it had completed a forty-seven-mile branch that at one time served thirty-four mines before it was abandoned in 1981. The Monon also acquired, in 1914, the Chicago and Wabash Valley Railway, a thirty-two-mile line mostly in Jasper County. It had been built as a local agricultural line, but the Monon planned to develop it as part of a double-track system. This didn't materialize, however, and the Monon abandoned the line in 1935. Reflecting typical Monon folksiness, it had become known locally as the “Onion Belt.”

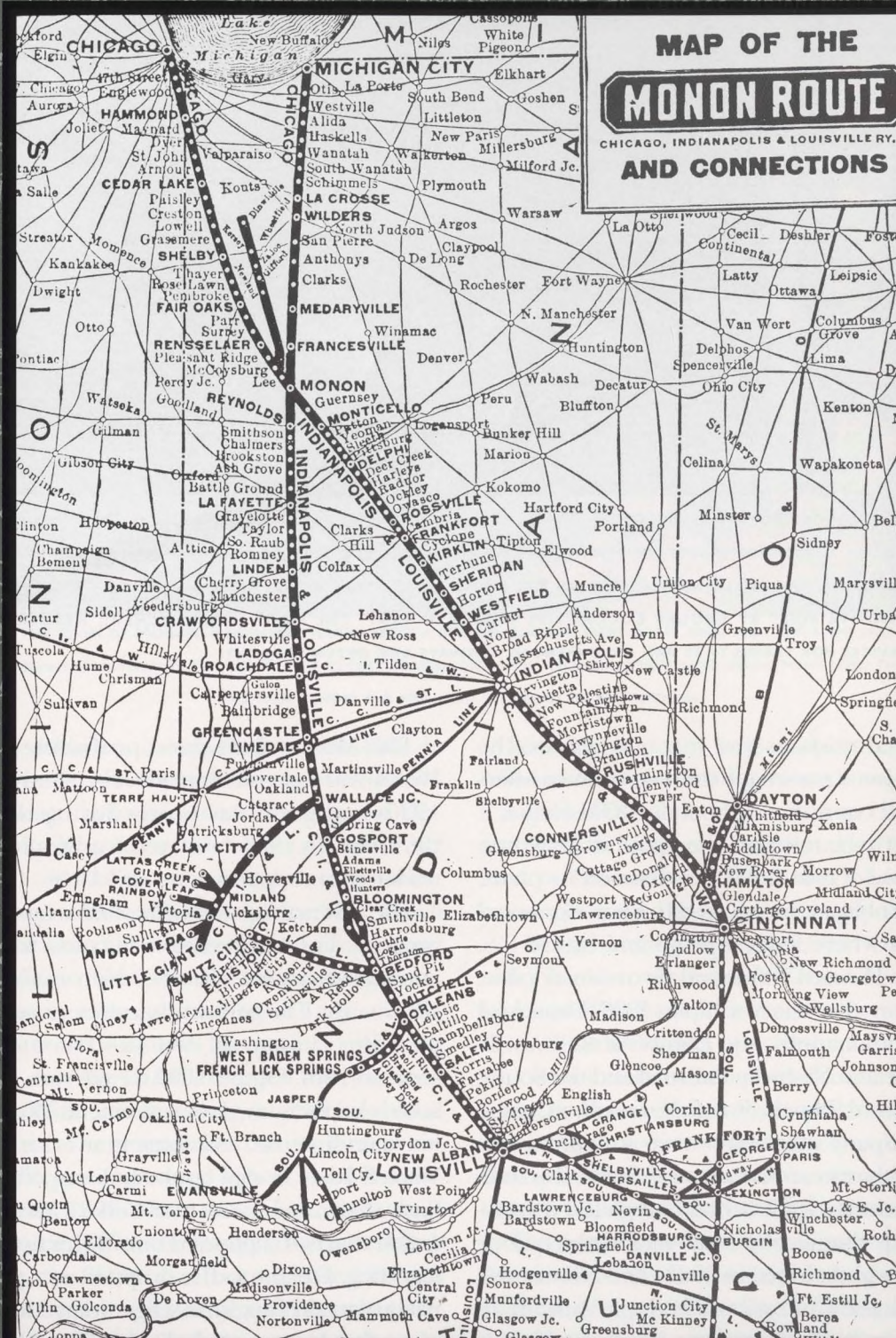
The Monon continued profitable throughout the World War I period, but adverse trends appeared in the 1920s and grew alarmingly during the depression of the 1930s. In 1933 it entered bankruptcy and continued under court supervision until 1946.

The new management inherited an archaic and decrepit property. The road owned seventy-four locomotives, mostly antiquated steam tea kettles, which averaged twenty-seven years in age. The newest was seventeen years old. Only four passenger cars were all steel. Most dated to World War I and some to 1904. Of the 3,002 freight cars, nearly 1,200 were scheduled for immediate retirement. Most rail was too light for main-line use, and some grades were excessive. The Wabash River bridge on the Indianapolis line was dangerously shaky, and tracks near Cedar Lake ran on a wooden trestle that was supported only by friction over a “bottomless” bog. Freight traffic dropped as a proportion of the national total. A single passenger train out of Chicago, which was split at Monon into Indianapolis and Louisville sections, survived from the days when forty-five trains trod Monon rails. The through Chicago-Cincinnati service, operated jointly with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, was long gone.

To survive, the Monon needed a miracle man. It found him in John W. Barriger III, who had solid credentials

MAP OF THE MONON ROUTE

MAP OF THE MONON ROUTE CHICAGO, INDIANAPOLIS & LOUISVILLE, KY. AND CONNECTIONS



PASSING THROUGH NUMEROUS SMALL TOWNS ON ITS WAY TO URBAN DESTINATIONS, THE MONON ENDEARED ITSELF TO HOOSIERS ALL ALONG THE ROUTE. "THE FACES ACROSS THE AISLE WERE FAMILIAR," JOHN HILLMAN WROTE IN A PIECE FOR THE 5 MARCH 1945 INDIANAPOLIS TIMES, "THE NAMES YOU HEARD MENTIONED WERE THOSE OF YOUR FRIENDS, OR FRIENDS OF YOUR FRIENDS. . . IT WAS AN INSTITUTION AND A TRADITION IN INDIANA."



IHS C6550

A-12-91-300.

BROOKS LOCOMOTIVE WORKS.

F. H. STEVENSON, President.
R. J. GROSS, Vice President.
M. L. HIRMAN, Treasurer. D. RUSSELL, Superintendent.
T. M. HEQUEMBOURG, Secretary. H. TANDY, Assistant Sup't.

DUNKIRK, N. Y.

No. *41735* *June 23rd 1897*

Specification

For a Locomotive Engine, of the *Eight-wheel passenger* Type. Class *18 1/2 A.* having *four* coupled wheels, a *four* wheeled rigid center leading truck, and a *4000* gallon, *eight wheeled tender*.
For *Louisville, New Albany, and Chicago, Ky. Co.*

CYLINDERS.		Driving Wheels.	BOILER.		FIRE BOX.		FLUES.		WHEEL BASE.			WEIGHT IN WORKING ORDER.				
Dia.	Stroke.	Dia.	Dia.	Length and Width.	No.	Dia.	Length.	Rigid.	Driving.	Leading.	Total.	ABOUT.				
<i>18 1/2</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>97' x 1' 3/4</i>	<i>300</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>11' 7 1/2</i>	<i>8' 6"</i>	<i>8' 6"</i>	<i>23' 5"</i>	<i>48' 6"</i>	<i>38,000</i>	<i>9,000</i>	<i>47,000</i>	<i>42,300</i>	<i>124,800</i>

Gauge *4* feet *8 1/2* inches. Boiler pressure *190* pounds. Fuel *Bituminous coal*.

GENERAL DESIGN SHOWN BELOW.

DETAILED SPECIFICATION.

BOILER. *Radial stayed wagon top* type. Diameter of waist *62* inches.
Boiler shell made throughout of *homogeneous boiler* steel plates.
Waist *7/8 x 1/16* throat sheet front flue sheet *7/8* inch thick.
Boiler well braced in all its parts and provided with extra well pieces for studs of expansion braces.
Plates planed at edge and chafed with round-nosed tool, preventing injury to plates.
Dome placed *on coast*. Boiler tested at *230* *contingent* pounds pressure.
Longitudinal seams *quadruple* riveted. Rivets *1* inch diameter.
Vertical seams double riveted.
Pilot holes to be named after boiler is put together

Riveting.

Note. For extras see sheet No. 4.

IHS C6554



IHS C6542

TOP LEFT: JOHN BARRIGER CONGRATULATES FORMER HOOSIER AND LONGTIME CARTOONIST FOR THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE JOHN T. McCUTCHEON ON THE CHRISTENING OF THE NEW HOOSIER, 17 AUGUST 1947. BARRIGER CHOSE McCUTCHEON BECAUSE HIS CAREER SYMBOLIZED A LINK BETWEEN RURAL INDIANA AND CHICAGO, SOMETHING THE MONON PROVIDED AS WELL. **BOTTOM LEFT:** WORKERS MAKE REPAIRS ON AN ENGINE IN THE LAFAYETTE SHOPS. COMPLETED IN 1896, AT A COST OF \$398,852, THE SHOPS WERE DESIGNED FOR REPAIRS ON STEAM LOCOMOTIVES, BUT WERE USED THROUGH THE DIESEL ERA. THE MEN WHO WORKED HERE WERE CALLED UPON TO MAINTAIN DIESEL ENGINES, BOXCARS, HOPPERS, AND COACHES. AMONG THEIR GREATEST ACCOMPLISHMENTS WERE REFITTING EX-ARMY CARS FOR PASSENGER SERVICE (1947-48), BUILDING BAY-WINDOW-CUPOLA CABOOS (1956-57), AND PUTTING NEW ENGINES IN FAIRBANKS-MORSE DIESELS (1960-61). **RIGHT:** THE SPECIFICATIONS FOR A STEAM LOCOMOTIVE ORDERED BY THE LOUISVILLE, NEW ALBANY, AND CHICAGO RAILROAD IN 1897.

as a practical railroader, financial expert, and transportation visionary and, as soon became apparent, was a master of public relations. He assumed the presidency in 1946 and with bold, imaginative moves launched the Monon into its golden era. He rejuvenated the company and brought hope and a rededication to service. Although Barriger served only six years and eight months, and died twenty years ago, his name is still spoken often and with awe and reverence.

Barriger believed in the "super-railroad," based on speed, superior track structure, and advanced signaling, and he consistently espoused its cause, although the Monon seemed an

unlikely road to promote to this status. He talked of two-and-one-half-hour service between Indianapolis and Chicago and of the imminent advent of the steam turbine locomotive.

The obstacles seemed overwhelming. He needed to win back shippers with reliable freight schedules; regain passengers by offering comfort, speed, and dependability; and restore employee morale with operating practice, structure, and equipment improvements.

Barriger replaced the entire steam locomotive fleet with diesel-electrics, making the Monon one of the nation's first roads to do so. He bought approximately 1,400 new freight cars, which equaled nearly half the fleet he inherited.



ACCORDING TO GENERAL MOTORS, ITS THREE-THOUSAND-HORSEPOWER DIESEL FREIGHT LOCOMOTIVES IN SERVICE ON THE MONON WERE CAPABLE OF MOVING HEAVIER TONNAGE OVER GREATER DISTANCES IN LESS TIME THAN ANY OTHER TYPE OF LOCOMOTIVE IN THEIR HORSEPOWER RANGE.

IHS KCT244



IHS MONON COLLECTION

But he showed his greatest ingenuity in replacing passenger cars. Postwar demand would have kept him waiting two years for new cars, so he acquired twenty-eight U.S. army hospital cars at the bargain price of \$16,500 each. The road's Lafayette Shops rebuilt them, and noted designer Raymond Loewy created attractive interiors. They were used to restore twice daily round-trip service between Chicago and both Indianapolis and Louisville. Also restored was the overnight French Lick Pullman. Barriger's aggressive methods nearly doubled the Monon's operating revenue within five years and enabled it to spend \$49,000,000 on improvements.

Hoosiers were overjoyed to see the Monon return, but with a new look. They welcomed the streamlined edition of the "Five O'clock Monon" and savored the return of its famous meals. They enjoyed the revival of a Hoosier institution replete with old-fashioned Hoosier hospitality.

Barriger left no public relations stone unturned. With a bow to the principal state universities, the Monon painted its passenger equipment red and gray for Indiana and its freight locomotives black and gold for Purdue. When it replaced the weak Wabash River bridge at Delphi, it did so with a flourish, pointing out that the construction method was revolutionary.

Always willing to experiment to increase passenger convenience, Barriger added a weekend Bloomington-Chicago train to serve the five colleges and universities on its route and briefly used a self-propelled single unit train to augment main-line service. He speeded Indianapolis trains by eliminating small-town stops but protected the service by inaugurating a parallel bus service that met trains at Delphi. Football, Kentucky Derby, and 500-Mile Race specials were common. The road once introduced seven thousand elementary pupils to the wonders of rail travel by running twenty-four trains in twelve days between Indianapolis and Sheridan. Barriger delighted in using gimmicks to the road's advantage. He listed competitors' schedules in Monon timetables for those who found Monon departure times inconvenient. He numbered the new boxcar fleet beginning with No. 1, contending that five- and six-digit numbers wasted accounting time. His business card bore the title "President and Traveling Freight Agent."

By some fortuitous timing, the Monon's new look arrived in step with its centennial in 1947. Barriger made it a festive occasion. He borrowed the nation's oldest operating locomotive, the William Mason, and two period cars to tour the system, commissioned songs

that extolled the attractiveness of Monon service, and established a male quartet and the "Monon Belles" to carry the melodies up and down the line.

But despite its all-out efforts, the Monon fell victim a decade later to the national collapse of passenger traffic. The two Indianapolis-Chicago round-trips were dropped in 1959 and the Louisville-Chicago trains, last on the system, ran their final miles in 1967. It was a sad time, but the trains died with dignity. The Lowell High School band turned out to play appropriate music; volunteers at some stations said farewell with refreshments; and a passenger appeared in a vestibule at each stop to blow the plaintive notes of "Taps."

It was soon evident that the Monon could no longer stand alone. It was much too small and hemmed in by roads too powerful. Consequently it merged with the Louisville and Nashville Railroad in 1971 and through subsequent mergers became part of the extensive CSX system.

This was the beginning of the end of the Monon that generations of Hoosiers had loved. With an eye to economies, its new owners dismembered the system, eliminating the Indianapolis line south of Monticello, doing away with the few remaining branches and, inconceivably, taking up the main line between Bedford and Bloomington. Service also has been discontinued on most of the track between Bloomington and Greencastle, and most south-end traffic is Soo Line trains that have trackage rights between Bedford and Louisville.

It is a sorrowful end to a great tradition. But Hoosiers may find comfort in the Amtrak trains that run on ex-Monon rails from Chicago to Crawfordsville before they head to Washington, D.C.—proving that there is yet life in the old lifeline.

Richard S. Simons last wrote for Traces about Indiana's Eel River Railroad in the spring 1991 issue. He is the author of Rivers of Indiana (1985), and as coauthor he is currently preparing a comprehensive history of Indiana railroads that will be published by Indiana University Press.

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The John W. Barriger III National Railroad Collection is among the holdings of the Saint Louis Mercantile Library.



THE SECRET LIFE OF BUILDING

314

LINDA WEINTRAUT AND JANE R. NOLAN

A GLASS AND CONCRETE BUILDING SIMPLY LABELED "314" STANDS WITHIN THE SPRAWLING LILLY TECHNOLOGY CENTER OF ELI LILLY AND COMPANY AT THE CORNER OF MORRIS STREET AND KENTUCKY AVENUE IN INDIANAPOLIS. LILLY HAS REMADE 314, A FORMER FACTORY, INTO A HIGH-TECH FACILITY IN WHICH SCIENTISTS DEVELOP PHARMACEUTICALS FOR TOMORROW. ITS PRESENT COVERING GIVES IT A MODERN, STATE-OF-THE-ART LOOK, AND THERE ARE FEW CLUES TO THE NATURE OF ANY PREVIOUS ACTIVITY AT THIS SITE. THE HEART OF THE BUILDING, HOWEVER, IS HISTORIC, AND ITS PAST IS INTERWOVEN WITH THAT OF THE CITY AND THE NATION.



MARMON 34

The Marmon 34 has been essentially unchanged for four years and yet has been in greater demand each succeeding year.

*136-In. Wheelbase—1100 lbs. Lighter
12 to 14 Miles Per Gallon
40 to 50 Per Cent More Tire Mileage*

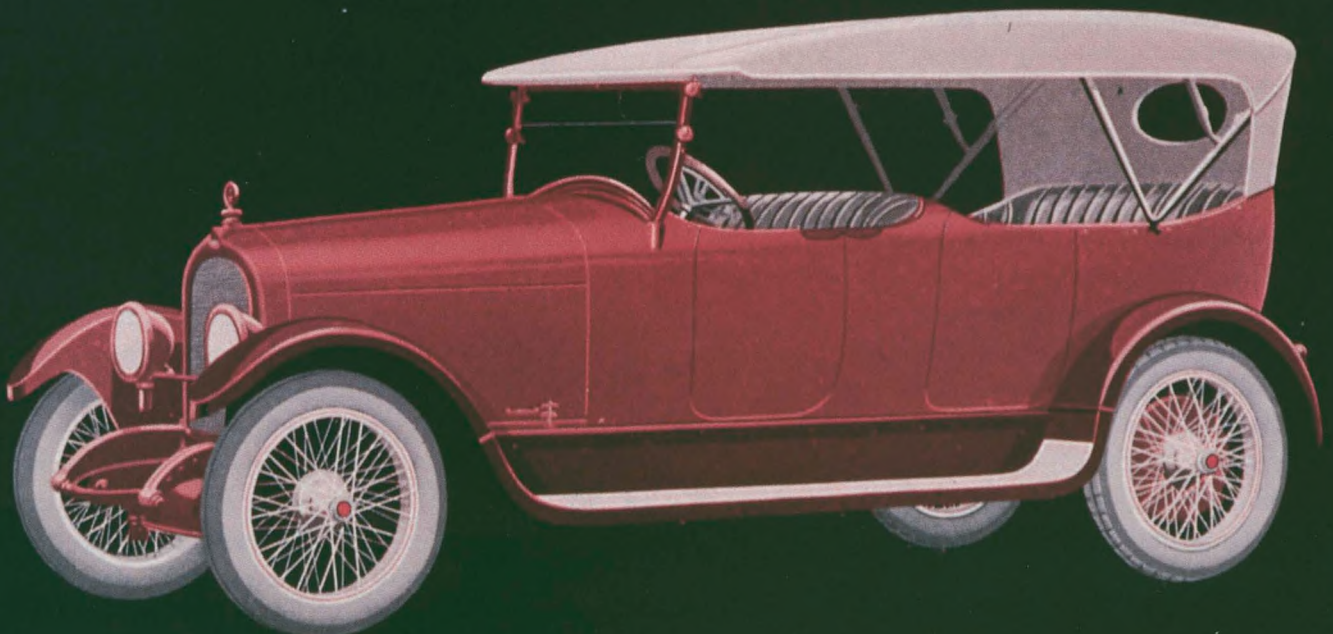
**NORDYKE & MARMON
COMPANY**

Established 1851 : Indianapolis

*Awarded to Nordyke & Marmon Company,
November 1, 1918, for October Competition.
Permanent Award November 16, 1918*



THE GREAT SUCCESS OF
MARMON 34s IN THE
1910s PROMPTED
NORDYKE & MARMON TO
CONSTRUCT PLANT 3 FOR
BODY ASSEMBLY.



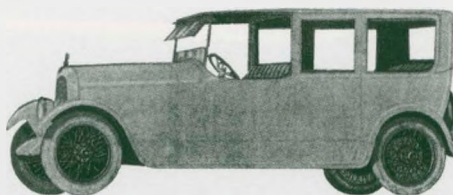
The story of building 314 begins in the Roaring Twenties with the automobile manufacturer Nordyke & Marmon. The company built a modern assembly plant in 1920 as it rode the crest of manufacturing success. In seventy years, it had grown from modest beginnings to prominence as a manufacturer of precision grain-milling equipment and luxury automobiles. Ellis Nordyke established a company in Richmond, Indiana, to manufacture milling machinery and to build mills in 1851. Shortly after the end of the Civil War, he moved the business to larger quarters, and Daniel W. Marmon, an Earlham College graduate with unusual mechanical ability, joined Ellis and his son Addison.

Ten years later as the United States celebrated its 100th birthday and optimism for the future of industry reigned, Nordyke & Marmon decided to expand its facilities. The owners realized that they had to have a site with better transportation and a good labor supply in order to grow. Indianapolis had these advantages, and there was a factory available for occupation on its near southwest side. In 1876 Nordyke & Marmon moved to the corner of Morris Street and Kentucky Avenue.

Nordyke & Marmon became one of the best-known manufacturers of milling machinery and builders of mills in the world. The customers for its equipment ranged from Jacob Rohm, the owner of the Mansfield Mill in rural Parke County, Indiana, to millers in Europe and Asia. The company built mills as nearby as Indianapolis and as far away as Japan. While milling was Nordyke & Marmon's most lucrative endeavor, the company expanded into other areas.

Around the turn of the century, Daniel Marmon's son Howard joined the company and began working on

*Nordyke &
Marmon's fame
abroad soared
during the Great
War. When the
French army staff
sought vehicles
befitting its
officers' station and
style, it purchased
Marmon 34s.*



a car of his own making. He was not unique in this pursuit; others with mechanical talents were tinkering with self-propelled vehicles. Few, however, had the resources of Nordyke & Marmon behind them.

In 1904 the Marmon family purchased the Nordyke share of the business and began producing Howard's vehicle. The first year they made only a limited number of automobiles, but the next year they manufactured more. These first Marmons sold for about \$2,500 each, a sizable sum in a day in which the average worker made a good deal less than a thousand dollars a year. The Marmons were enamored with the automobile, but they continued to operate the milling side of the business as well.

Marmon automobiles were known for their quality, style, and performance. The rich and famous, including Henry Ford until the Ford Motor Company acquired Lincoln, drove Marmons. In addition, Marmons won races regularly, including the Ten-Mile-Free-For-All Handicap in 1909 and the 500-Mile Race in 1911, both held at the Indianapolis Motor Speedway. Besides being "the easiest riding car in the world," Marmons were one of the fastest.

Nordyke & Marmon's fame abroad soared during the Great War. When the French army staff sought vehicles befitting its officers' station and style, it purchased Marmon 34s. Marmon also won the highest honor conferred at that time on any industrial organization, the "Champion Liberty Motor Builders" pennant, for its production of Liberty engines for warplanes. In the postwar era, Marmon used both of these successes to launch a marketing campaign at home.

Amid a general feeling that automobile production had a bright future, Nordyke & Marmon, as well

as many local automobile manufacturers, decided to expand production facilities. In 1919 executives at Marmon announced construction of a five-story reinforced concrete factory and an adjoining one-story building, which along with a new planing mill, a dry kiln, and a power plant, were collectively known as plant 3. When completed, the five-story building was devoted to the assembly of automobile bodies. The engines and the chassis were built

falo, New York, to manufacture body and trim.

Two years later Nordyke & Marmon reorganized the structure of the company and its operations. First, the owners changed the name to Marmon Motor Car Company, a move that they felt reflected their future course, and they "went public," selling stock in the newly formed company. Next they sold the milling side of the business and the "Nordyke" name to Allis-Chalmers



GEORGE P. AND STACEY P. HANLEY, MARMON HERITAGE, ANNE MARMON GREENLEAF



GEORGE P. AND STACEY P. HANLEY, MARMON HERITAGE, ANNE MARMON GREENLEAF

LEFT: MEN SANDED EACH MARMON 34 BY HAND BEFORE APPLYING THE FINAL COAT OF VARNISH AND PAINT. THEN THE CAR WAS TEST-DRIVEN A FULL SEVENTY-FIVE MILES. UPON ITS RETURN, IT WAS WASHED AND VARNISHED AGAIN. **RIGHT:** IN A SPACE-SAVING INNOVATION, NEWLY PAINTED BODIES WERE CARRIED ALONG A CONVEYOR NEAR THE CEILING OF THE FOURTH FLOOR WHILE THEY DRIED.

in other factory buildings in the complex and brought to the first floor of the two buildings where the bodies were placed on top of the chassis and final assembly completed.

Marmon, however, was never able to realize the automotive manufacturing potential of its large factory complex. Executives had estimated that plant 3 would have a production capacity of one hundred cars a day, but it never did. The elements of handcrafting that had made Marmon unique proved time-consuming and costly for the consumer. Executives tried to find ways to make assembly more efficient. Finally, in a move to cut costs, Nordyke & Marmon shut down the assembly plant and in 1924 contracted with the American Body Company of Buf-

Company. Then executives leased plant 3 to Murray Body Corporation of Detroit.

For the next two years other companies operated plant 3 and made automobile bodies for Marmon, as well as for other manufacturers such as Paige and Jordon. Murray set up its assembly lines in much the same way that Marmon had, with production beginning on the fifth floor and ending on the first. Executives hoped that the plant could be made more profitable by manufacturing bodies for several brands of cars. Apparently, it did not work. In 1928 the plant reportedly was sold to Hayes Body Corporation, but later it reverted to Marmon ownership. In 1930 Marmon once more began assembling bodies in the plant.

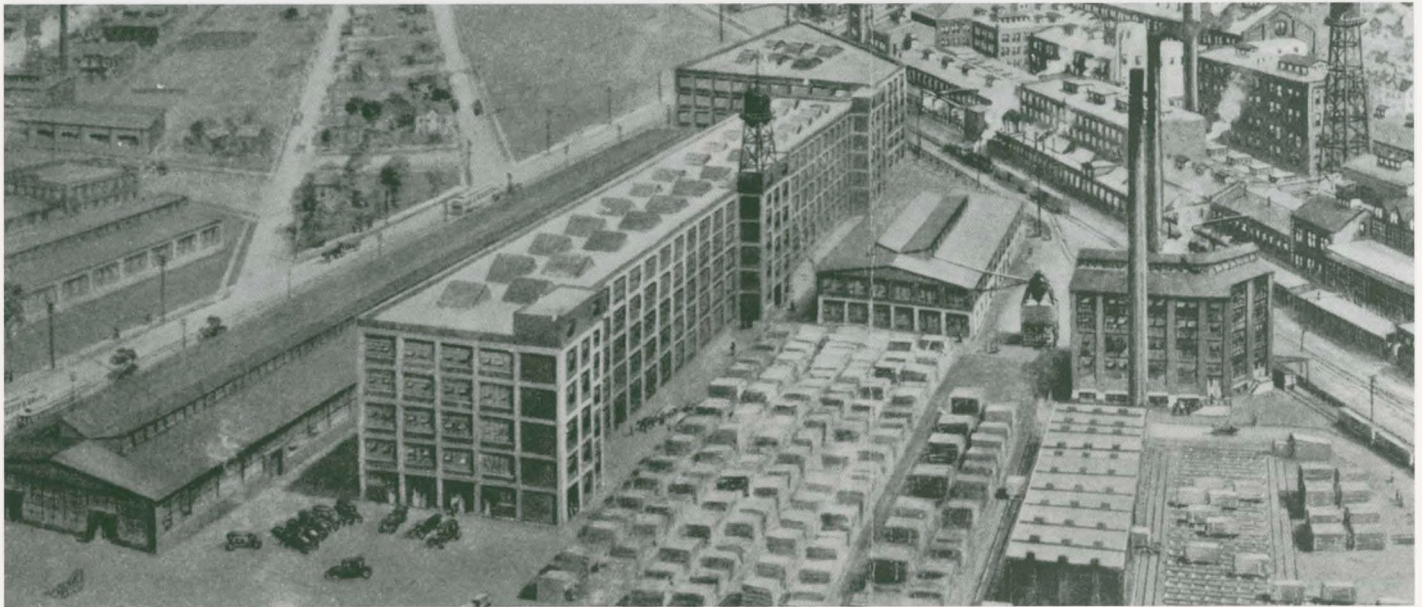
The promise of the post-World War I boom proved hollow for Marmon. In October 1929 the stock market crashed. Marmon stock that had peaked in May 1929 at more than \$100 a share dipped to slightly more than three dollars two years later. Marmon suffered production difficulties with its new model, the Marmon 16 (a sixteen-cylinder car). In addition, the luxury-car market had shrunk drastically, and lower-price competitors already had secured a solid hold on the mass market. Marmon executives were forced to go to



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on Missouri Street on the eve of the Civil War. Van Camp's first big contract was to supply pork and beans for the Union army. By the 1880s Van Camp was selling millions of cans of pork and beans and marketing them nationally under its brand label. So successful was Van Camp that in the twentieth century its pork and beans became a household staple.

The same year that Stokely Brothers and Company acquired Van Camp, it moved its headquarters northward from Louisville to Indianapolis, possibly to take advantage



FROM NORDYKE & MARMON: AN INSTITUTION

TOP: STOKELY-VAN CAMP CELEBRATED ITS CENTENNIAL IN 1961. ORIGINALLY PRODUCERS OF CANNED GOODS, THE COMPANY ADDED FROZEN FOODS TO ITS PRODUCT LINE IN THE 1930S. **BOTTOM:** DETAIL FROM AN ARTIST'S RENDERING OF THE NORDYKE & MARMON PLANT, LOOKING NORTHEAST, CA. 1920.

Eastern bankers for working capital to keep the company afloat, but in 1932 they shut down plant 3. Marmon went into receivership the following year. As a result, plant 3 was idle until leased by Stokely Brothers and Company in 1938.

As the Marmon Motor Car Company closed plant 3 and other businesses across the United States failed, Stokely Brothers and Company acquired the Van Camp Packing Company. Van Camp had a long history in Indianapolis. Gilbert Van Camp had opened a grocery store

of the rail lines that radiated from the city. Throughout the depression Stokely expanded its operations and developed a warehousing system of distribution for its products and Van Camp's. In 1938 it leased—and later purchased—the former plant 3 along the Belt Line Railway as the hub of this warehousing system.

National events began to affect the fate of Stokely's warehouse. The Great Depression ebbed and flowed, but it was not going away; Hitler's troops marched across Europe. By the summer of 1940, England fought

alone with dwindling supplies and with too few airplanes, destroyers, and tanks. Prime Minister Winston Churchill turned to the United States for help. President Franklin Roosevelt's relationship with business could at best be characterized as adversarial during the New Deal years. With the increasingly perilous situation in Europe, however, Roosevelt needed business if the United States was to help England and prepare for the inevitable.

In September 1940, three months after the fall of France, the federal



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ELI LILLY AND COMPANY

TOP: TO ENCOURAGE CHILDREN TO EAT THEIR VEGETABLES, STOKELY OFFERED A PAINT BOOK FEATURING CUTOUT DOLLS FROM ITS 1937 ADVERTISEMENTS. CONSUMERS COULD ORDER ONE BY MAILING IN TWELVE STOKELY LABELS. **BOTTOM:** A PRESENT-DAY AERIAL PHOTO OF A PORTION OF THE LILLY COMPLEX.

government indicated that it wished to lease the old Marmon building as part of its national defense effort. Officials at Stokely made it clear that giving up its warehouse would be a great inconvenience but that they would do so if it was important for the war effort. Evidently the government convinced Stokely that it was, because renovations soon began, converting the warehouse to a factory that would be part of the Curtiss-Wright complex. Robert L. Earle, an executive in the Propeller Division of Curtiss-Wright Corpo-

his love of speed. Just months before, Curtiss had become known as "the fastest man on wheels" when he set a world record on a motorcycle with his custom-built engine. Bell's company lasted only a few months, and Curtiss soon formed his own aviation company in Buffalo, New York.

When Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Company and Wright Aeronautical merged to form the Curtiss-Wright Corporation in 1929, they combined the two oldest names in American aviation. Between them, the companies had garnered more firsts and

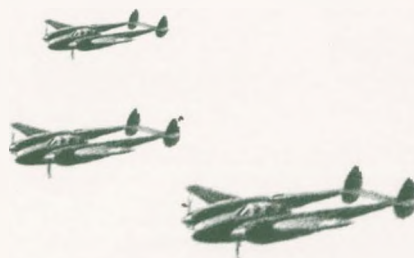


CARY VOSLER/FREDRICK VOLLRATH, THERRY STUDIO, INDIANAPOLIS TIMES COLLECTION

A PUBLICITY SHOT OF THE FIRST ELECTRIC PROPELLER PRODUCED AT CURTISS-WRIGHT. DESCRIBED AS THE “GEAR SHIFT” OF AN AIRPLANE, PROPELLERS HAD TO BE SENSITIVE AS WELL AS POWERFUL TO CONTROL THE SPEED OF THE ENGINE DURING CLIMBING AND DIVING. THE HOLLOW-BLADED PROPELLERS WERE DESIGNED FOR INSTALLATION IN MANY TYPES OF AIRCRAFT, NOT JUST CURTISS-BUILT PLANES.

world records than any other aviation company. There was a certain irony about the merger, however. Glenn Curtiss and Orville Wright (Wilbur had died of typhoid in 1912) had spent years in litigation over patent rights; for the rest of their lives they maintained an undiminished animosity for each other.

Technological advances in aircraft between the world wars assured that the role of planes in warfare would be greatly increased if not pivotal in future conflicts. When war erupted in Europe in the late 1930s Curtiss-Wright increased production for con-



sumption abroad. As early as 1936 the corporation supplied the French air force with warplanes, and when France fell, England took over an undelivered portion of the order. Churchill immediately sent a message to Roosevelt requesting “the delivery at the earliest possible date of the largest possible number of Curtiss P40 fighters.” Throughout the rest of the war, Curtiss-Wright manufactured warplanes for the Allies in both Europe and the Pacific.

Indianapolis became a major national defense center in 1940 when

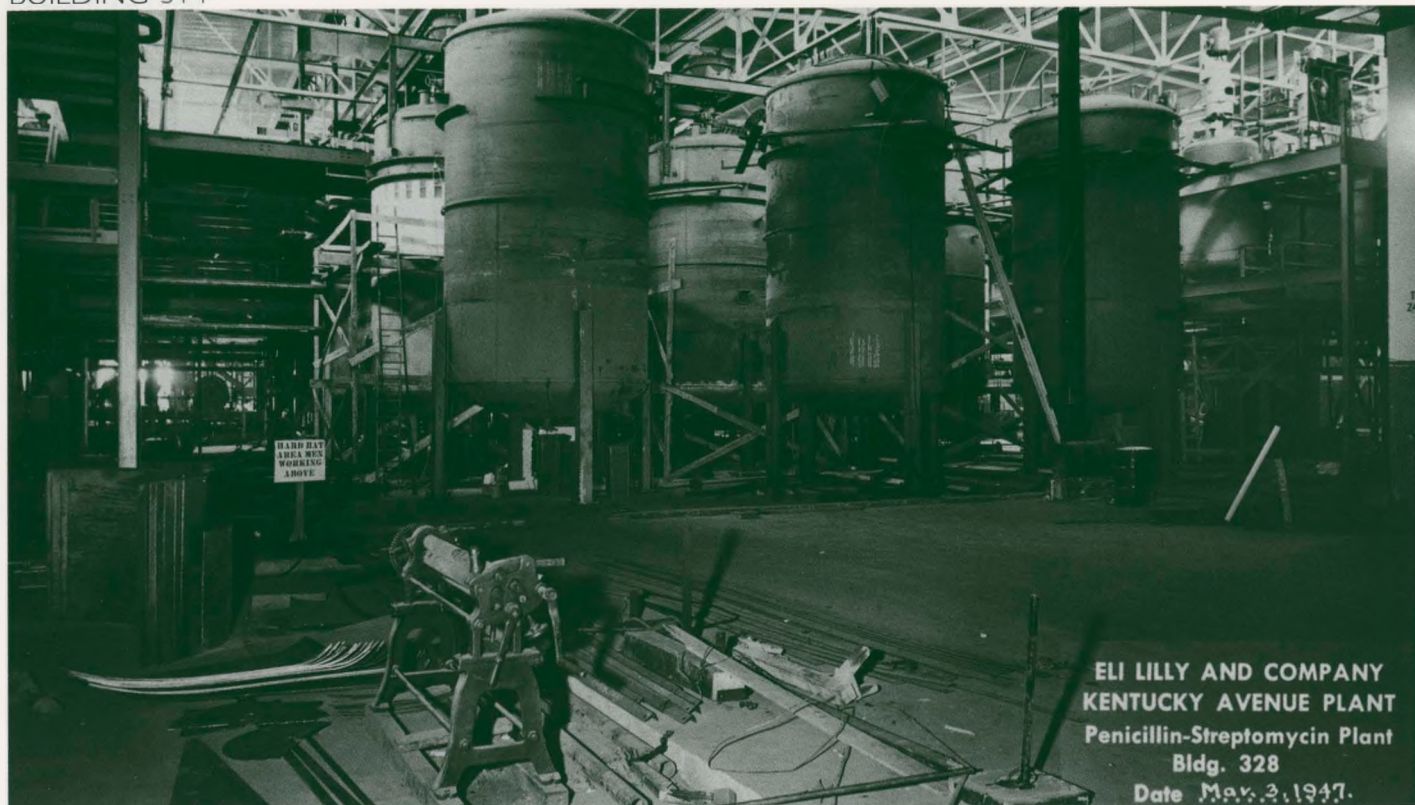


GARY YOHLE/FREDRICK VOLLBATH, TIFFANY STUDIO, INDIANAPOLIS TIMES COLLECTION

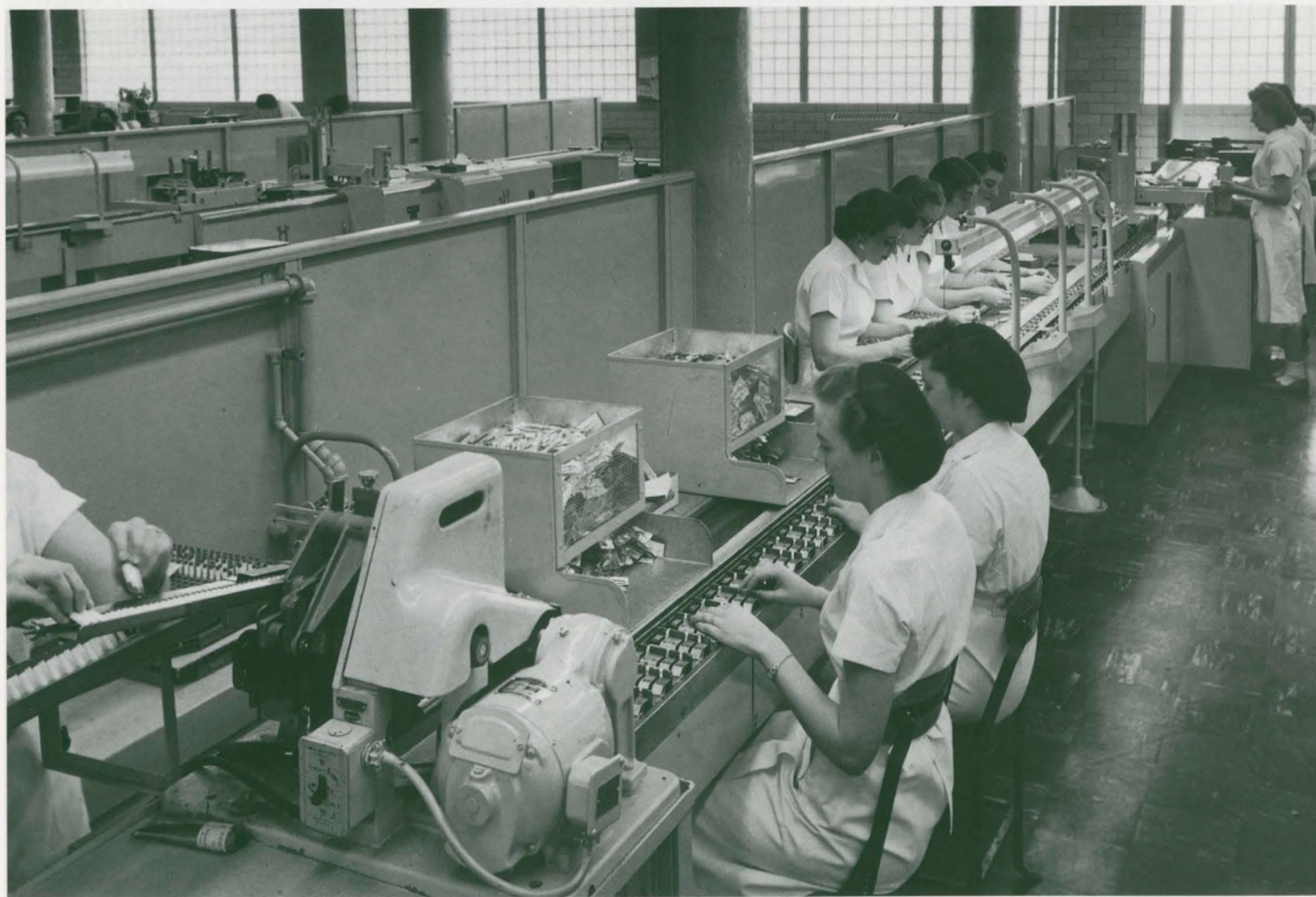
ABOVE: AN AMERICAN FLAG WITH THE SIGN "REMEMBER PEARL HARBOR" REMINDED WORKERS AT THE CURTISS-WRIGHT PROPELLER PLANT OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR TASK. THE BUILDING HAD A NEW BLACKOUT DESIGN SO THAT THE LIGHTS OF THE FACTORY COULD NOT BE SEEN AT NIGHT IF A FOREIGN INTRUDER ATTACKED. CUFFS FOR ELECTRIC PROPELLERS MOVED ALONG HIGHLY MECHANIZED CONVEYORS THROUGH A SERIES OF INTRICATE ASSEMBLY OPERATIONS. **BELOW:** THIS FOUR-BLADE PROPELLER PRODUCED IN THE INDIANAPOLIS PLANT BECAME THE MAINSTAY FOR CURTISS-WRIGHT.



GARY YOHLE/FREDRICK VOLLBATH, TIFFANY STUDIO, INDIANAPOLIS TIMES COLLECTION



ABOVE: WHERE CURTISS-WRIGHT ONCE MADE PROPELLERS FOR WARPLANES, LILLY INSTALLED FERMENTATION TANKS FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF STREPTOMYCIN AND PENICILLIN. **BELOW:** THE AMPOULE FINISHING DEPARTMENT AT LILLY, CA. 1952.



Curtiss-Wright selected it as a site to manufacture electrically controlled propellers. The Hoosier capital's militarily secure inland location made it an ideal choice for the plant. Like others before it, Curtiss-Wright was attracted by good transportation connections and a skilled workforce. In addition, the presence of Allison, an important aviation motor plant, and the proximity of aviation laboratories in Dayton, Ohio, were significant assets for Indianapolis. Cooperative city fathers looked upon the employment of large numbers of residents as a positive step toward recovery from the depression.

The site surrounding the Stokely warehouse had to be adapted for propeller manufacture and assembly. Curtiss-Wright was able to save valuable time by leasing the Stokely building; it needed additional facilities, however, to carry out the entire production process. To complete the complex the government demolished some of the old Marmon buildings and constructed a large modern one-story factory along Kentucky Avenue. Overhead monorails and slat conveyors connected the buildings and carried parts through the entire production process. Finished propellers were partially disassembled, crated, and loaded by cranes onto railroad cars. At the peak of its production in 1943 Curtiss-Wright employed 5,815 men and women in the Indianapolis facility; over the course of the war it produced approximately one hundred thousand propellers.

As the war ended, contracts for warplanes dropped sharply, and Curtiss-Wright rapidly reduced propeller production. Curtiss closed the Indianapolis plant and moved back to its home base in Buffalo, never again to match the success of its aircraft production during the war years. In the postwar era increased competition and little demand for passen-

ger planes plagued the company. The old Curtiss magic was gone.

The Kentucky Avenue complex was offered for sale, arousing considerable interest among several Indianapolis manufacturers. The buildings had begun to deteriorate in just a few short months. Without activity, weeds had sprung up and windows had been broken. Eli Lilly and Company recognized the potential of the Curtiss-Wright plant and purchased it for the production, processing, and packaging of penicillin and streptomycin. Lilly called the five-story building 314 and the newly constructed plant 328.

Colonel Eli Lilly, a distinguished Civil War veteran, founded the pharmaceutical firm in 1876. From a small two-story building on Pearl Street, an alley one-half block south of Washington Street in downtown Indianapolis, his company grew steadily over the years. By the time the United States entered World War I in 1917 Eli Lilly and Company was a flourishing enterprise. The pharmaceutical industry, however, had long depended upon the Germans for research. The war had severed those ties to Germany, forcing the American drug industry to become more self-sufficient. Lilly renewed its strong commitment to research and development.

Eli Lilly, grandson of the founder, vigorously continued this tradition in the 1930s and 1940s. During World War II Lilly manufactured a wide range of drugs for the troops. In cooperation with the American Red Cross, Lilly processed almost 20 percent of the United States's supply of blood plasma during the war. Its scientists participated in a collaborative effort to produce penicillin, one of the major drug breakthroughs of the 1940s. By the end of the war Eli Lilly and Company needed more space to keep up



LILLY BECAME INTERNATIONALLY PROMINENT IN 1923, WHEN, IN COOPERATION WITH SCIENTISTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, IT DEVELOPED A PROCESS FOR THE REFINING AND MANUFACTURE OF INSULIN (Iletin) TO CONTROL DIABETES. Iletin BECAME ONE OF THE COMPANY'S MOST SUCCESSFUL PRODUCTS BECAUSE IT ALLOWED PATIENTS WITH DIABETES TO LIVE RELATIVELY NORMAL LIVES.



LILLY ARCHIVES

A LILLY OPERATOR IN THE 1950s.

with the demands for production of new drugs.

Lilly took possession of the Curtiss-Wright complex in April 1946 and called in a century-old company, E. B. Badger and Sons, renovation experts from Boston, to convert the factory for production of pharmaceuticals. The Badger firm tackled three formidable tasks: installing huge fermentation tanks for the manufacture of penicillin and streptomycin in 328, setting up an ampoule filling department in the upper floors of 314, and equipping its lower floors and an adjacent one-story building from the Marmon era (312) to handle most of Lilly shipping.

The production of streptomycin and penicillin began in the eighteen 10,000-gallon fermentation tanks in building 328 where the mold necessary for the manufacture of the drugs was grown. Operators added six hundred gallons of "mold seed" to each tank. Then, the mixture was aerated from the bottom with sterilized air and stirred like butter in a churn. After fifty to seventy hours of fermentation the precious mold was harvested and transferred to building 314 for product isolation and purification. Although the yield from one tank amounted to only one gallon of product, it was enough to treat approximately eight thousand cases of pneumonia.

After the purification process the final product was moved to the fourth and fifth floors of 314 where white-coated workers meticulously filled ampoules. The filling and finishing departments in 314 handled more than 250,000 ampoules per day by the late 1940s. For nearly half a century the drugs that scientists spent years developing were processed at the Kentucky Avenue complex.

Other life-saving drugs that Amer-

icans have come to expect passed through building 314 on their way to national and international markets. By 1983 another generation of workers in the building carefully finished and packaged Humulin, a new

*While the building
can be appreciated
for the work that
currently goes on
there, our
appreciation is
enhanced by
knowing about the
beautiful driving
machines and
powerful aircraft
propellers built
there and the vital
drugs once
processed inside.*

synthetic insulin that is chemically identical to human insulin. In 1995 Lilly shifted the building's function from housing the final phases of production to housing the development phase. The renovated building, a key part of the Lilly Technology Center, is where more than 350 scientists, technicians, and related personnel work cooperatively to bring new

drugs to market as quickly and safely as possible.

After the renovation by Lilly, the old Marmon building is barely recognizable. Its glass and concrete skin indicates the high-tech activities that are occurring within. Now, as many traces of the past have been removed, such as rail lines and adjoining buildings, it still stands, betraying little about its previous connection to national and international events. While the building can be appreciated for the work that currently goes on there, our appreciation is enhanced by knowing about the beautiful driving machines and powerful aircraft propellers built there and the vital drugs once processed inside. It is only through a knowledge of its history that this building, or any building, takes on meaning.

Jane R. Nolan and Linda Weintraut formally established the partnership of Weintraut & Nolan, Historians, in 1992. This article arose out of research conducted for Eli Lilly and Company for a historical display on buildings 312 and 314.

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FORMS OF THE FATHERLAND

Indiana Germans and Their Handmaiden **1835-1860**

"What a joy it would be for me to welcome my brother or one of my relatives. I would surely help them getting started. Here everybody makes a better living than in Germany. . . . In truth, I can write to you that God is with me in America," Johann Heinrich zur Oeveste wrote from Bartholomew County, Indiana, on 25 February 1846. He was one of tens of thousands who left Germany yearly between 1830 to 1850, looking for a new land in

Douglas A. Wissing

WID

de Furniture,

**THIS FLATTOP TRUNK
[KASTENTRUHE] WAS
CRAFTED FROM POPLAR
IN THE HAYSVILLE,
DUBOIS COUNTY, AREA,
CA. 1860. THE NAÏF
PAINTING IS AN
EVOLUTION OF THE
GERMANIC STYLE.**

PRIVATE COLLECTION



which to continue their traditions and customs. ■ Germans of the early nineteenth century faced complex social and economic changes, such as rural overpopulation, agricultural reform, and the slow spread of the Industrial Revolution into Germany, which made their traditional ways of life difficult to maintain. In an attempt to retain the old patterns, many Germans immigrated. Once established in their new homes, they wrote their countrymen, hoping to coax them to America to rebuild their ideal of home and society.

THE GERMANS ADDED GLASS-FRONTED CUPBOARDS (*GLASSCHRÄNKE*) TO THEIR HOUSEHOLDS TO DISPLAY THEIR BURGEONING MATERIAL GOODS. THIS CHERRY EXAMPLE IS FROM THE SAINT PETER, FRANKLIN COUNTY, AREA, CA. 1860. THE STATELY CROWN, CHAMFERED CORNERS, AND SURFACE-APPLIED SPANDRELS ON THE DOORS ARE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE AREA.



PRIVATE COLLECTION

They traveled light: a trunk filled with a few mementos, specialized tools of trade, clothing for the journey, some food to sustain them, and the family Bible. The rest they expected to buy or make when they reached their destination.

Indiana became a destination for many of the immigrants. Cheap land, well watered, with a relatively mild climate, advertised by letters, guidebooks, and immigrant newspapers, drew them. Traveling either down the Ohio from Pittsburgh or up the Mississippi from New Orleans to the Ohio, the settlers scattered throughout the state.

From one of the guidebooks, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*, written by Franz Löher in 1847, folklorist Gary Stanton translates: "The greatest numbers of Germans are in the counties of Switzerland and Dearborn, where one finds settlements of new immigrants, as at New Alsace; also Brookville and the surrounding area is almost entirely German, along with Evansville in Vanderburgh County, Fort Wayne in Allen County and its vicinity. Other new settlements are Millhousen in Decatur, New Oldenburg in Franklin, Hesse-Cassel in Allen, Jasper and Ferdinand City in Dubois, where the Catholic Priest Kundek has purchased an entire Catholic settlement, Decatur in Adams, St. Mary in Perry, New Albany and Madison in Floyd, Blue Creeks in Ripley, South Bend in St. Joseph, along the Tippecanoe in White, Logansport in Cass, Peru in Miami and still many others."

Upon reaching their new homes in Indiana the immigrants began crafting furniture in the Germanic styles familiar to them. The first piece was usually the sturdy peasant bench, a design little changed from the medieval period. As they prospered in Indiana, craftsmen began to build more substantive furniture, most often in a style that later became known as Biedermeier.

Biedermeier was a neoclassic style popular in Austria and Germany, which developed following the Napoleonic Wars early in the nineteenth century. The design borrowed elements from classic architecture—cornices, columns, pediments, pilasters, and symmetry, expressed with uninterrupted lines. The stark surfaces were ornamented with veneers and bold geometrics such as diamonds. A reserved restatement of French Empire and English Regency styles, Biedermeier was comparably simpler in detail and visually heavier in design than these earlier styles.

**THIS EARLY EXAMPLE OF THE
GLASSCHRANK, WITH ITS RAISED
DIAMOND PANELS, WAS MADE IN
FRANKLIN COUNTY, CA. 1840.**

The furniture's economy of scale and lack of ostentation reflected the practical tastes and industrious lifestyle of the emerging German middle class. The simple lines mirrored their sober and straightforward world view. The very name, *Biedermeier*, developed as a means of satirizing the stolid German middle class.

The immigrants, with their inherent conservatism, focused on the remembered forms of the fatherland. In Indiana they worked to retain these designs and succeeded for several decades. Taking a familiar style, the Indiana German craftsmen leavened it with their New World experience to produce a vernacular furniture that reflected the conditions in their new home, both materially and socially.

In place of the pine and oak of Germany, they learned to use Indiana's abundant poplar, walnut, and cherry to fashion their furniture. Applied surface decoration, contrasting paints, and carved elements replaced the fruitwood veneers of the fatherland. As time passed, the cabinetmakers began to incorporate into their work the design ideas, such as turned Sheraton legs, of their Yankee neighbors.

The most representative pieces of Indiana German furniture were the trunk and the wardrobe. The trunk was commonly the shipping case for the immigrant's mementos, tools, and clothes—often, the owner's name and destination were lettered on it in old Germanic script—and it became the first piece of furniture in the immigrant's new home. Primarily made of softwoods, with dovetailed corners, it could be either dome topped or flat topped. Germans sometimes decorated their trunks with folk paintings such as flowers, plants, and geometrics. In Indiana they continued building their trunks in a similar fashion, substituting poplar for traditional German woods. Sometimes they painted scenes of the home village on the trunk, a reminder of the world left behind. In one memorable example, a near life-size heron steps gracefully on a side panel.

The wardrobe, in a continuation of German peasant tradition, was the primary storage unit for the family, holding clothes and valuables. It held a dominant place in the main room of the house. The sides and back of the wardrobe were generally made with plank construction. The front was constructed with panels, uprights, and cross members tenoned together. The front panel insert, the doors particularly, were beveled by hand to fit into the frames. Drawers were dovetailed together. A type of continental hinge was common, which had a tapered



THE WARDROBE, OR *KLEIDERSCHRANK*, WAS THE MOST CHARACTERISTIC PIECE OF GERMAN FURNITURE, A CONTINUATION OF THE PEASANT TRADITION. THIS *KLEIDERSCHRANK* HAS FLUTED RAISED DIAMOND PANELS, CHAMFERED CORNERS, AND AN ELABORATE CROWN. DUBOIS COUNTY, CA. 1850-60.



PRIVATE COLLECTION

barrel with a removable pin. In Indiana, the wardrobe was made of walnut, poplar, or cherry, with a secondary wood. The craftsmen practiced grain painting, a folk technique that reproduces the grain of a more expensive wood on a common one. With this, they mimicked the elaborate fruitwood veneers of the high-fashion Austrian and German Biedermeier pieces. Unpainted walnut and cherry cabinets were common in northern German homes in Indiana, while red and yellow painted pieces were found in southern German settlements. The exceptions to this pattern are testimony to the rapid cross-fertilization of ideas between the immigrant groups. Raised diamonds, sometimes over squares, were a common motif on doors. On others scroll-cut spandrels were surface applied. Corners of the case were sometimes beveled. Cornices and skirts displayed neoclassic elements, gracing the cabinet with a stately dignity.

Glass-fronted cupboards were crafted later, as the family added wealth. The case construction and use of ornamentation was similar to the wardrobe. The addition of the glass doors allowed more ostentatious display of the Hoosiers' burgeoning material goods. Chests of drawers were also a later addition to the home. The chests were an adaptation of Yankee style, adding vernacular Biedermeier to an American Cottage style. Essentially, the chest of drawers was a simplified bureau, with the mirror and mirror supports removed.

German American craftsmen constructed tables from poplar, walnut, and cherry. The kitchen table was utilitarian, often austere, with the tapered Hoppelwhite leg. Parlor tables were generally better crafted because they were in the more public area of the house. Greater attention was paid to materials, construction, and detailing. Initially, benches served sitting needs, remaining common in conservative, rural areas late into the nineteenth century. Craftsmen made chairs in a mosaic of diverse styles. They used the traditional Biedermeier saber leg as well as turned legs, and they applied motifs such as lyres, urns, triple reeds, hearts, and arrows to the chair backs.

The furniture evolved through the 1860s as the craftsmen absorbed their Yankee neighbors' ideas and the national styles of the industrial furniture factories. By 1870 handmade furniture in the older, Germanic styles was passé, the hausfraus desiring factory-made goods. Earlier pieces of furniture, made in the first and second generation of settlement, were

moved to the more private parts of the house, bedrooms and back halls, on the way to their ultimate resting place: the barn.

Indiana prior to 1860 offered a haven for the traditional cabinetmaker. The Industrial Revolution already affected the craftsmen of the eastern seaboard by 1820, causing many to migrate to the relative frontier of Indiana. The German cabinetmakers who settled here prior to 1860 found a ready market for their skills. The H. B. Deusterberg and Sons firm, founded in 1830 in Vincennes, William Britz and Andrew Hager of Dubois County, and Jacob Wursten and Gatlif Oraff of Allen County were just a few of the Germans plying their craft in the state.

Several Indiana furniture companies, some still active, rose from this nineteenth-century German craft tradition. In the 1860s the Alles Brothers, three German cabinetmakers, started the Jasper Desk Company, the oldest continuously operating office furniture manufacturer in the country. Hillenbrand Industries of Batesville, one of Indiana's largest corporations, grew from an 1880s family furniture factory.

The Indiana Germans were remarkably successful at reproducing their cultural heritage in a domestic art form, retaining the Biedermeier style for decades. As the German craftsmen's ideas subtly evolved in dialogue with their Indiana experience, the furniture reflected the embrace of new aesthetics. Ultimately, an American art form emerged from the German one.

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PINE DOME-TOP TRUNKS

(KOFFERTRUHEN) WERE THE IMMIGRANTS' SHIPPING CASES AND THE FIRST PIECES OF FURNITURE IN THEIR NEW HOMES. FOUND IN DUBOIS COUNTY, THIS PIECE WAS MADE IN GERMANY, CA. 1847.



COURTESY MARGARETA COLLECTION

IKE, BEETLE, AND D-DAY THE HOOSIER AT SUPREME HEADQUARTERS STEPHEN E. AMBROSE

12 DECEMBER 1941, Fort Sam Houston, San Antonio, Texas. Recently promoted Brigadier General Dwight D. Eisenhower, chief of staff of the Third Army, was at his desk. Five days earlier, Japan had attacked Pearl Harbor; the previous day, Hitler had declared war on the United States. Eisenhower was immersed in the paperwork required to bring Third Army up to full wartime status. The phone rang. “Is that you, Ike?” Colonel Walter Bedell Smith, secretary of the General Staff in Washington, inquired. ■ “Yes,” Eisenhower replied.



U.S. COAST GUARD

AMID HEAVY GUNFIRE, AMERICAN TROOPS STORM THE BEACHES OF NORMANDY AS THE D-DAY INVASION BEGINS, 6 JUNE 1944.

■ “The Chief [U.S. Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall] says for you to hop a plane and get up here right away,” Smith ordered. “Tell your boss that formal orders will come through later.” ■ Thus began the World War II association of Eisenhower and Smith, or Ike and Beetle as they were called by intimates. The partnership they established was made in heaven. Together the two men were to play a critical role in the war in Europe. Almost certainly the Allies would have won the war without Ike and Beetle—but don’t ask me how. ■

Eisenhower's biography is well known—born in Denison, Texas, on 14 October 1890, raised on the Kansas prairie, West Point graduate, no combat experience in World War I, a major for fourteen years who made colonel only in 1941. Smith, born on 5 October 1895 in Indianapolis, followed a different route in the military. While a student at Emmerich Manual High School he joined the Indiana National Guard as a sixteen-year-old private in 1911, then went to a ninety-day officer candidate course in 1917 to earn his commission and led a platoon on the western front. (When Smith left Indianapolis for the war, his grandfather, a Prussian soldier before immigrating to the United States, came to the train station; a bit confused, the old man urged his grandson “to get those French.”)

Like Eisenhower, Smith was a man of great ability who stuck it out in the interwar army despite the glacial-like pace of promotion—Smith was a captain for nearly a decade and didn't make major until 1939. But in 1931 he had come to Marshall's attention at Fort Benning, Georgia, and was one of those officers Marshall intended to move up if and when the army expanded. (Marshall hardly knew Eisenhower, but he was well aware of Ike's reputation as one of the best soldiers in the army.) In October 1939 Marshall brought Smith to the War Department General Staff as an assistant secretary. Shortly after America entered the war, Marshall made Smith the head of the secretariat of the Combined Chiefs of Staff. These positions gave him firsthand knowledge of the internal workings of the Roosevelt administration and Marshall's War Department, familiarity with the emerging strategy for the war, and a personal relationship with the top British generals.

In December 1941 Marshall made Eisenhower the head of the War Plans Division. Eisenhower so impressed the chief with the broadness of his vision, his penchant for detail, his willingness to take responsibility, and his personality that in June 1942 Marshall sent him to London to take command of the European Theater of Operations (ETO).

From London, Ike began bombarding Marshall with requests that he relieve Smith of his War Department duties and send him over as chief of staff in the ETO. Marshall

would not let Smith go. Ike all but got on his knees. Finally, in late August Marshall relented and reluctantly sent Smith to London.

Smith remained with Eisenhower to the end of the war. He was indispensable. (Ike once remarked that no man is indispensable—except Beetle Smith.) Smith's square jaw and Prussian appearance dominated Eisenhower's headquarters. Smith decided who could see the boss and who could not, handled the administrative duties, was the “No” man in the office, and frequently represented Eisenhower at meetings, always confident that he was speaking for his boss and represented his thinking. Eisenhower trusted Smith completely and regarded him as a “godsend—a master of detail with clear comprehension of the main issues.” Years later, Ike told me that Smith was like a crutch to a one-legged man, “the perfect chief of staff.”

Smith was also, as Eisenhower politely put it, “strong in character and abrupt by instinct.” Or, as Ike explained to a British officer, “Remember Beetle is a Prussian and one must make allowances for it.” Smith suffered from an ulcer, and looked it, his face pinched together in constant pain, while his nervous energy kept him in constant motion. Although he could be suave and conciliatory when on a diplomatic mission, he was a terror in his own office, reducing his subordinates to a bundle of shaking nerves. He yelled, bellowed, threatened, and insulted them. (After the war, Smith served for a time as American ambassador to the Soviet Union. Eisenhower told me once that he did not approve of professional soldiers serving as diplomats, but then, thinking about the men in the Kremlin having to put up with Smith and his ulcer, he grinned and remarked, “It served those bastards right.”)

In the North African invasion of November 1942, in the Sicilian invasion of July 1943, and in the Italian invasion of September 1943, the Eisenhower-Smith team functioned smoothly and effectively. They thought alike; they enjoyed each other's company; they divided the responsibilities without strain or bickering. Ike gave some of the most difficult and delicate problems to Smith to handle—the Italian surrender negotiations, dealing with Charles de Gaulle, dealing with Winston Churchill. (Churchill nicknamed Smith the “American bulldog.”)

GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.



U.S. ARMY, COURTESY DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER LIBRARY



In December 1943 President Franklin D. Roosevelt selected Eisenhower to command Operation Overlord, the invasion of France, scheduled for the spring of 1944. Eisenhower threw himself into the task of selecting his subordinates. The first man he wanted was Smith. Churchill begged him to leave Smith in the Mediterranean to help Eisenhower's successor. Marshall indicated that he, too, thought it best to leave Smith so as to provide continuity to the command. But Eisenhower insisted, and he got his way.

Eisenhower didn't want General Bernard L. Montgomery, the English hero of El Alamein, but Churchill insisted that Monty had to have a leading role in Overlord. Eisenhower did want General Kenneth Strong, a British officer, to be his G-2 (head of intelligence). General Alan Brooke protested that Eisenhower was stripping the high command from the Mediterranean. Smith met with Brooke. Smith used such strong language that Eisenhower felt obliged to apologize to Brooke for Smith. Ike explained that Beetle "fights for what he wants" but meant no disrespect—then made it clear that apology or not, he and Smith had to have Strong. They got him.

The strain of war showed in other ways, even in this most intimate of relationships. Late in December 1943 Ike and Beetle made an extended trip to the front in Italy. It rained most of the time. Eisenhower became thoroughly miserable during the seven-hour drive through rain and fog on the trip to headquarters in Naples. As the two men neared their destination, Ike asked Beetle to join him for dinner. Smith was as depressed as his boss and grumbled that he would rather not. Eisenhower had a violent reaction. He snapped that Smith was discourteous, that no subordinate, not even the chief of staff, could abruptly decline his commanding officer's invitation to dinner. Smith cursed, told Eisenhower that he wanted to quit. Eisenhower said that would be just fine with him. "By God," he thundered, "I'll do what Churchill wants and leave you in the Mediterranean."

"That suits me," Smith growled.

The two men then settled into a sullen silence. After a bit, Smith mumbled an apology. Eisenhower did too, and they agreed to forget the whole thing.



In January 1944 Eisenhower flew to Washington to consult with Mar-

shall and Roosevelt. Smith went to London to set up the headquarters for the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEP). Eisenhower arrived in London in mid-January, and from then through May 1944, Smith was always at Eisenhower's side. Together they worked out the deception plan, Operation Fortitude. Together they worked on the training of the troops, on the techniques of the attack, and on the allocation of resources.

The selection of division commanders for Overlord illustrates how they worked together, along with the American ground forces commander, Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley. The three generals talked about the candidates (generally they picked Regular Army men, mostly West Pointers). In every case either Eisenhower, Smith, or Bradley knew the man in question; in many cases all three knew him. In a letter to Marshall about a prospective officer, Eisenhower made a remark that illustrated the process: "This happens to be one man that I don't know personally, but Bradley thinks he is tops. So does Smith." The man got the assignment.

Eisenhower and Smith wanted to use the strategic air forces—U.S. Eighth Air Force and Royal Air Force (RAF) Bomber Command—to disrupt the transportation system in France. That meant hitting railroad targets, especially terminals—which meant bombing French cities. Churchill protested. He said that the so-called transportation plan "will smear the good name of the Royal Air Forces across the world." He said he had never realized that air power would assume so cruel and remorseless a form. He said that the Americans would go home after the war ended, while the British people would still have to live with the French people as their neighbors. He said he would not be a party to a plan that caused French civilian casualties.

Smith stepped forward. He said he would consult with the French. He met with Major General Marie-Pierre Koenig, de Gaulle's representative in London. He was happy to report, "Koenig takes a much more cold-blooded view than we do. His remark was, 'This is war, and it must be expected that people will be killed. We would take the anticipated loss to be rid of the Germans.'" Churchill backed down. The transportation plan was a great success; French civilian casualties were lower than feared.

LEUTENANT GENERAL WALTER BEDELL SMITH.



CARL YOHLEN/FREDERICK VOLLMER, TITIANI STUDIO, INDIANAPOLIS TIMES COLLECTION

BACK'EM UP



BUY EXTRA BONDS



U.S. COAST GUARD

LEFT: THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FEATURED EISENHOWER AND D-DAY IN A 1944 POSTER PROMOTING WAR BONDS. **ABOVE:** AMERICAN REINFORCEMENTS ARRIVE AT NORMANDY.

Four days before the invasion, Churchill came to SHAEF forward headquarters, outside Portsmouth, to beg a favor. He wanted to go along on the invasion, on HMS *Belfast*. Ike told him no. He said that while Churchill was worth five divisions to the Allies when he was at his job in London (Churchill liked that), he would be a liability on the *Belfast*. Suppose *Belfast* should get hit? If Churchill was not present, she would stay on line doing her duty. But if Churchill was on board, the captain would turn away and return to Portsmouth to protect the prime minister.

"Never!" Churchill replied. No commander of one of His Majesty's ships of the line would ever do such a thing.

Eisenhower said his decision stood.

Churchill got an idea. "You have the operational command of all forces," he admitted, "but you are not responsible administratively for the makeup of the crews," meaning Eisenhower could tell the British where and when to fight, but he could not control the composition of the units.

"Yes, that's right," Eisenhower admitted.

Churchill said, "Well, then I can sign on as a member of the crew of one of His Majesty's ships, and there's nothing you can do about it."

Eisenhower groaned as Churchill laughed and set off to join the Royal Navy, then in his capacity as defense minister to assign himself to the *Belfast* for the invasion.

Eisenhower turned to Smith. "Beetle," he said, "you have got to do something about this."

Smith got an idea. He called King George VI to explain the problem.

"Beetle," the king said, "You boys leave Winston to me."

The king called Churchill to say, "Well, as long as you feel that it is desirable to go along, I think it is my duty to go along with you."

Churchill gave up—and on D-Day made a stirring speech in the House of Commons.

But not even the formidable team of Eisenhower and Smith could always get its way. On the eve of the invasion, SHAEF brought Brigadier General de Gaulle to headquarters. Ike and Beetle showed him a speech the SHAEF staff had written for Eisenhower to deliver to the French people over BBC radio once the invasion had begun. In it, Eisenhower urged Frenchmen to "carry out my orders," told them that local administration would continue (meaning that the collaborationist Vichy officials would stay at their posts, which made de Gaulle furious), and promised that once France was liberated "the French themselves would choose their representatives and their government."

De Gaulle did not approve. It was all wrong, he said. He refused to follow Eisenhower's broadcast with one of his own, written for him by Smith, urging the French people to do as Eisenhower instructed.

Ike worked on de Gaulle. Smith worked on de Gaulle. Churchill worked on de Gaulle. But on the evening of 5 June, Smith told Eisenhower—who had other things on his mind—that de Gaulle still said *Non!*

Giving in to his impulses, Eisenhower thundered, “To hell with him and if he doesn’t come through, we’ll deal with someone else.” There was, however, no one else to deal with. Smith finally persuaded him to make a broadcast on D-Day—but the final victory was de Gaulle’s. He spoke, but he threw away the text Smith had written and said, “The orders given by the French government and by the leaders which it has recognized”—meaning his own Free French organization—“must be followed precisely.”



4 June 1944. The invasion was scheduled to go the next day. The Allied Expeditionary Force was set to go, living on the edge of fearful anticipation. “The mighty host,” in Eisenhower’s words, “was tense as a coiled spring,” ready for “the moment when its energy should be released and it would vault the English Channel.”

SHAEF had prepared for everything, except the weather. It now became an obsession. It was the one thing for which no one could plan, and the one thing that no

one could control. In the end, the most completely planned military operation in history was dependent on the caprice of winds and waves. Tides and moon phases were predictable, but storms were not. If one came up, wind-tossed landing craft would flounder before reaching the shore, or the waves might throw the troops up on the beaches, seasick and unable to fight effectively. The Allies would not be able to use their air superiority to cover the beaches. If Overlord failed, it would take months to plan and mount another operation, too late for 1944. The consequences were too awful to contemplate.

A storm did brew up. Eisenhower decided to postpone the invasion to 6 June. If it didn’t go that day, the next available opportunity, when the moon and tidal conditions would be right, was 19 June.

The evening of 4 June, Eisenhower met with his principal subordinates at SHAEF headquarters at Southwick House. The wind—nearly hurricane force—and the rain rattled the window frames in the French doors. It seemed impossible that the fleet could sail the next day in order to land the troops at dawn on 6 June.

But the weatherman, Captain James M. Stagg of the RAF, reported a break. The rain that was then pouring down, he predicted, would stop in two or three hours,

SOLDIERS FROM THE 1ST AND 29TH INFANTRY DIVISIONS ARRIVE AT OMAHA BEACH AFTER THE FIRST WAVE OF THE D-DAY INVASION. BY MIDDAY TROOPS WERE MAKING THEIR WAY INLAND OVER THE BLUFF BEYOND THE BEACH.



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MAGNUM PHOTOS

LIFE MAGAZINE PHOTOGRAPHER ROBERT CAPA TOOK THIS PICTURE OF COMPANY E, 16TH INFANTRY REGIMENT, 1ST INFANTRY DIVISION, AS IT WENT ASHORE AT OMAHA BEACH DURING THE FIRST WAVE OF THE D-DAY INVASION. FEW OF CAPA'S D-DAY PHOTOGRAPHS SURVIVE; THE OTHERS WERE DESTROYED IN A DARKROOM ACCIDENT.

to be followed by thirty-six hours of more or less settled weather. Winds would moderate.

That was only a prediction, not a certainty. Whatever Eisenhower decided—whether to go or to postpone—would be risky. He began pacing the room, head down, chin on his chest, hands clasped behind his back.

Suddenly he shot his chin out at Smith. He wanted to know, first of all, what Beetle thought.

"It's a helluva gamble but it's the best possible gamble," Smith said, indicating he wanted to go.

Eisenhower nodded, tucked his chin away, paced some more, then shot it out at Montgomery.

"Do you see any reason for not going on Tuesday [6 June]?"

"I would say—Go!" Monty replied.

Eisenhower asked his deputy, British Air Chief Marshal Arthur Tedder, for his opinion. Tedder said it was chancy and indicated he wanted to postpone. So did Air Chief Marshal Trafford Leigh-Mallory. Admiral Bertram Ramsay, commanding the Allied navies, said he feared the swells in the channel would throw off the accuracy of the naval bombardment. He, too, wanted to postpone.

There were fourteen generals and admirals in the room. Half wanted to go. Half wanted to postpone. Eisenhower had not been taking a vote; he only wanted to know what each commander thought.

Eisenhower said the obvious: "The question is just how long can you hang this operation on the end of a limb and let it hang there?"

Silence.

Smith was struck by the "loneliness and isolation of a commander at a time when such a momentous decision was to be taken by him, with full knowledge that failure or success rests on his individual decision."

It is a magnificent line. "The loneliness and isolation of high command" catches perfectly the structure of the situation. It also shows how perfectly Smith understood his—and every other subordinate's—role. Only Ike could decide.

"I am quite positive that the order must be given," Eisenhower declared. "O.K., let's go."

Cheers rang through Southwick House. Then the commanders rushed from their chairs and dashed outside to get to their command posts. Within thirty seconds the room was empty, except for Eisenhower. A minute earlier he had been the most powerful man in the world. On his word the fate of millions depended. The moment he uttered the word, however, he was powerless. For the next two or three days there was almost nothing he could do that would in any way change anything. Everyone else had responsibilities—even Smith. Not Ike. He could now



GARY YOHNER/FREDERICK VOLLATH, THIRTY STUDIO, INDIANAPOLIS TIMES COLLECTION

AFTER THE GERMAN SURRENDER, EISENHOWER AND SMITH ATTENDED MANY VICTORY CELEBRATIONS, INCLUDING PARADES IN PARIS AND WASHINGTON, D.C.

only sit and wait. After giving the order to go, he didn't give another order for three days.



In what can be characterized, with only a bit of hyperbole, as the most critical and consequential weather prediction in history, Stagg had got it right. The Allied forces got ashore—not as far inshore as they had hoped and planned, but solidly ashore.

In the campaign that followed, Eisenhower and Smith continued to work together on all the tremendous variety of problems and decisions SHAEF had to deal with. Ike liked to go to the front, on inspection tours, and to maintain a forward headquarters. He did so often, confident that Smith, back at SHAEF main headquarters, could deal with whatever came up without having to bother the supreme commander. The partnership, in short, deepened and broadened.

In September, the Allied armies reached the German border—but they also ran out of gas. The Germans recovered and held the line. In mid-December, the Germans

launched a massive counteroffensive, which became the Battle of the Bulge.

Because the Allied line was stretched so thin, SHAEF was desperately short of reinforcements to stop the German thrust. To get some, Eisenhower made an offer to the thousands of GIs inside the army's prison stockades in Europe: any man who would pick up a rifle and go into the battle could have a pardon and a clean slate. Results were disappointing; it speaks volumes for the rigors of combat that only those criminals who had a fifteen-year or longer sentence at hard labor volunteered.

But SHAEF had another untapped potential source of infantry, the black servicemen, nearly all of them in the Services of Supply, driving trucks or unloading ships. Unlike the criminals, they were eager to fight, if given the chance, especially if they could join a veteran outfit where they would be assured of quality officers and quality equipment, something sadly lacking in the few black segregated combat units that had been formed. Eisenhower therefore drafted a circular offering the black troopers an opportunity to serve in infantry units and promising that they would be assigned "without regard to color or race."

When Smith read the draft, he blew up. In a stern note to Eisenhower he pointed out that integration ran directly counter to War Department policy, and added, "Two years ago I would have considered the statement the most dangerous thing that I had ever seen in regard to Negro relations."

Eisenhower, no more ready than Smith to promote a social revolution, gave in. Saying he did not want to "run counter to regulations in a time like this," he rewrote the draft. The upshot was that the black soldiers who did volunteer—and noncoms had to give up their stripes to do so—were segregated into all-black platoons, with white noncoms and officers. Nevertheless, thousands did volunteer; they fought well—so well, in fact, that many senior officers, including Smith, began to question the wisdom of regulations that kept more than 10 percent of the army's enlisted men out of the front lines solely because of their color.



The Allies stopped the Germans in the Bulge, then hurled them back. By March 1945 the Allied armies were across the Rhine River and beginning the dash through central Germany. Victory was close enough to taste—but the supreme commander was drained. His physical condition worried those closest to him. He had a touch of the flu. A cyst on his back had been cut out, leaving a deep and painful wound that required a number of stitches. His bad knee, first injured in a football

game at West Point and twisted again in an emergency landing in a small plane on Omaha Beach in July 1944, was swollen.

Smith took command. He told Eisenhower frankly that he was pushing himself too hard and that he would have a breakdown if he did not take some time off.

Eisenhower got angry. His face turned red. He began to protest.

Smith cut him off. "Look at you," he said. "You've got bags under your eyes. Your blood pressure is higher than it's ever been, and you can hardly walk across the room."

A wealthy American had offered Eisenhower and his staff the use of his luxurious villa on the French Riviera, in Cannes. Smith insisted that Ike accept and take a leave. Eisenhower finally said he would do it if Bradley and Smith came along.

They stayed four days. Eisenhower was so run-down that he spent the first two days sleeping. He would wake for lunch, have two or three glasses of wine, and shuffle back to bed. On the third day, Smith suggested a game of bridge. Ike shook his head. "I can't keep my mind on cards," he said. "All I want to do is sit here and not think."

Then it was back to the job. The Allied armies overran central Germany. Hitler killed himself. The German high command was ready to surrender unconditionally. On 4 May, Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz—now head of government—sent General Admiral Hans von Friedeburg to SHAEF with instructions to arrange for the surrender of the remaining German forces in the West. Ike told Beetle to deal with Friedeburg. Smith told Friedeburg that a general surrender had to take place on the eastern and western fronts

UPPER LEFT: EISENHOWER GREETES GENERAL GEORGE S. PATTON AT BASTOGNE, BELGIUM, ON 5 FEBRUARY 1945. **UPPER RIGHT:** ON THE DAY BEFORE THE D-DAY INVASION EISENHOWER VISITS MEMBERS OF THE 101ST AIRBORNE DIVISION AT GREENHAM COMMON, ENGLAND, TO BOOST THEIR MORALE. **BOTTOM LEFT:** WHILE RECOVERING FROM AN ILLNESS, WINSTON CHURCHILL (IN ROBE) MEETS WITH EISENHOWER (FRONT ROW, LEFT), SMITH (BACK ROW, RIGHT), AND OTHER ALLIED LEADERS IN TUNIS ON 25 DECEMBER 1943. **BOTTOM RIGHT:** THE LEADERS OF THE ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE CONVENE IN LONDON IN EARLY 1944 TO PREPARE FOR THE NORMANDY INVASION. SEATED ARE AIR CHIEF MARSHAL ARTHUR TEDDER, EISENHOWER, AND GENERAL BERNARD MONTGOMERY. STANDING ARE LIEUTENANT GENERAL OMAR BRADLEY, ADMIRAL BERTRAM RAMSAY, AIR CHIEF MARSHAL TRAFFORD LEIGH-MALLORY, AND SMITH.





U.S. COAST GUARD

AMERICAN TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT POUR ONTO OMAHA BEACH AFTER THE D-DAY INVASION.

simultaneously. He said there would be no bargaining and ordered him to sign. Friedeburg replied that he had no power to sign. Smith insisted. He showed Friedeburg some SHAEF operational maps, which were quite convincing of the overpowering might of the Allies and the hopelessness of the German position. Friedeburg cabled Dönitz, asking for permission to sign an unconditional surrender.

Dönitz refused. Instead, he sent Field Marshal Alfred Jodl, the German chief of staff, to SHAEF headquarters in Reims to arrange for a surrender in the West only. Jodl arrived on Sunday evening, 6 May. He met with Smith, emphasizing that the Germans were willing, indeed anxious, to surrender in the West, but not to the Red Army. Dönitz, he said, would order all German troops remaining on the western front to cease firing no matter what SHAEF did. Smith replied that the surrender had to be a general one to all the Allies. Jodl then asked for a forty-eight-hour delay—to get the orders to all the outlying units. Smith said that was impossible. They continued to argue.

Smith left the room and went into Ike's office. Eisenhower heard his report, then told Smith to inform Jodl that "he would break off all negotiations and seal the western front preventing by force any further westward

movement of German soldiers and civilians" unless Jodl signed. But he also granted the forty-eight-hour delay.

Smith took Eisenhower's reply to Jodl, who thereupon sent a cable to Dönitz, explaining the situation and asking permission to sign. Dönitz felt compelled to accept the SHAEF demands.

At 2:00 A.M., 7 May, Smith presided over the surrender ceremony, held in the war room of SHAEF in Reims. Eisenhower was not present—he had told Smith to sign for SHAEF, a great honor which Ike felt Beetle had earned, and then some.

When the ceremony ended after all the Allied and German representatives had signed the surrender document, Smith led Jodl into Ike's office. Eisenhower sat down behind his desk. Jodl bowed, then stood at attention. Eisenhower asked Jodl if he understood the terms. Jodl said yes. Smith then led Jodl out of the room.

Eisenhower went into the war room, where he made a short newsreel and radio recording. When the newsman left, Smith said it was time to send a message to the Combined Chiefs of Staff. Everyone had a try at drafting an appropriate document.

"I tried one myself," Smith later recalled, "and like my associates, groped for resounding phrases as fitting

accolades to the Great Crusade and indicative of our dedication to the great task just completed.”

Eisenhower quietly watched and listened. Each draft was more grandiloquent than the last. The supreme commander finally thanked everyone for his efforts, rejected all the proposals, and dictated the message himself: “The mission of this Allied force was fulfilled at 0241 local time, May 7, 1945.”



In the postwar years Ike and Beetle continued to work together. Two examples will suffice. On 21 January 1953, on his first day in office, President Eisenhower made his initial appointments. At the top of his list was Walter B. Smith for undersecretary of state. To Eisenhower’s amazement, the following day Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin announced that he would oppose Smith’s confirmation. The senator suspected Smith was soft on Communism.

Smith had conservative political views to say the least (he once told Eisenhower that he thought Nelson Rockefeller was a Communist) and had served the Truman administration as director of the CIA and ambassador to the Soviet Union. To question Smith’s patriotism was, to Eisenhower, preposterous, degrading, and embarrassing. But McCarthy charged that while Smith was in Moscow, he had defended John Paton Davies, calling Davies “a very loyal and capable officer.” Insofar as Davies was one of McCarthy’s favorite targets, high up on the senator’s famous list of Communists in the State Department, Smith’s praise for Davies made Smith, in McCarthy’s view, a possible fellow traveler.

Ridiculous as that was, Eisenhower was not ready to take on McCarthy in public. Instead, he called the Senate Republican leader, Robert Taft, and told him to put a stop to this nonsense about Beetle. Taft did, and Smith was confirmed.

In July of the following year, Eisenhower sent Smith to Geneva to attend the meetings being held to settle the fate of French Indochina. It was a thankless assignment—despite Smith’s efforts, the French just gave up—and one carried out at a high personal cost by Smith, who was suffering terribly from his ulcers. Eisenhower sent him a handwritten note of thanks for his

efforts, concluding, “I am lost in admiration of your patience, ability, and skill.”

Smith carried out many other tasks for President Eisenhower, but his health deteriorated through the 1950s to the point that he could no longer serve. He died in 1961. He is generally forgotten today because he never held a field command. That is unfortunate and unfair.

Walter Bedell Smith made an indispensable contribution to victory in World War II and was one of the creators of the command structure for the Cold War. For example, the present NATO command and staff organization was his doing.

The man from Abilene and the man from Indianapolis made a team that licked Hitler and stopped Stalin and Khrushchev. That was quite a feat for a couple of midwesterners. All of us living in free-

dom today owe them our gratitude.

Presidential biographer and World War II historian Stephen E. Ambrose presented this paper as the Indiana Historical Society’s contribution to WORDSTRUCK: The Indiana Festival of Books in 1995. Ambrose is the author of the best-selling book D-Day: June 6, 1944: The Climactic Battle of World War II (Simon & Schuster, 1994), as well as the acclaimed, multivolume biographies of Eisenhower and Nixon. His most recent book is Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West (Simon & Schuster, 1996).

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SMITH SIGNS THE UNCONDITIONAL GERMAN SURRENDER AT REIMS, FRANCE, ON 7 MAY 1945.

U.S. ARMY, COURTESY DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER LIBRARY

AT MY FATHER'S GRAVE

ROBERT KETTLER

The many commemorations of World War II anniversaries during the summer of 1995, except for 6 August, didn't have quite the resonance of those in 1994, the half-century observances of the invasions and battles that had pushed the Wehrmacht back into Germany, like an evil genie forced into its bottle. But there were still several highly charged moments, and among the crowds of visitors to the battlefields and memorials for the public events, many were also there for private celebrations, old warriors and their families gathering to honor and remember. On a hazy July afternoon, in the Ardennes American Cemetery and Memorial near Liège, Belgium, my family held its own ceremony, effectively closing a chapter in our lives that had been suspended fifty-one years earlier with my father's death in a German stalag. Four of us gathered at a white marble cross and said goodbye to a man only one of us had really known, but whose existence had been strongly felt in all our lives.

I was four years old in October 1944 when the telegram arrived informing my mother that her husband, Private Kenneth V. Kettler, had been killed in action in France. As young as I was, I still remember the emotional storm that swirled through our house that day. Standing by a blue chair where Mother sat weeping while family and friends gathered to console her in a ritual that was by then all too familiar, even in our small Indiana town, I



PRIVATE KENNETH V. KETTLER.

ROBERT KETTLER

knew that something monumental had happened to us.

Outwardly, our lives would go on much as they had been, Mother and I living in the house she and my father had bought six months before he was drafted. But I came to realize that others, especially my father's family, now looked on me differently, that I carried obligations I couldn't quite define or articulate. And much later I would come to understand that my mother's life had been interrupted in a way that only events a half century later would resolve.

For a while my father's death shaped the direction of our lives, and it fixed most of my earliest memories. I have a clear image of attending with my mother a dedication for a memorial honoring Shelby County's war dead. I stood in the sunshine, sensing the solemn hush that settled over the crowd as

the names were read, feeling Mother's grip tighten on my hand when the speaker reached my father.

Sometime after May 1945 Mother got a letter from a British chaplain who had been in the stalag with my father and was able to tell her something of the circumstances surrounding his death. This letter and a visit to a captain from my father's company enabled her to piece together part of what had happened to him. He had been wounded 22 September in the fighting around Nancy, France, left for dead by the retreating Americans, found alive by a German Home Guard unit, and transported by train to Stalag 4G near Oschatz, Germany, where he died 1 October, two days after arriving, and was buried in the local cemetery.

This information must have been cold comfort for a young widow. We never learned exactly what happened after the war, since Oschatz was in what became East Germany, and the army apparently had problems negotiating the release of American remains with the Russians and East Germans. Eventually the army sent home my father's personal effects and his Purple Heart in a small black case. Like so many others scarred by the war, Mother adjusted to her loss and got on with her life. In 1947 she remarried; we moved to another house; and our links to my father began to fade as we became part of a new family.

Then in 1949 the army wrote Mother informing her that her husband's remains had been identified and reburied in Belgium. She was asked for instructions about the final

disposition. Uncertain what to do, she went to my grandmother for advice. My father's mother had raised three girls and six boys through depression and war on a handyman's income and did not flinch from hard choices. (I never heard my grandmother speak of my father, and it wasn't until I was an adult that I had any indication of how strongly he remained in her consciousness. Home from graduate school on spring break, I crossed her porch and knocked on the screen door. Grandmother was sitting on the sofa in her front room, napping under the four framed photographs that had adorned the wall above her all of my life: the three sons who had fought in WW II and FDR. At my knock she started. "Kenneth?" "No, Grandma, it's Ronnie." Then she blinked, coming back from a very private place, her face creasing in a smile of recognition.) They decided to leave him in Belgium. In a few weeks a package arrived containing the flag that had covered the casket during his funeral.

As I grew up, my father shadowed my imagination, the few dim memories of him enhanced by stories told by his brothers and sisters and by photographs in family albums, particularly one of him in uniform taken when he completed basic training. Each Memorial Day, Mother and I decorated the cross with his name on the courthouse lawn. As the years passed and new wars added crosses to the rows, the placement of the flowers got to be less of an observance and more of a duty, one left to Mother and my aunts after I married and moved to another state.

Throughout my childhood, I was usually introduced by family as "Kenneth's boy," as if my identity were forever fixed. But for the most

part, present circumstances affected me much more than past events. If I had a stepfather and half-siblings, this distinction had little or no force. My last name was different not because I was thought of as a stepchild, but because my stepfather wouldn't claim a dead man's son by giving him another name. To



KENNETH KETTLER'S REMAINS WERE IDENTIFIED
AND BURIED AT ARDENNES CEMETERY IN 1949.

him, I was just one of his kids, a son to teach to hunt and fish and use tools, to praise for his accomplishments and admonish for his failings. I was a member of a stable, supportive family, experiencing all the predictable crises endured by an American male maturing in the 1950s. I felt the full force of my status only infrequently, as when I went off to Purdue on benefits from Public Law 634, the War Orphan's Act, or on my eighteenth birthday when Mother turned over the savings account she had accumulated for me from my father's Social Security.

One of the givens of my life from late adolescence on was that someday I would visit the grave in Belgium. But over the years other needs asserted themselves and that visit

kept being postponed. In a curious way, it was my children who kept the notion alive. As they became conscious that my last name (and theirs) was different from that of their grandparents, I devised a basic explanation that was elaborated as they grew older. Providing them with knowledge about their heritage refreshed the awareness of my ties to a man I barely remembered, a man whose grave I had never visited.

It was my daughter, Alison, who finally said now is the time. Last year she attended graduate school in England, and my wife, Alice, and I decided to visit her in July after her program ended. As our plans evolved, Alison insisted we include a visit to Belgium. And if we were going to visit the grave, then of course Mother should be invited to come along. My stepfather died several years ago, and she had reestablished some connections to what was left of my father's family, especially his only surviving sister and the widow of one of his brothers. Yes, she wanted to go with us.

I wrote to the American Battle Monuments Commission asking for confirmation of the location of the grave Mother had been sent in 1949. The response was that the cemetery was the same, the numbering of the grave was different.

In July the three of us met Alison in Leeds, toured northern England and Scotland, then crossed the channel to Calais and drove down through France into Belgium. And on a soft, warm afternoon we arrived at the entrance of the Ardennes Cemetery, twelve miles southwest of Liège. After all the years of anticipation I was still surprised to find my hands shaking and my voice breaking as the assistant superintendent greeted us at the visitor's building. He ducked into the

FATHER'S GRAVE

office, emerging with a printout of information about my father (and another Kettler buried in France), a pamphlet about the cemetery, a small drawstring bag, and a Polaroid camera. I tried to make small talk as he escorted us out to the grave, lapsing into silence as we made our way past the chapel and down through the ranks to Plot A, Row 44, Grave 25.

office on our way out. Then he left us to our memories.

We sat on the carefully clipped grass and spoke of (and to) the man beneath the cross. Mother talked about how long the journey to this moment had taken her and recounted some of my family's successes. She concluded with a poem written by a friend

I had sensed across the years. Finally, we joined hands and recited the 23rd Psalm, a small chorus lifting above the still, white markers.

We spent some time walking slowly among the crosses and Stars of David, pausing to read the names of strangers, noting how many were "KNOWN BUT TO GOD." Inside the chapel there were large wall maps depicting the battles for Europe, rendering the chaos of war into neat, colored arrows and script. We were eventually drawn again to A, 44, 25, posed for a few more photographs, and, reluctantly, made our way to the office where we signed the guest book and thanked the assistant superintendent for his courtesy.

In the parking lot, as we stowed our jackets and cameras in the car, I glanced around at the neatly trimmed hedges and swept walks. Mother was looking in the direction of the grave.

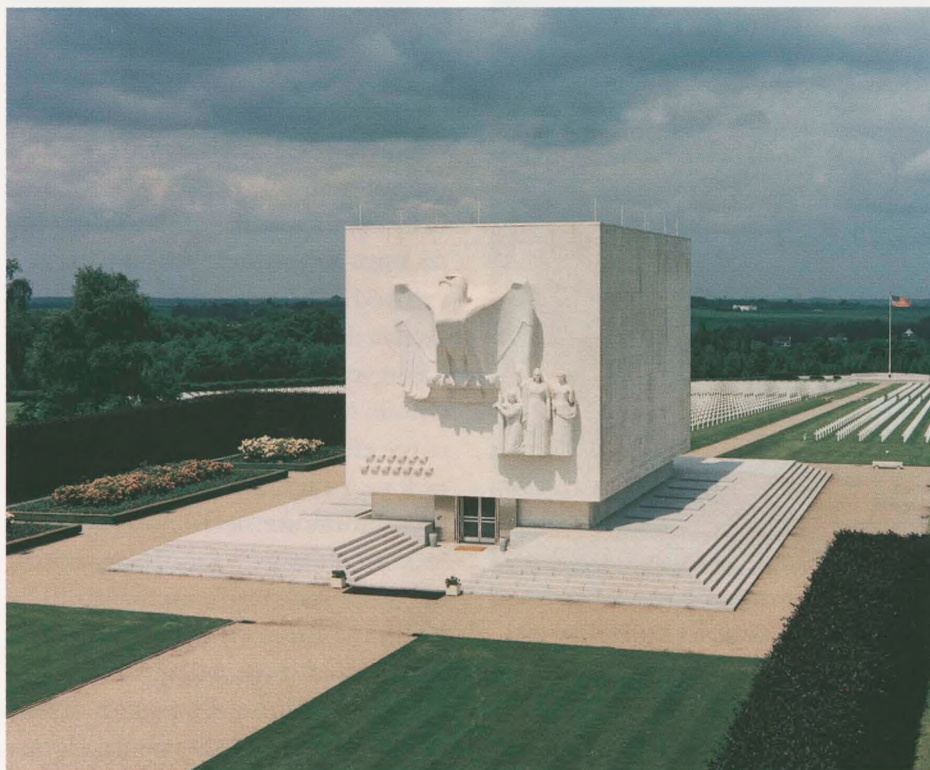
I touched her arm. "It's a beautiful place," I said.

She turned, her expression composed. "Yes, it is. And I'm so grateful I could be here with you."

Then she faced again toward the crosses. "But it's a long way from Shelbyville, Indiana."

At the entrance gate we stopped for some last photos. Then we were back on the highway, heading for a stop at the Val Saint glassworks before driving on to the Brussels airport. We talked quietly in the car as the road stretched away behind us, our voices filled with relief and release. We had stood at my father's grave. Now we could go home.

Robert Kettler grew up in Shelbyville, Indiana, and was educated at Purdue University. He teaches English and American studies at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. His articles and essays have appeared in a variety of journals and magazines.



AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENTS COMMISSION

THE MEMORIAL AT ARDENNES CEMETERY. LOCATED NEAR LIÈGE, BELGIUM, THE CEMETERY COVERS NINETY ACRES AND CONTAINS THE GRAVES OF 5,328 SERVICEMEN, MANY KILLED IN THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE.

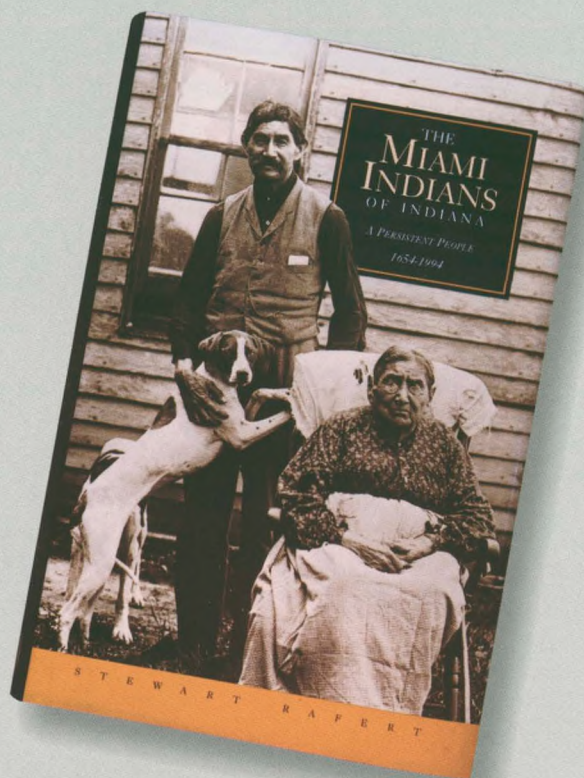
And there it was, a simple, white marble cross inscribed:

KENNETH V. KETTLER, PVT
318 INF
80 DIV, INDIANA
OCT 1 1944.

The assistant superintendent knelt down, opening his bag, and explained that filling the inscription with wet sand would make it legible in photographs. We gathered behind the cross. He took two snapshots with his Polaroid, obliged us by repeating the process with our cameras, and reminded us to stop by the

depicting my father as an ordinary guy who left home to participate in an extraordinary undertaking. Alice read a letter she had written to him, exploring how her life had been changed because of him and promising that our son, Brad, his only grandson, would one day be along. Alison said that her grandfather was now more than a name in a family story. I stumbled through an appreciation for his contributions to my life. As my voice steadied, I spoke about how at last I had a location for the real if intangible presence that

THE MIAMI INDIANS OF INDIANA: *A Persistent People, 1654-1994*



STEWART RAFERT

The history and culture of one of the state's prominent Native American tribes is examined in the Indiana Historical Society publication *The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People, 1654-1994*.

Written by Dr. Stewart Rafert, a University of Delaware professor of history, the 358-page, hardcover book is geared for a general audience as well as for serious students of history interested in the experiences of a North American Indian tribal community over three and a half centuries. The work describes the persistence of a Miami identity up to the present, despite great changes in the tribal culture and community. Publication of the book is supported in part through a grant from the Ball Brothers Foundation and Edmund Ball.

"I could have written a history of the Eastern Miami beginning with removal [from Indiana] in 1846, but the previous tribal history and folklore are important in understanding the postremoval tribe," explains Rafert. "Besides, the 1846 event was far less disruptive to the home Miami community than some observers believed and actually marked the beginning

of a revitalization of the community."

In 1846, the federal government split the Miami tribe into two tribes. The Miami who were permitted to remain in Indiana became known as the Eastern or Indiana Miami, while the Miami who were forcibly relocated to the Kansas Territory became known as the Western or Oklahoma Miami.

To date approximately 2,500 Miami (half the tribe) still live in Indiana. The majority of the population is concentrated in Elkhart and St. Joseph Counties and in the old homeland of the tribe in the upper Wabash valley in Miami, Wabash, Grant, Huntington, and Allen Counties. More than three-fourths of the tribe in Indiana live in urban or suburban areas. Only one-fourth live in rural areas, and Rafert points out that virtually none of the rural Miami live on old treaty reserves or village sites.

"The Miami Indians continue today not only as a recognizable community of Indians in Indiana, but also as a group aggressively seeking restoration of full status as a federal Indian tribe," says Rafert. This book is their story.

AVAILABLE FROM THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 315 W. OHIO ST., INDIANAPOLIS, IN 46202-3299, (317) 232-1882, FAX (317) 233-3109, E-MAIL REBOOMER@IQUEST.NET; INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 601 N. MORTON ST., BLOOMINGTON, IN 47405, 1-800-842-6796; AND AT AREA BOOKSTORES. 358 PP. 1996. ILLUSTRATIONS, INDEX. CLOTH, 0-87195-111-8 \$29.95 / \$23.95 MEMBERS





TEEPEES



ARROW HEAD





CAR WHEEL

MONON is an Indian word meaning "Swift Running"



RAIL



The LIFELINE of INDIANA

MONON

THE HOOSIER LINE

