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English 105

April 30, 2013

The Bad Men of Terre Haute Change U.S. Politics For The Good

Chicanery in some U.S. state and city elections was nothing new up to the start of World War I but what happened in the Terre Haute mayoral elections of 1913 and 1914 was breathtaking in its breadth. President Woodrow Wilson personally encouraged U.S. District Attorney Frank C. Dailey to prosecute everyone involved with the scandal (McCormick, “President Wilson”). Dailey had tried before but failed, this time, with presidential encouragement, he was determined to bring Terre Haute’s mayor, Donn M. Roberts, to justice.

From its platting in 1816, with the help of industrialists, entrepreneurs, politicians and bankers such as the Hulman, Rose, McKeen, Voorhees, McLean and Thompson families and its wealth of natural resources, it seemed that Terre Haute was destined for great things, and for 70 years it was. By 1880, the image of Terre Haute was tarnished, and from 1890, with the rise of industrial strife and political graft, it gained the reputation of being a “bad labor town” (Taylor, Stevens, Ponder & Brockman). Clinton Woodruff, in an article published in the American Journal of Sociology in 1906, said that Terre Haute had long been “given over to lawlessness and corruption” (Woodruff 199).

Donn M. Roberts was born in Annapolis, Illinois to William Henry Roberts, a prominent Terre Haute physician, and Octavia Bruner on September 28, 1867. He married Mary Grace

Tiernan on July 3, 1889, in Indianapolis. On January 3, 1910, Roberts was appointed to the post of city engineer by the then mayor, Louis Gerhardt. For some reason the relationship between the two men deteriorated and on March 31, 1911, Gerhardt removed Roberts from the office and replaced him with a draftsman from the city engineer's office, Robert M. Burns. The letter to the city council announcing Gerhardt's dismissal of Roberts read

I have this day removed and discharged Donn M. Roberts from the office of City Civil Engineer of the City of Terre Haute, Indiana. My reasons for such removal and discharge are the insubordination of such officer and the general good of the administration of the city's business (Terre Haute v. Burns).

Roberts then applied for a court injunction against his dismissal, which meant that Burns could not take office until the case was settled in court. Roberts in the meantime continued in office but was forced out by another court order. The court cases did not prove to be easy or straightforward and was still in appellate court in 1917 (City of Terre Haute v. Burns).

It seems that there may be more to this story. Roberts supported Gerhardt in the 1908 elections but in 1910 Gerhardt removed Roberts' chief clerk, Sidney Onyett, from his job. Robert's refused to let Onyett go and he stayed at his position for several months. It may have been possible that Roberts was paying his salary himself as the city was not. Whatever happened, Roberts ran for mayor in 1913 (McCormick "Future Mayor").

In 1913, the atmosphere in Terre Haute was murderous with teamster Edward Wade shot and killed by Emil Ehrmann during a confrontation. Ehrmann was owner of the Ehrmann Manufacturing Company and brother of Max of *Desiderata* fame. The Indianapolis and Eastern Traction Company hired David R. "Bat" Masterson to kill Terre Haute newspaper owner Don

Morrison Nixon (McCormick “The Early Growth”; McCormick “Despite Legend”). Masterson turned up at Nixon’s house but luckily Nixon was not at home. Nixon was later also instrumental in bringing Roberts to justice (“Don Morrison Nixon”).

The half-hearted attempt on Nixon’s life, which Masterson admitted to, was a direct result of the elections. The Indianapolis and Eastern Traction Company was a supporter of Roberts, and that’s why they hired him. One of the Traction Company’s lawyers was John E. Lamb, who had political aspirations of his own. Nixon had printed in his newspaper, the *Saturday Spectator*, the fact that Roberts was using the names of dead people to stuff election ballots (Nixon). March 1914, brought civil unrest to Terre Haute and the traction company’s rolling stock was badly damaged during rioting by around 2,000 people. Later, the traction company had a change of allegiance and helped in the prosecution of Roberts (“Rioting in Terre Haute”).

It should be pointed out that the “Bat” Masterson referred to here is not the more famous William Barclay "Bat" Masterson of buffalo hunter, U.S. Marshal and Army scout fame.

Stella C. Stimson was politically active at the time and involved with the women’s suffrage movement. In February 1913, she was acting chair of the Indiana Federation of Women’s Clubs and Roberts asked to see her. The interview, which she recounted in an article for the 1916 edition of the *National Municipal Review*, gives an idea of the state of Terre Haute of the time and of Roberts himself. She says that he had “never been anything but a political tool in Terre Haute, his only claim to distinction, his ability to stuff ballot boxes and vote repeaters.” Roberts told her that “I will be the best mayor that Terre Haute ever had” and continued “I’ll have good streets and give the people a business administration.” When Stimson replied that

“Terre Haute women wanted good schools, good courts, and streets free from gamblers, wicked women and drunken men and that most of the men wanted law enforcement” He then said that “the election returns prove that a majority of Terre Haute citizens do not want law enforcement. They want the all night and Sunday saloon, the segregated district and gambling” (qtd. in Stimson 38).

Stimson goes on to relate that in October 1913, around 450 women helped monitor the elections. They started by going to city clerk’s office and copied down the names and addresses of all the registered voters then went to every address. They found many of the addresses were those of “vacant lots, school buildings, stores, and houses where only women lived” (Stimson 40). Politicians against Roberts hired detectives from the William J. Burns Detective Agency, but many of these men were arrested when trying to get evidence of voting irregularities. Indiana Governor Samuel M. Ralston was telegraphed about the irregularities occurring in Terre Haute and he advised informing the sheriff. The sheriff was apparently in a bar at the time and Ralston was later informed that the sheriff and his deputies were responsible for most of the problems anyway (Stimson 40). With no help from the state, Roberts was took the mayor’s office on January 1, 1914.

Trouble was already brewing for him and a grand jury was organized and Roberts was indicted. Roberts had only taken office on January 5, 1914 and was arrested on January 17. The grand jury described what was happening as “the most appalling condition of lawlessness that could possibly exist in a civilized community” (qtd. in Frick 31). The offices of the prosecutor were raided by “the president of the board of safety, the chief of police, with five policemen, in an attempt to seize the election records and thus prevent their use in the prosecution.” The records were saved, but the trial became a farce and verdicts of “not guilty” were returned to

most people on charges connected with the election (Stimson 41). Roberts was no stranger to the court system. He had already been in court on charges of contempt when two patrolmen, Patrick Haley and Michael Hagerty, were dismissed; he was acquitted of that charge but not of a later one, also for contempt over some sewer work the city was carrying out (“Terre Haute Mayor is Weary of Jail”). The dismissal of Haley and Hagerty would haunt Roberts’ as both were friends of the man who would later help convict him, special prosecutor Joseph R. Roach (“Publisher would not be Silenced”).

In March 1914, a carpenter, Bert W. Dickens was arrested on charges of conspiring to kill using dynamite, Vigo County Circuit Court Judge Charles M. Fortune, Special Judge Felix Blankenbaker and Special Prosecutor, Joseph R. Roach (“Plot to Dynamite Judges”). Judge Blankenbaker had already had shots fired at his house. The same month, Terre Haute councilman, John L. Cronin, was arrested on charges of perjury regarding his election expenses and city official William Huffman was sentenced to between three and ten years for illegal use of the election ballots. In May 1914, Special Prosecutor Roach convened with Judge Fortune and the charges were dropped against Roberts and others (See Appendix A) (“Quash Many Indictments”).

In the October 1914, election Stimson and her colleagues again checked the electoral rolls and found more than 60 voter registered their home as a one-room saloon and another bar had another 100 people registered to it (Stimson 42). Violence was even more pronounced at this election than the year before. Stimson tells of how election sheriff Wesley A. Mitchell, had to defend his life by shooting a deputy sheriff because of an attack planned by the assistant chief of police, a deputy sheriff, two prize fighters and others (Stimson 43). Others were assaulted and jailed including Reverend I. B. Harper, pastor of the Methodist Church, and James. H. Baxter

who was a mathematics professor at Indiana State Normal School. Election officials appointed by Judge John E. Cox were beaten and driven away from the polling stations at gunpoint.

Apart from registering the dead to vote and violence or the threat of violence, Roberts and others indulged in a number of other vote rigging operations. Probably the most innocuous of these was offering free beer for votes. Election officials and people watching the election to see fair play were arrested and jailed when concealed weapons were found in their pockets. These weapons were planted by Roberts' men. Buying votes and using completely fictitious names was common. A city employee at the trial said that at the request of the police chief, Edward Holler, he was simply making up names, ages and places of birth. Holler in his turn, said that he was ordered by Roberts to create 2,500 false registration cards. City Judge Thomas C. Smith "certified" these repeaters and removed other names from the poll records.

These registration cards were then used by people who were paid to vote numerous times. A common payment was around \$5, but one man, Cortlandt Rector, was paid \$8 and voted ten times. Another man testified that he had voted a total of 22 times on Election Day (Campbell 149). Others were much cheaper, one man voted 20 times for 25 cents a vote (Frick 30). Among the other payments made, Frank "Buster" Clark, bought 600 votes for Roberts at \$1 a vote. These payments came from a "slush" fund of \$6,000 that Assistant Police Chief Nugent had organized and policeman Lloyd Roberts helped organize vehicles from the city's pool to transport them around the city ("Terre Haute Gang Were Sentenced Today").

The President of the Board of Public Works, Harry Montgomery, rigged the voting machines ("Terre Haute Gang Were Sentenced Today"). During the trial the manufacturer of the machines claimed they were tamper-proof but George Greenleaf, a mechanic and entrepreneur

from Terre Haute, demonstrated the machines could in fact be tampered with (Frick 31). Enno Harms gave out brass checks, redeemable in local saloons at a dollar each, to influence voters (“Terre Haute Gang Were Sentenced Today”). In one district, Taylorville, there was said to be more votes cast than there were “men, women, children, cats, and dogs living there” (qtd. in Frick 30).

At the trial, Frank “Buster” Clark and others testified that they were coerced into acting illegally by being told if they did not cooperate then their businesses would be closed down. Frank Hess, the owner of the “Midway” saloon also testified to this. He registered 200 people living at his premises who were eligible to vote when there were in fact, just three. John Hines, another saloonkeeper, received \$100 from the slush fund with which to buy votes (“Terre Haute Gang Were Sentenced Today”).

It was after this election that Roberts was arrested by United States Marshall Mark Storen, and a new trial organized. This time Roberts and his cohorts were against U.S. District Attorney Frank C. Dailey and again against special prosecutor Joseph R. Roach. This time he couldn't fix the trial which was presided over by Judge Albert B. Anderson. The major difference was that in October 1913, Tom Mosley was indicted, with others, for interfering with the state senate elections in Blaine County, Oklahoma. On June 21 1915, the case was finally decided and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said that “We regard it as equally unquestionable that the right to have one's vote counted is as open to protection by Congress as the right to put a ballot in a box” (United States v. Mosley). It was this statement that allowed the U.S. federal government to prosecute Roberts because of the mayoral elections.

Roach was a colorful character. He was described as a card shark and also a “capable gunman” in *The Outlook* (“The Terre Haute Bribery Case” 748) and was a convicted murderer. He was robbed by a masked man after winning at gambling, but recognized the man as one of his own bodyguards by a ring he had given the man himself. Roach found and killed him and was sentenced to life imprisonment in the Indiana State Penitentiary, Michigan City, Indiana (Parrillo). Roach’s father was a friend of Indiana governor of Thomas R. Marshall who later pardoned him. Marshall himself went on to become vice president to Woodrow Wilson. While incarcerated Roach had learned law and on his release became a lawyer with the idea of changing the prison system and defending those charged with federal crimes. He is quoted as saying he “would devote his life to righting wrongs in recompense for his own sins of the past.” (“Highest Priced Lawyers”)

Parrillo relates that Roach became a friend of Roberts, but then Roberts started showing pictures around of Roach taken while he was in prison. Roach swore that he would put Roberts in prison, which in 1915, he did. In the 1920s, several years after Roberts’ trial, Roach was called upon by President Wilson to prosecute the Ku Klux Klan in Terre Haute. The Klan responded by bombing his house and killing his eldest son. One of Roach’s friends, “Terrible Tommy” Touhy, was head of the “Touhy Mob” and was in prison at the time, but Roach used his skills as a lawyer to get him released. The two headed from Chicago, where Roach practiced, to Terre Haute, where they kidnapped the Chief of Police, beat him, and forced him to implicate himself and 124 other Klan members, all of whom Roach prosecuted. Later still, Roach would defend Al Capone.

One hundred and sixteen men from Terre Haute, including Roberts, were indicted on December 24, 1914. When they appeared before Judge Anderson on January 12, 1914, 89 of

these pled guilty. These included Chief of Police J. Edward Holler, Custodian of City Hall Enno Harms, policeman Robert Lloyd, special policeman Joseph Jeffers, City Hall employees Harry Forebeck and Walter Coordes and Assistant Police Chief John F. Nugent. Of the people arrested there were seven important Terre Haute and Vigo County officials, 18 other officials or ex-officials, 15 saloonkeepers, 17 bartenders, 6 gamblers, 3 “gangsters,” 2 pugilists, and 26 “habitues of the notorious “west end” and Taylorville districts (“Terre Haute Gang Were Sentenced Today”).

Eight pled not guilty and these were assistant City Engineer Edward Driscoll, Harry Barker, Thomas Brady, William Crockett, Bert Hill, Charles S. Miller, Jack Stingley and Maurice Walsh. Twenty-six demurred, that is, they said they had no legal complaint to plead to. These included Roberts, Circuit Court Judge Eli H. Redman, City Judge Thomas Smith, Sheriff Dennis Shea, Inspector of Scales and Measures John Masselink, President of the Board of Public Works Harry Montgomery, member of the Board of Public Works George Ehrenhardt, City Controller Elmer T. Talbott, Alexander Aczel, Timothy Conway, William Doyle, Arthur Gillis, John E. Green, Charles Houghton, John Kane, Richard Knuckey, Perlie McKay, Fred Morrison, Lewis Nunley, Andrew O’Brien, William O’Donnell, Joseph O’Mara, Hilton Redman, George Soverin, Joseph Straus, and George Woodall (“80 Plead Guilty to Election Fraud”).

Those who demurred had five points in their pleading. First, the court had no jurisdiction in the case. Second, the facts were not sufficient to constitute a public offense. Third, the facts were not sufficient to constitute a misdemeanor. Fourth, the accusations state in a single count more than one separate and distinct offense and fifth, the indictment is vague.

The court case drew national attention. The *New York Times* covered almost all of the events and it caused a storm in both the U.S. Senate and Congress with some senators and congressmen questioning whether Justice Holmes' decision was constitutional. Southern democrats were particularly vocal, especially Senator Ollie James and Congressman Augustus Owsley Stanley, both of Kentucky. There were also racial overtones. Roberts wrote to Stanley, acting as Roberts' defense lawyer at his trial, saying, "With the evident intentions of the Supreme Court of the U.S. to let the federal courts take jurisdiction of elections, the white man had just as well move out of the South and turn the offices over to the Negroes" (qtd. in Campbell 148).

Several witnesses committed perjury during the trial and received additional sentences. William Davern, a clerk for the Terre Haute Brewing Company was jailed for perjury after his testimony threw doubt on the testimony of twenty prosecution witnesses.

On April 14, 1915, Judge Anderson handed down the sentences. Roberts was sentenced to six years in prison with a \$2,000 dollar fine. Judge Eli Redman and Sheriff Shea both got 5 years and a \$1,000 fine. The other defendants all got lesser sentences. Some like William Doyle, Dan Alban and Nick Burson got sentenced to just a day in jail, but with a \$100 fine. ("Roberts Still in Jail.")(Appendix B). In his summing up Anderson said that Hilton Redman, the son of Judge Eli Redman and a lawyer himself, was young and badly reared. As for Hilton's father, Anderson said, he hadn't the words to describe the man. Not surprisingly, as soon as the verdicts were announced Roberts, Redman, Shea and others said they were going to appeal the decision. (Appendix C) ("Terre Haute Gang Were Sentenced Today"). The guilty men started their sentences on April 19, 1915 when most of them were transported by train to Fort Leavenworth in Kansas where they were to serve their sentences.

At his appeal trial, Roberts was told by the judge that his crimes were “worse than dynamite; that it amounted to treason” (qtd. in Campbell 149). The *New York Times* editorialized that

The misfortune of Mayor Roberts and his accomplices and henchmen was in not noticing that political fashions, like others, change once in a while, and that what is safe and even commendable one year may be dangerous and reprehensible the next (qtd. in Campbell 149).

Mignonette Vermillion, in an article in the *International Socialist Review* gloated that

Then came the machine which, with Donn Roberts at the wheel, pursued such a swift and tortuous course in the realm of political debauchery as to ditch a whole road of political pirates, all good, deserving Democrats, into the Federal prison at Leavenworth (Vermillion 175).

Even after his conviction, Roberts still had supporters on the city council. On April 24, 1915 the council met and discussed whether to impeach him. They had spent about a day and a half discussing him and some of the complaints against him. Roberts had used council funds to pay for personal lawyers and attempted to bribe other council members to help in boundary changes he wanted made. When the vote was taken, Roberts was impeached by a 7-3 vote. Roberts' lawyer, W. L. Slinkard, said they would appeal the impeachment (“Impeach Mayor of Terre Haute”).

Roberts served three and half years of his six year sentence. He was convicted of embezzlement in 1936 and sentenced to prison. He was released following a heart attack, and

died a few days later, in Terre Haute on August 3, 1936. He is interred at St. Joseph's Cemetery, Terre Haute.

Circuit Court Judge Eli H. Redman, who was convicted alongside Roberts, was impeached by the Indiana Supreme Court on June 16, 1915. He died in the Leavenworth prison in late March 1917 (McCormick “Mayor Charles”).

After Roberts’ conviction his friend, James M. Gossom, became mayor. Many felt that Gossom had “slipped through the cracks” and should have been arrested along with Roberts and the others. Gossom did try to clean up the city though. He was convinced that the saloons in Terre Haute should obey the law and the red light district, if not closed down, moved. He was motivated in several ways, Indiana Governor Samuel Ralston and the Indiana State Department of Education threatened to move Indiana State Normal School, which bordered the district, to another city. He also made some powerful enemies such as Crawford Fairbanks who was president of the Terre Haute Brewing Company and who owned around 150 saloons in the city. Fairbanks was accused of being behind the move in October 1915 to try and get Gossom impeached. During the testimony Gossom was accused of being “immoral and corrupt” and “a drunkard and tax dodger.” At the time the city council consisted of ten members and on October 5, 1915 they voted to impeach Gossom. There were only nine members present, Harry Skean being absent. Gossom narrowly avoided being impeached as the vote was 6-3 against him. Whoever was behind it, attorney Charles Batt was the one who actually called for the impeachment and he was told on October 14, along with acting council president, Peck Brannin, who had already announced Gossom’s dismissal, by Judge Charles Pulliam that “six is not two-thirds of ten” (McCormick “Mayor James”).

What happened in Terre Haute was not just an aberration, it should be remembered that at the same time the above events were unfolding that Mayor Joseph E. Bell and 127 of his cohorts were also being tried for election fraud in Indianapolis. It was also alleged that Mayor Roberts had sent some of his men to Indianapolis to help with the ballot stuffing and voting repeaters. To return the favor, Bell had sent some of his to Terre Haute to “help” in the election there (“Taggart Indicted with 127 Other Men.”). Bernard Rickleman of Indianapolis, a political worker, was charged with conspiracy at the Terre Haute trial for coming to Terre Haute for the purpose of illegally voting (Indianapolis, Ind. October 1915). Evansville was also investigated by a federal grand jury around the same time for election irregularities (“80 Plead Guilty to Election Fraud”). The Paris, Illinois election was also under scrutiny (“Mayor Roberts on \$10,000 Bail”).

After the trials of 1914 when the United States Federal courts showed that they can and would prosecute, politicians were mindful of the fact that they no longer had free reign and “almost overnight, commonplace corruption had become unacceptable, and vote rigging a serious crime” (Collier). Today’s system may not be perfect, but at least most Americans can be assured that the elections are fair and they are able to vote without fear.

Appendix A

A list of those against which the charges was dropped in the first trial of May 1914. This list is not exhaustive and was compiled from several of the sources.

Berkeley, Andrew

Chase, Maurice “Cotton” – It was alleged that Roberts paid him \$50 to place 300 false registrations.

Chess, Carney – He was released after the first trial.

Harkness, Earl – Released after the first trial.

Long, Philander – A lawyer who was released after the first trial. He was charged with conspiracy to register false voters.

Monninger, Gerhardt A. – Released after the first trial.

Myers, Marx – Released after the first trial.

Nugent, John F. – Assistant to Pole Chief Holler. Released after the first trial but pled guilty at the second trial.

Onyett, Sidney T. – He was released after the first trial. Onyett was a lawyer and Roberts’ chief clerk when he was city engineer in 1910.

Phillips, Ransom B. – Released after the first trial.

Raeber, Henry – Released after the first trial.

Redman, Hilton – Son of Judge Eli Redman. He was released after the first trial, and demurred at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed. At the second trial, Judge Anderson said Redman was badly raised.

Roberts, Donn M. – Terre Haute mayor and ringleader of the election scandal. Donn M. Roberts was born in Annapolis, Illinois to William Henry Roberts, a prominent Terre Haute physician, and Octavia Bruner September 28, 1867. He married Mary Grace Tiernan on July 3, 1889, in Indianapolis, Indiana. On January 3, 1910, Roberts was appointed to the post of city engineer by the then mayor, Louis Gerhardt. For some reason the two men were not on working terms and on March 31, 1911, Gerhardt removed Roberts from the office. Roberts had only taken office on January 5, 1915 and was arrested on January 17 but was released after the first trial. He demurred at the second trial but got 6 years imprisonment and a \$2,000 fine. He appealed against this decision but failed. Roberts served three and half years of his six year sentence. He was convicted of embezzlement in 1936 and sentenced to prison. He was released from prison following a heart attack, and died a few days later, in Terre Haute on August 3, 1936. He is interred at St. Joseph's Cemetery, Terre Haute.

Roper, John M. – Released after the first trial.

Appendix B

A list of the defendants in the second trial of April 1915. This list is not exhaustive and was compiled from several of the sources.

Aczel, Alexander - Street commissioner, he demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed against this decision but failed.

Barker, Harry – Pled not guilty at the second trial.

Brady, Thomas – Pled not guilty at the second trial.

Burson, Nick – Convicted at the second trial and got a sentence of 1 day in jail with a \$100 fine.

Clark, John – found guilty at the second trial but was quarantined suffering with smallpox at the time.

Conway, Timothy “Bull” – Gangster who demurred at the second trial but got four months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

Coordes, Walter – City Hall employee who pled guilty at the second trial.

Crockett, William S. – Pled not guilty at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the decision but failed.

Doyle, William – Demurred at the second trial but was sentenced to just one day in jail with a \$100 fine.

Driscoll, Edward R. - City Engineer and secretary of the local Democratic party, who pled not guilty at the second trial but got 3 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Ehrenhardt, George - Member of the Board of Public Works who demurred at the second trial but got 3 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the decision but failed.

Forebeck, Harry - City Hall employee who pled guilty at the second trial and was sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Gillis, Arthur – An undertaker who demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine.

Godfrey, Wesley - Saloonkeeper, sentenced to three months imprisonment (suspended) and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Gosnell, Hobart - Bartender, sentenced to three months imprisonment (suspended) and a \$10 fine at the second trial

Green, John E. – An optician who demurred at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the decision but failed.

Hanley, Thomas - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Harms, Enno - Custodian of City Hall, pled guilty at the second trial. He distributed brass checks which were redeemable in local saloons.

Hill, Bert – Pled not guilty at the second trial.

Holler, J. Edward – Police chief who was arrested for his part in the election scandal. He pled guilty to the charges and got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$1 fine.

Houghton, Charles – city Hall custodian who demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the decision but failed.

Hull, Leslie - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Hune, Jaul – Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Jeffers, Joseph - Special policeman and Taylorville gangster who pled guilty at the second trial and got 6 months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

Kaney, John – Demurred at the second trial but was sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

Kintz, George - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial. He was quarantined, suffering from smallpox at the time of the trial.

Knuckey, Richard – Demurred at the second trial.

Lloyd, Robert – Policeman – pled guilty at the second trial.

Lockwood, Frank - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Masselink, John M. - Inspector of Scales and Measures who demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed. He gave out free beer to get the black vote.

McCarthy, Thomas - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

McKay, Pearlie – Gambler who demurred at the second trial but got four month's imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

Miller, Charles S. – Pled not guilty at the second trial but was sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

Montgomery, Harry S. - President of the Board of Public Works who demurred at the second trial but got 3 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed. He rigged voting machines.

Morrison, Fred – Demurred at the second trial.

Nugent, John F. – Assistant to Pole Chief Holler. Released after the first trial but pled guilty at the second trial.

Nunley, Lewis – Assistant city engineer. Demurred at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

O'Brien, Andrew – Saloonkeeper who demurred at the second trial but got four months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

O'Donnell, William P. – Saloonkeeper who demurred at the second trial but got 6 months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

O'Mara, Joseph – Street commissioner who demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Parker, Harry - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Patton, Claude - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Powell, Guy – found guilty at the second trial but had joined the army.

Powell, Jesse - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Redman, Eli H. - Circuit Court Judge who demurred at the second trial but got 5 years imprisonment and a \$1,000 fine. He appealed the decision but failed. Judge Anderson said that he couldn't find the words to describe Redman. He was impeached by the Indiana Supreme Court on June 16, 1915. He died in Leavenworth prison in late March 1917.

Redman, Hilton – Son of Judge Eli Redman. He was released after the first trial, and demurred at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed. At the second trial, Judge Anderson said Redman was badly raised.

Riker, Fred - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Roberts, Donn M. – Terre Haute mayor and ringleader of the election scandal. Donn M. Roberts was born in Annapolis, Illinois to William Henry Roberts, a prominent Terre Haute physician, and Octavia Bruner September 28, 1867. He married Mary Grace Tiernan on July 3, 1889, in Indianapolis, Indiana. On January 3, 1910, Roberts was appointed to the post of city engineer by the then mayor, Louis Gerhardt. For some reason the two men were not on working terms and on March 31, 1911, Gerhardt removed Roberts from the office. Roberts had only taken office on January 5, 1915 and was arrested on January 17 but was released after the first trial. He demurred at the second trial but got 6 years imprisonment and a \$2,000 fine. He appealed against this decision but failed. Roberts served three and half years of his six year sentence. He was convicted of embezzlement in 1936 and sentenced to prison. He was released from prison following a heart attack, and died a few

days later, in Terre Haute on August 3, 1936. He is interred at St. Joseph's Cemetery, Terre Haute.

Shea, Dennis – Sheriff who demurred at the second trial but got 5 years imprisonment and a \$2,000 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Silvers, Ernst - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Smith, Thomas C. - City Judge who demurred at the second trial but got 3 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed. He would certify repeat voters and removed other names from the election rolls.

Sovern, George – Described as a gambler he demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Stingley, Jack – Pled not guilty at the second trial.

Straus, Joseph – Liquor salesman who demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Surratt, Oscar - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Talbott, Elmer T. - City Controller who demurred at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Tierney, John W. “Hinkey Dinkey” – Saloonkeeper, sentenced to three months imprisonment (suspended) and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Tosseer, Bert - Found guilty at the second trial but was absent from it.

Walsh, Maurice – City sealer who pled not guilty at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Werneke, Richard – Terre Haute city prosecutor who was charged at the second trial for conspiring to register false voters.

Woodall, George – Saloonkeeper who demurred at the second trial but got six months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

Yakle, Charles – Found guilty at the second trial but was absent from it.

Appendix C

A list of people who decided to appeal against the court's guilty decision in the second trial. This list is not exhaustive and was compiled from several of the sources.

Aczel, Alexander - Street commissioner, he demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed against this decision but failed.

Alban, Dan - Convicted at the second trial and got a sentence of 1 day in jail with a \$100 fine.

Crockett, William S. – Pled not guilty at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the decision but failed.

Driscoll, Edward R. - City Engineer and secretary of the local Democratic party, who pled not guilty at the second trial but got 3 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Ehrenhardt, George - Member of the Board of Public Works who demurred at the second trial but got 3 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the decision but failed.

Green, John E. – An optician who demurred at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the decision but failed.

Houghton, Charles – city Hall custodian who demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the decision but failed.

Masselink, John M. - Inspector of Scales and Measures who demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed. He gave out free beer to get the black vote.

Montgomery, Harry S. - President of the Board of Public Works who demurred at the second trial but got 3 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed. He rigged voting machines.

Nunley, Lewis – Assistant city engineer. Demurred at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

O'Mara, Joseph – Street commissioner who demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Redman, Eli H. - Circuit Court Judge who demurred at the second trial but got 5 years imprisonment and a \$1,000 fine. He appealed the decision but failed. Judge Anderson said that he couldn't find the words to describe Redman. He was impeached by the Indiana Supreme Court on June 16, 1915. He died in Leavenworth prison in late March 1917.

Redman, Hilton – Son of Judge Eli Redman. He was released after the first trial, and demurred at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed. At the second trial, Judge Anderson said Redman was badly raised.

Roberts, Donn M. – Terre Haute mayor and ringleader of the election scandal. Donn M. Roberts was born in Annapolis, Illinois to William Henry Roberts, a prominent Terre Haute physician, and Octavia Bruner September 28, 1867. He married Mary Grace Tiernan on July 3, 1889, in Indianapolis, Indiana. On January 3, 1910, Roberts was appointed to the post of city engineer by the then mayor, Louis Gerhardt. For some reason the two men were not on working terms and on March 31, 1911, Gerhardt removed Roberts from the office. Roberts had only taken office on January 5, 1915 and was arrested on January 17 but was

released after the first trial. He demurred at the second trial but got 6 years imprisonment and a \$2,000 fine. He appealed against this decision but failed. Roberts served three and half years of his six year sentence. He was convicted of embezzlement in 1936 and sentenced to prison. He was released from prison following a heart attack, and died a few days later, in Terre Haute on August 3, 1936. He is interred at St. Joseph's Cemetery, Terre Haute.

Shea, Dennis – Sheriff who demurred at the second trial but got 5 years imprisonment and a \$2,000 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Smith, Thomas C. - City Judge who demurred at the second trial but got 3 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed. He would certify repeat voters and removed other names from the election rolls.

Sovern, George – Described as a gambler he demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Straus, Joseph – Liquor salesman who demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Talbott, Elmer T. - City Controller who demurred at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Walsh, Maurice – City sealer who pled not guilty at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Appendix D

A list of people involved with the Terre Haute election campaigns of 1913 and 1914. This list is not exhaustive and was compiled from several of the sources.

Aczel, Alexander - Street commissioner, he demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed against this decision but failed.

Alban, Dan - Convicted at the second trial and got a sentence of 1 day in jail with a \$100 fine.

Anderson, Albert B. - Judge who presided over the second trial.

Barker, Harry – Pled not guilty at the second trial.

Baxter, James. H. - Mathematics professor at Indiana State Normal School who was beaten and jailed for watching the election.

Berkeley, Andrew – Arrested at the first trial.

Blankenbaker, Felix - Special Judge during the first trial.

Brady, Thomas – Pled not guilty at the second trial.

Burson, Nick – Convicted at the second trial and got a sentence of 1 day in jail with a \$100 fine.

Chase, Maurice “Cotton” – It was alleged that Roberts paid him \$50 to place 300 false registrations at the first trial.

Chess, Carney – He was released after the first trial.

Clark, Frank “Buster” – Saloonkeeper who bought 600 votes at \$1 each. He testified that he was coerced into acting illegally, if he did not his business would be closed down.

Clark, John – found guilty at the second trial but was quarantined suffering with smallpox at the time.

Conway, Timothy “Bull” – Gangster who demurred at the second trial but got four months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

Coordes, Walter – City Hall employee who pled guilty at the second trial.

Crockett, William S. – Pled not guilty at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the decision but failed.

Cronin, John L. – Terre Haute councilman who was arrested on charges of perjury regarding his election expenses.

Davern, William - A clerk for the Terre Haute Brewing Company who was jailed for perjury during the second trial.

Dailey, Frank C. - U.S. District Attorney – prosecutor in both trials of the election scandal.

Dickens, Bert W. – Carpenter who was arrested for conspiracy to kill Vigo County Circuit Court Judge Charles M. Fortune, Special Judge Felix Blankenbaker and Special Prosecutor, Joseph R. Roach in the first 1914 trial.

Doyle, William – Demurred at the second trial but was sentenced to just one day in jail with a \$100 fine.

Driscoll, Edward R. - City Engineer and secretary of the local Democratic party, who pled not guilty at the second trial but got 3 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Ehrenhardt, George - Member of the Board of Public Works who demurred at the second trial but got 3 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the decision but failed.

Fairbanks, Crawford - President of the Terre Haute Brewing Company and who owned around 150 saloons in the city and who was accused of being hind the move to get Mayor James M. Gossom impeached in October 1915.

Forebeck, Harry - City Hall employee who pled guilty at the second trial and was sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Fortune, Charles M. - Vigo County Circuit Court Judge who presided over the first trial.

Gillis, Arthur – An undertaker who demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine.

Godfrey, Wesley - Saloonkeeper, sentenced to three months imprisonment (suspended) and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Gosnell, Hobart - Bartender, sentenced to three months imprisonment (suspended) and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Gossom, James M. – the mayor of Terre Haute after Roberts was convicted.

Green, John E. – An optician who demurred at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the decision but failed.

Hanley, Thomas - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Harkness, Earl – Released after the first trial.

Harms, Enno - Custodian of City Hall, pled guilty at the second trial. He distributed brass checks which were redeemable in local saloons.

Harper, Reverend I. B. - Pastor of the Methodist Church who was beaten and jailed for watching the election.

Hess, Frank - the owner of the Midway saloon registered 200 people living at his premises who were eligible to vote when there were in fact, just three. He testified that he was coerced into acting illegally, if he did not his business would be closed down.

Hill, Bert – Pled not guilty at the second trial.

Hines, John - Saloonkeeper who received \$100 from the slush fund with which to buy votes. He testified that he was coerced into acting illegally, if he did not his business would be closed down.

Holler, J. Edward – Police chief who was arrested for his part in the election scandal. He pled guilty to the charges and got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$1 fine.

Houghton, Charles – city Hall custodian who demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the decision but failed.

Huffman, William – City official who was sentenced to between three and ten years for illegal use of the election ballots.

Hull, Leslie - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Hune, Jaul – Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

James, Ollie - Kentucky Senator who opposed the federal government getting involved in local elections.

Jeffers, Joseph - Special policeman and Taylorville gangster who pled guilty at the second trial and got 6 months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

Kaney, John – Demurred at the second trial but was sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

Kintz, George - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial. He was quarantined, suffering from smallpox at the time of the trial.

Knuckey, Richard – Demurred at the second trial.

Lamb, John E. – Lawyer for the Indianapolis and Eastern Traction Company who had political aspirations of his own.

Lloyd, Robert – Policeman – pled guilty at the second trial.

Lockwood, Frank - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Long, Philander – A lawyer who was released after the first trial. He was charged with conspiracy to register false voters.

Masselink, John M. - Inspector of Scales and Measures who demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed. He gave out free beer to get the black vote.

Masterson, David R. “Bat” – hired to kill newspaperman Don Morrison Nixon by the Indianapolis and Eastern Traction Company.

McCarthy, Thomas - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

McKay, Pearlie – Gambler who demurred at the second trial but got four months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

Miller, Charles S. – Pled not guilty at the second trial but was sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

Mitchell, Wesley A. - Election sheriff who had to defend his life by shooting a deputy sheriff.

Monninger, Gerhardt A. – Released after the first trial.

Montgomery, Harry S. - President of the Board of Public Works who demurred at the second trial but got 3 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed. He rigged voting machines.

Morrison, Fred – Demurred at the second trial.

Myers, Marx – Released after the first trial.

Nixon, Don Morrison – Owner of the Saturday Spectator who was outspoken about the election scandal.

Nugent, John F. – Assistant to Police Chief Holler. Released after the first trial but pled guilty at the second trial.

Nunley, Lewis – Assistant city engineer. Demurred at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

O'Brien, Andrew – Saloonkeeper who demurred at the second trial but got four months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

O'Donnell, William P. – Saloonkeeper who demurred at the second trial but got 6 months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

O'Mara, Joseph – Street commissioner who demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Onyett, Sidney T. – He was released after the first trial. Onyett was a lawyer and Roberts' chief clerk when he was city engineer in 1910.

Parker, Harry - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Patton, Claude - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Phillips, Ransom B. – Released after the first trial.

Powell, Guy – found guilty at the second trial but had joined the army.

Powell, Jesse - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Raeber, Henry – Released after the first trial.

Ralston, Samuel M. – Governor of Indiana at the time.

Rector, Cortlandt – One of the multiple voters during the election.

Redman, Eli H. - Circuit Court Judge who demurred at the second trial but got 5 years imprisonment and a \$1,000 fine. He appealed the decision but failed. Judge Anderson said that he couldn't find the words to describe Redman. He was impeached by the

Indiana Supreme Court on June 16, 1915. He died in Leavenworth prison in late March 1917.

Redman, Hilton – Son of Judge Eli Redman. He was released after the first trial, and demurred at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed. At the second trial, Judge Anderson said Redman was badly raised.

Rickleman, Bernard – An Indianapolis political worker was charged with conspiracy at the second Terre Haute trial.

Riker, Fred - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Roach, Joseph R. – Special Prosecutor during both trials.

Roberts, Donn M. – Terre Haute mayor and ringleader of the election scandal. Donn M. Roberts was born in Annapolis, Illinois to William Henry Roberts, a prominent Terre Haute physician, and Octavia Bruner September 28, 1867. He married Mary Grace Tiernan on July 3, 1889, in Indianapolis, Indiana. On January 3, 1910, Roberts was appointed to the post of city engineer by the then mayor, Louis Gerhardt. For some reason the two men were not on working terms and on March 31, 1911, Gerhardt removed Roberts from the office. Roberts had only taken office on January 5, 1915 and was arrested on January 17 but was released after the first trial. He demurred at the second trial but got 6 years imprisonment and a \$2,000 fine. He appealed against this decision but failed. Roberts served three and half years of his six year sentence. He was convicted of embezzlement in 1936 and sentenced to prison. He was released from prison following a heart attack, and died a few days later, in Terre Haute on August 3, 1936. He is interred at St. Joseph's Cemetery, Terre Haute.

Roberts, Lloyd – Policeman who organized transport so that some people could vote in multiple districts.

Roper, John M. – Released after the first trial.

Shea, Dennis – Sheriff who demurred at the second trial but got 5 years imprisonment and a \$2,000 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Silvers, Ernst - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Slinkard, W. L. – Roberts' lawyer during his impeachment from the city council after he had been convicted in the second trial.

Smith, Thomas C. - City Judge who demurred at the second trial but got 3 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed. He would certify repeat voters and removed other names from the election rolls.

Sovern, George – Described as a gambler he demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Stanley, Augustus Owsley – Kentucky Congressman who was opposed to the federal government getting involved in local elections. He defended Roberts and others at the second trial.

Stimson, Stella C. – She was a politically active woman who recorded many of the Terre Haute election irregularities.

Stingley, Jack – Pled not guilty at the second trial.

Storen, Mark – The U.S. Marshall that arrested Roberts.

Straus, Joseph – Liquor salesman who demurred at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Surratt, Oscar - Sentenced to three months imprisonment and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Talbott, Elmer T. - City Controller who demurred at the second trial but got 2 years imprisonment and a \$500 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Tierney, John W. “Hinkey Dinkey” – Saloonkeeper, sentenced to three months imprisonment (suspended) and a \$10 fine at the second trial.

Tosseer, Bert - Found guilty at the second trial but was absent from it.

Walsh, Maurice – City sealer who pled not guilty at the second trial but got 1 year and 1 day imprisonment and a \$100 fine. He appealed the verdict but failed.

Werneke, Richard – Terre Haute city prosecutor who was charged at the second trial for conspiring to register false voters.

Wilson, Woodrow - President – Encouraged U.S. District Attorney Frank C. Dailey to prosecute everyone involved with the Terre Haute election scandal.

Woodall, George – Saloonkeeper who demurred at the second trial but got six months imprisonment and a \$10 fine.

Yakle, Charles – Found guilty at the second trial but was absent from it.

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