

J. FRANK HANLY
AND THE
METROPOLITAN POLICE LAW

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Men want to understand and control. Hence there is a constant process of gathering information, organizing it and reorganizing it. The process is carried on both formally by the trained scientist and informally by the layman who fits daily information into various general categories in his mind. Often as information is organized, it is simplified and put into such phrases as "the progressive era" or "law and order". The first individuals may have been aware of the complexities of the human dealings being categorized, but later generations tend to remember only the slogans. The truth becomes less than total. The student of history, then, attempts to reconstruct a part of the past in order that men may be a little more honest with themselves about themselves. This study of the Metropolitan Police Law phase of the administration of J. Frank Hanly of Indiana attempts to add understanding of the man Hanly and his times.

Since inaugural addresses are occasions for public statement of administration policy, J. Frank Hanly, the new Governor of Indiana in 1905, took the opportunity to call for various reforms by the legislature and to set the law enforcement tone for which his administration would be noted. He expressed sentiments that would be heard again and again in the next four years. He said:

The law is freedom's only safeguard; without it there can be no such thing as liberty. #hoever

willfully disregards or violates it pulls down the pillars of his own house and sins against his country, his institutions and his kind. And this applies with equal force to all men--to the rich and the poor, to the great and the small, to the capitalist and the laborer, to the public official and to the private citizen. Before the law all these must be equal. . . The law shall be enforced without fear or favor, in the cities, in the country and everywhere, in so far as the administration can control its enforcement either by precept, example or mandate.¹

The law which allowed Governor Hanly to enforce laws in the cities by mandate was the Metropolitan Police Law. It had first been designed for police control in Indianapolis. Three men were appointed, two from the political party in power and one from the opposition, to serve for three years with each leaving office a different year. The commissioners were to be of "good moral character, sober and discreet." They were not to be removed for political reasons. These commissioners were responsible for the operation of the police force. They selected the superintendent, captain, sergeants, detectives and patrolmen equally from the two leading political parties. Those persons appointed were to "be able to speak English." In addition to power of appointment, the commissioners had power of removal. Finally, they made special rules and regulations for the force and special and general orders through the superintendent.²

¹Patriotism of Feace: Public Addresses and State Papers of J. Frank Hanly of Indiana, ed. by George E. Lockwood (Marion, Indiana: Teachers Journal Printing Company, 1906), p. 141.

²Laws of Indiana, 1883, pp. 89-94.

In 1901 the General Assembly amended the Metropolitan Police Act to cover cities with a population between 10,000 and 35,000 people.³ When Governor Hanly took office in 1905, fourteen cities came under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Police Law. These cities included: Anderson, Elkhart, Elwood, Hammond, Jeffersonville, Kokomo, Lafayette, Logansport, Marion, Michigan City, Muncie, New Albany, Richmond, and Vincennes.

When Hanly spoke of enforcing the laws, he spoke primarily of laws which had to do with morals--the laws regulating gambling and liquor. All forms of gambling were illegal in Indiana whether it be owning a gaming house or participating in a game of chance or a lottery.⁴ Laws regulating the liquor traffic made it unlawful to sell liquor without a publically displayed permit from the county Board of Commissioners. Liquor sales were illegal on Sundays, Christmas, Thanksgiving, July 4, public holidays, and election days. Liquor was not to be sold at fairs or exhibits or within one mile of a camp meeting or military area. And, it was illegal to be drunk. In 1905, the legislature made it possible for a saloon to be closed when a majority of the legal voters of any township or ward filed a remonstrance with the county Board of Commissioners three days before its meeting for renewing licenses.⁵ With these laws as tools

³Laws of Indiana, 1901, pp. 24-25.

⁴Laws of Indiana, 1905, pp. 715-16.

⁵Laws of Indiana, 1881, pp. 210-15, 1905, pp. 7, 720.

for enforcement, Hanly began to build his reputation as a law enforcing governor.

Since the Metropolitan Police Law gave Hanly particular influence in the fourteen cities under the law, those important cities became the special target of his campaign for better law enforcement. Better law enforcement would raise the moral tone of the cities and make them models of decency and efficiency for the rest of the state. To carry out such a program, it was necessary that the Metropolitan Police Commissions in the fourteen cities, the agencies for bringing about better law enforcement, be in agreement with the governor's policy. Quite a bit of Hanly's time as governor would be spent in attempting to create police boards that had law enforcement men who would follow his policy efficiently and effectively. The following is an account of Hanly's attempts at creating such boards and the reactions in the fourteen cities involved.

During the first few months of his administration, Hanly was aware of the activities of the Metropolitan Police Boards and did take steps in a few cities, but he was busy with legislative matters and did little until after the General Assembly finished its sixty-day session. On April 7, the whole state was made especially aware of the governor's attitude toward law enforcement. Without prior warning, Hanly telegraphed for the resignations of the Anderson Metropolitan Police Commissioners, Harry P. Hardie, Charles V. Erdman and Daniel Goehler.

The removal of the Anderson police board was for law and order reasons, but there seemed to be political implications. After receiving the telegrams, the Anderson police commissioners traveled to Indianapolis for a conference with the governor that lasted from 4:30 to 6:00. In the argument with Hanly, the police commission maintained that it had had no official word of administration policy. Hanly did not accept the excuse. Official policy had been announced in the inaugural speech. Letters from Hanly to men around the state earlier in the year indicate that Hanly felt the police boards were aware of his strict policy, and, since the law was clear, there was no need of special communication.⁶ He also waited several months to act because he intended to give the appointees of his predecessor "fair opportunity to justify the act of their appointment."⁷ In Hanly's opinion the events did not justify the men. On January 14, soon after Hanly took office, the police board entered on the records of their department an order for compliance with administration policy, but within six weeks affairs had returned to normal.⁸ Politicians often made speeches supporting law and order, but little was done. Anderson's board was probably not particularly worried. However, for some time before the removal, the governor

⁶Letter, J. Frank Hanly to John P. Hale, January 18, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

⁷Letter, J. Frank Hanly to Revs. Alpheus Trueblood, Thomas Guild, Freely Roher, January 20, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

⁸Indianapolis News, April 8, 1905.

received letters from citizens⁹ and on March 18 a resolution from the ministerial association telling of the poor law enforcement conditions and calling for relief. In answer the governor sent a letter which was published in a local paper restating his determination to have order. Then a few days before the telegrams, the board placed another order for enforcement on their records,¹⁰ but the governor felt the commissioners had done that because of the publicity and had not actually met their obligations. A change was needed.

After the board's conference with the governor it went to the English Hotel to meet with ex-governor Durbin. He had no influence in the matter and could not help their case. Hanly, after the conference, issued a statement which was much quoted.

My action was not prompted in the slightest degree by any political consideration. The gentlemen who compose the board are my personal friends and I have for them only kindest regard, but even my friends will not be permitted to stand between me and the enforcement of the law.¹¹

The newly appointed police commissioners were announced as Lilly and Houston, Republicans, and Frank Foster, Democrat.

⁹Letter, J. Frank Hanly to George S. Parker, March 16, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

¹⁰Indianapolis News, April 8, 1905.

¹¹Ibid.

In reviewing Hanly's role in Anderson, he hesitated before removing the commissioners to give them a chance to prove themselves, but when he was convinced that they were not following the strict enforcement line, he removed them. Being in politics, he naturally chose men who were in harmony with his temperance attitudes and who, in the coming months, would support him rather than Durbin or another Republican leader. Yet it is somewhat surprising that Hanly acted in such a robust and unyielding manner. It was not an act that would sooth intraparty feelings and lead to harmony. Perhaps he intended to dramatize the importance of law enforcement for the rest of the state. Perhaps being dramatic was his personal style. At any rate the Anderson incident serves as a good base of comparison for what was going on in other cities at the same time and a little later during the year 1905.

An important result of the Anderson police board incident was to alert other police if they had not already heard from the governor. In some cases the governor's actions made it easier for boards to enforce laws because they could point to what happened in Anderson. In other cities, the boards resisted the governor. In several cities there was communication between the governor and the police boards but without the disruption of Anderson. These were Elkhart, Lafayette, Elwood, Muncie, Jeffersonville, Marion, Kokomo, and Vincennes.

In Elkhart raids on gambling began after the Metropolitan Police Commissioners had an early April Conference with the governor. It was reported that Elkhart was a dry town on Sunday. Saloon screens were open so that all of the inside could be seen. Complete observance of law is difficult if even possible so Hanly had occasion to write the board later in the month concerning correspondence he had received. His letter to Elliott Crull, President of the Metropolitan Board was both amusing and informative about what the governor expected from his boards. The governor presented the board not only with a list of addresses where the police might find houses of prostitution where liquor was sold but also the names of the proprietors. The governor said he had written to the board frankly so that they might know what was expected of them. He hoped that the members would be equally frank with him and resign if they did not agree with the policy of "consistent and persistent" law enforcement.¹⁵ Even though the board's conference with the governor occurred only a few days after the Anderson removal, the governor displayed a more temperate attitude in instructing the Elkhart board.

In Lafayette, Hanly's home town, two appointments were necessary to the police board in February when terms expired. One of the men felt the position required too much time from his business. The other, Mr. Baugh, had been

¹⁵Letter, J. Frank Hanly to Elliot Crull, April 17, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

up for reappointment by Durbin. However, Hanly personally requested that Durbin leave the matter to him, and Durbin cooperated. Hanly decided to appoint W. T. Dobbins instead. When the new board was completely organized, Hanly expressed the hope that the superintendent, Colonel Harrison, be kept but left the decision with the board and promised administrative support if Lafayette was made "a good place in which to live."¹⁶ The police board in March asked for the resignation of Harrison, and Hanly did not interfere. Later reports from Lafayette said that the police were very active, arresting five saloonists, after a visit by Hanly in May. There was also some trouble in July about the importation of slot machines from Hammond and a rumor of police protection. However, Superintendent Powell said the machines would not run.¹⁷ Hanly not only instructed his police board; he also presided. After a quiet July 4, Hanly expressed his appreciation to the board for the way they handled enforcement that day.¹⁸

In June the members of Elwood's police commission also heard from the governor. Soon after, saloon keepers had a meeting and boasted of a liberal town. Hanly wired the three commissioners, DeHority, Leeson and Newcomb that they should enforce the laws or resign. He evidently felt there was an improvement because the Elwood men also

¹⁶Letter, J. Frank Hanly to W. T. Dobbins, February 13, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

¹⁷Indianapolis News, July 3, 1905.

¹⁸Letter, J. Frank Hanly to W. W. Alder, July 6, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

received letters of praise for following instructions relative to law enforcement on the Fourth.¹⁹

Governor Hanly was also interested in Muncie. He received letters about the conditions but answered that "substantial evidence was necessary for official action."²⁰ Unlike the Anderson board the Muncie police board did receive communication from the governor. On March 21, Harve M. Koontz, a Metropolitan Police Commissioner, received a letter from Hanly assuring the board of his support if they sought to do their duty and were frank with him.²¹ He also called them for a conference in Indianapolis on March 31. That was before the Anderson board, that needed no official word to know its duty, was asked to resign!

In Jeffersonville, the police commissioners met and discussed Hanly's "interview and expressions" and determined to enforce the laws. They complained, though, about the "knockers and chronic kickers" who wanted to remain anonymous rather than go to the board with evidence.²² It was in Jeffersonville that the saloon keepers gave the governor the name "Blue Law Hanly". They then tried to stop the

¹⁹Letter, J. Frank Hanly to Wayne Leeson, Esq., July 6, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

²⁰Letter, J. Frank Hanly to J. W. Forissey, March 21, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

²¹Letter, J. Frank Hanly to Harve M. Koontz, March 21, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

²²Jeffersonville Star, April 4, 1905.

railroad and street car traffic on Sunday. This was thought extreme when it kept people from church.

The Marion police board underwent reorganization, but in this instance also, it was accomplished without a furor. It was reported that of the three new commissioners, one was a deacon of the First Methodist Church, another was the Sunday School superintendent, and the other was the director of the YMCA. The town was visited by Harry Miller, who was employed by the state for detective work, and reported it to be so tight that a young man had to go to the Chief of Police for brandy for his sick mother.²³ It is doubtful that law observance was quite as absolute as the above report indicates. The governor had received communication from citizens.²⁴ But, reorganization and strict enforcement were accomplished without upsetting the populace.

In 1905, little happened in Kokomo that was directly concerned with the police board except a letter from the governor calling for an investigation of a Mr. Harter and for frankness concerning their attitudes about his policy. Two other occurrences did indicate the temperament of the citizenry regarding the prominent role the governor was taking in city governments around the state, though. First, city councilmen played with the idea of disincorporating or dividing the town so it would not meet the population

²³Indianapolis Sun, December 28, 1905.

²⁴Letter, J. Frank Hanly to L. J. Forsman, April 5, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

Since they did not receive benefits, they certainly did not want interference. The third city was Richmond.

The action of the board of police commissioners in Hammond in April is a good example of Anderson's impact on enforcement. Though it had received no communication, the board, William Pepperdine, Thomas Hammond and Henry Bicknell, met and ordered all laws enforced. Saloon keepers expressed anger that Hanly had "stuck his nose in Hammond's business." Temperance leaders cheered but were afraid the improvement would not last.²⁹ A few months later in July there were again reports from Hammond. Governor Hanly received a careful, intelligent letter signed "Just a Woman" which told of Sunday violations and included a clipping from a local paper. A letter was sent to the president of the board asking for facts and an investigation.

Hammond had special reasons for its persistent problem with law enforcement. Being close to Chicago it was estimated that one half of its 17,000 inhabitants were foreign born or were very closely related. The working men expected Sunday to be a day of rest and beer. Also, the center of Hammond was only a few blocks from the center of West Hammond, Illinois, where new bars were being opened and where the men could easily travel and spend their money.³⁰ Hanly's

²⁹Hammond News, April 11, 1905.

³⁰Indianapolis News, July 10, 1905.

argument that towns did not lose revenue because an absence of welfare for drunks made up for loss of money spent on drink definitely did not satisfy the businessmen. Even though Hanly was charged with "long distance government," he did realize Hammond's special problem. A letter was sent to Charles S. Deneen, Governor of Illinois, explaining Hanly's duty to insist upon law enforcement in Indiana and urging Deneen to do what could be done in West Hammond.³¹ Little actually came from the correspondence, and Hammond's reform remained spasmodic.

In December a lawyer, W. H. Sickman, prepared affidavits for clients to the effect that the police were derelict in their duty and that one policeman had a financial interest in a saloon.³² Preachers also protested. Hanly then called for the resignation of the police board. In Hammond, like Anderson, it was charged that the board was removed for political reasons since the commissioners were Durbin appointees. The Hammond Tribune said a personal machine was being formed in that part of the state since Republican leaders had not been consulted.³³ Republicans George F. Pearson and J. J. Ruff accepted appointments, but the Democratic position was more difficult to fill since party men were urged not to cooperate. Finally Thomas E. Knotis accepted the appointment, but even this involved a squabble. LeGrand E. Moyer,

³¹Letter, J. Frank Hanly to Governor of Illinois, Charles S. Deneen, July 13, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

³²Michigan City News, December 20, 1905.

³³Hammond Tribune, December 18, 1905.

ex-chairman of the Democratic Central Committee wrote to Hanly and said he had not known Knotts to be involved in Democratic politics. However, Knotts claimed to be a Democrat and was accepted by Hanly as one.³⁴ Hammond's problem was a difficult one. The foreign population, the nearness of West Hammond, and the distance from Indianapolis created an attitude of resistance in many of Hammond's citizens, which was exemplified by the difficulty in getting an acceptable Democratic representative. As in Anderson the argument of party politics can not be accepted totally. If Hanly had been especially eager for his own board he could have acted in either April or July, but he waited for proper, legal affidavits. Again, though, his own brand of Republicans were appointed.

Hammond's neighbor in the north, Michigan City, also had an interesting time over her police board. Governor Hanly received reliable information that Michigan City was a wide open town--especially on Sunday, June 18. On June 24, each member of the Michigan City police board received a telegram from the governor asking if the saloons of the city had been open the previous Sunday with the knowledge and consent of the board. The members were to answer by wire. The Republican members responded something to the negative, but R. J. Krueger, the Democratic member's answer was soon published in papers all over the state. "So far as I know the saloons were closed Sunday as usual. The

³⁴Hammond Tribune, January 1, 1906.

board has a standing order to enforce the liquor laws. I am a dry goods merchant not a detective."³⁵ A heated correspondance ensued. The angered governor wired for Krueger's immediate resignation. Krueger complied in a letter saying he received his appointment with the belief he would be allowed to do his own thinking and would continue to enjoy the priviledges he had under Mathew and Durbin. He believed in "rational enforcement of the law in accord with the sentiment of each community."³⁶ The Krueger letter called for a reply from Hanly who said "priviledges" were not the reason for appointments, and he was not concerned with former administrations. Also, an official did not have the right to do any thinking about the propriety of existing laws. That was the job of the General Assembly.³⁷ Shortly thereafter the Republican board members, Tawse and Dunlap, resigned. Hanly instructed Superintendent C. E. Bowlin to enforce the laws until a board could be appointed.

In July the new Metropolitan Police Board was announced. Its members were Republicans William W. Worthley and Fredrick Whipple and Democrat Fredrick Greschow. Mr. Worthley was an employee of Haskel Barker Company and a member of the Methodist Church. His wife was president of the WCTU. Mr. Whipple was an employee of the Michigan Central Railroad and also a member of the Methodist Church. Mr. Greschow,

³⁵Michigan City Dispatch, June 24, 1905.

³⁶Indianapolis Star, June 30, 1905.

³⁷Indianapolis Star, July 2, 1905.

a shoe merchant, was described as more liberal, but he was in the minority.³⁸ Hanly, in his letter of instruction, stated that the responsibility for law enforcement lay wholly with the board. He did not desire to dictate removals or appointments. He did not want hasty action. Every man is entitled to a "square deal", but once the necessity was seen, removal should promptly follow.³⁹ The board met and elected Worthley chairman. The next evening a secret meeting was held to "evade the lynx-eyed reporters." Superintendent Bowlin and the night sergeant, Joseph Jenkins were "unceremoniously discharged," and new appointments were made. Whether the Republicans realized it at the time or not, the complexion of the force was changed to a Democratic majority. Worthley said he would rather kept it as before, but Whipple said politics made no difference. The new appointees had applied, the commission was satisfied and looked no farther. Worthley also suggested that Hanly had wanted the Bowlin and Jenkin's removals.⁴⁰

Even if the Republican Commissioners were not concerned about the politics of the police force, others were. The Michigan City News, a paper that had earlier given support, became more and more disenchanted. It said that a board with a Republican majority choosing a Democratic majority boarded "on the farcical." Surely there were capable

³⁸Marion Chronicle, July 12, 1905.

³⁹Letter, J. Frank Hanly to William W. Worthley, July 15, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

⁴⁰Michigan City News, July 19, 1905.

Republicans, and Bowlin had served well since 1903. Governor Hanly was being imposed upon and Michigan City was getting anything but a "square deal."⁴¹

In addition to the feeling of alienation from the rest of the state mentioned earlier, two factors helped to create a bad feeling in Michigan City. One was the seemingly hasty action by Hanly's board. The other was the bad publicity Michigan City received in other parts of the state. It seems the Republican majority of the board, Hanly's appointees, were definitely interested in law enforcement as opposed to politics. Otherwise the majority would have been more aware of the political complexion of the force. It seems that in their enthusiasm they may have even acted more hastily than Hanly would have liked. In a letter to a Mr. Bower in Michigan City shortly after the removals, it appears that Hanly's letter to Worthley was sent in a tempering spirit. This later letter said that the governor had "hoped the police officers then in service might be continued." But it also said the decision belonged to the board and Hanly stood by them on Bowlin's removal.⁴² It was this haste that the Michigan City News complained of. The second cause of bad feeling was bad publicity. The early 1900's was a competitive era for cities and towns.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Letter, J. Frank Hanly to Hon. Edwin J. Bower, July 17, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

Each town wanted to present itself as the best place to live. In various papers throughout the state during the Michigan City hassel, the town was presented as a lawless place. Residents resented the exaggerated stories.⁴³

It would be wrong to view the residents of Michigan City as a monolith--a group wholly united in opinion. Religious groups were especially pleased with the new enforcement. However, there is also evidence that enforcement in the city was not easy and that some citizens were quite unhappy. On August 19, Hanly again wrote to the Michigan City board enclosing a letter and various newspaper clippings about the lack of enforcement. Hanly appreciated the difficult situation in the city and realized some of the clippings were designed to embarass the administration, but he felt there might be some basis for complaint.⁴⁴ This was written to the ardent board that had been appointed only a month before! Enforcement must have been difficult. Law enforcement depends not only upon the police force but also upon the courts. Lack of convictions can indicate a lack of support for enforcement. In Michigan City during a two week period in July, four attempts at liquor convictions failed.⁴⁵ A final indication of Michigan City feeling

⁴³Michigan City News, July 12, 1905

⁴⁴Letter, J. Frank Hanly to William W. Worthley, August 19, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

⁴⁵Michigan City News, July 26, 1905.

was the result of the municipal elections of November 1905. The Democrats won with a majority of 1234 to 736, and it was believed that the saloonmen were a factor in the victory.⁴⁶

The final Metropolitan Police Law city with problems in 1905 was Richmond. In their city, relations with the governor became extremely strained. At first the issue seemed to be only law and order. On September 3, Hanly visited Richmond as guest of H. C. Starr, a powerful Republican, while he was in the area for a speaking engagement. It was reported that saloons had their back doors open even on the day of his visit. A little later, board member, Sharon E. Jones, visited the governor and spoke of the inefficiency of Police Superintendent Gorman. He and member Charles Marlatt planned to introduce a motion that Gorman be removed. The president of the board, James W. Moore, then called the governor. Hanly telegraphed asking that nothing be done until he could check the situation and have a conference with them. The governor was going on vacation so a meeting was not planned until September 28 for October 28. Before that date the situation became very complicated and almost got out of hand. On September 18, the Richmond Item said that Hanly was deliberately ignoring Richmond. Hanly seemed to be only for reform when it did not cripple the machinery of his friends. The paper particularly referred to the up-coming municipal election when the Republican incumbent mayor, Zimmerman, was pitted against Democrat

⁴⁶Michigan City News, November 8, 1905.

Dr. Leon Schillinger. Hanly, no doubt, had obligations to Starr for the 1904 gubernatorial election and was therefore leaving police affairs alone.⁴⁷ Numerous letters were received in the governors office protesting the situation. Ministers, whose counterparts in other cities were supporting Hanly, also sided against the governor. Rev. C. Huber at First Methodist Church spoke of honest upright citizens who communicated with Hanly and who had been told the governor knew more about the situation than they did. The Rev. S. R. Lyons said he did not doubt that the governor did know the Richmond situation. What he questioned was the governors sincerity.⁴⁸ Finally on October 21, board members Jones and Marlatt resigned. They said they had waited too long on the governor and must resign to keep their community self respect. The governors interference seemed to them to be contrary to good government and diametrically opposed to his professions.⁴⁹

To many citizens it did seem that Richmond received very bad treatment from Hanly and that he was acting in quite a partisan manner. Hanly, however, did write to the citizens defending his actions and clarifying the situation. Hanly originally asked that Superintendent Gorman not be fired when he learned that Jones and Marlatt had plotted to immorally involve the superintendent with a lewd woman

⁴⁷Richmond Item, September 18, 1905.

⁴⁸Richmond Item, September 1905.

⁴⁹Indianapolis Sentinel, October 22, 1905.

they had imported from outside the city.⁵⁰ Even though Hanly agreed that Gorman was probably not the best man for the job he felt the superintendent should be given a "fair deal." Again and again Hanly maintained that he had not changed his position in regard to law enforcement since his inauguration. He had not been influenced by Mr. Starr but by the story from the two commissioners involved.⁵¹ Hanly expressed surprise that Richmond visitors to his office felt they had been coolly and disrespectfully received. He said he truly was better informed about the total picture than they and had been misrepresented.⁵² Hanly also emphasized the role of the men leading the opposition to Mayor Zimmerman in blowing the situation out of proportion. Especially mentioned was Editor Bennett Gordon of the Richmond Item.⁵³ When Hanly finally accepted the resignation of the third commissioner so that the board could be reorganized he expressed the belief the whole incident had been from the beginning "an unfortunate and needless condition."

The Richmond situation was truly an unfortunate incident for Hanly and the Republicans--especially in short term effects. For the first time in more than forty years a

⁵⁰Indianapolis News, October 27, 1905.

⁵¹Letter, J. Frank Hanly to B. C. Allen Leader, esq., October 27, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

⁵²Letter, J. Frank Hanly to E. E. Nicholson, October 14, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

⁵³Letter, J. Frank Hanly to Professor Robert L. Kelly, October 27, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

Democrat was elected as Mayor in Richmond and the victory was attributed to the police board trouble. The Republicans, however, did not lose other offices and Zimmerman returned to office in the next election. Hanly never again enjoyed his previous degree of prestige in the city.

It is ironic Hanly was more bitterly criticized in Richmond than most other cities under the Metropolitan Police Law in 1905, and yet he seemed to be more innocent of interference and party politics there than in other cities-- Anderson for example. It was usually the Methodist Ministry that formed the backbone of Hanly's support. In Richmond that was not the case. It joined the newspapers and politicians even though its motives may have been different. Hanly was willing to let the police board act on its own. He only came into the fight out of fairness to Gorman. It was unfortunate that other state business and the governor's vacation came at the same time as the Richmond affair. Much of the ill feeling might have been avoided if the great time lapse between September 3 and October 28 had not been necessary. The citizens would have felt less ignored. Even though Hanly apparently did not want to influence the Municipal election, he probably would not have been able to avoid that charge, though. Another factor that estranged Hanly from the Richmond citizenry was what was described as his cool and disrespectful treatment. Comparison of his Richmond letters and speeches with those from other cities indicates that Hanly always had a presby and absolute

tone when he spoke of duty, obligation, fairness and enforcement. That was his personal style rather than a reflection upon the Richmond men. The complications in Richmond seemed to be more a result of party intrigue and personality conflict than the law and order issue which began the problem. 1905 was the year of greatest activity in the Metropolitan Police Boards. This fact is explained by forces affecting both the governor and the people. Since it was the first year of his administration, Hanly necessarily spent a great deal of time establishing his enforcement policy. As his boards were established and understood his wishes he could give them less attention. In later years, other matters would leave him less time for police affairs, too. The police boards and citizens under the Metropolitan Police System were more vocal in 1905 than they were when they adjusted to the new rhetoric and direction from Indianapolis. However, since law enforcement and especially law enforcement in the cities under the Metropolitan Police Law assumed such a large role in Hanly's administrative policy, word of police board affairs did not disappear from papers around the state.

In 1906, five cities had police board occurrences. Lafayette, Hammond and Richmond received minor mention, but Kokomo and Muncie, which had been initially relatively calm, were more excited in 1906.

Lafayette was Governor Hanly's home town and, since it was, it received quite a bit of publicity by those who

wanted to either praise the governor or to cast a bad light on his policy. Criticizing enforcement in his "home town" seemed to carry special weight. Indications are that Lafayette was neither a particularly vile town nor a particularly good town. In Hanly's reappointment letter to W. W. Alder, board member, he expressed satisfaction in the work of he and Mr. Dobbins. The board as constituted could do more than a new one. Hanly indicated that Mr. Alder's declination to reappointment would be misunderstood and so he was especially urged to accept. Hanly, however, sent two newspaper clippings and a couple of letters indicating where the board might "beef up" its enforcement especially in the area of gambling.⁵⁴ In September there was indication the gambling was still a problem in Lafayette.⁵⁵ Governor Hanly was still making an effort to have the laws enforced, but his letter to Alder suggests he had not completely forgotten political implications. Alder's resignation from the board would have caused extensive comment around the state needed to be avoided.

Hammond with its difficult geography continued to be a problem. Police board member Knotts took a position with the Post Office Department, and some remembered the earlier question of his politics and thought it strange for a Democrat to receive such a position during a Republican

⁵⁴Letter, J. Frank Hanly to Hon. W. W. Alder, January 7, 1906, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

⁵⁵Hammond News, September 11, 1906.

administration. It remained difficult to find a Democrat to serve on the board even though they might sympathize with the governor. The Lake County Times expressed the belief that the city was being unduly watched and public sentiment seemed to have crystalized in favor of a broader interpretation.⁵⁶ In the November election, the Republican majority was reduced from 2,800 in 1904 to 900. One should be careful, though, in judging these figures. The personalities of local officers were a factor as well as state politics.

In Richmond the Item, which Hanly had accused of causing so much trouble earlier, did not forget its dislike for the governor. Hanly had made the statement in his speech for opening the 1906 campaign that the administration stood for the "sanctity of the home" and "protection and safety of the fireside." The Item said a year ago Hanly had stood for "a polluted home, legalized and blackmailed prostitution and political corruption, and stood there knowingly, defiantly, insolently because he had an audience with the machine of this city."⁵⁷

Kokomo was added to the ranks of Indiana cities with drastic police board changes when information from Mrs. Jesse C. Lindley was turned over to the governor. According to the story, Mrs. Lindley had engaged the services of Patrolman John H. McNutt to help her find her husband. They

⁵⁶Lake County Times, July 11, 1906.

⁵⁷Richmond Item, September 26, 1906.

went to a bawdy house and failed to find Mrs. Lindley's husband, but she reported the policeman's actions. A relative of McNutt was there and when Mrs. Lindley started to call his wife, McNutt knocked the phone from the wall, used improper language, and refused to arrest the "guests." An investigation was ordered and then carried out by commissioners G. P. Wood and C. E. Follard. (Van Drake Ellis was in Florida.) McNutt disclosed that he had been told not to bother certain houses of the city. Follard, the minority member, was serving on the board only until Hanly could make an appointment. He had supported the governor. Republicans Wood and Ellis resigned.⁵⁸ Later, Ellis wrote to the Indianapolis News defending their actions. He said that in every election except one since 1866 Kokomo had voted for "middle path" in law enforcement. He also said that Hanly supported selling of newspapers on Sunday so their sin was not of kind but of degree.⁵⁹

Hanly's new board consisted of E. S. Gerhart, Republican, who had been Hanly's appointee for City Judge earlier; Gilbert D. Jay, Republican and "leading manufacturer and capitalist"; and Jackson Morrow who had been originally a Democrat but ran as Prohibition candidate for mayor in the previous election. The new board was active. State records indicate they used the state's legal resources in running

⁵⁸Indianapolis Star, March 6, 1906.

⁵⁹Indianapolis News, March 15, 1906.

their department.⁶⁰ In August, City Judge Roll M. Cooper went to Indianapolis to protest that the police Commission was boycotting his court. He had criticized the board for employing plain clothes detectives and acquitted them. The board then instructed Prosecutor Voorhis to make no more files in his court. The basic cause of conflict may have been bad feeling resulting from Coopers victory over Gerhart in the 1905 Municipal election. Each accused the other of trying to force him out of office.⁶¹

The 1906 Muncie police board excitement seemed to be precipitated by the ministerial association which, in November, charged the police commission with not enforcing the law. The board said they were doing all that could be. Dr. Carter, spokesman for the association, added to what was becoming strained relations when he criticized the board from his pulpit at First Baptist Church. The situation reached something of a climax when Dr. Carter and guests visited the police commission meeting. George A. Ball, of the glass manufacturing company, complained of saloons open during illegal hours near his factory. Then the meeting turned into name-calling contest that was close to ridiculous. During Dr. Carter's sermon, he had called one Republican member a cipher and the other a politician. Board member Bennett accused Carter of calling him a cipher.

⁶⁰Letter, Attorney General Charles W. Miller to J. Frank Hanly, March 12, 1906, Indiana State Library, Archives.

⁶¹Muncie Star, August 18, 1906.

Dr. Carter said he had made no distinction, but if Bennett was the cipher, Koontz must be the politician. Tension rose again when Bennett said if he were a Baptist instead of a Presbyterian everything would be alright. Carter answered that if he were a Baptist the church would have investigated him long ago. Rev. Wilson of the Presbyterian Church added that it was not a question of denomination but of manhood! The ministers had proof that saloons were open Sunday because a Blountsville man had gotten drunk and had fallen under a train and been killed. They wanted the board's resignation or a grand jury investigation and intended to keep Hanly informed. If Hanly did not act, he would be accused of insincerity.⁶²

Fortunately, more rational action followed the police board meeting. On November 30, the board and the new Superintendent of police were called to Indianapolis for a conference with Hanly. Within a few days better enforcement was noticable. In addition, the City Council drew up an ordinance to define business and residential districts. If passed, the liquor interests would be driven from residential areas. Mayor Guthrie also did what was possible to reduce the liquor influence. Sitting as judge, he revoked a liquor license.⁶³

When Koontz's commission was up for renewal in a few months, Hanly reappointed him even though there had been

⁶²Muncie Morning Star, November 29, 1906.

⁶³Muncie Morning Star, January 1, 1907.

such a hassel. Three reasons for this action suggest themselves. First, Mr. Koontz had evidently been frank with the governor concerning the problems of enforcement.⁶⁴ The governor seemed to place great value on having commissioners who would be truthful. When the "lid" was made tighter in November, the governor continued to support him. Second, there are indications that the political climate was better in Muncie than in Richmond or Anderson. The Indianapolis Sun attempted to show political connections in Muncie. It was hinted that there was a friendly relationship between Henly and his Attorney General, James Bingham of Muncie, and George Cromer, leader of Eighth District Republicans.⁶⁵ The suggestion could very well be true for even though there was name calling, it was not between the Politicians. Unlike Kokomo or Richmond a united front was maintained. Finally, unlike the Richmond Item, the Muncie papers remained fairly objective but tended to support the administration rather than oppose it. The issue in Muncie remained largely low and order.

During 1907, the third year of Henly's administration, the governor maintained his strict law enforcement stand. Minor police board occurrences took place in Elwood, Elkhart, Logansport, Lafayette, and Hammond, while Kokomo and Anderson had little more serious trouble. But the greatest amount of time and energy in 1907 was expended in the meeting of the

⁶⁴Letter, J. Frank Henly to Hon. Harve M. Koontz, March 2, 1906, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Henly Letter File.

⁶⁵Indianapolis Sun, June 23, 1908.

General Assembly. There, as in the fourteen cities, the Metropolitan Police Law played an important role.

From several cities came reports of minor police board and enforcement problems in 1907. Elwood's police board received a letter from the governor which contained newspaper clippings about two patrolmen and called for an investigation. The men were suspended as a result and Hanly supported the action.⁶⁶ The Elkhart commissioners had a conference with Hanly, but there was no great upset. In Logansport there was a change in the Superintendent of Police after complaints to Hanly. The new man, George Graham, promised "dry" Sundays. Evidently police-citizen relations in Logansport were good for at a December meeting of Logansport saloonists it was decided that there would be strict compliance with the law. That policy would win the respect of law abiding citizens and, therefore, advance the liquor interests.⁶⁷ Reports of Lafayette's struggle with gambling continued to find their way into the news. Lafayette continually maintained it was a good town. Finally, newspaper reporters again accused Hammond of being a "wide open" town. Evidence of negative city sentiment was seen in the great number of acquittals in liquor cases and in the fact that no Democrat was found to serve on the police commission.⁶⁸ Hammond answered the accusation by saying that

⁶⁶Letter, J. Frank Hanly to Dr. Neal, July 23, 1907, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

⁶⁷Logansport Daily Tribune, December 3, 1907.

⁶⁸Indianapolis Star, January 3, 1907.

very little either pro or con was heard about a "lid" unless an Indianapolis newspaper staff correspondent decided to write an article. The cities of the northwest were not dens of iniquity. Hammond's "lid" had become too much of a political issue for Governor Hanly. The Hammond Times said: "Indianapolis takes the same interest in Hammond as Chicago takes in the levee."⁶⁹ Other towns very likely had the same opinions of newspaper staff correspondents since quite a bit of the police board news in 1907 came from that source. The articles, no doubt, contained kernels of truth but should not be taken completely at face value.

Kokomo in 1907 expressed continued annoyance with the Metropolitan Police Act. In fact, it was this city that challenged the law in the Indiana Supreme Court. Before the General Assembly acted on the law the decision was returned upholding it.⁷⁰ Another attack on the law was the emphasis placed upon the financial burden the Metropolitan Police Law created for the cities under it. The cost to the city was twenty dollars per arrest.⁷¹

Kokomo also experienced a continuation and expansion of the personal-political feud that had begun the previous year with police commissioner Gerhart and police judge Cooper. When Thomas Gerhart was up for reappointment some interesting people protested to Governor Hanly. First he was denounced by County Attorney Conrad Wolf who had

⁶⁹Hammond Times, January 3, 1907.

⁷⁰Indianapolis News, February 22, 1907.

⁷¹Kokomo Dispatch, February 15, 1907.

represented the state in the liquor remonstrance trials in Kokomo. The Rev. Madison Swadener of the Grace M. E. Church also spoke against Gerhart and the board. Finally, R. A. Ogg, Superintendent of Schools and member of the Good Citizens League protested that the Judge had violated a confidence by printing Ogg's opposition to theatrical posters on certain of Gerhart's buildings. One of the main arguments against Judge Gerhart seemed to be his defense of the Sipe Theater in a Sunday closing suit. It was probably within the law and Gerhart took the case as a lawyer, but certain citizens felt he was not the best example for a Metropolitan Police Commissioner.⁷² Governor Hanly stood by Judge Gerhart.

Anderson, the first city to be drastically dealt with in 1905, displayed dissatisfaction with the law. On July 4, Anderson expected a great celebration at the fair grounds for charity. Such Hanly supporters as Attorney General Bingham and former state senator E. E. Hendee were on the program. Word had reached Hanly that law enforcement was not all it should be and wired that the "lid" must be in place.⁷³ Later in the summer it was reported that some 2,000 people gathered at Anderson's Central Christian Church to hear Rev. Thomas W. Grafton speak on "Who is Responsible for the Failure to Enforce the Laws in Anderson." Grafton

⁷²Indianapolis Star, December 26, 1907.

⁷³Indianapolis Star, July 9, 1907.

spoke of "numerous notorious resorts" in the city. The failure of law enforcement, he concluded, must be charged to Governor Hanly. The governor was probably not aware of the situation; he listened to politicians instead of the people. However, the people at election time would be heard.⁷⁴

The argument that the Anderson police commissioners were politicians and because of their influence the Anderson force was a complete mess was not a new argument in Anderson. The charge had appeared so often that there was probably some truth in it. At any rate it was an Anderson citizen, Democrat McCullough, who, armed with that very argument, introduced a bill into the 1907 General Assembly to repeal the Metropolitan Police Law. The fate of the McCullough bill was an important event in 1907.

When the Indiana General Assembly met in January of 1907 Representative McCullough of Anderson, brother-in-law of Windfield T. Durbin, introduced a bill that would give home rule to the fourteen cities under the Metropolitan Police Law. According to the bill, the police commissioners would be appointed on a nonpartisan basis by the mayor with the approval of the city council. A big fight was expected, and newspapers spent a great deal of time giving opinions about the law from residents of the various towns. The opinions varied from paper to paper depending upon who

⁷⁴Indianapolis News, July 22, 1907.

was interviewed and what was the paper's opinion. As it turned out there really was not a great deal said about the bill. It passed the House by a vote of 73 to 19 and the Senate by 34 to 13.

In the early part of February most who commented felt the governor would be glad to be relieved of the responsibility of the Metropolitan Police Law cities and would sign the bill. As late opposition to the bill appeared in the Senate, it became more apparent that Hanly did not favor the bill.⁷⁵ When the bill did pass, House Speaker Branch failed to send it to Hanly, until McCullough and Garrard were able to get a resolution passed that the bill must be sent. The delay made it possible for only two days to be left before adjournment when Hanly returned the bill with his veto. Stopping the repassage of the bill was made a matter of party loyalty so Republicans who were actually in sympathy with the bill remained silent while other Republicans prohibited the bill from coming to a vote.⁷⁶ McCullough and the Anderson News were extremely critical of Hanly's "exasperating egotism" and his lack of trust in citizen's ability to govern themselves.⁷⁷

The story of the McCullough bill is complete only after considering the governor's veto message which was quite long and quite thorough on the subject of law enforce-

⁷⁵Michigan City News, March 5, 1907.

⁷⁶Indianapolis News, March 8, 1907.

⁷⁷Anderson News, March 8, 1907.

ment. Hanly first discussed the constitutional validity of such a law. Then he discussed its moral necessity. The Indiana Constitution, following the example of the United States Constitution, made the state sovereign in matters vital to the interests of all the people. In the area of law enforcement, then, it was the General Assembly, rather than the local communities, that was responsible for the enforcement of the laws. To be responsible for enforcing the laws meant that instruments were necessary for giving the executive that power to carry out his constitutional duty. Since the public morals affected all of the state's citizens the Metropolitan Police Act was necessary. To remove the duty of law enforcement from the governor would require a constitutional amendment rather than the repealing of a law. The governor, then, went on to discuss the improvements made in law enforcement during his administration. When he considered the vices of gambling and liquor, he could not accept the responsibility of signing the McCullough bill. He preferred to cast his lot with "friends of the home. . .and of orderly government honestly administered."⁷⁸

Hanly continued to control the police departments of the fourteen cities under the Metropolitan Police Law, but since the repeal, as shown by the General Assembly vote, had such support, it became one of the campaign issues in the 1908 election. When Marshall was elected, the law was repealed.

⁷⁸Indianapolis News, March 7, 1907.

The year 1908 saw little particular Metropolitan police action. There were some letters of complaint, but since Hanly had police boards that knew his policy and were more sympathetic toward it, he continued dealing with them. Another factor that caused less of the governor's time to be spent on enforcement was the gubernatorial election that required campaigning.

The initial reaction to the Hanly policy of enforcement under the Metropolitan Police Law, its longer term effectiveness, and its political results were a combination of factors. One general factor was Governor Hanly himself--his attitudes, his speeches and letters, and his particular handling of individual towns. This general factor, worked with and against the other general factor, the town itself with its particular history, factions and geography. In concluding, these various trends will be brought together.

In carrying out his inaugural pledge to enforce the laws by "precept, example or mandate," Hanly embarked on a policy of law and order. During the first year of his administration he traveled 17,000 miles giving 100 addresses in an attempt to arouse the public conscience and reeducate the people as to their duty. In his speeches he declared that though the patriotism of war was spectacular, true patriots must turn to the patriotism of peace--observance of the law. He said he did not debate the propriety of the laws; that was the job of the people's representatives in the General Assembly. Luckily,

he felt that the laws were just. His enforcement policy was improving the moral tone of the state, and he intended to continue to carry out his duty even if it meant an end to his political future.⁷⁹

When Hanly received letters from citizens asking for help from his office for better enforcement, he often did not have jurisdiction in the area. He did not miss the opportunity, though, of urging them to become involved. An especially good example of this is Hanly's letter to Rev. J. C. Murray, Cicare, Indiana. Hanly said that Murray's community needed to be brought together so that evidence could be put before the proper authorities so that change could be brought about. Hanly said that "one brave man in any community has the power to arouse the public conscience if he will go at it with courage. . ."⁸⁰

To many of the citizens of the state the simple logic and pure morality of the governor's utterances were refreshing. They looked forward with the governor to a higher moral tone for the state. In 1905, there were many expressions of support for the governor's policy. Church conferences such as the northern Indiana Methodists and the Baptist ministers of Indianapolis praised his policy.⁸¹ Newspapers, except for the Democratic ones, also praised the governors courage and honesty.

⁷⁹Indianapolis News, April 21, 1905.

⁸⁰Letter, J. Frank Hanly to Rev. J. C. Murray, August 23, 1905, Indiana State Library, Archives, File.

⁸¹Indianapolis News, April 8, 1905.

The Democratic response was directed at the governor personally. Law enforcement was a topic about which there could be scarcely any disagreement. The Indianapolis Sentinel said there was "entirely too much of the first person singular about the governor's verbalities." It prophesied that absolutism would get tiresome to the people in three years.⁸²

Whether the people of Indiana did get tired of hearing about their "duty," or whether the people became used to the governor and his policy, one cannot be sure. But, there was a lessening of the unqualified support, which had early been given to Hanly, as the administration moved along. In addition to the citizens getting tired of being told about their "duty" and getting used to the new policy, the author thinks an important reason for a change in attitude was the fact that in actual application the governor's policies could not possibly remain as "pure" as they sounded in his speeches. Not only did he have to adapt to varying conditions, but people interpreted the actions differently. It was in the area of application of theory that the Metropolitan Police Law cities played such a large part. It was in reference to those cities, also, that much of the governor's sincerity was questioned. Letters from Hanly to his police commissioners indicate that the governor thought that complete enforcement was

⁸²Indianapolis Sentinel, April 22, 1905.

not possible,⁸³ but there seemed to be no change in the law and order rhetoric in his speeches as the administration progresses. After all, during this time, one of the recreations of the people was listening to speakers, and they liked to be entertained. A look at the cities and the governor's handling of them suggests trends that add understanding to the governor's motives as well as to the success or failure of enforcement in the cities. It can definitely be said that it was the reactions of the city and the governor to each other that produced the results. In towns with political factions, especially intraparty factions, the governor's actions were interpreted more politically. Examples are Anderson, Kokomo, Hammond and Richmond. In some of the towns the governor did seem to have political motives. Anderson's especially rough treatment compared with the more quiet activities in Muncie are an example. In Anderson the pro-Hanly politicians did not have total control. In Richmond, on the other hand, the governor was dragged into a local political fight that he would have preferred to have avoided. The point is, the hassel over the police boards and enforcement was greatest where there were local factions and personal feuds.

The role of church men was interesting. During the early part of 1905, they formed an especially vocal part of Hanly's support. In all towns, they were for enforcement of the laws, but in several towns, Richmond, Kokomo,

⁸³Letter, J. Frank Hanly to F. R. Sewell, January 30, 1906, Indiana State Library, Archives, J. Frank Hanly Letter File.

Anderson, and Muncie, the ministers displayed different degrees of disenchantment with the governor's policy as their towns were involved in disputes that could not be settled absolutely. However, though the ministers were strong, if the town's politicians were fairly united as in Muncie, there was less disturbance.

Geography, amount of native population, and amount of interference from the governor affected the amount of resistance found in a city. As noted earlier Hammond and Michigan City had felt separated from state politics for some time. In addition they had large foreign and working populations with different traditions about drinking and gambling. In towns such as Hammond, Michigan City, Anderson, Kokomo, and Richmond, city pride was hurt when Hanly's more drastic intervention in their affairs brought bad publicity.

In other cities such as Logansport, Jeffersonville and others, increased law enforcement was accepted fairly well.

Though Governor Hanly continually maintained that law enforcement was a moral rather than a political issue, he could not escape the fact that in the broader sense of the word it had to be political. In the fall of 1906, he campaigned extensively for pro-enforcement candidates. A set-back at the polls would have hurt his future policy. His plan was to take his argument to the people, as he had in the numerous 1905 addresses, where he would receive

support against the more politically minded of his party. In the elections the Republicans lost seats, but they did not lose enough to force a reversal. Metropolitan Police Law cities did not give the governor extensive support, but he picked up votes in the rural areas.⁸⁴

The 1908 gubernatorial race was again a testing ground for Hanly's success in enforcement. Again the results did not give a clear cut answer. Other than the governorship, the Republicans actually did not lose a great many offices. Some said Hanly's policy was a factor in the Republican loss, but it should be noted that the Democrats had found a fine candidate and good public speaker in Thomas R. Marshall.⁸⁵

In conclusion, Governor Hanly remained steadfast in his emphasis on law enforcement. His greatest failure seemed to be the credibility gap created by his administration. He attempted to raise law enforcement above political considerations to a strictly moral one. In keeping with his personality, he used absolutist rhetoric and acted dramatically with certain cities. However, as governor and leader of his party, Hanly could only shortly remain above politics. Arousing the conscience of the masses in speeches had its place, but it could not be divorced from practical application which involved personalities and

⁸⁴Indianapolis News, November 8, 1906.

⁸⁵Keith S. Montgomery, "Thomas R. Marshall's Victory in the Election of 1908," Indiana Magazine of History, LIII (June, 1957), 147-64.

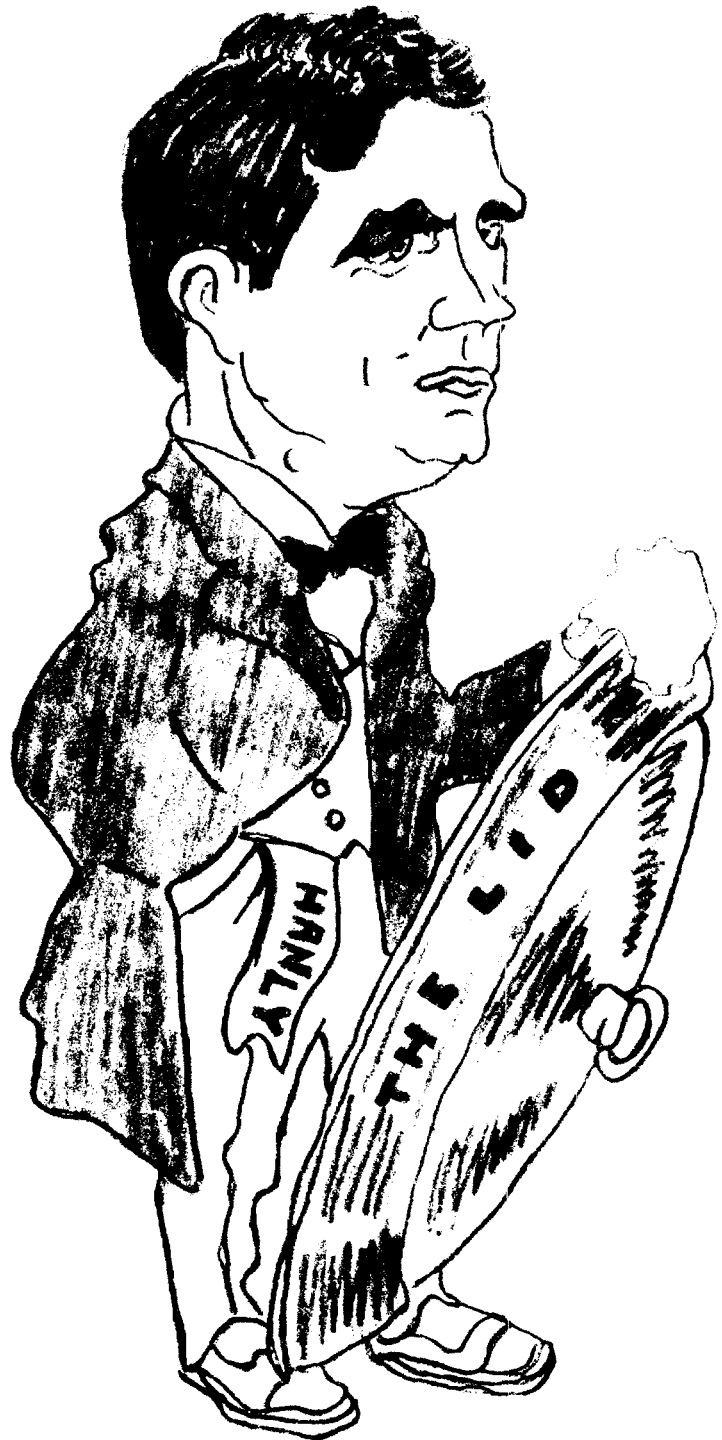
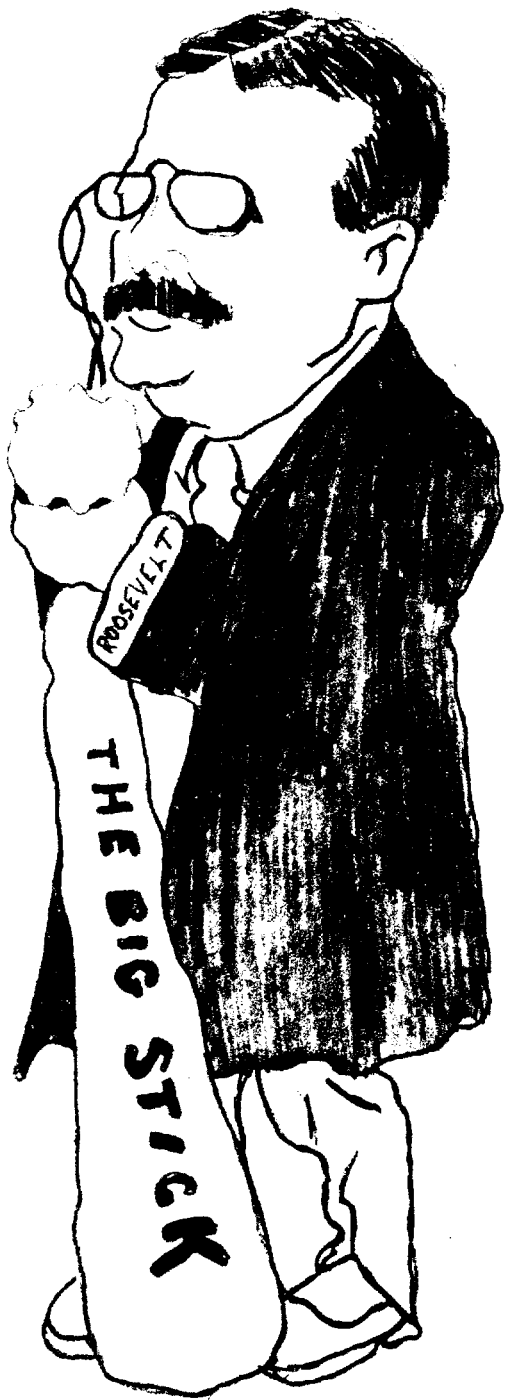
complex situations which seemed a great contrast to his pronouncements. The politics of law and order, when it involved personal morals, proved a hard road to follow.

Though the success of Hanly's policy is hard to determine, a few generalizations might be made. The emphasis on law and order in the cities, though often sporadic, did bring about a closer observance of the law. However, there was by no means a great upswing in the moral tone of the state. In long range results, it has already been noted that Marshall, a Democrat, was elected after Hanly, and the Metropolitan Police Law was abolished. Yet, Republicans retained many elective positions. Hanly's administration, then, seems to be only one expression in the slowly rising movement for temperance. The problems later recognized in the 1920's in trying to legislate and force compliance in the area of personal attitudes were previewed during the J. Frank Hanly administration.

PORTFOLIO
of
POLITICAL CARTOONS



NOT QUITE A BIRD IN THE HAND



THE BIG STICK AND THE TIGHT LID

THAT BAD BOY ACROSS THE STREET



HANLY BUSY KEEPING ON THE LID



SUNDAY
SALOONS

GAMBLING

GAMBLING

LAWS OF INDIANA

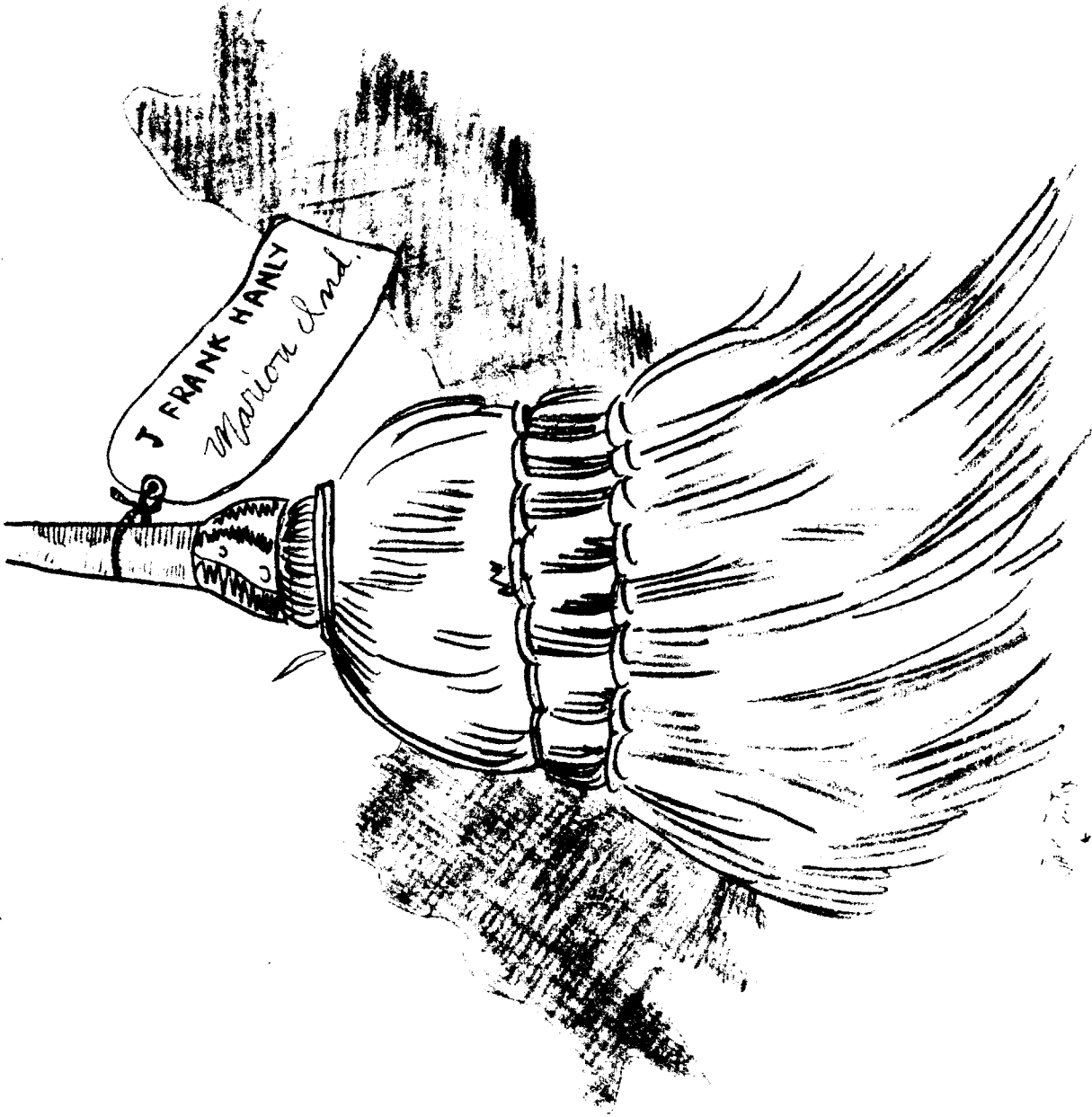
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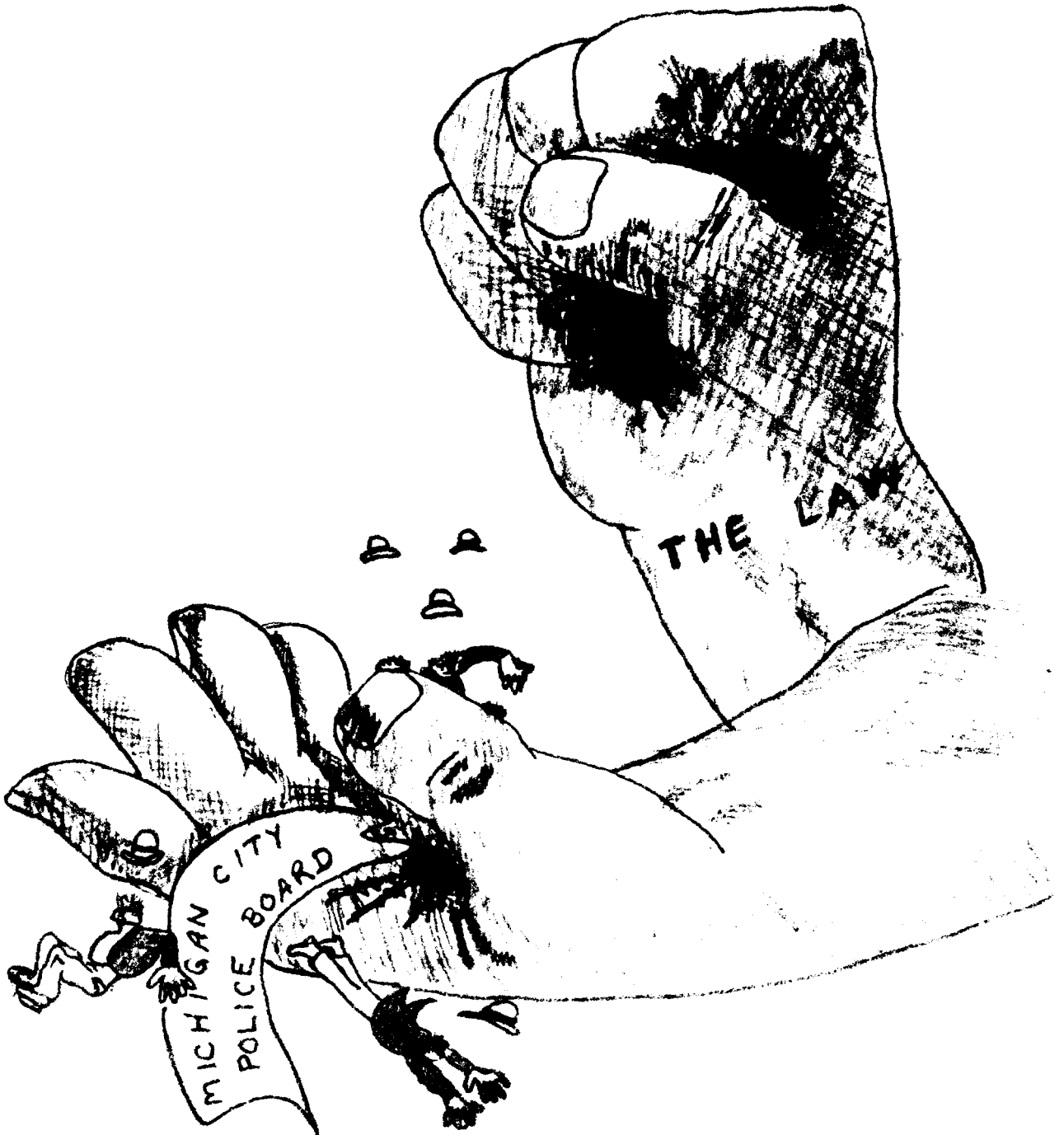
SAME
HERE

LISTEN
AT IT BOIL
INSIDE!





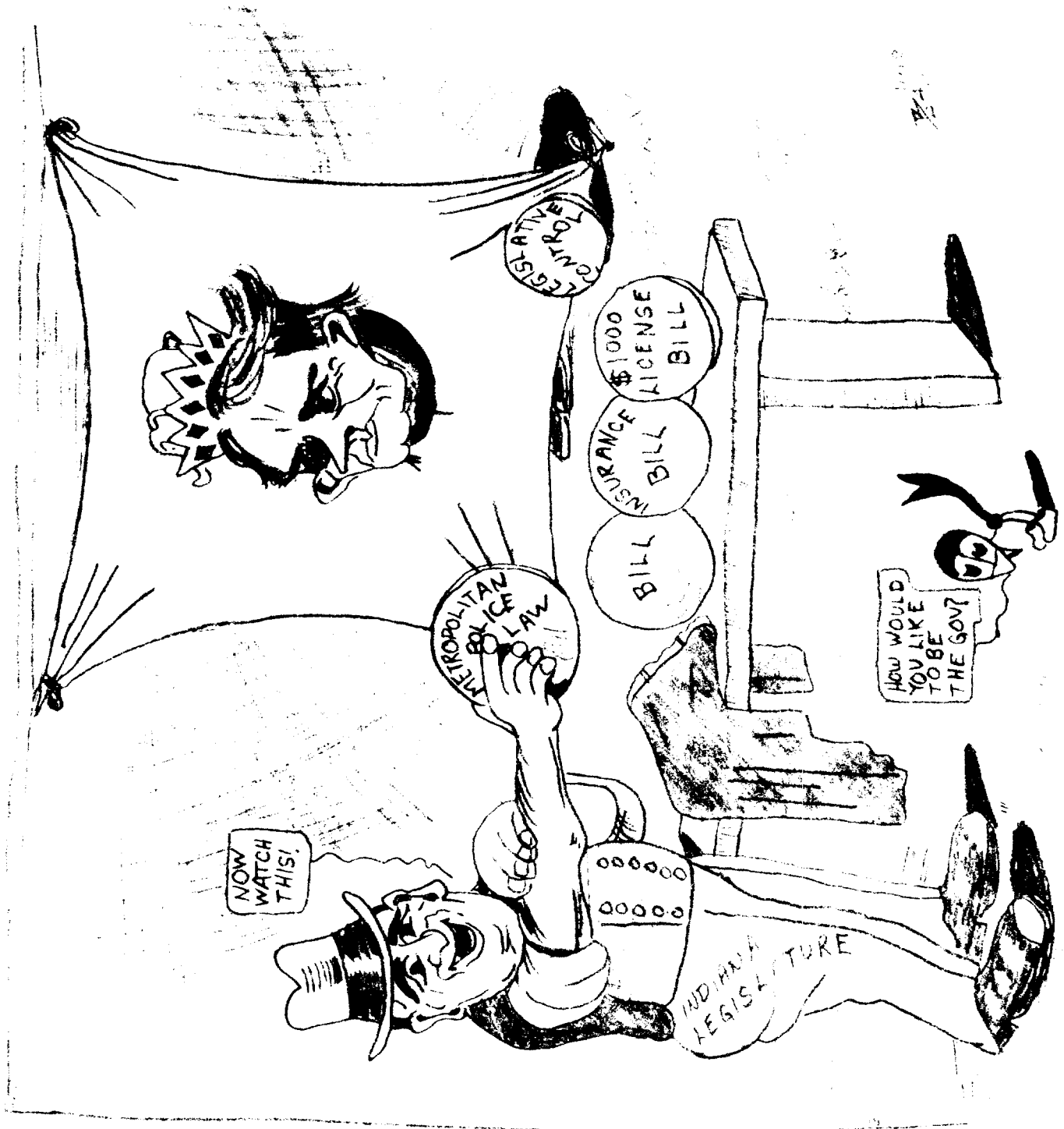
COMING?



THE SITUATION IN MICHIGAN CITY

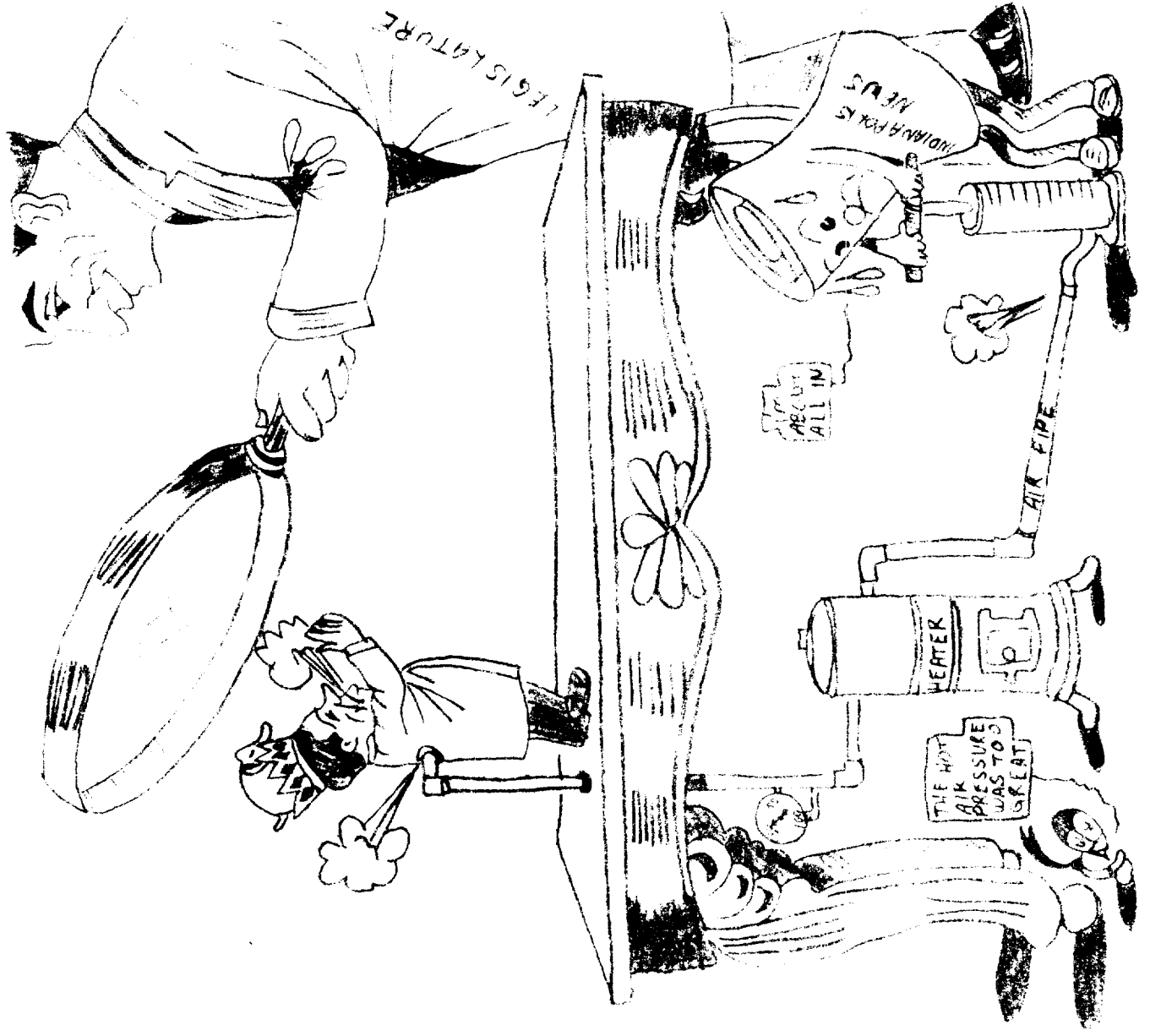
IS MY LID ON STRAIGHT?





The Game of Politics at Indianapolis

The End of the Session



And the End of a Hot Air Boom

A Modern Punch and Study



BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

For anyone beginning a study on J. Frank Hanly, a good point of departure is Leslie Ward Carson's unpublished manuscript The Life of J. Frank Hanly: Log Cabin Boy to Governor. Carson's manuscript is extremely sympathetic to Hanly so it was less useful than it might have been. However, I often compared my findings with it to see if something new had been added. I found myself reacting to the work in a revisionist manner--that is, looking at the same evidence in a more critical or different light.

An indispensable collection for the study of Hanly is the twelve volume scrapbook of newspaper clippings of Hanly's public career compiled by his son-in-law, Harry O. Garman, and housed in the Indiana History room of the Indiana State Library. A great deal of time would have been saved as I began my research if I had started with those scrapbooks. They are quite complete. Only a quick look at a general history such as Clifton Phillips: Indiana in Transition would have been necessary. Although the Indianapolis papers, the Star and News, were best represented, other papers from around the state were present, though not with the same reliability. The Star and News were good in covering state political matters. The News was the most Republican and administration oriented. For studying

a particular area of the state, the papers from there should be consulted as I did for Muncie, Kokomo, and Michigan City. The scrapbook gives a total picture of the state. Also, even though it was compiled by Hanly's son-in-law, the scrapbook presents the unfavorable as well as favorable articles.

A final and important contribution was made by the state papers of the Hanly administration found in the Archives division of the Indiana State Library. Especially helpful were the Hanly letter files. They not only suggested what was going on in various cities, they clarified the governor's position and gave greater insight into his character than did many newspaper reports.

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