

## Race and the Water: Swimming, Sewers, and Structural Violence in African America

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### Abstract

Few dimensions of the color line were monitored as closely as access to American rivers, beaches, and swimming pools, which became strictly segregated in the early 20th century. This paper examines the heritage of color line inequalities in Indianapolis, Indiana's waters, including beaches, public pools, and resorts. Indianapolis' beaches were segregated; African Americans were restricted to a single city pool; and waterways that traverse majority African-American neighborhoods have long been subject to sewer overflows. This paper examines the racialization of swimming and water privileges in Indianapolis and analyzes how the landscape of racist structural violence shaped waterway experiences.

### Swimming, Sewers, and Structural Violence

In January, 2016 Indianapolis, Indiana's tourism agency Visit Indy proposed building a seasonal beach along the White River, the waterway that meanders through the heart of Indiana's capital city (Schoettle 2016). The idea was modeled on temporary beaches in Paris, where sand is placed on roadways along Paris's Right Bank. The artificial Parisian beachfront hosts a variety of popular leisure activities, though there is no beachside swimming in the Seine itself. The proposal to reproduce Paris' seasonal beaches along the White River in Indiana's capital city was greeted with local skepticism and outright ridicule. At the heart of such doubt was the river's reputation for being an unsightly and unpleasant artery that has been polluted and poorly integrated into the cityscape over more than a century. That revulsion to the city's waterways and to the notion of an urban beachfront is rooted in a complex range of material, social, and historical reasons that paint Indianapolis waterways as polluted, unsightly, and mostly forgettable spaces.

Our interest is to instead examine how those waterways and access to public spaces like swimming pools illuminate the profound sway of anti-Black racism in the past and present alike. Many of the most unpleasant stretches of the White River, Fall Creek, and the Central Canal lay alongside modest working-class neighborhoods that became overwhelmingly African American around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Eventually many of those neighborhoods declined, and in the wake of World War II much of the African-American city was transformed by a host of urban displacement projects. The present-day White River and its local tributaries are often stereotyped or ignored precisely because they evoke anxieties about class and color privilege.

On the one hand, the city's waters were not universally spoiled: some northern Indianapolis stretches of the White River, like the segment that runs through a northside

neighborhood known as Ravenswood, began to host seasonal riverside cottages by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century; another northside neighborhood, Broad Ripple, and the banks along the city's Riverside Park were popular boating and recreational spots with scenic riverfront access; there were even scattered stretches of exclusive housing along both White River and Fall Creek. On the other hand, there is a genuine historical reason to characterize Indianapolis' waterways as spoiled by a century-and-a-half of pollution. Like many urban rivers and streams, the White River, its Indianapolis tributaries (e.g., Fall Creek, Pogue's Run), and waterways such as the Central Canal have long been fouled by sewage, industrial discharges, and upriver pollutants. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the southern reaches of the White River's course through downtown Indianapolis had become especially contaminated by unsightly, unpleasant smelling, and unhealthy industrial discharges and raw household sewage. That pollution lingers in many Indianapolis residents' imaginations today because it is not simply a historical artifact. Well into the late 20<sup>th</sup> century the city resisted extending modern sewer services to many African-American communities, which were subject to constant raw sewage overflows in the city's combined overflow system. Simply acknowledging the African-American experience of the city's waters uncomfortably compels contemporary communities to acknowledge more than a century of environmental and social injustices against African-Americans.

Many cities like Indianapolis denied equitable utility service and recreational spaces to Black residents and failed to enforce their own sanitary and housing codes. Indianapolis administrators evaded waterway pollution and inequity in sewer and recreational services through willful racism and ignorance of everyday African-American material life. Nevertheless, such injustices are not necessarily easily blamed on circles of consciously racist city leaders. Instead, that racism was invested in deep historical and systemic processes that privileged particular communities and was often regarded as a "natural" feature of the local environment that beyond question or inevitable.

Similar everyday acts of environmental and social injustice were inflicted on African-American communities throughout the country. Such acts were not simply reducible to the will of individuals or even discrete entities; rather, these were examples of what Johan Galtung (1969, 171) calls "structural violence," in which the "violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances" (cf. Farmer 2004, 308). There certainly were many individuals who were consciously complicit in anti-Black racism, and fathoming their defense of color and class privilege is one element of interpreting how persistent injustice was imposed on and condoned by so many White residents. Nevertheless, an analysis of race and water requires systematically examining the ways in which a landscape of inequality was created and reproduced and were virtually unremarked upon in White public discourses. Our interest here is in examining specifically how environmental and social injustices associated with water in particular were disproportionately directed toward African Americans and their neighborhoods.

Structural violence is utterly material in its effects. Paul Farmer's (2004, 308) research on structural violence and health injustice advocates attention to what he calls the "materiality of the social." Farmer indicates that this term "underlines my conviction that social life in general and structural violence in particular will not be understood without a deeply materialist approach to whatever surfaces in the participant-observer's field of vision—the ethnographically visible." Few dimensions of materiality could be more affecting than the

sensory landscape of Indianapolis' waterways and the concrete ways that access to that landscape and to those privileged spaces was controlled by the city. The story of race and class injustice projected onto Indianapolis' waters is clearly told in the ways the city's landscape was materially transformed by the city and how that landscape was distinctively experienced by African Americans.

Waterways as "pariah and outcast": Color Line Experiences of Urban Waterways

Because the city became deeply racially segregated around the turn of the century, many White residents had no sustained experience of the river's most deplorable reaches. In 1896, for example, the *Indianapolis News* (1896b,7) observed that during a local event along the river "tens of thousands of residents who rarely see White river, but often are reminded by sadly-tainted breezes from the southwest as to its locality and its special propinquity to the pork houses, made a closer acquaintance with the stream ... They saw a stream of great natural beauty and sweetness, which has been treated as a pariah and an outcast: a stream which has, year after year, been made to receive the refuse of a great city, until the breath of the river has become an offense to decency and a menace to health." The newspaper singled out in particular the "pork houses," including the massive Kingan and Company Packing Plant, as largely responsible for spoiling the water, but by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century it sat alongside railway yards, a paper mill, and a massive cannery, all of which contributed to polluting the river.

The long and steady decline of the near-Westside's waterfront reflected city leaders' unwillingness to challenge industrialists. The city's landscape changes indicate that the "price" of industrial growth seemed to justify inequitable services in the predominately African-American neighborhoods near the riverside factories. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Indianapolis' African-American community grew rapidly, and it was very rapidly segregated into the near-Westside. Much of the neighborhood was served by wells and privy vault outhouses, and while sewer service reached some Indianapolis homes in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century they would never be extended to many near-Westside residences.

The city enacted its first ordinances regulating vault privy outhouses in 1873 to control "unwholesome, noxious, or offensive smells" (City of Indianapolis 1904, 667-668), but these codes were hardly ever enforced. The unhealthiness of such sanitary conditions and polluted water sources was well-known to late 19<sup>th</sup>-century physicians. For instance, in May, 1880 homeopath Moses T. Runnels reported that his analysis of White River waters feeding the city's water works indicated that they were "little better than sewage" (*Indianapolis News* 1880a,2). A month later he followed with an extensive chemical analysis of city-wide water testing and argued that "I found the alleys, by-ways, back yards and stables all through the city in a very filthy condition" (*Indianapolis News* 1880b,3; cf. Runnels 1883). In 1881 Runnels indicated that during an ongoing typhoid outbreak "nearly every case of typhoid fever can be traced to impure water, defective drainage, or filthiness of the home of the patient" (*Indianapolis News* 1881, 3).

Indianapolis' sanitary crusaders like Runnels focused on household sanitation, a move that gravitated toward the vivid sensory dimensions of sanitation and mortality in impoverished African-American communities. However, that vision fixed on the visible material culture of impoverishment and evaded structural inequality in city services. While they lamented the public health implications of housing conditions, city administrators never seriously regulated or enforced housing codes until well after World War II when such enforcement fueled "slum

clearance” displacement. Almost no city leaders were willing to challenge industries along the White River, so the blame was often laid at the feet of the city’s poorest residents. For example, an ambitious 1917 study of the city was critical of Indianapolis’ sanitary shortcomings, but it suggested that “as Indianapolis develops it is likely to attract a class of transient laborers to whom any shanty is acceptable for temporary quarters. ...The increase of the colored population coming from the South and bringing with them the lowest standard of housing and sanitary conveniences, is also likely to create a danger against which the city should be armed by giving the health department adequate powers of condemnation” (Bureau of Municipal Research 1917,342).

The community adjoining Indianapolis’ waterfront industry was subject to some of its most unpleasant airborne discharges and waterfront pollution. In 1916, for instance, the *Indianapolis News* (1916, 1) delivered an alarming report that the White River just south of the African-American near-Westside “is devoid of natural fish life and birds.” From the Kingan and Company Packing Plant south, the State Board of Health’s John C. Diggs pronounced the river “a malodorous, septic stream, bearing on its surface floating matter of sewage origin.” Diggs concluded that the river “was of the same character as ordinary household sewage”; south of Van Camp’s cannery “pieces of tomato are on the surface of the water”; and slightly further south “floating slime is on the water; the odor is foul. Banks are covered with slime. Bubbles of gas rise to the surface.”

#### The Aesthetics of Indianapolis Waterways

The river’s stereotype as an unpleasant space has also been significantly shaped by the aesthetics of the downtown stretches of the White River and Canal. Urban planners have often aspired to produce aesthetically attractive and functional cities centered on waterways, and some Indianapolis planners imagined the city’s streams as its most important feature. For instance, in 1894 landscape architect Joseph Earnshaw proposed creating continuous waterfront parks that would reach through most of the near-Westside (*Indianapolis Journal* 1894, 6). Earnshaw’s plan was solicited by the Commercial Club (the precursor to the Chamber of Commerce), but Indianapolis had no Parks Board at that point and the City Council was cool to the seemingly pricy plan (*Indianapolis News* 1894, 1).

Two years later John Charles Olmsted, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and Charles Eliot provided a parks plan to Indianapolis’ freshly created Parks Commission that repeated the tenor of Earnshaw’s plan to focus a park system along the city’s waterways. The Olmsted firm’s plan proposed a variety of parks linked by “a handsome parkway along Fall creek ... We believe it would be worth all it would cost to extend this parkway down Fall creek from Michigan road to White river and along White river to a point as near Washington-street bridge as might be found practicable, from which point it should be made to connect with one or more of the broad streets north of Military Park” (*Indianapolis News* 1896a, 5). The Olmsted proposal emphasized that the city’s waterways were its most important landscape planning feature: “In conclusion, we may say that the best, and indeed almost the only, park sites worth considering are those including some portion of the rivers or runs which pass through or close to the city, and that it is high time that desirable and conveniently situated lands for parks and playgrounds should be secured.” Yet some City Councilors believed that “the lands south of Indiana avenue are least likely to advance rapidly in value, and that consequently it will be best to abandon for

the present the southern end of the system” (which was by then a rapidly growing African-American neighborhood) (*Indianapolis News* 1897, 4).

George Kessler’s 1909 Indianapolis plan borrowed the Earnshaw and Olmsted’s plans for parkways along the city’s waterways, and Kessler’s designs shaped much of the city’s waterways. The *Indianapolis Star* (1909, 3) indicated that “Mr. Kessler urged the importance of securing to the city the use and control of both banks of all natural waterways and the preservation of their natural beauty.” The banks of all the city’s waterways were not secured by the city, but Kessler’s boulevard system remains one of the contemporary city’s most prominent landmarks. The parkways were intended to deliver residents to green spaces throughout the city. Kessler’s 1909 plan included a boulevard through the near-Westside along the east banks of the White River, but that road was never constructed.

In 1912 *Indianapolis Star* columnist Walter Sidney Greenough championed an Indianapolis park system “having as its backbone beautiful waterways” that would be “not only for beauty’s sake, but for sanitation’s sake.” Yet Greenough lamented the condition of the city’s waterscape, which he characterized as the “garbage-strewn White River, the sewage-polluted canal, tin-can-lined Pogue’s Run and fishless Fall Creek.” Greenough feared his proposal would be greeted with skepticism, ironically for reasons much like that Visit Indy would experience over its White River beach proposal a century later. Greenough admitted that “the idea may be laughed at by those who have seen ocean fronts,” and he recognized that it was likely that “Big Business will rail at the beautification plan and seek the parks for factory lands even more assiduously than now.”

Indeed, while Indianapolis planners developed some creative park spaces and connecting greenways, they largely ignored Indianapolis’ downtown waterways and its southernmost stretches in the African-American near-Westside. After a devastating 1913 flood, much of the White River in the city’s near-Westside was widened, had new levees constructed, and was lined with massive concrete floodwalls that remain the contemporary waterway’s most striking feature. When the downtown canal was remodeled 70 years later, it too was dramatically remodeled into a concrete artery. In the 1980s, after most of the near-Westside’s residents had been uprooted by urban renewal projects, the city developed a project to transform the depopulated canal into a tourist destination. The long-ignored canal was lined with concrete and pedestrian walkways, had fountains and decorative footbridges installed, and was emptied of nearly all its historic structures to make way for a host of new apartments and businesses.

### Swimming and Segregation in Indianapolis Waters

The deep-seated picture of Indianapolis’ waterways as polluted arteries stands in contrast to residents’ longstanding recreation in those waterways, and it risks ignoring the popularity of private and public pools scattered throughout the Indianapolis area. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century waterfront beaches were found along northern reaches of the White River in Ravenswood, Arden, and Broad Ripple, and swimming holes could be found along Fall Creek and Pleasant Run. A 1917 study concluded that certain stretches of the White River were still relatively un-polluted (Indiana State Board of Health 1917). At Broad Ripple “the river is free from floating matter or objectionable odor”; at Crow’s Nest just south of Broad Ripple “water is

clear, free from floating matter”; and at Riverside Park the “water is clean but has a slightly weedy odor” (Indiana State Board of Health 1917, 140).

At least initially some of these recreational waters were not racially segregated. In about 1877, for instance, Otto Schissel opened a recreational swimming hole and adjoining bath house on the canal at West and Wabash Street (Dunn 1912, 450-451; *Indianapolis News* 1890, 5). In 1890 the *Indianapolis News* indicated that the canal swimming holes and bath houses were places where “whites and blacks mingle in the foam.” However, most 20<sup>th</sup>-century swimming spots were segregated from the very outset, a pattern that was typical of American leisure spaces’ segregation at the turn of the century (Wiltse 2009; Wolcott 2012). For instance, Indianapolis’ Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) dedicated a building with a swimming pool in 1887, arguing that the “bath room privileges are alone, now that Fall creek and fresh water are so far away, worth more than double the price of admission’ to him who holds cleanliness next to godliness” (*Indianapolis News* 1887, 1). However, the YMCA rejected all membership applications from African Americans. A segregated Black YMCA was formed in Indianapolis in 1900, and the city’s “Colored YMCA” was admitted to the state YMCA in 1902 (Pierce 2012). After an extensive fund-raising campaign, Indianapolis’ segregated Senate Avenue YMCA opened in 1913, including a swimming pool among its featured attractions. Legions of African Americans learned to swim in the Senate Avenue pool between 1913 and the building’s closing in 1959.

Indianapolis had 13 park swimming pools in 1914, most barring everyday access to African Americans. In July 1914 a segregated Black pool was opened by the Parks Board on Almont Street, and in 1919 Black children were allowed access to one city pool a single day a week (*Indianapolis Star* 1914a, 12-13; *Indianapolis Star* 1919, 12). The city embarked on an ambitious effort to construct swimming pools in the public parks after World War I, a move that was driven in part by the deplorable condition of the city’s waterways. In 1919 Parks Head of Recreation R. Walter Jarvis advocated building 19 new swimming pools, acknowledging that the City Health Board had concluded that the city’s waterways were not safe for bathing or recreational swimming (*Indianapolis News* 1919a, 18). The Parks “board decided that it would have signs put up at swimming holes in Fall creek and White river warning the public that the water is insanitary. The only solution of the swimming problem in Indianapolis is the swimming pool,’ Mr. Lowry told the board. ‘The system of combination overflow and storm water sewers in Fall creek and the sewage in White river, make it impracticable to consider the establishment of swimming places in these streams.’”

However, a week after Jarvis’ proposal Indianapolis Parks decided that it was possible to manage sewage overflows into White River and Fall Creek on the African-American near Westside, which justified not constructing pools in those neighborhoods (*Indianapolis News* 1919b, 13). Parks Superintendent James H. Lowry argued that “This does not mean that the department will give up its plans of placing swimming pools in neighborhoods not accessible to streams. ... But if Fall creek and White river near Riverside are safe from a health standpoint to use there to no reason why we should go to the expense of putting in swimming pools in neighborhoods accessible to the streams.” Jarvis’ initial 1919 plan for 19 pools always intended to continue the segregation of the parks and pools, specifying two would be reserved for African Americans (and another for Italians and a fourth for Hungarians). Eventually the city built only one Black pool, opening Douglass Park in 1921. Douglass Park remained the city’s only

public Black pool into the late 1950's, but its location on the city's eastside was a very long walk for many African Americans who lived in the near-Westside.

The city parks were not legally segregated, but residents and the Parks Board itself clearly understood parks and pools to be racially exclusive. In July, 1926 staff from the city's African-American newspaper, the *Indianapolis Recorder*, tried to secure a permit to have a picnic at Brookside Park, but they were denied times to hold the picnic. The Superintendent of Parks informed them that Douglass Park was the "Jim Crow Park" and insisted that Douglass Park was a nice area for its "colored citizens" (cf. Jarvis 1923). The representatives from the newspaper were told by the superintendent that African Americans should go to Douglass Park to limit animosity.

Most efforts to establish African-American private pools or beaches failed or were rebuffed. In 1927, for instance, Henry Fleming led a group of African-American entrepreneurs who announced a plan to purchase the former Casino Gardens, a club along White River that lay just south of a municipal golf course (*Indianapolis Recorder* 1927a, 1). The Casino Gardens owner had been unable to sell the property to the city's Parks Board, but Fleming believed he had assembled sufficient funds to purchase the club and convert it into the Spring Hill Country Club. The City Council first responded by introducing a bill barring the sale of the property to African Americans, but the bill failed to pass (*Indianapolis Recorder* 1927a, 1). Fleming held an event at the club on February 20, 1927 and the "announcement created quite a stir among the poor whites who live in vicinity of the place" (*Indianapolis Recorder* 1927b, 1). Fleming touted the venue's riverfront location and plans to develop a beachfront along the White River, but his potential neighbors "besieged the City Council to buy the property" (*Indianapolis Recorder* 1927b, 1). The neighboring Haughville and Riverside Civic Organizations pleaded to the Parks Board to condemn the property rather than allow it to be sold to African Americans (*Indianapolis Recorder* 1927c, 1). That proposal echoed Parks Board member John E. Milnor's argument that "if the group of colored men bought the property it would be condemned" (*Indianapolis Recorder* 1927b, 1). Despite the Parks Board's initial reluctance to purchase the property, they eventually purchased the former Casino Gardens and merged it with the neighboring golf course.

Some resorts catered to African Americans beyond the city limits. Idlewild, Michigan was the most prominent African-American resort in the Midwest, and in March, 1916 the *Indianapolis Recorder* (1916, 1) celebrated that "beautiful Idlewild is to be an exclusive, high-class colored summer resort." Idlewild was indeed class exclusive, though, so few Indianapolis residents would ever purchase property at the Michigan resort (Stephens 1913). The Fox Lake resort began to sell lots near Angola, Indiana in 1926, and it was long an African-American getaway, but it was likewise too costly for most African Americans in Indianapolis (Polley 1993). A resort calling itself Idlewild of Indiana (with no connection to the Michigan resort) began selling open lots in Johnson County in 1926 (*Indianapolis Recorder* 1926, 5). This was not an especially realistic option for many families, who would then need to build a structure, and the Idlewild of Indiana venture collapsed within a year. A few efforts were made to establish African-American beaches in Indianapolis itself. In June, 1933, for instance, the newly opened Eaglewood Beach promised to be a "sojourn in heaven," offering swimming and recreation "in company with Refined folks" (*Indianapolis Recorder* 1933, 8). However, the far-Westside

swimming and picnic grounds along Eagle Creek appeared to have closed at the end of the 1933 season.

In the absence of unpolluted swimming spaces or accessible pools, many African Americans instead continued to swim in the White River and its tributaries. In August 1936 an African-American beach was cleared on the west side of White River adjoining Belmont Park (*Indianapolis Recorder* 1936, 8). Located near the Emrichsville Dam, the beach was within an easy walk of the near-Westside. Yet by 1941 the *Indianapolis Recorder* was complaining that the beach was poorly maintained (*Indianapolis Recorder* 1941, 1). The newspaper found “weeds and dead fish in the water not more than six or seven feet from where young children were paddling in the water,” and they complained that there was “no guard for a sixty-foot hole several yards from the beach, a hole which claimed the life of a young boy several seasons ago” (*Indianapolis Recorder* 1941, 8).

As the *Recorder* acknowledged, the White River, its tributaries, and the Canal were treacherous swimming spaces that claimed numerous drowning victims. In June, 1934 the *Indianapolis Recorder's* Lee A. Johnson lamented that “drowning season is on” (Johnson 1934, 2). Indeed, a month earlier 17-year-old John Edward Bennett drowned in Fall Creek near the City Hospital (*Indianapolis Recorder* 1934, 1). Drownings and suicides in the White River, Canal, and Fall Creek were unpleasant staples of summertime news coverage well into the 1960s.

Waterway conditions grew progressively worse and persist in many stretches of urban streams today. Into the 1950s Indianapolis constructed a combined sewer system that, when precipitation is particularly heavy, causes raw sewage to overflow, ejecting it into much of the White River and Fall Creek. In 1941, for instance, Curtis Terry filed a suit against the city because “refuse dumped into the creek will cause the stream to overflow its channel and flood his property. ... Noxious odors in the neighborhood are often caused by a sanitary sewer ... located near City Hospital” (*Indianapolis Recorder* 1941b, 2). A decade later Terry's home was targeted for demolition by the city's Redevelopment Commission, and his family moved in about 1952 when their home became part of 178 acres razed during an urban renewal project.

The Terry home was near a combined sewer overflow, but new sewers were still being built and connected to combined sewers into the 1960s (West 2006). These new connections actually delivered even more sewer overflows to tributaries like Fall Creek, in predominately African-American neighborhoods. In 1999 a federal civil rights complaint was filed against the city for its unwillingness to address sewer overflows, and Mayor Stephen Goldsmith responded by suing the state and claiming the city could not financially meet the state's environmental requirements to make the water “swimmable.” In 2006 the city agreed to construct 31 combined sewer overflow mechanisms to reduce the 7.8 billion gallons of yearly sewer overflows, which were roughly 100 times too high to satisfy the safe swimming standard (Department of Justice 2010). In 2010, the Department of Justice and Environmental Protection Agency agreed with the state to a second set of changes to reduce yearly sewage discharges to 414 million gallons (Department of Justice 2010). That project is expected to be completed in about 2025. Nevertheless, a 2016 report cautioned that 71 communities in 48 statewide counties have projects on combined sewer overflow systems that have been significantly under-funded (Palmer and Schmidt 2016, 3). The cost of those projects is amplified by even more costly drinking water infrastructure projects as well as wastewater conveyance and failing septic system projects.



## Imagining Racist Waterways

The transformation of the White River into a seasonal beachfront could perhaps rehabilitate the public's somewhat limited imagination of the city's waterways. City officials and many residents have long deplored pollution of the city's waterways and lamented the long history of public segregation in Indianapolis, but such concessions risk ringing hollow: that is, recognition of pollution's material reality tends to project it into an industrialized past, and acknowledgment of segregated services like park and pool access tends to situate it in an alien historical moment largely disconnected from the contemporary world. Admissions of persistent pollution have never acknowledged its connection to a broad range of structural policies that denied African Americans utility services, public leisure and recreation, health care, or educational equity.

A White River beach hazards ignoring city waterways' racist heritage, but it could instead illuminate a long history of pollution as the material effect of structural violence. An ambitious picture of the city's waterways could underscore their implication in racist and classist sentiments that have long been at the heart of everyday practice in places like Indianapolis without much reflective conversation. An unwillingness or inability to imagine the dense systemic connections between inequalities in pollution management, healthcare, and public rights risks leaving underlying structural violence unexamined and unchallenged. The White River could perhaps be one modest springboard for a rich narrative examining American cities' relationships with both bodies of water and African-American communities.

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1880b The Death Rate, and Some Causes that Tend to Swell It. July 13:3.

1881 Typhoid Fever. November 11:3.

1887 New Y.M.C.A. Home. September 2:1

1890 In the Public Baths. June 28:5.

1894 Question of City Parks. November 15:1.

1896a Parks for Indianapolis. January 9: 5.

1896b The Water of White River. May 23:7.

1897 Further About Parks. April 15:4.

1916 River Devoid of Natural Life. September 14:1, 18.

1919a Eighteen Swimming Pools Urged by Jarvis. July 3:18.

1919b River and Creek May Be Freed from Sewage. July 9:13.

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1916 At Last a Summer Resort for Colored People. March 18:1.

1926 Idlewild of Indiana Advertisement. July 3:5.

1927a Council May Annex Area of Casino G. February 12:1.

1927b New Opening Announced of Casino G. February 19:1.

1927b Casino Gardens Stand Reversed. April 2:1.

1933 Eaglewood Beach Advertisement. June 17:8.

1934 Body of Youthful Swimmer Recovered from Watery Grave in Fall Creek. May 26:1

1936 Formal Opening of New West Side Beach Saturday. August 8:1

1941a Belmont Beach Draws Complaint on Health, Safe Swim Conditions. June 28: 1, 8.

1941b Suit Charges City Permits W'Side Menace. July 5:2.

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