

[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

Section 105, Pages 3121 - 3150

You'll find the latest in Kansas scholarship in Kansas History, issued quarterly by the Kansas Historical Society, Inc. This scholarly journal, recipient of awards from the Western History Association and the American Association for State and Local History, publishes new research on Kansas and western history and offers interesting, well-illustrated articles that appeal to both the serious student and the general reader. Searchable text is not yet available.

Creator: Kansas State Historical Society

Date: 1978-2009

Callnumber: SP 906 K13qh

KSHS Identifier: DaRT ID: 217226

Item Identifier: 217226

www.kansasmemory.org/item/217226

KANSAS
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

'Rube Goldberg Specialist.' The freezer was modeled after Stover's memory of a commercial unit, and utilized salvage materials. An oxygen cylinder was used for the inside and an acetylene cylinder for the outside. Between the two cylinders galvanized wire screen was used to break up the refrigerant. The interior is of stainless steel, while quarter inch scrap plate seals the ends. For this part Stover enlisted the aid of blacksmiths and welders. The sheet metal shop contributed its services to fashion the door, which permits the passage of the cream in and out. The plumbers installed a sink and drain and the carpenters built the screen enclosure." Well, you just can't keep a GI from his ice cream. Those who know Smoky better than the rest of us have this to say, "Isn't that just like Smoky?" Nice going, Smoky."

A couple of years ago we had our house painted. At that time one of our favorite people happened to be in the paint business. It was a good job and the paint has shown splendid wearing qualities. For a little while now it has seemed to me that there has been a very noticeable glow to the epidermis of our house. Last Saturday morning the mystery was solved. Right in the middle of the front page of the Eagle was an AP Wirephoto of John Vosburgh and Lieut. Gen. Mark Clark. The General was pinning the Silver Star on John, and the caption read, "Lieut. Gen. Mark W. Clark, Commander of the Allied Fifth Army, pins the Silver Star Medal on Lieut. John R. Vosburgh of Wichita, Kansas, awarded for gallantry in action, in ceremonies for the members of the 36th Division somewhere in Italy."⁸ Our house all of these days has been shining in reflected glory. It is impossible to express the feelings which surge through your Sunday School Teacher at such a time. There comes first pride - then there is a feeling of, "I told you so." Finally there is the very sobering feeling of gratitude. Thanks be to God who protects, for Silver Stars are won upon the field of battle. Saturday was John's day in Wichita, but Sunday was Martha's⁹ day in the Newell Class. Talk about glowing in reflected glory. Martha had Silver Stars in her eyes! John has not only been awarded the Silver Star but he has been given a very nice promotion.

Perhaps it would not detract from the recognition which Smoky has received nor from the honor which



John R. Vosburgh was awarded the Silver Star by Gen. Mark Clark for actions taken in January 1944; some six months after those heroic actions, Vosburgh died in Italy during a German shelling.

John has earned if we would make a comment upon the general subject of recognition. This is a very big war, and our armed forces are made up of more individuals than any mind is capable of visualizing. By far the greater part of the expendable valour which must go into the winning of the battles which will bring about the final Victory will go unrecognized. Knowing as we do our many brave men who are after all a small and scattered segment of our armed forces, it is easy for us to see that within every manly heart there is the stuff from which medals and bars and leaves and stars are made. There are two sides to recognition. There is on the one hand the act of gallantry, and there is on the other hand, perchance, an observer or observers who are able to see that proper recognition is made. This is a combination of circumstances so rare that he who goes unrecognized must be content with the knowledge of duty well done, and he who is recognized must not only be congratulated upon his bravery but also upon his good fortune.

Last Sunday was the semi-annual installation of Officers - Nida Ella Logan, Pres., Marion Bird, V. Pres.,

7. Olin "Smoky" Stover (1917-1969) was an electrical engineer in Washington, D.C., and, at the time of his death, the Bahamas.

8. On January 19-20, 1944, while crossing "the Rapido River in the vicinity of San Angelo in Teodice," Italy, and while under artillery fire, a boat carrying motors and a machine gun capsized. Vosburgh was awarded the Silver Star for retrieving the machine gun.

9. Martha Vosburgh Jackson (1912-) is a housewife and a member of First Presbyterian Church.



Chloris Welchel, Sec., Oletha Sloan, Asst. Sec., Ed Means, Tr.¹⁰ We are determined to work harder upon our first place project of keeping in touch with those of you who are away. It is never easy to write interesting and original letters especially when addressing those whom we have never met. We shall not always succeed but we shall do our best. You have a remarkable group of friends in the Newell Class. We are anxious for R-Day.

NEWELLETTER NUMBER TWENTY SIX

April, 1944

Dear Gang:

April 22, 1944, has taken its place in Wichita history as the day of the big flood. You may have gathered from letters which you have received from home that this has been one of the wettest Springs imaginable. For the last six weeks work has been carried on in the oil fields under the greatest difficulties. Materials have been moved only with the aid of "cats" which have ploughed great furrows in the soggy fields. The subsoil finally reached the saturation point and a heavy general rain which was measured officially in Wichita at more than seven inches, fell within twenty-four hours. It was just too much for the drainage system. Little River could not handle the water and the drainage canal couldn't take it so we had a real flood. Little River was out of its banks over a large part of the North End and as far south as Central. The drainage canal was out of its banks over its entire length making it impossible for those who were caught downtown to get to their homes on the Hill.¹¹ Many folks were taken care of in the Forum¹² by the Red Cross. Property damage is fairly large due mostly to silt, buckled basement walls and floors and to warped first floors. The water is now subsiding rapidly and folks everywhere in the flooded area are at work cleaning out.

It is interesting to see what even a gentle though thorough flood like ours can do when it enters unexpectedly into the fragile plans of men and women. Experiences ran the entire range from comedy to tragedy. The Santa Fe was making its way toward Wichita, due to

arrive at one P. M. Saturday April 22nd. It had rained all night between Chicago and Kansas City. The Creeks were swollen and in a few places the water was over the highways. The porter in the Club car happened to tune in on KFBI in time to hear flood bulletins from Wichita. The police were calling for boats with which to evacuate folks who had failed to leave their homes. The entire train became a rumor factory. By the time the story reached our car the water was two feet deep in the Orpheum theater¹³ and tenants were being evacuated from the tenth floor of the Hillcrest Apartments by boat. If one didn't like any of the rumors in the air it was a simple matter to make one of his own. We came through Newton and made our way slowly through Sedgwick and Valley Center with the lake through which we seemed to be traveling getting wider and deeper each mile. Just before we reached the outskirts of the North End we came to a halt in water which covered the tracks and which was reported to be four feet deep just ahead. We had seen a flock of sheep on a little island of wheat just large enough to hold them, a rabbit sitting nervously upon a large rock which offered a tiny refuge, and folks looking anxiously toward their belongings surrounded by water. It was a setting in which almost any rumor seemed to have some possibility of being the truth. After awhile we backed into a siding at Valley Center. The water continued to rise and the Santa Fe finally decided that its passengers would be more comfortable in Newton. We backed into the station at dinner time and there we settled ourselves to wait out the flood.

On our train there were service men from all branches who had only a few hours to get back to camp. The telephone lines were jammed with long distance calls. The operator thought that she would be able to get a call through to Wichita in three hours. There was the girl who was rushing home to be with her brother for just a few hours before he went back to camp. There was the lady and her little girl who were traveling across the continent to spend twenty-four hours with dad before he sailed. There was the party from the East - a wedding party. It consisted of a man, his wife, their grown daughter and a very charming young lady who was doing her best to marry their son. The groom had been at an air base somewhere in Nebraska. The wedding date had been set and the party had arrived to discover the boy had suddenly been ordered to Ardmore [Oklahoma]. They had piled aboard the first train to Ardmore without reservations and here they were in Newton held up by

10. Marion Bird (1914-) is a retired teacher and a member of First Presbyterian Church. Chloris Welchel Chapman (1917-), the widow of Bill Chapman, is retired from the Federal Land Bank and is a member of First Presbyterian Church. Nida Ella Logan (1906-1968) was a teacher in Wichita. Oletha Sloan Grout (1909-1983) was an x-ray technician in Hutchinson.

11. The Chisholm Creek (see footnote 19, Part I) in north Wichita enters the drainage canal which runs north-south through the city, entering the Big River in south Wichita. Today highway I-135 follows the canal through Wichita. The "Hill" is a reference to the College Hill neighborhood in east Wichita.

12. The Forum, built in 1910 and later added onto, was Wichita's municipal auditorium and exhibition hall. It was razed in 1965 and replaced by Century II, a complex of auditoria and exhibition halls.

13. The Orpheum Theater, opened in 1922, is Wichita's only remaining vaudeville and movie house from the age of great theaters. It is currently vacant and awaiting restoration.

the flood. The poor bride-to-be was becoming slightly discouraged.

Ours was not the only train in Newton. The Rocket was parked in a siding and two other well loaded trains were standing with our own at the Station. Then there came a long troop train packed with Marines. In a few minutes the streets of Newton were swarming with Soldiers, Sailors, Marines, and assorted civilians. The candy bars and the soft drinks disappeared from the shelves immediately and the boys commenced a good humored but determined search for amusement. The situation was relieved somewhat when the Marines were loaded aboard their train and placed in a siding some distance from town.

Late Sunday morning the Santa Fe gave the lie to all rumors by hitching an engine to our train and heading us in the direction of Wichita. The water had gone down enough to allow us to get through so that we finally pulled into the station just twenty-four hours late.

The old home town had not been without its own bits of comedy and tragedy. There was the girl bus driver

who pulled off her shoes and stockings and carried the little girl passenger to dry land. There was the man who calmly removed his shoes and socks and pants and waded across Battin, where the water was almost waist deep, in his shorts. There was my partner who waited too long for the train which didn't come and couldn't get home because of the flooded drainage canal. There was the wedding of Alice Hawkins which was set for four P. M. Saturday in the Chapel at the Church. At that hour the water was curb high at Seventh¹⁴ and Broadway. The guests, the ushers, the attendant, the groom, and the Minister were all on hand but there was no bride. She was detained by the flood. As she made her way through the flood waters she kept in touch with the Church by phone. From time to time the Minister would report to the guests upon her progress. Finally by traveling in a whole series of amphibious conveyances

14. Carpenter here meant Murdock and Broadway. There is no Seventh Street in Wichita.



The concerns of war were compounded by the disasters of nature in the spring floods of 1944. This scene at Pattie and Douglas avenues, one-half mile east of Wichita's downtown business district, shows stranded automobiles. Rising water from the drainage canal kept downtowners from getting home to the "Hill."



she arrived to be wed at seven P. M. Delbert Parker was the patient but happy groom. After the ceremony Mr. and Mrs. Parker were taken to dry land in a furniture truck.¹⁵ You can see that the flood has overshadowed all other events in Wichita for the present.

NEWELLETTER NUMBER TWENTY SEVEN

May, 1944

Dear Gang:

Recent happenings in the Newell Class would seem to justify the slogan "Never a dull moment." Several weeks ago we were prepared to satisfy one of the whims of the "perfesser" by serving doughnuts and coffee before class. It became noised about that Lawrence Wulfmeyer and Floyd Roby would be there. Just to make the day a memorable one, Dave Moore landed in town Saturday afternoon. We were just recognizing our re-Newells when in walked Morsuo Allison. We had the best time and the poorest lesson that could possibly be imagined. To say that we were glad to have them home is to state the case very mildly. The next Sunday Wynemah Knight brought her husband who was here on furlough after having served in the South Seas for many months. Morsuo spent his second Sunday with us. Dave had gone to Texas to see his folks. Mother's Day we filled the lecture room to the rafters with Mothers, with our regulars, and visitors. Dan and Helen Winzeler were there; Dave was back, and to our surprise, in walked Myron Sayles with his Mother, Helen, and Olive, and a GI hair cut. Last Sunday Otto Winterhalter and LaVerta Schwendker were there.¹⁶ It has been a real thrill to have our service men and women with us from time to time, and we are delighted when good fortune hands any of them a furlough. It is almost trite, and yet so true, to say that we long for the day when furloughs are a thing of the past and you shall all be home once more. We are very much impressed because in every instance the good man who went away seems to be a better man when he shows up on leave. This is certainly not due to the training which the Army has given or to the inspiring

experiences through which you have gone. It is because the man whom we knew had to grow to meet the challenge of a world where most of the savages are at peace and most of the civilized people are at war. Our service men look mighty fine to us, and it makes us wonder just how we look to them.

It is to be hoped that we look like loyal and devoted Americans at war. Many civilians have been very badly hurt; there is worry and anxiety; there are an ever increasing number of gold stars on our service flags; there is loneliness; many small businesses not essential to the war effort have been ruined; most everyone is carrying a part of the load which used to be carried by a man in the service; and there is a shortage of help everywhere so that to shop, to eat out, or to get any kind of repair work done is a test of patience and endurance. If we are supposed to cry over these things we have come far short of the mark. Americans do not wait, they gripe. We buy all of the bonds that we can buy and cuss the ration board while we write the check. We ride buses to save gas and tires and all of the way down town we cuss the Government for the Canol Project.¹⁷ Every American is a General on his own back porch. He can tell you why we have not licked Hitler and Tojo long before this and he can give you the strategy which he will guarantee to do the trick. The next day he will work all day building an airplane which he hopes the real Strategists will use in their own way. He will laugh about Eleanor [Roosevelt] rubbing noses with the South Sea Islanders and will cuss the New Deal and pray for the President in the same breath. It is a little hard to understand Atlantic Charter and Declaration of Quebec¹⁸ and such, but the American civilian is sure that you are fighting for the right of every man to sit on his own back porch and crack bad jokes and laugh and gripe as he wants to.

The American way is a wonderful way of life. My 1940 Buick still looks pretty good when it is washed and

15. Delbert Parker (1895-1958) was a church choir director in Wichita. Alice Hawkins Parker Benton lives in Wichita.

16. Lawrence Wulfmeyer (1910-) is a retired banker and a member of First Presbyterian Church. Morsuo Allison (1906-) is retired from Boeing in Wichita. Wynemah Knight (1915-1944) was a secretary. Dan Winzeler (1909-1987) was a stockman and farmer in Madison; his widow, Helen (1908-), is a retired teacher there. Myron Sayles (1914-) is a retired engineer in Hudsonville, Michigan. Helen Sayles Sisson (1920-) and her husband own a printing company in Palm Springs, California. Olive Sayles Cram (1917-) owns a chemical company in Camden, New Jersey, and lives in Cinnamasson, New Jersey. Elsie Sayles (1881-1954) was the mother of the Sayles siblings. LaVerta Schwendker (1913-1965) retired from the Women's Army Corps in 1953 and is buried in Arlington Cemetery.

17. The Canol Project was Lt. Gen. Brehon Somerrell's \$134 million plan to develop oil wells, a refinery, and a pipeline in Canada to furnish oil to U.S. troops in Alaska. It quickly became known as a "big bonehead play." Sen. Harry Truman's special committee investigating national defense called it "inexcusable." Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes said it was worth nothing. Only the U.S. Army defended it. It was closed down in March 1945 after providing a million barrels of oil per year. The same amount of oil could have been transported from Seattle to Alaska in ten U.S. Navy tankers.

18. The Atlantic Charter of August 1941 was a statement of principles between Pres. Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. It provided for national self-determination, greater economic opportunities, freedom from fear and want, freedom of the seas, and disarmament. The "Declaration of Quebec" is a reference to the Quebec Conference of August 1943 in which Roosevelt and Churchill discussed plans for the forthcoming Allied invasions of Italy and France.

polished as it was the other day. We had stopped for a red light. In the other lane there was a rattle and clatter and the asthmatic exhaust of the remains of what many years ago had been an automobile. As it groaned to a stop one of the men in the front seat glanced disdainfully at my shining job and remarked to his companion "Just another Buick." While they were recovering from laughing at their own joke I happened to look at the hub cap on the wobbly wooden wheel and there was a large gleaming, freshly polished "B."

There is a difference between a gripe and a complaint; between good sportsmanship and complacency, and between a good front on the home front and selfishness. We have many problems, as for instance, the manpower problem which could readily be solved if all of the writers and commentators who are complaining about complaints which they themselves dream up at so much per word would go to work in some essential industry. Let me repeat, "Don't allow anyone to shake your faith in your home folks."

One of the lesser War Poets has broken into "worse" over a now infamous and notorious home front episode. His latest is called, *The Battle of Monkey Ward*:¹⁹

Some bard may sing of battles won
Upon some foreign sword;
But who shall sing of those who fought
At the Battle of Monkey Ward?
No convoy stole thru the waters deep
With a million troops on board-
The GIs rode in limousines
To the Battle of Monkey Ward.
There was no surf to lap the shore-
Not even a creek to ford-

19. Carpenter's poem is about Sewell Avery, head of Montgomery Ward, the Chicago mail-order house. The War Labor Board ordered Avery to negotiate with the CIO union that had won representation rights at Ward's. Avery refused. When the union called a strike, President Roosevelt ordered the workers to return to work and Avery to follow the Labor Board's order. Avery again refused. The President then ordered the Commerce Department to seize and operate the company. Attorney General Francis Biddle flew to Chicago, occupied Avery's office, and asked Avery for his cooperation.

No one tells the story better than James MacGregor Burns: "When Avery refused, saying, 'to hell with the government,' [Biddle] ordered him taken out. 'You New Dealer!' Avery exploded, using the worst epithet in his vocabulary. A photograph of the portly executive leaning back in two soldiers' arms, his hands folded benevolently over his stomach, hit the front page of hundreds of newspapers. A great hubbub followed. 'Government by bayonet,' one editor termed it."

The company continued its defiance and later in the year, the President ordered the War Department to take over the company, saying that Ward's under Avery's leadership had "waged a bitter fight against the bona fide unions of its employees throughout the war.... We cannot allow Montgomery Ward to set aside the wartime policies of the United States Government just because Mr. Sewell Avery does not approve of the Government's procedure for handling labor disputes."

The troops advanced with pants quite dry
At the Battle of Monkey Ward.
An enemy lurked behind each desk
Where the catalogs once were stored;
Their muskets were loaded with mail order blanks
At the Battle of Monkey Ward.
The pill boxes were filled with Vitamins X
Which only the rich could afford;
For the prices were high and the wages were low
At the Battle of Monkey Ward
What a charge! What a fight! What spilling of blood!
For the cameraman to record;
Yes, the newsmen came with the very first wave
At the Battle of Monkey Ward.
All hail, to the genius who planned the campaign-
All hail, to the War Labor Board-
All hail, to the Unions which collected the dues
At the Battle of Monkey Ward.
All hail, to the pres of the "country store"
Who fought without hope of reward.
He fell where he sat so they carried him off
At the Battle of Monkey Ward.
The smoke has all cleared from the battle field;
Peace reigns where once was discord;
And the poppycocks grow, row upon row
Since the Battle of Monkey Ward.
Yes, the bard may sing of some foreign land
Where our heroes draw the sword,
But I shall sing of the war at home-
Of the Battle of Monkey Ward.

NEWELLETTER NUMBER TWENTY EIGHT

June, 1944

Dear Gang:

One of the most puzzling aspects of the present conflict, to the back porch general, is the careless use of the alphabet in connection with all things military. If my bill, the Alphabetical Bill of Writes, goes through the good old A B C's will once more be put to their proper use, namely the spelling of words. The trouble all commenced a few years ago when the lady with the restless suitcase entitled the running account of her travels "M. I. Day."²⁰ The idea caught on and so the alphabet was neatly divided among thousands of governmental bureaus. Then the Army fell for it, and now all of the days and all of the hours have been assigned mysterious letters. We do not yet know the meaning of

20. Because of the President's infirmity, the First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt, served as his "eyes and ears" by embarking on extensive tours and reporting to him on conditions, programs, and public opinion. These trips were the butt of "Eleanor jokes" such as Carpenter's here. "My Day" was the title of the syndicated daily newspaper column she began writing in 1936.

THE WICHITA BEACON 4TH WAK EXTRA
Only Evening Newspaper in Wichita Using Associated Press, AP Wirephoto, International News, Chicago Daily News, Inc.
DL. 92, NO. 206 OUTSIDE NUMBER 1 CENTS PHONE 3-2211 WICHITA, KANSAS, TUESDAY, JUNE 6, 1944 Phone—Dial 3-2211 FINAL HOME EDITION* 24 PAGES

ALLIED ARMIES THRUST SEVERAL MILES INLAND

FIRST PHOTO OF ALLIED INVASION OF NAZI EUROPE
Today's Pictures Today by AP Wirephoto

BEACHHEADS SECURED IN NORMANDY, SHORE OPPOSITION SMASHED
Eisenhower Directs Naval Landings Made Under Air Umbrella; General Montgomery Is Commanding Ground Forces

By WEN GILLGHERN
Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force, June 6, (AP)—The Allies landed in the Normandy section of northwest France early today and by evening had smashed their way inland on a broad front, making good a gigantic air and sea invasion against unexpectedly slight German opposition.

Prime Minister Churchill said the invasion was a "very, very small" operation, but that it was a "very, very small" operation, and that it was a "very, very small" operation.

LEADERS
Here are the men who are leading the Allied invasion of Europe. At top is Kansas' Dwight D. Eisenhower, supreme commander. Next below, Sir Arthur Tedder, air force chief; next, Sir Bernard Montgomery, naval chief; and at bottom, Sir Bernard L. Montgomery, chief of Allied ground forces.

LCT's are loaded with half tracks and other armored vehicles by American troops just before heading for D-Day invasion on the French coast June 6. This is the south section of the invasion. From inland, from England, Lt. Richardson, London, Lt. Richardson, London, Lt. Richardson, London, Lt. Richardson, London.

Americans anxiously awaited news of the D-Day invasion. While radios carried news bulletins, Wichita's newspapers brought out "war extras."

A Day, B Day, nor C Day, but in the last couple of weeks we have learned something of the meaning of D Day. This war has something in common with the obstacle courses which most of you have run. Somewhere along the line there was one obstacle which seemed, in prospect at least, more formidable than all of the rest. If you could only make it, the course would not be finished, but you were sure that all of the remaining obstacles could be overcome and that success would be yours. In some such frame of mind we have all approached D Day. We had not recovered from the thrill of the fall of Rome when it happened. It seemed appropriate that one paragraph of this letter should be written upon D Day, so on the afternoon of that day the following was set down in my note book:

"Our phone rang very early this morning. One of the neighbor kids had called to say that the invasion had begun! The muscles in our stomachs and throats tightened and the color must have gone from our faces. It was as if an anxiously awaited but long overdue train had finally pulled into the station. There were no cheers. We went through the motion of dressing without speaking. We were seriously occupied with our own thoughts, listening as if it were, to the voices of our own hearts. We turned on the radio and gathered around the newspaper. News commentators spoke with unveiled excitement in their voices and the headlines screamed the great news. Breakfast was automatically spread upon the table, and we were not aware of having tasted our food. We expressed to each other the hope that it would

not be long, and we named the names of those who make this invasion in particular and this war wherever it is being fought such a personal matter to us. CLIFF BOWMAN, BILL CHAPMAN, SLAYTON ERMEY, EUGENE LOYD, HOWARD RANGLES, BOB TANNER, FLOYD THOMPSON, and CARL WRISTEN all in England, and BRUCE MCVEY, BILL MIERAU, and WALT TROMBOLD, probably in England. JUDD RAMSEY in Africa, BILL MILLER, JOHN VOSBURGH, and DICK WELLMAN in Italy. And LEE CARTER, DICK CLAUSING, FERD EVANS, JACK KING, LESLIE KING (P. W. [prisoner of war] in Japan), J. L. LELAND, PHIL MCVEY, BOB RICHEY, MARSHALL ROSS, and OLIN STOVER all in the Pacific or in some other foreign theater of war."²¹

Now that D Day has passed we all read with tempered hope the opinions of those in high places that the war is not over but that the end is in sight. Prudent appraisal of the facts would seem to lead to the conclusion that there is still much to be done both at home and abroad. Wichita, like most other communities, has settled into the grind of production with all of the sparks which fly from an inflated payroll. The 5th War Loan Drive is well on its way with fine prospects for success in Sedgwick County. The State Semi-pro Baseball Tournament is coming up with many Camp and Base and War Plant teams entered. A great deal of oratory is coming out of Chicago.²² This one very encouraging thing has been brought out there. At a time when the New Deal is being subjected to every possible criticism, both real and imaginary, not one word of criticism has been spoken regarding the conduct of the war by our military leaders and not one bit of comfort can the enemy get from the war aims of either political party. If you are inclined to feel that the present election has no place in our national life at this time, it might be well to remember that the

essentials of freedom and liberty are being preserved at home in spite of the war and that an election at its regularly constituted time is a part of the price which must be paid for something which every American must hold very dear and which can be found no place else in the world.

NEWELLETTER NUMBER TWENTY NINE

July, 1944

Dear Gang:

Last Sunday morning the Newell Class met for one of those memorable Sunday morning breakfasts in Linwood Park. There was a good crowd around the breakfast table - a bit long on the feminine side to be sure, but it is impossible to get together upon such an occasion without feeling that those of you who are away are included. We had fried potatoes, bacon, scrambled eggs, oranges, and coffee. Ed Means, Bill Wright and Emil Sabacky were the Boy Scouts. Ray Grout coached at third while Elizabeth Nickell, Myrtle Brady, Florence Sabacky, Christena Conrad, Marie Hoag, and Laura Miller did the heavy work with the skillets. Peggy Bayless led the singing, Willa read a handful of most interesting letters from all over, and Nida Ella told us a very beautiful and very appropriate story about Aunt Jane and her flower garden and her flowers from Bertha Damon's SENSE OF HUMOR.²³ And as she spoke it came to us all once more how like a many faceted jewel is life. Most of us keep one or two little corners polished while others make life sparkle with a whole galaxy of interests. From the letters which come to us from everywhere we know that there is no course of training too severe, no outpost too dull, and no foxhole too miserable to keep many of you from thinking and planning upon certain projects which even in adversity add zest to life. If we are sometimes awed by the scope of the interests of our friends and acquaintances, it is also true that many of us are chagrined by the tiny area and the shallow depth of the little circle within which we do our own living.

Take this matter of flowers, for instance. Within reach of everyone is an inexhaustible source of enjoyment and satisfaction both for the senses and for the Soul. For every person who dares to love flowers, there

21. Cliff Bowman (1912-) is a retired purchasing agent for the Wichita public schools. Eugene Loyd (1910-) is a retired insurance agent in Denver. Howard Rangles (1913-) is a retired accountant in Carmichael, California. Floyd Thompson (1917-1988) was retired from civil service in Phoenix. Judd Ramsey (1918-) is retired from Cessna Aircraft in Wichita. Ferd Evans (1919-) is a retired attorney in Wichita. J. L. Leland (1915-1971) was a Wichita police detective. Phil McVey (1921-) is a retired University of Nebraska professor of business and marketing in Lincoln. Marshall Ross (1909-) is retired from the Hawaii agriculture and customs department in Honolulu. Leslie King (1913-1944) was captured by the Japanese in the Philippines; while being taken to Japan as a prisoner of war, the ship he was on was sunk in an air attack.

22. Carpenter refers here to the Republican national convention. Writes James MacGregor Burns, "It was a dull convention, enlivened only by [Thomas E.] Dewey's choice of John W. Bricker, the popular, wavy-haired Governor of Ohio, as his running mate.... And when Dewey, in his acceptance speech, lambasted the Democrats for having grown old and tired and stubborn and quarrelsome in office, he made clear the grounds on which he would carry the attack to the Roosevelt administration."

23. Bill Wright (1919-) is retired from Boeing in Borrego Springs, California. Ray Grout (1907-1979) was a retired bookkeeper in Hutchinson. Elizabeth Nickell (1915-) is retired from J. P. Weigand in Wichita. Myrtle Brady (1910-1977) was a housewife in Denver. Christena Conrad Watkins (1906-) is retired from Santa Fe Trailways in Wichita. Marie Hoag Denny (1905-) is a housewife in Golden, Missouri. Laura Miller (1907-) is a retired credit manager and a member of First Presbyterian Church. Peggy Bayless (1911-) is retired from Wichita State University and is a member of First Presbyterian Church. No information on the whereabouts of Emil and Florence Sabacky was found.



are thousands who, like Ferdinand the Bull, are content to sit and smell. Those of us who choose to thus impoverish our lives make no secret of our shortcoming. We could not hide it if we would. My own lack of enthusiasm for gardening and flowers is easily explained by that relatively new and very expensive branch of the Medical Science which has to do with allergies. While yet a small boy it was observed that my system reacted unfavorably to spades, hoes, rakes and lawnmowers. Blisters would form upon my hands, my muscles would ache, and an almost uncontrollable desire for the Old Swimming Hole would develop. After years of carefully avoiding certain garden tools my good wife sums it all up in the simple but cruel statement, "You are just allergic to work!" At any rate, it is possible that there are others who have allowed at least one little facet upon the jewel of life to grow dim with neglect because of the spectre of spades and hoes and spraying equipment which haunts every rose bud and every chrysanthemum.

Even through the eyes of a Ferdinand, Wichita is more colorful than usual for the middle of July. The lawns have been kept green by the frequent summer showers. Every school boy who is big enough to push a lawnmower is able to earn all of the pocket money that he needs with a good share left over for War Saving Stamps. The days have been mild and there have been almost none of those searing hot winds for which Kansas is famous in the Summer. This is Petunia season. There is a flower which thrives in our climate. It seems to have no enemies, it requires little water, and very little care and what a splash of color is returned upon such a small investment. The roses are resting. The Cosmos and Phlox are rampant and the Fall bloomers are getting ready to do their stuff. The Victory gardens are producing beans, and tomatoes, and corn, and the mellons in the markets are just beginning to get good.

Baseball is in the air in Wichita. They say that Lawrence Stadium has never been in such perfect condition. The carpet was soft and green and smooth with never a bad hop in the lot. Service teams and Industrial teams make up the long list of contestants. With the Tournament at the half way point the Coleman Lamp Rangers, Ft. Riley CRTC, Pratt AAF, and the Cessna Bobcats are still undefeated. The Soft Ball League is in the midst of a Tournament too. One cannot watch the Soft Ball games without having brought to mind the words of a song which was popular for a few days. "Either too young or too old." The D & A Sporting Goods team has a second sacker who has made an impression upon me because of his shape. Don says that there is something about him which reminds him of his Dad. He wears his shirt tail out for the simple

reason that the circumference of a circle is more than three times greater than the diameter and there is simply not cloth enough to make the bend. In fact, his uniform looks so much like a maternity smock that one is in constant fear that his work at second will be too strenuous for him.

And now, how shall I tell you about Johnny Vosburgh? There is no place in a letter where this little paragraph can be slipped in easily. Johnny was killed in action in Italy on June the 11th.²⁴ He had already been decorated twice for gallantry in action. The particulars of this last action in which he was engaged are not yet known. We have been telling ourselves all along that this is war. We have schooled ourselves too in the knowledge of the price which must be paid. These things which we have known do account for that which has happened, but they do not in any way lighten the loss nor detract from the heartsickness which we all feel. July 9th the Newell Class dedicated a short but very impressive Devotional Service to John. Myrtle sounded Taps, Buck made a simple friendly statement of the facts, and this was our prayer:

Merciful and Patient Father of Mankind, we come to Thee in deep Humility. We are awed and perplexed, in these dark days, by the mysterious workings of Thy Spirit among the willful Peoples, Nations, and Men and Women of the world.

We lived yesterday in the confident hope that all of our number, even those upon the field of battle, were safe. Today we know that in Thine own Goodness a uniform of khaki and a helmet of steel have been exchanged for the unseeable yet real and eternal trappings of the Spirit.

We say that we are perplexed - and yet, in our hearts, we are not perplexed. We have sinned. And like Cain of old we cannot hide from Thee. We have sinned in that we have not learned to live in Peace. We are ashamed when we survey the Material and Spiritual resources which Thou hast placed in our hands for the good of all mankind. Yes, we are ashamed when we behold how we have misused Thy bounties, even for our own destruction.

We earnestly pray for forgiveness. We pray knowing full well that forgiveness is not enough. We do know right from wrong. We are not ignorant of Thy Will, but in our folly we have tried to solve our problems in our own crude and sinful way. In Thy Mercy forgive; and in Thy Goodness grant to us the courage to walk in a new path - Thy Path - the Path of Godliness and Peace.

24. Carpenter states that of all the paragraphs, this was the most difficult to write. Vosburgh was sitting outside a trench cleaning his gun. He was in no apparent danger; the Germans were shelling behind him. A shell fell short, however, killing him instantly.

IT'S TEAMWORK THAT DOES IT



The 5th War Loan starts next week!

WHEREVER your invasion forces are fighting—at sea, in the air, on the ground—they're working together for victory. They know that they must depend on each other, for only by coordinated teamwork will they win through to final victory in the earliest possible time.

The Fifth War Loan starts next week. It's going to take teamwork—a lot of it—to put this drive over the top. For we've got a job to do. As the tempo of invasion rises every one of us must mobilize for support of our fighting men.

In every city, town and hamlet men and women like your-

self, have banded together as war bond Volunteer Workers, giving their time to taking your subscriptions for bonds. Support them. Give them the kind of teamwork our boys are giving to each other on the fighting fronts!

When your Volunteer Worker calls, double your war bond subscription. It's their job to help raise \$6 billions of money for victory during this Fifth drive, \$6 billions from individuals like yourself.

Make up your mind to welcome your Victory Volunteer with a friendly smile and an open checkbook—remembering that it's teamwork that does it!



Back the Attack!—BUY MORE THAN BEFORE!

HERE'S WHAT UNCLE SAM OFFERS YOU IN THE FIFTH WAR LOAN

The "basket" of securities to be sold under the direction of the State War Finance Committee during the Fifth War Loan consists of eight individual issues.

These issues are designed to fit the investment needs of every person with money to invest.

THE OFFERING INCLUDES:

- * Series E, F and G Savings Bonds
- * Series C Savings Notes
- * 2 1/2% Bonds of 1942-46
- * 3% Bonds of 1942-46
- * 3 1/2% Notes, Series B — 1947
- * 5% Certificate of Indebtedness



This Space Contributed by an American Concern That Is Vitaly Interested in the Welfare of the People of Wichita and That Believes in the Preservation of the American Way of Life.

While D-Day signaled a turning point in the war, the American public was reminded that much still had to be done and that teamwork was required.

We are so entangled in the threads of our own mistakes that we hardly know for what we should pray. We dare to pray for Victory. Deliver us from the temptation to place our faith in the might of arms alone or in the schemes of men who look only into their own shallow minds for Wisdom. Let the Victory for which we pray be the bending of the hearts of all men everywhere to Thy Will and may there be Peace at last upon Thy Good Earth. May it be for no shabby mockery of Peace that John and an innumerable host of his buddies have paid with their very lives.

In Thy Tender Goodness comfort the aching hearts of those who love John best. May we who are his friends be worthy of his love, for greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.

NEWELLETTER NUMBER THIRTY

August, 1944

Dear Gang:

Your August letter is being written from Bachelor's Quarters on Pinecrest. Mrs. Carpenter has taken Mary

Ann and Don to visit their grandparents for a couple of weeks before school begins. Due to the insatiable appetite of the war machinery for oil and due to the real and imaginary hazards of travel, Boots (our cocker with the white feet) and her master are keeping house at Two Forty. We find that we have become so used to the pleasant and comfortable confusion of normal home life that we can truthfully say that there is nothing to this living alone and liking it business. Of course, we make our boasts about doing exactly as we please and about having just what we want to eat and we crow loudly about how nice the neighbors are to us. The neighbors are very kind, but there are problems in our lonely lives which even they cannot solve. Boots wanders through the house looking hopefully in every room. She cannot understand why there is no Mary Ann to make a fuss over her and why there is no Don to romp and play. She wonders where the table scraps have gone and why she has to be shut up all day long. When she sits up and begs for bites of cookie she looks to me for the answers



A steady schedule of games between ball teams from the war industry plants and military camps kept spectators coming to Wichita's Lawrence Stadium for the state and national semi-pro tournaments of the National Baseball Congress.

to these doggoned riddles and I, being so much wiser than she, can only rub her head sympathetically and say, "Boots, it's a dog's life. That's all!"

The back porch strategist has no easy time of it these days. He locates the towns of St. Lo and Le Mans on his map only to be told that the war has moved on to Versailles and Paris and Toyes. He is able to locate Saipan only to learn that the battle for Guam has already been won. He allows himself to hope that the war will soon be over only to have some smart news analyst paint the picture in terms of battles yet to be fought and miles yet to be covered. Naturally your home folks are talking about the battles which you have already fought and won and they are talking too about Victory and about your homecoming. Only a few short days ago a Beacon news butch was yelling, "Ho lookie, A REAL EXTRA!" Southern France had been invaded. Considering the kind of a war which you are carrying to the enemy everywhere these days, the Beacon could put out a REAL EXTRA every day. The folks on the buses are saying, "It won't be long now!" We have not dared to guess how long it will be. This one thing we still do know. You are getting the job done. And how!

It is not easy to sketch the home scene for August 1944. Together with most of the rest of the nation, Wichita sweltered under several weeks of good old fashioned Summer weather. The last few days have brought cool rains so that there is a suggestion of fall in this cool clear snappy afternoon. The National Semi-Pro Baseball Tournament is entering the final rounds. Many service teams have been entered and they have brought with them a liberal sprinkling of big names from Major Leagues. The pitching has been especially fine. The scores have been unusually and consistently close. A good example was last night's game between the Cessna Bobcats and Camp Sherman which went to thirteen innings and ended three to seven in favor of Camp Sherman. Some folks are beginning to worry about the fate of the aviation industry after the war is over. A few are reported to be scurrying to the haven of what they hope will be peace time jobs. More veterans are beginning to appear - mostly those who have been wounded and are on sick leave. Several of the boys are already home from Saipan. The other night I was awakened in the middle of the night by one of the sounds of battle which you who are in the thick of things may never have heard. It was the distressing sound of a woman crying as if her heart was broken. A dim light was shining from the corner room of a neighbor's house. I thought of the service flag hanging in the front window and I could easily guess what had happened. Sleep did not come easily for the rest of the

night. My guess was right. That is a bit of the varied scene in Wichita as we go into the home stretch in this War.

You may know from some of the letters which you have received that your so called teacher has been taking a vacation. Like many of his listeners, this so called teacher has often wondered just how he happened to be a part of such a marvelous group of really fine young men and women. He has never felt like a Sunday School Teacher should feel, in that all of the traditional virtues seem to be lacking. Take, for instance, the matter of preparation - certainly by the end of the week the lesson should be fully prepared. Not so with your teacher. That task is always put off until the last minute. Saturday afternoon when there is the grass to mow, the cellar steps to be painted, and Don should be taken on a hike or to some fishing stream (he sez) there is always that Sunday School Lesson. This July and August vacation has been granted so that I might have the wreckless pleasure of squandering a few Saturday afternoons. There was also the hope among the officers of the class that the well which threatens each week to run dry might fill up a bit with fresh material. This hope, sad to relate, has not been realized. Finally, it is good for the class to see new faces before them and to hear new voices and to get new approaches to the great Art of Christian Living to which we all aspire. I am sure that this little vacation has been to the NEWELL CLASS like a breath of cool fresh air on a hot Summer day. Even blessings must have an end, so next Sunday we shall be back to work again. Each Sunday, as is our custom in these war times, we shall gather around the bulletin board where we have the pictures which you have so kindly helped us to get. There we shall exchange news and comment upon your experiences and from that symphony of friendship there goes up a mighty prayer for speedy victory and for your safe return.

NEWELLETTER NUMBER THIRTY ONE

September, 1944

Dear Gang:

This letter has been postponed a couple of times by a combination of circumstances which sometimes confront a Geologist to make his work both worrisome and interesting. We have been working upon a wildcat well near the town of Stafford, which has all of the earmarks of a pool opener. We have found the producing horizon and from the drill cuttings we know that it carries oil. The customary completion technique has been used and there is no oil. For ten days we have been trying this and that procedure in the hope that we can solve the problem. This letter is being written in the field while awaiting the results of another experiment.



My private opinion is that our trouble is in the weather. In order to be absolutely sure of a well one must hit the producing formation when the mud is ankle deep; it must be three thirty on Sunday morning, and it must be raining a cold drenching rain which soaks and chills one thru and thru. We have been having perfect Indian Summer. The days have been bright and warm and the nights have been clear and just cool enough to make a person pull the zipper on a nice warm jacket. The farmers on all sides have been drilling their wheat. And in that connection comes an observation upon Human Nature. The farmer who owns the land upon which we have been drilling is putting in his wheat too. If we are successful in our venture, he will be richer by a good many thousands of dollars. And yet, all day long he rides that tractor back and forth across the plowed field with hardly a glance in the direction of the drilling well. When the chores are finished in the evening he comes around for a few minutes to see how we are getting along. If it were my land I'm afraid that my wheat planting would be neglected for a few days. Maybe that explains why he is a successful farmer and why I am in the oil business.

It is a bold stroke for a partisan like myself to write about the political situation. However, it is so much a part of life these days that it should be mentioned. It must be evident even to our enemies that the campaign and its outcome are to have no effect upon our determination to achieve a speedy victory. All true Americans regardless of party are devoted to that task. We do have some unamerican forces at work which have never been felt politically before. They have so thoroughly infiltrated our national life that it will take more than an election to rid ourselves of them if we ever do. It is going to require intelligent and relentless resistance upon the part of every person who dreams of having a business of his own whether it be farm or factory, large or small, or whether he plans to be an employer or an employee.²⁵ So far, [Thomas] Dewey has used the vigorous attack in his campaign. He resembles a well trained and hard hitting boxer in the ring. Roosevelt looks like the perennial defending Champion who is still plenty fast on his feet and whose bag is still well filled with tricks. The crowd seems to be pretty well divided with most of the cheering for the Champ coming from the cheaper

seats and the cheering for the challenger coming from the front rows. You will see nothing like it on the other side of either ocean and it is a safe bet that you will see nothing for which you would be willing to trade it.

The Army brought its Shot From The Skies show to the East High grounds to remind us that there is another Bond Drive on the way. My father took me to a similar show during the first World War. It was quite a thrill to see the German "crates" hung from the ceiling with wires, the helmets, the guns big and small, and the German uniforms. This time it was Don who was thrilled by the Messerschmitts, the Junkers, and the Zeros. As for me, the years have dulled that part of my emotional machinery. Two pictures came to my mind as we walked among the exhibits. The first was a picture of similar shows in Tokio and Berlin featuring B-17's, B-29's, American guns, helmets, and uniforms. (Perhaps the Berlin show will be closed by the time you read this.) The second was the picture of those same East High grounds with its soft ball diamonds and you who read this letter playing there. V-Day will indeed be a great day. May it come soon.

As you probably know from other communications our church is coming of age. Next year she will celebrate her seventy-fifth anniversary. The passing of this important milestone in the life of our beautiful and beloved church is an opportunity for appropriate celebration. Elaborate plans are being made for this great Diamond Jubilee. It is fitting that a part of that celebration should take the form of a suitable gift. Since the jewels which have adorned our church have always been her missionary enterprises it was natural that the thoughts of our officers should turn first in that direction. We therefore plan to give a fully equipped maternity ward to the Embudo Presbyterian Hospital in Northern New Mexico. This gift is also to be a memorial to Mrs. Mortimer Preston who was an outstanding missionary leader in the church for many years. As a second part of the gift we plan to raise funds for a new organ to replace our present instrument which has served faithfully for more than thirty years and which now appears to be on its last legs. One of our lesser poets who confines his efforts to the field of non-sacred literature has put it this way:

Seated one day at the organ,
Which was weary and ill at ease,
The organist tried for an amen
But all that he got was a wheeze.
The music, they say, was by Haydn
Who possesses soul moving power
But the notes which came from the organ
Were uncertain, anemic, and sour.

25. Carpenter is a Republican. (In fact, he was a candidate for lieutenant governor in the 1948 primary.) He refers here to the controls on prices and wages imposed by the Office of Price Administration. He believed that it would be many years before they were ended, if ever. History of course proved him wrong. Looking back over the years, he acknowledges that Roosevelt's place in history as a great President is secure, and he states that F.D.R. "did what he had to do."



When captured German artillery went on display in Wichita, Carpenter recalled that when he was a young boy during the First World War, he had been taken to a similar event by his father.

The bellows which these many years
Had filled each pipe with its breeze
Must be worked with the organist's hands and feet
While he plays the stops with his knees.
So we're giving the Church a new organ
For her Diamond Jubilee
And the funds for buying the same
Must come from you and from me.
So send us your stamps and your War Bonds
Neglect not the nickles and dimes
For one of these days the organ will blow
And all we'll have left is the chimes.²⁶

NEWELLETTER NUMBER THIRTY TWO

October, 1944

Dear Gang:

These paragraphs have, since their beginning, been written to bring to you a sketch of a few of the things

26. The new pipe organ was installed in 1947 and rebuilt in 1987.

which are a part of the Old Home Town. It is possible that this letter may come to someone whose present home is a foxhole - someone who is cold and wet and uncomfortable and whose nearest prospect for food is that substitute for a repast universally cursed as K-rations. At the risk of causing such an hero to tear his hair and gnash his teeth, I want to tell you how Dillon's Market at Douglas and Oliver declares the season of the year with all of the accuracy of the Almanac which Dr. Screwball used to give away for free with each two ounce bottle of his Remarkable Rheumatism Remover.

We have just returned from a cooperative shopping expedition in which my chief function was to carry the groceries to the car. I did observe that the folks who buy the groceries are an interesting lot at this time of the year. There are the kids who dash in for one of two items and then wait impatiently, first on one leg and then on the other, as they are detained by the line which forms before the cash register. There are the men shoppers

who always carry little white slips of paper to remind them of the things which they are to buy. Then there are the ladies, bless 'em, who wear some of the darndest uniforms for grocery shopping and who go about the business of ferreting out the best buys like a hound on the scent. There has been a noticeable change in the costumes of the feminine shoppers. Slacks and sweaters now cover the variety of odd shapes which shorts and halters of summer so ruthlessly exposed.

The staples which line the shelves, canned vegetables, canned fruit, coffee, crackers, and bread have no mark of the season upon them. It is at the bakery counter that one gets the first hint. There are dozens of doughnuts, and stacks of fruitcakes in suggestive cellophane wrappings. There are no customers at the cold meat counter. Warmly clad ladies, ration books in hand, speculate upon the relative culinary merits of chicken, duck, (no turkey), thin steaks, hamburger, or pork chops. One season conscious shopper takes a dozen weiners, another takes a brick of chili. It is in the vegetable and fresh fruit department that the season makes its most colorful impression. There are bushels of red Jonathan and Delicious apples, green squash split in two to show the yellow meat, great cool pods of reddish grapes, and there are turnips and parsnips and sweet potatoes. There are pecans from Oklahoma and oranges and grapefruit from the Valley. One table is covered with light brown jugs of freshly pressed cider. On another table there are bright yellow pumpkins of all shapes and sizes. We stopped at the pumpkin table, each thinking the same thought. One of us chose a fat little pumpkin, the other selected one which was not too slender but tall. Come next Tuesday night, the neighborhood dogs will bark when they see the flickering light of two hideous pumpkin faces shining from our window. And that is the time of the year it is in Wichita according to Dillon's Market at Douglas and Oliver.

It is a very even keeled man or woman who can keep from shipping a little water these days. The news broadcasters are at a loss to describe adequately the action which is taking place upon all fronts. The European fronts are the fronts of anticipation just now. We know that big things will take place there soon. All of those who are in a position to know are enlarging upon the disastrous results to Japan of our great Naval Victory in the Pacific, a Victory which in no way detracts from the Army's big invasion of the Philippines.²⁷ Each successful operation brings us just one step nearer to

27. Carpenter refers here to the Japanese defeat in the Battle of Leyte Gulf, the greatest naval confrontation of the war, which cleared the way for the U.S. occupation of the Philippines.

Total Victory. The political pot is boiling slightly more violently than the proverbial "merrily." The contenders are slugging it out with horse shoes in their gloves. The voters seem to be about evenly divided in their desires and we are all quite anxious to have the election over with so that the ether waves can be fumigated and our minds and the minds of those in high places can turn again full time to the job of winning the war.

A couple of weeks ago the War Department sent to Slayton Erme's wife²⁸ one of those ominous telegrams to the effect that he had been seriously wounded. Word from Slayton himself is that he was hit in the leg by shrapnel and that he has been evacuated to England where he is in a hospital. He is being treated in one of those bonesetter's nightmares with all of the weights and pulleys which are supposed to pull a person together again. We are all sorry. We rejoice in the knowledge that Uncle Sam's doctors will do their job well.

It will be Thanksgiving by the time this letter reaches many of you. It is the time to thank God who is the giver and the maker of all things. It is time to be thankful that God is good. It is time to remember that all of our miseries and our sufferings are of our own making because we are a people who will not seek to discover nor strive to do the Will of God. It may take a long time for such a stubborn people to learn. It is time to remember thoughtfully that God does all things slowly and well and that He can wait.

NEWELLETTER NUMBER THIRTY THREE

November, 1944

And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judaea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem; To be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child. And so it was, that while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered.

And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn.

Dear Gang:

Before this reaches you everyone will have finished his Christmas shopping - that is everyone except me. Mine will be finished just before the Kress store closes its doors on the night of December 24th. Since most of my waking hours between now and the night before Christmas are to be spent in trying to decide what not to buy for whom, you may as well forget for a few moments the unpleasantness of war and come skate with me upon the thin ice of pre-Christmas indecision.

28. Alice Erme (1917-1988) was a housewife.

Many of you are laboring under the impression that it is a very simple matter to choose and buy an acceptable gift for one's wife. The rest of you are married. There are several well trodden approaches to the problem. The first might be called the hunt for the hint. All wife to husband conversations about this time of year are carefully decoded to see whether the frequent recurrences of such words as grand piano, fur coat, amethyst brooch, pearl necklace, and similar names of trinkets might add up to a cleverly concealed but unsuppressed desire. Very often a certain manner of speaking, a strange light in the eyes, a well aimed glance, or an eloquent gesture may be the clue to some little thing which is just the thing for a Christmas gift.

If not the slightest trace of a hint can be found it then becomes necessary to submit to that repulsive form of intrusion upon personal privacy which is politely called advertising. Picture if you can that vacant lot on the way to town where one is confronted by a gigantic Santa Claus who dangles a leather suitcase, completely fitted for post-war travel, between his thumb and forefinger as he shouts in loud colors to passers by from the flat face of the billboard. The evening papers devote a modest space to world shaking events while they devote full pages to picturing the wares of worried shopkeepers. The radio is turned on for a bit of soothing music and it fairly drips as a quavering voice from the great beyond urges the male listener to buy heavenly diamonds for his beloved this Christmas at nothing down and a lifetime to pay. Then if one really asks for it, there is that mild form of desperation known as window gawking (sometimes spelled with an s, an h, an o, two ps, an i, an n, and a g). The bewildered one takes a receptive position in front of a piece of plate glass about the size of a barn door. He grasps his pocketbook firmly in one hand while with the other he massages his head as one perplexed. There almost hidden by the stiff form of a sad faced manikin he sees a spun glass dressing table with slenderizing and face lifting mirror, built in radar eyebrow plucker, and spray gun for applying lipstick and face rouge. Through another window may be seen a delightful combination table cloth, riveter's coverall, and evening gown made from flexible plywood with fast colors. Still another window displays upon a remnant of red velvet the 1945 model Amazon hand bag with double length shoulder strap, made from hand tooled elephant hide, and large enough to be fitted with a frozen foods locker and a completely equipped powder room.

It may be that we shall come finally to the state of violent desperation. It becomes necessary then to venture into the teeming marketplace. We step cautiously into the revolving door. At the end of the sixth round we

stagger dizzily into a crowd of people who are pushing and pulling and shouting at each other as they play ring around the rosy. When they finally stop turning we discover that we have been deposited in the Notions Department of a Christmas Shopper's Paradise. Here certainly, if anyplace, a husband should expect to find sympathy and understanding in his search for the ideal gift. But the Notions Department is manned by tough looking beings who have been especially trained in the art of not selling Christmas Gifts. One of the antisales personnel apparently deeply hurt at the prospect of a customer, approaches with fists clenched and that now-don't-you-wish-you-had-stayed-out-of-my-department look in her eye. In full retreat we dash into the Hosiery Department where all hands are thrown into a panic by the sudden appearance of a runner. In the confusion one of the ladies, if such she can be called, gives a customer a sock and another remarks, "Now there is a fine heel for you." We know a hint when we hear one; and eluding the store detective we steal stealthily up one aisle and down another until we are trapped at last in that Christmas Chamber of Horrors the You-don't-dare-mention-a-word-of-it-to-anybody Department. The atmosphere is charged with a sweet smelling gas designed to break down masculine sales resistance. Here and there plaster busts and torsos are draped with bits of bright colored mosquito netting. In spite of the large neon sign which keeps blinking in large red letters, "Men, if you are uncomfortable at home, please be uncomfortable here. We want you to feel at home." We feel unsure of ourselves and like strangers in a strange land. At that moment we are put at ease by a sweet and beautiful young thing who knows how to help men with their Christmas shopping. Smiling her way toward us thru the embarrassment she begins innocently, "Would you care to see something in negligee?" She must think that we are saying yes as our mouths drop open in astonishment or anticipation. Like the well trained sales lady which she is she continues, "Now, if you wolves will just step into this little room." As she speaks she urges us on at the point of a freshly sharpened bassinet. We step hopefully into the room. The door slides shut. Our stomachs tingle. The operator monotones with a slightly falling inflection, "Second floor, draperies and kitchen furnishings. Mezzanine, boys' clothing. Main floor, everybody out! Merry Christmas!"

To come now to a serious thought about The Birthday of the King - a thought suggested by the passage which opens this letter. Christmas through the centuries has wrapped herself in a colorful array of outer garments consisting of those wonderful embellishments which we all love. Our hearts are warmed by the



Photographs of First Presbyterian Church members in military service were displayed on a bulletin board in the church and later were gathered into scrapbooks. Those scrapbooks and the letters written to Carpenter by Newelletter recipients are now in the archives of the First Presbyterian Church of Wichita.

tinsel, the holly, the gifts in their beautiful wrappings, the candles, the blazing logs in the fireplace and our own folks gathered at home. These are the things which we have unthinkingly called Christmas. This year many of our loved ones and our friends are to have a Christmas stripped of its candles, its holly, and of good fellowship. We are reminded of that first Christmas which was not celebrated at home around a groaning dinner table, but in the cold stall of a barn. There They were surrounded by the Heavenly Hosts and the Soul satisfying manifestations of the Spirit. Consider this Christmas the imperishable and eternal bounties of that Holy Day; the reassurance of God's very presence in His universe; the renewal of Man's faith in the ultimate triumph of Righteousness, Brotherhood, Good Will, and Peace. This year we are deprived of many of those things which we have called Christmas. We shall not complain. Rather, shall we give thanks because our hearts are stirred and warmed by the elemental and true values of a real Christmas.

We continue to add new and strange names to our roster of places made sacred by your efforts, your hardships and your sacrifices. Figuring prominently in the news just now are Metz, Strasbourg, Huertgen forest, Dueren, Bologna, Limon, Ormoc, and Tokyo. Just as your thoughts are turned in our direction by stray bits of well ordered civilian life, an unharmed farm house or the unmolested corner of a garden, our thoughts are turned to you as the winds blow colder, as the sleet falls, and as the roads, which we as civilians can so easily avoid, become wet and muddy. Last Sunday, which was cold and wet and foggy, we asked Bill Miller about the Italian sunshine. He said, "Except for the summer months, this is it. Day after day - wet, and cold, and muddy!" We would like to allow ourselves to feel that the war is drawing rapidly to a close. Your folks at home are certainly not acting as if the war is over. The personal news from the battle front is far too grim for any such behavior. We are grateful for the unvarnished report of those who should know. "The war is going well."

NEWELLETTER NUMBER THIRTY FOUR

December, 1944

Dear Gang:

Christmas at the present writing is still several days away. The streets are alive with scurrying shoppers and the stores are filled with fretful folks who just must find some little thing for Uncle Jim or cousin Judy. The six pale blue bulbs which will still do their stuff are draped cockily throughout our Christmas tree and the presents are still unwrapped underneath. The smellers and the feelers and the shakers have been at their little game of guessing but the gayly wrapped and variously shaped packages still contain their secrets. The radio is bringing into our homes that most beautiful of all music, the Christmas Carols. All of these things are warming our hearts in a very peculiar way. Maybe some of you have been on a drilling rig at this time of year. The little steel shelter just off the rig floor is called a dog house. The door is always kept open so that the cold winds can come in and so that the driller can see how his machinery is behaving. In the middle of the two by twice floor there is a stove which is kept a bright cherry red. These nights anyone who faces the stove for warmth soon discovers that his back is cold and he who backs up to the stove soon discovers that his coat tail is smoking while he freezes in front. We on the home front are all like that just before Christmas in this very eventful year of 1944. As we warm ourselves at our own firesides our hearts on the other side are chilled by the happenings in Europe. Just now we hope that the dawn is beginning to break

The Newelletters

169



William H. "Bill" Chapman



LaVerta C. Schwendker



William E. "Bill" Miller



Edmund L. "Ed" Dorsett



Myron Sayles



Garnet P. Mason

over the night of the blackest week of the war.²⁹ Perhaps we had allowed ourselves to forget the true nature of war; perhaps we had forgotten for a little bit that the path to Victory is not all down grade; perhaps we have even allowed ourselves to forget the true nature of the desperate beast which we are fighting. Perhaps we had allowed ourselves to believe that Victory would come too soon and too cheaply. Now we have been brought to our senses again. We feel much as we felt after Pearl Harbor. We are mad through and through. I know that there is a lot of talk these days about the folks at home feeling and acting as if the war was over. Maybe there are a few folks who are idiots in war or peace but you are fighting for folks like little Danney Plumley who came in to play with Don this afternoon. He is a swell little guy about ten years old and he was telling us all about the approaching Christmas at his house. He said, "Aunt Charlotte will not be eating Christmas dinner with us. She is going to Newton to be with Uncle Don's folks. Uncle Don was killed in action you know."

This fellow John Q. Public ought to have a word said in his defense once in a while because he, among several million others, is the fellow who once filled the uniform which one of these days will hang in your own clothes closet. He really isn't a bad sort in war or in peace. Just now he seems a little dopey at times, mainly because he gets some pretty bum steers. The news is colored to suit

the occasion. If it is to raise money for the War fund the news is of one color, if it is to sell War Bonds it is of another color, and if there is no drive in progress John Q. Public is told those things which every newsman knows that he wants to hear. A few nights ago some of the men on the way to work ran over a coyote. They brought it to the well and clipped his ears for the bounty which the State pays upon coyotes. He had a beautiful tail and it occurred to me that with that tail dangling from his belt Don could be king of the neighborhood gang for a couple of days at least. When he saw what I had brought he was thrilled as only a small boy can be over such things, but he put me on the spot when he said, "Now, Daddy, tell me exactly how you killed him." His eyes sparkled in anticipation, and I could read in them the story which he wanted to hear - how my keen eyes had discovered the beast lurking in the underbrush where less observant men had failed to see him - the long chase up and down hill and over fences - and how he had almost made his escape when I drew a bead and with my trusty rifle dropped him at half a mile with a clean little bullet hole exactly between the eyes. I just couldn't tell a whopper like that. Instead I explained that it was a very old coyote and that he had limped up to me wagging his tail and that he had curled up at my feet and died of old age. Don looked at me and at the tail of the coyote in extreme disgust, and he ran off to show the neighborhood kids and to tell them a better story of his own making. Those who dish out the news these days and John Q. Public are very much like a father who brings home a coyote tail to his boy. KH

29. Carpenter refers here to the Battle of the Bulge, the last German offensive on the western front.

Henry Roe Cloud, A Winnebago Indian Reformer: His Quest for American Indian Higher Education

by Steven J. Crum

IF THERE WAS AN HONOR roll identifying "Who's Who of Indian reform" in early twentieth-century America, Henry Roe Cloud would certainly be included.¹ He was a full-blood Winnebago Indian born in Nebraska in 1884. As a young man Roe Cloud was educated in a number of schools and earned more than one degree, including a bachelor's degree from Yale University in 1910 and a divinity degree in theology from the Auburn Theological Seminary in 1913. This background allowed him to become an ordained Presbyterian minister.² As an Indian leader, educator and reformer, Roe Cloud bridged the gap between two reform periods of early twentieth-century America, the pre-World War I Progressive period and the New Deal period of the 1930s.³

Steven J. Crum received his Ph.D. from the University of Utah and now teaches at California State University, Chico. He is a member of the Western Shoshone Tribe of the Duck Valley Indian Reservation, Nevada. This article, read at the 1988 Western History Association conference in Wichita, was made possible by a 1986 summer fellowship from the Native American Program, Smithsonian Institution.

1. For information about twentieth-century Indian leaders, see: Walter Williams, ed., *Indian Leadership* (Manhattan: Sunflower University Press, 1984); L. G. Moses and Raymond Wilson, *Indian Lives: Essays on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Native American Leaders* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985); R. David Edmunds, ed., *American Indian Leaders: Studies in Diversity* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980). Unfortunately, these sources do not include Henry Roe Cloud.

2. "Department of the Interior Release," January 26, 1932, Kansas State Historical Society (hereafter cited as KSHS). I am indebted to (Anne) Woesha Cloud North, the daughter of Henry Roe Cloud. She provided valuable insight about her father's public life, and I relied upon her paper more than once. See Woesha Cloud North, "Autobiography of a Winnebago-Ojibwa Family," (unpublished paper, Fall 1979, copy in possession of author). I also am indebted to Thomas Sorci, advisor of American Indian students at the Northfield Mount Hermon School in Massachusetts, who took the time to read this study and make comments. Sorci is now working on a full-scale biography of Henry Roe Cloud.

3. For an in-depth study of the Progressive and New Deal reform time periods, see Otis L. Graham, Jr., *An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

Henry Roe Cloud's progressive stance was highly evident in 1911 when the Winnebago reformer and other Indians founded the Society of American Indians (SAI). Its members advocated many reforms in an effort to improve the socio-economic status of the American Indians. One reform pushed by the SAI, especially by Roe Cloud, the organization's vice-president of education in 1915 and 1916, was higher educational opportunities for young American Indians. Roe Cloud considered a college education essential because it was a means of making self-sufficient individuals of Indians. It was a way of helping them to adapt to the white man's world. To him education was the key to American Indian survival in an ever-changing and complex American society.⁴

Roe Cloud's progressive and reformist stance was also evident at the Thirty-Second Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of reformers, held in 1914 in upper New York. In addressing the audience he was critical of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), because it had given Indian students a limited education. Indian boys were taught printmaking and carpentry; girls were taught cooking and sewing. This education, which placed emphasis on vocational subjects and de-emphasized the academic, was equivalent to an eighth-grade education. Roe Cloud maintained that such an education made it impossible for Indian school graduates to pursue higher education. Although he did not recommend that the high school grades be added to the Indian schools run by the BIA, Roe Cloud did assert that at least five

4. Henry Roe Cloud, "Education of the American Indian," *The Southern Workman* 44 (January 1915):15-16. For information about the Society of American Indians, see Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 31-209.



A young Henry Roe Cloud is shown in this 1906 photograph as a senior at Northfield Mount Hermon School in Massachusetts. Four years later he had received a bachelor's degree from Yale University.

hundred Indians should be given the opportunity to attend college.⁵

Actually, even before the establishment of the SAI in 1911 and the annual Lake Mohonk conference in 1914, Roe Cloud already had an Indian education plan in mind. While a student at Yale University in 1908, he united with other individuals, including Dr. Walter C. Roe, a longtime white missionary to the Indian tribes in Oklahoma, and requested that Yale provide funds for the establishment of an Indian high school, or college preparatory school. Roe Cloud and the others had in mind an educational enterprise similar to the "Yale-in-China," the Chinese high school that was supported by Yale University. Such an Indian school, if established, would have the overall purpose of training Indian leaders who could grapple with the religious, economic, and health conditions among the Indians. Additionally,

5. *Report of the Thirty-Second Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and other Dependent Peoples, 1914* (New York: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1914), 85-86. For a general overview of the history of Indian education, see Margaret Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination, 1928-1973* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977).

it would be a "center for Indian research," or a school to study the socio-economic conditions of the Indian tribes.⁶ Unfortunately, Anson Phelps Stokes, the secretary to the president at Yale, rejected their request, asserting that it would not be wise for his university to sponsor additional educational experiments.⁷

It was difficult for Henry Roe Cloud to raise funds to carry out his idea while a student at Yale University. So in the early years, the fund raising efforts were carried out by Walter C. Roe. Before his death in 1913, Roe had collected five thousand dollars for the enterprise. After 1913 the entire effort was taken over by Roe Cloud who had, by this time, completed his own higher education. In September 1915 the Winnebago reformer established the Roe Institute in Wichita, Kansas. Its name, in honor of Walter C. Roe, was later changed to the American Indian Institute (AII). The fact that this school was established represents a watershed in Indian educational history, for it was one of the first all-Indian high schools established in twentieth-century America. Furthermore, it was established at a time when the BIA did not provide high school training for young Indians. In fact, the Indian Bureau did not establish Indian high schools until the 1920s.⁸

One might ask why Henry Roe Cloud selected Wichita, Kansas, as the campus site for his Indian high school. He selected it because Wichita, at least to the Winnebago reformer, was considered to be the most centralized location among the Indians in the United States (roughly ninety-five percent of the Indian population lives west of the Mississippi River). He also selected the midwestern town because it was part of America's farm belt, and Roe Cloud wanted his students to acquire an understanding of agriculture, something that could make Indians self-sufficient. The campus of AII therefore consisted of three hundred acres of agricultural land.⁹

The American Indian Institute was an autonomous institution, having its own full-time staff and faculty who

6. Roe Cloud and others to Stokes, July 17, 1908, MSS. YRG 4-A, Box 23, Administrative Papers, Sterling Library, Yale University. Roe Cloud also wanted to establish a school modeled after the Northfield Mount Hermon School in Massachusetts, a college preparatory school for young men.

7. Roe Cloud, "New Work for Indian Young People," *Women and Missions* 4 (September 1927):209; *Wichita Beacon*, March 25, 1928.

8. Roe Cloud, "From Wigwam to Pulpit" (unpublished paper, American Indian Institute Papers, Presbyterian Historical Society (hereafter cited as AII Papers, PHS), Philadelphia); *Wichita Beacon*, March 25, 1928; "Facts about the American Indian Institute," (Wichita: McCormick-Armstrong Press, n.d.), 1; "American Indian Institute," n.d., chronological sketch of AII, AII Papers, PHS.

9. "Facts about the American Indian Institute," 1; North, "Autobiography of a Winnebago-Ojibwa Family," 6.

Henry Roe Cloud

173

taught high school courses along with instruction in religion and agriculture. Roe Cloud adopted a policy of hiring qualified and educated Indians because of his belief in an Indian "intelligence trained."¹⁰ Three of the AII faculty were Indians: James Ottipoby (Comanche), a graduate of Hope College in Michigan who taught history; Roy Ussery (Cherokee), who taught science; and Robert Starr (Cheyenne-Arapaho), a graduate from Oklahoma State University, who taught agriculture.¹¹ In essence, Roe Cloud had inaugurated a policy of "Indian preference," something that the BIA did not implement until the decade of the 1930s and after.

Although Roe Cloud expressed an interest in the education of Indian females, his school, in existence in an age of the segregation of the sexes, was open only

to Indian males. Six students initially enrolled in the school in 1915. Enrollments gradually increased over the years, reaching an all-time high of forty-six in 1931. The majority of the students came from nearby Oklahoma because this state had the largest Indian population in the early twentieth century. The institute graduated its first student in 1919. The number of graduates always remained low because of the school's small size. Only six received high school diplomas in 1926 and nine graduated in 1932.¹²

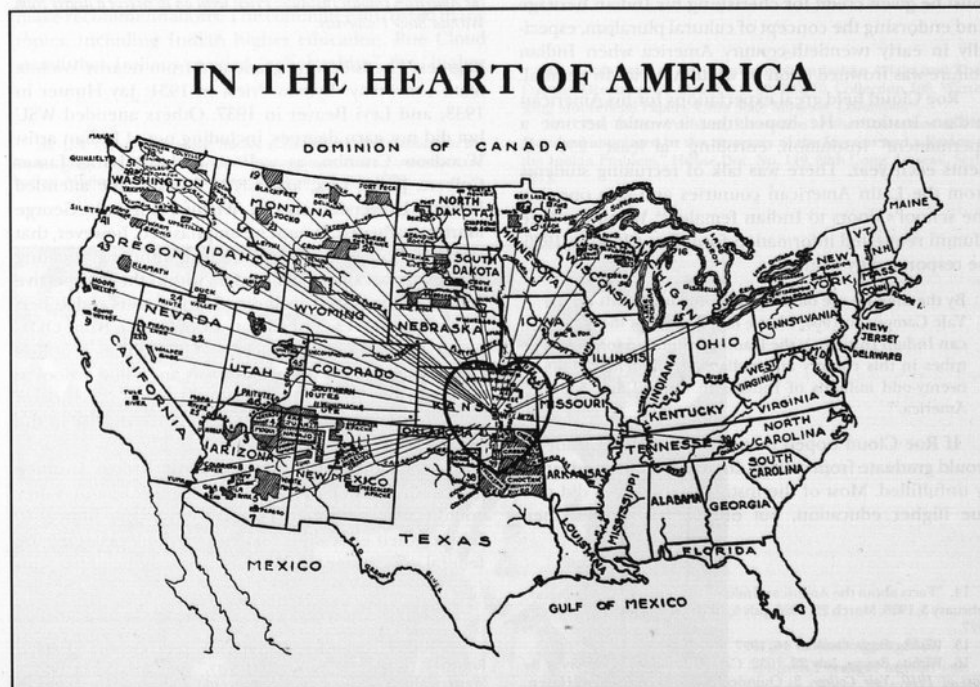
Initially, Roe Cloud insisted that Indian people, including his students, must not depend on the federal government as "wards," a status that had existed since the early nineteenth century.¹³ For this reason he did

10. "Conference of the Society of American Indians," *The Indian Leader* 29 (October 1915):5.

11. *Wichita Beacon*, July 5, 1931, February 3, 1926; "An Indian, An Educator, And a War Veteran," *Indians At Work* 9 (December 1941): 12.

12. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, December 5, 1920, May 21, 1926; *Wichita Eagle*, September 29, 1931; *Wichita Beacon*, March 25, 1928; "Graduating Class 1932 Commencement Exercises," 1932, AII Papers, PHS; "Statistical," *The Chieftain* 1 (1931-32):1.

13. William C. Canby, Jr., *American Indian Law in a Nutshell* (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1981), 15.



In a post-World War I pamphlet published by the American Indian Institute, this map was used to illustrate the school's location in relation to Indian reservations and potential students around the country.

not seek federal subsidies for his school in its earliest years of existence. To keep the AII in operation, Roe Cloud relied on the private sector. Funding for the school, as well as student financial aid, came from numerous sources, including some leading Wichita families, a few wealthy Indians, the Kansas Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), and various church denominations such as the Methodists and Presbyterians.¹⁴

Although Roe Cloud accepted the white man's way-of-life, he remained native at heart and mind, speaking his tribal Winnebago language whenever the opportunity arose. In fact, one objective of his American Indian Institute was "to conserve and perpetuate native Indian arts" and other aspects of Indian culture. He told his students to take "pride in their heritage" and to collect Indian arts and crafts as a means of decorating their dormitory rooms. Roe Cloud and his staff sponsored annual campus Indian "pow-wows," an intertribal festivity consisting of Indian singing, dancing, and the eating of traditional foods.¹⁵ The Winnebago reformer must be given credit for cherishing his Indian heritage and endorsing the concept of cultural pluralism, especially in early twentieth-century America when Indian culture was frowned upon by white America in general.

Roe Cloud held great expectations for his American Indian Institute. He hoped that it would become a "permanent" institution, enrolling "at least" 250 students each year. There was talk of recruiting students from the Latin American countries and also opening the school's doors to Indian females.¹⁶ When the Yale alumni requested information from Roe Cloud in 1926, he responded by writing:

By the time we are old and grey, shaking hands on the Yale Campus in 1960, I hope to tell you that the American Indian Institute is the leading institution for Indian tribes in this country and radiates its influence to the twenty-odd millions of Indians in Central and South America.¹⁷

If Roe Cloud hoped that many of his AII students would graduate from college, his dream remained largely unfulfilled. Most of the institute's graduates did pursue higher education, but only a few earned their



Lyman Priest (left) and Russell Hunter were among the students at the American Indian Institute; Priest went on to receive a degree from Wichita State University.

degrees. The following graduated from nearby Wichita State University: Lyman Priest in 1931; Jay Hunter in 1933; and Levi Beaver in 1937. Others attended WSU but did not earn degrees, including noted Indian artist Woodrow Crumbo, as well as Richard Long, James Colbert, James Cox, and Clyde Davis. Some attended Friends University, also in Wichita, but only George Martin graduated. It must be emphasized, however, that many of those who attended college without graduating eventually became tribal leaders within their respective Indian communities, including Harry Coons and Robert Chaat.¹⁸ In the case of Chaat, a Comanche from Oklahoma, he attributed his success to his education at Roe Cloud's school: "It was while I was attending school at the American Indian Institute that I first got a vision of the great need and had a desire to give my life to the service of my own race."¹⁹

The major reason for American Indian Institute graduates not obtaining college degrees was that they could not muster enough funds from private sources to finance their education. Some of the students urged the federal government to provide them scholarships. John

14. "Facts about the American Indian Institute," 8; *Wichita Beacon*, February 3, 1926, March 25, 1928, July 5, 1931; *Wichita Eagle*, October 16, 1927.

15. *Wichita Eagle*, October 16, 1927, May 5, 1933.

16. *Wichita Beacon*, July 22, 1932; Carl A. Lohman, *A History of the Class of 1910, Yale College*, 3, *Quindecennial Record* (New Haven: Published under the Direction of the Class Secretaries Bureau, 1926), 109.

17. Lohman, *A History of the Class of 1910*, 109.

18. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, December 5, 1920, October 11, 1927; Robert P. Chaat, "Educational History," Robert P. Chaat Papers, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma; "The American Indian Institute Bulletin," 1926, AII Papers, PHS; "Lyman Priest," *The Indian Outlook* 9 (January-February 1932):4.

19. Chaat, "Educational History."

Charles (Navajo), a former AII student, testified before a congressional committee, stressing the need for federal support for Indian higher education:

I want to say that there ought to be provisions by the Government to help the Indian youth to continue toward an education in universities and colleges....As I said before, I have tried to go through college but for the lack of funds I could not go on....Unless the Government will help us along the line suggested I do not believe very many of us will be able to go through college.²⁰

In the end, Henry Roe Cloud, who for several years opposed federal financial support for Indian higher education, changed his mind. By the early 1920s he decided that Indian students, whose parents could not provide for their off-springs' education, needed government aid. In 1923, Roe Cloud, because of his prominence as an Indian leader, was asked to serve on the federal Committee of One Hundred. This reform group was organized and selected by Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work to study the "Indian problem" and to make recommendations. The committee discussed many topics, including Indian higher education. Roe Cloud stated that Indians needed "scholarships" for "higher

education."²¹ As a result, in its final report to the secretary of the interior, the committee made one recommendation dealing with higher education: "Furthermore, the Government should, where necessary, provide scholarships for able students who desire further education in high schools and colleges with a view of fitting them for positions of native leadership."²²

Obviously, the brief report produced by Henry Roe Cloud and the other members of the Committee of One Hundred was not taken seriously by public officials, including congressmen. None of its recommendations were carried out, and Hubert Work, Roe Cloud, and others were disappointed. However, Secretary Work was unwilling to give up. In 1926, three years after the 1923 report, he was still eager to publicize the Indians' plight and to deal with the "Indian problem." Work therefore requested that the Institute for Government Research, under the Brookings Institution, a privately run research firm in Washington, D.C., carry out a major investigation of Indian affairs. Lewis Meriam, employed by the

20. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States*, Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, 71st Cong., 3rd sess., 1931, pt. 18, at p. 9700.

21. Conference of Advisory Council on Indian Affairs and Their Friends, December 12-13, 1923, p. 30, Box 70, Collection 106, Warren King Moorehead Papers, Ohio State Museum, Columbus.

22. "The Indian Problem, Resolution of the Committee of One Hundred appointed by the Secretary of the Interior and a Review of the Indian Problem," House Doc. No. 149, 68th Cong. 1st sess., Serial 8273.



When a Washington, D.C., conference brought together one hundred experts on Indian affairs, Roe Cloud (left) was photographed with President Calvin Coolidge.



This 1930 view of the American Indian Institute in Wichita shows the campus looking south.

institute, was appointed to organize and head a ten-member research team in late 1926.²³

The Meriam survey staff included one American Indian, Henry Roe Cloud. He undoubtedly was selected because of his reformist stance and his role as an American educator. While conducting its investigation, the staff placed importance on Indian education. This was a result of Roe Cloud's influence. It was also a result of the fact that seven of the ten members were from the academic community: six were employed as college professors and, of course, Roe Cloud was principal of the American Indian Institute.²⁴

While visiting Indian agencies, reservations, and Indian communities from November 1926 to June 1927, Roe Cloud and the others encouraged young Indians to pursue a higher education. As a case in point, in November 1926, the staff visited the Indian students at the University of Oklahoma. The visit was undoubtedly arranged by team member Edward E. Dale, professor and chair of the university's history department. One observer pointed out that Henry Roe Cloud "impressed up [*sic*] the Indians' minds the value of a university education and urged all those able to take advantage of the opportunities offered them."²⁵ In the same month the team visited the Northern Paiutes living in the Owens Valley region of California. Roe Cloud and Dale encouraged a young local Paiute, William Buff, to attend

the American Indian Institute and then pursue further study at the University of Oklahoma.²⁶

In 1928 the lengthy report written by the Meriam survey staff was published under the title of *The Problem of Indian Administration*. The "Meriam Report," as it is popularly known, covered the broad spectrum of Indian affairs. Owing to Roe Cloud's influence, coverage was given to the subject of higher education. The staff was convinced and provided evidence that the Indian race was intellectually "capable" of being educated at the highest levels: many graduates of Roe Cloud's American Indian Institute had pursued a college education, and there were approximately two hundred Indian students attending the University of Oklahoma. The Meriam staff emphasized in its report that "more and more Indian youth will go on for education of college and university grade" in the years to come. The staff favored this trend and encouraged Indians to pursue it. Yet, they were fully aware that Indian people were poor and could not provide for the education of their children. The staff members therefore recommended that Indian students desiring higher education be provided with federal "scholarships and loans."²⁷

The Meriam survey staff made other recommendations concerning Indian higher education in its published report. The members opposed those reformers who wanted one of the BIA's schools converted into an Indian college or university. Instead, they stressed that all BIA schools remain as high schools, offer Indian students a quality education, and prepare them to enter standard Anglo-American colleges and universities. The staff favored the Indian Bureau's newly established

23. *The Problem of Indian Administration*, Institute for Government Research (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), vii-x, 56-85. For an overview of the Meriam Report, see Donald T. Critchlow, "Lewis Meriam, Expertise, and Indian Reform," *The Historian* 43 (May 1981): 325-44.

24. *Ibid.*; "Indian Commission Visits Indians Attending University of Oklahoma," *The American Indian* (Tulsa, Okla.) 1 (November 1926): 5.

25. "President of the American Indian Institute Speaks to O.U. Students," *The American Indian* (Tulsa, Okla.) 1 (December 1926): 14.

26. Donald L. Parman, ed., "Lewis Meriam's Letters During the Survey of Indian Affairs, 1926-1927 (Part II)," *Arizona and the West* 24 (1982): 345.

27. *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 352-53, 419.

Henry Roe Cloud

177



Henry Roe Cloud and his wife, Elizabeth Bender Roe Cloud, are shown with their daughters Elizabeth Marion, Ramona Clark, Lillian Alberta, and Anne Woesha.

policy of allowing Indian students to stay in the BIA schools while attending nearby colleges. It also recommended that "wealthy Indians," interested non-Indians, private organizations, tribal groups, and colleges and universities provide Indian students with scholarships and loans for higher education. Upon graduating from college, these Indian college graduates could be allowed to work in the BIA system as teachers, doctors, engineers, and other professionals. The staff also recommended that the BIA hire a "guidance and placement specialist" who would collect and disseminate information regarding higher education opportunities for Indian students.²⁸

The Meriam Report staff took a deep interest in the education of Indian females, again because of the influence of Henry Roe Cloud. They identified Indian female students who had expressed an interest in higher education, some of whom were staying in the BIA schools while attending nearby colleges. The staff encouraged this development and specified that "Indian women doctors, nurses, teachers, and social workers with thorough professional training could do more for their people." Knowing that Indian females, like their male counterparts, came from poor families, the staff recommended that they be given financial assistance from the federal government, women's clubs, and private organizations.²⁹ The fact that Indian women were given attention in the Meriam Report is significant because this was the first time in the twentieth century

that a reform group took a major interest in the status of Indian females. In this respect, Henry Roe Cloud's influence was highly evident. And it must be stressed that his four daughters later attended or graduated from college: Elizabeth Marion (Mrs. Edward Hughes) from Wellesley College; Lillian Alberta (Mrs. Leo Freed) attended the University of Kansas for two years; Anne Woesha (Mrs. Robert North) from Vassar College; and Ramona Clark (Mrs. Raleigh Butterfield), also from Vassar.³⁰ Some years later, in 1979, daughter Anne Woesha, who had earned two masters's degrees, including one from Stanford, and a Ph.D. from the University of Nebraska, reminisced on the impact that her father, as well as mother, had upon her life:

My parents wanted their children to have the best education possible for them, and these were the eastern women's colleges which served women, as Yale and Harvard served the men.... I had received the message during my upbringing that I should assume the leadership role for my people. More than that, I should work to "save my race." The roles my parents lived out, their leadership for Native Americans, their examples as Christians, their participation in the Wichita community as exemplary citizens, and their recognition even on the educational efforts.... My personal experiences as a Native American reflect the devotion to education of my parents who were well educated themselves.³¹

The impact of the Meriam Report of 1928 soon became apparent. Beginning in 1929 the Hoover Admin-

28. Ibid., 419-21, 642-43.

29. Ibid., 641-44.

30. *Wichita Eagle*, April 28, 1950; *Sunday Oregonian*, Portland, Ore., August 20, 1944.

31. North, "Autobiography of a Winnebago-Ojibwa Family," 1, 7.

istration, in office from 1929 to early 1933, and deeply influenced by the report, initiated reforms to improve the socio-economic status of the American Indians. Specifically, the administration made Indian educational reform, including opportunities to pursue a college education, a major objective. In 1930, Congress established an annual \$15,000 educational loan fund for Indian college students majoring in "nursing, home economics, forestry," and other disciplines. And in 1932 it established an annual \$15,000 tuition fund to defray their tuition.³²

In addition to the funds for Indian students, the Hoover Administration established a policy of hiring college educated Indians in 1931. One such person was Ruth Muskrat Bronson, an Oklahoma Cherokee who graduated from Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts. She held the position of guidance and placement officer, a position created as a result of the Meriam Report. Her responsibilities were to administer the higher education loan and grant funds for Indian students and to advise these students with respect to their academic goals.³³ With the backing of the Indian Bureau and the Brookings Institution, the same private organization that produced the Meriam Report, Bronson, in October 1931, initiated the first major investigation of Indian higher education. In her report, finished in May 1932, entitled "Survey of the Opportunities for Advanced Education of Promising Indian Youth," she gave detailed information about several Indian schools visited, including Henry Roe Cloud's American Indian Institute. Bronson noted that several AII students possessed deep aspirations of pursuing a higher education. She noted that one "wishes to go to Wichita University," another "would like to go to Bacone," a third "plans to go next year to Oklahoma University," and another student "wishes to go to the College of Emporia or the University of Wichita."³⁴ As already specified, the institute was a preparatory school to encourage and prepare young Indians for college.

Ironically, it was federal support for Indian higher education which contributed to the demise of Henry Roe Cloud's American Indian Institute. In carrying out its policy of hiring educated Indians, the BIA hired Roe

Cloud in September 1931.³⁵ The Winnebago reformer no longer had the time to give to his school, so he turned it over to the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. However, he remained indirectly involved in the school's

35. "Department of the Interior Release," KSHS; Memorandum, Mary Steer to E. Graham Wilson, November 22, 1927, AII Papers, PHS.



This drawing, combining a traditional white view of the American Indian with a scene of economic growth in early twentieth-century America, appeared on the back cover of an American Indian Institute pamphlet that was intended to raise funds for the school. Accompanying text stated that as part of the institute's "vision of the future" graduates would be "... a force for the conservation of the truest of Americanisms,—the aboriginal American."

32. *U.S. Statutes at Large* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931), 46:876; *ibid.* (1933), 47:103; *ibid.* (1934), 48:371-72.

33. Marion E. Gridley, *Indians of Today* (Chicago, 1947), 14; Alison Bernstein, "A Mixed Record: The Political Enfranchisement of American Indian Women During the Indian New Deal," in Williams, *Indian Leadership*, 13-20.

34. "Survey of the Opportunities for Advanced Education of Promising Indian Youth," Central Classified Files (hereafter cited as CCF), 10972-33-General Services-800, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, DC.

affairs after 1931. Roe Cloud supported the Presbyterian Church's proposal to end the high school program and turn the school into a hostel or boarding place for students attending local Wichita high schools and colleges. He encouraged the BIA to provide federal funds to those institute students accepted into various colleges. He supported the idea of having the school headed by another college educated Indian. He wanted the school to become coeducational.³⁶ But no longer being directly connected to the school, Roe Cloud's suggestions had little if any impact.

It was also the inclusion of the high school grades in the BIA schools, something supported by the Meriam Report, which brought Roe Cloud's institute to an end. Up to 1923 the AII was only one of three Indian high schools in the nation. Indians graduating from the federally operated Indian schools transferred to the AII to prepare for college. But beginning in 1923 the BIA added the high school grades to six of its large off-reservation schools.³⁷ There was no longer the need for Indian students to attend the AII when they could go elsewhere closer to home. As a result, the AII high school program was eliminated in 1933 and the campus became a boarding place for Indians attending the public high schools and colleges of Wichita, Kansas. As already pointed out, at least four students graduated from local Wichita colleges in the 1930s after receiving federal support. The American Indian Institute, undergoing financial problems in the 1930s, finally closed its doors in 1939.³⁸

Henry Roe Cloud's first position as a federal employee was that of "Field Representative" of the BIA from September 1931 to August 1933. His task was to strengthen ties between the BIA and the reservation-based Indian communities.³⁹ He went beyond this assignment, however, and inaugurated his own Indian education policy called the "education program" which placed emphasis on advanced education for Indians and the hiring of college educated Indians by the government. In April 1932, Roe Cloud suggested that the BIA build

two dormitories in Browning, Montana, so that homeless Blackfeet Indian students could attend local public high schools. In August 1933 he encouraged the BIA to hire Earle Boyd Pierce, a highly educated Cherokee attorney who had graduated from the University of Oklahoma.⁴⁰

Henry Roe Cloud's employment in the federal government did not end with the Hoover Administration in 1933, for it extended into the New Deal administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt from 1933 to 1945. Because of his involvement in Indian education, the Winnebago reformer was chosen in August 1933 as superintendent of Haskell Institute, the largest off-reservation high school run by the BIA. He therefore became the first full-blood Indian to head such a school.⁴¹ While serving as superintendent, Roe Cloud carried out the principles established in the American Indian Institute. He encouraged Haskell students to take pride in their Indian heritage. Because the Roosevelt Administration did not oppose cultural pluralism, Roe Cloud went as far as to introduce Indian oriented courses into the school's curriculum, including Indian history and art. He also encouraged the students to pursue a higher education. By 1935 twenty-eight students were attending the nearby University of Kansas while living on the Haskell campus, and financing their education with federal educational loans and other assistance.⁴² At least one Indian leader assumed that Haskell might become an Indian college under Roe Cloud's direction. But Roe Cloud maintained that Haskell should remain a high school to prepare those few highly motivated students to enter already existing colleges and universities.⁴³ Overall, while serving as superintendent, Roe Cloud was committed to the training of "Indian leadership" and argued repeatedly that "Haskell Institute is definitely committed to the preservation of Indian race culture."⁴⁴

While serving under the Roosevelt Administration, Roe Cloud adhered to his reformist stance that Indian

36. Roe Cloud to Edna Voss, March 12, 1932; Roe Cloud to Mary Stewart, June 29, 1932; Roe Cloud to William Pouch, August 11, 1933, AII Papers, PHA; Roe Cloud to Voss, December 12, 1934, Haskell Records, Box 161A, Record Group 75, National Archives-Kansas City Branch, Kansas City, Mo. (hereafter cited as NA-KCB).

37. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1926* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1926), 7, and *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1929* (1929), 33-37.

38. *Wichita Eagle* (evening), May 4, 1939.

39. Department of the Interior Release, KSHS.

40. Roe Cloud to Rhoads, April 20, 1932, CCF, 21991-32-Blackfeet-150, RG 75, National Archives; Roe Cloud to Collier, August 11, 1933, Haskell Records, NA-KCB.

41. Roe Cloud, "Haskell and Her New Frontiers," *The Indian Leader* 37 (June 8, 1934):16; "Henry Roe Cloud New Superintendent of Haskell Institute," *The Indian Leader* 37 (September 8, 1933):6.

42. Loretta Granzer, "Education at Haskell Institute, 1884-1937," (master's thesis, University of Nebraska, 1937), 219, 229-31.

43. A. A. Exendine to Roe Cloud, August 23, 1933; Roe Cloud to Exendine, September 1, 1933, Roe Cloud Correspondence, Haskell Records, NA-KCB.

44. Roe Cloud, "Haskell and Her New Frontiers," 16.

people must "adapt" to changing times and accept new ideas. He therefore favored the Roosevelt New Deal of the 1930s.⁴⁵ One reform endorsed by Roe Cloud was the Wheeler-Howard Bill of 1934. It was the work of John Collier, the commissioner of Indian affairs of the BIA under Roosevelt from 1933 to 1945. Of course, Collier was influenced by the Meriam Report. The bill had four titles. Title I, "Indian Self-Government," pro-

45. Roe Cloud, "Indian Recovery," *The Indian Leader* 37 (December 15, 1933):1.

posed that the tribes organize strong, viable tribal governments and incorporate themselves. These incorporated governments could then borrow from a revolving credit loan fund and develop tribal economic enterprises. Title II, "Special Education for Indians," encouraged the "study of Indian Civilization." In addition, it specified that Congress would appropriate \$15,000 to create a scholarship fund. Indian college students having one-fourth or more Indian blood could apply for the scholarships to major in professional/technical areas such as forestry, engineering, law, and medicine. Furthermore, each recipient also would be provided



Roe Cloud supported the New Deal's controversial Wheeler-Howard Bill, which eventually was passed by Congress as the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Roe Cloud is shown casting the first Winnebago vote for the IRA.

with an educational loan to be repaid in increments after graduation. Title III, "Indian Lands," proposed the elimination of the land allotment policy of the Dawes Act of 1887, a policy which caused the tribes to lose millions of acres of land. Any remaining "surplus land" under the Dawes Act would be returned to the tribes. New reservation land also would be purchased for homeless Indians and those who lost land under the Dawes Act. And Title IV, "Court of Indian Affairs," advocated the formation of the Indian court system to handle legal problems arising on Indian reservations.⁴⁶

It was no surprise that Henry Roe Cloud stood behind the Wheeler-Howard Bill, especially the higher education section. In fact, at more than one Indian meeting in early 1934, he emphasized the importance of higher education. Roe Cloud stated at the Northwest Indian Congress, held in Portland in March 1934, that the legislation would make it possible to send Indians "to universities, colleges, and schools of medicine, of law, engineering, agriculture, and other institutions."⁴⁷ At the Hayward, Wisconsin, meeting of April 1934, he stated: "the aim being to see that the Indian children get the standard training that is afforded the white children to enable them to enter universities and colleges."⁴⁸ And at the meeting in Martin, South Dakota, also in April, he pointed out to the Sioux: "Your young people will receive scholarship loans in the best universities in America."⁴⁹

As pointed out by critics in the 1930s, as well as by recent scholars, the Wheeler-Howard Bill was a highly controversial piece of legislation, especially its land and court provisions. It received mixed reactions from both Indians and non-Indians. In an effort to reduce or eliminate the criticism and to gain support for the bill, Collier sponsored regional Indian congresses and smaller Indian meetings throughout Indian country in early 1934.⁵⁰ Because Roe Cloud favored the bill, Collier called

upon him to serve as moderator at several of these meetings and also to campaign on behalf of the legislation. At one of these gatherings, held in South Dakota in May 1934, Roe Cloud supported the bill in its entirety, stressing the importance of higher education for Indians, tribal "self government," the acquisition of land for landless Indians, the need for an Indian court which could rely on professionally trained Indian attorneys, the preservation of "Indian customs," and, of course, the elimination of the land allotment policy under the Dawes Act.⁵¹

Eventually, the Wheeler-Howard Bill, after its controversial aspects were eliminated, passed both houses of Congress. What emerged from this legislation was the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), signed into law on June 18, 1934, by Franklin D. Roosevelt. The IRA had a higher education provision, but it was different from the original bill. Congress was given the authority to appropriate \$50,000 annually for educational loans for Indian students. Of course, this was much more than the \$15,000 scholarship fund specified in the bill. Deleted from the law was the provision to provide scholarships for Indian students. Obviously, during the Great Depression in the 1930s, Congress was not in the mood to make outright grants to Indians. However, the IRA, with its \$50,000 educational loan fund, provided another source of aid to Indian college students.⁵²

One might ask why Roe Cloud stood behind John Collier who turned out to be one of the most controversial commissioners in the history of the BIA. It was because many of his reformist ideas coincided with those of Collier, as well as other Roosevelt Administration policies. In fact, well before the Indian Reorganization Act, Roe Cloud was emphasizing some of its provisions. As already specified, while serving as a member of the Committee of One Hundred in 1923, as well as the Meriam Report staff of 1926 to 1928, he favored federal support for Indian higher education. While still serving as principal of the American Indian Institute in 1931, Roe Cloud took time out of his administrative schedule to severely criticize the Dawes Act of 1887, calling it one of the "economic blunders of our Government."⁵³ Of course, Roe Cloud, who kept in touch with his people and spoke the Winnebago language fluently, encouraged his students to believe in their own Indianness, another concept stressed by Collier. In general, Roe

46. "A Bill, S. 2755 (73rd Cong., 2nd sess.)," John Collier Papers, microfilm, reel 29, Yale University. There are several good sources on the Indian New Deal, including the following: Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977); Graham D. Taylor, *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-45* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980); and Lawrence C. Kelly, "The Indian Reorganization Act: The Dream and the Reality," *Pacific Historical Review* 46 (August 1975):291-317; Vine Deloria, Jr., and Clifford M. Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984).

47. "Minutes of the Northwest Indian Congress," March 8, 1934, Collier Papers, microfilm, reel 30, frame 0546, Yale University.

48. "Testimony Taken at Hayward, Wisconsin," April 23, 24, 1934, Collier Papers, microfilm, reel 30, Yale University.

49. "Supt. Roe Cloud's Address to the Sioux," *The Indian Leader* 37 (May 4, 1934):1.

50. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform*, 145.

51. "Supt. Roe Cloud's Address to the Sioux," 1-5.

52. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade*, 145-159; *U.S. Statutes at Large* (1934), 48:986.

53. Roe Cloud, "Economic Background for Self-Support," *The Indian Outlook* 3 (February 1931):3.

Cloud spoke favorably of Collier and the (Indian) New Deal. When asked about his assessment of the commissioner in May 1934, Roe Cloud responded:

I think that John Collier is maneuvering the Indian race and our Government in such fashion as to bring about a situation where the deep-seated characteristics and the nobilities of the Indian can be molded anew into a fresh vigor and life. Somehow, if I cannot explain it in words or define it in specific terms, I feel that John Collier has got a real program.⁵⁴

By accepting the major ideas and policies advanced by Collier, Roe Cloud had become a New Dealer. In fact, he was one of several "Old Progressives" of the pre-World War I era who accepted the Rooseveltian New Deal in the 1930s.⁵⁵ In examining Henry Roe Cloud as a Progressive and as a New Dealer, it can be seen he made only one marked change. He gave up his Progressive laissez-faireism stance and accepted the New Deal position of federal intervention into the American economy, including federal support for Indian higher education. He made this change because of his reformist stance—that Indian people must "adapt" to changing times and accept new ideas.

In his later years Roe Cloud firmly believed that the federal government had a responsibility to assist American Indian people. For this reason he chose to spend his remaining years as a BIA educator and employee. From 1935 to 1940 he held the position of "Representative-At-Large" of Indian education. One of his tasks was to urge Indian tribes to accept the (Indian) New Deal and to vote in favor of the IRA. From 1940 to 1950 he served as superintendent of the Umatilla Agency in Oregon, assisting the Umatilla Indians to adapt to the policies of the Collier administration. It was in Oregon where Roe Cloud died in 1950, serving his Indian race, a quest which he started in the pre-World War I Progressive period.⁵⁶

In conclusion, what can be said of Henry Roe Cloud, the leader, educator, and reformer? During his lifetime he was recognized for his accomplishments. In 1932, Roe Cloud was awarded an honorary doctorate by the College of Emporia in Kansas.⁵⁷ In 1935 the Indian Council Fire, an urban-based organization in Chicago,

consisting of both Indians and non-Indians, awarded him the Indian Achievement Medal.⁵⁸ This Who's Who award was given to the individual who contributed significantly to the Indian people. It must be emphasized that Roe Cloud out-pollled other notables for this award, including John Collier and Sen. Lynn Frazer of North Dakota.

Because of his involvement in Indian reform, Roe Cloud has been regarded as one of the foremost Indians in early twentieth-century America. One can find many positive comments about him. In 1928, Lewis Meriam, director of the Meriam Report, praised his input and involvement by stating: "Everyone learned to look to Henry Roe Cloud for friendly criticism and advice.... It is impossible for me to express in words the extent of our obligations to Mr. Cloud."⁵⁹ In 1935 the *Indian Leader*, the official newsletter of Haskell Institute (now Indian Junior College), stressed that Roe Cloud was the "foremost Indian educator" in America and "has a long record of tenure in educational and governmental fields to his credit."⁶⁰ Even recent commentators have made positive assessments of Roe Cloud. In their book, *The Nations Within*, political scientists Vine Deloria, Jr., and Clifford Lytle have labeled Roe Cloud as a "prominent" and "widely known and respected Indian figure."⁶¹ At a conference held in Sun Valley, Idaho, in 1983, Benjamin Reifel, a former U.S. congressman from South Dakota, said the following about Roe Cloud: "I was quite impressed with him."⁶²

Because of his recognized status as an Indian leader, more than one person maintained that Roe Cloud should be commissioner of the BIA. Just after the completion of the Meriam Report, Lewis Meriam suggested the possibility of Roe Cloud for this position.⁶³ About the same time, Edward Dale, Oklahoma historian and another member of the Meriam Report staff, wrote to Roe Cloud and stated: "I have long thought of the

54. Roe Cloud to Mary Louise Mark, May 8, 1934, Haskell Records, Box 161A, NA-KCB.

55. Otis Graham, *An Encore for Reform*.

56. *Wichita Eagle*, July 30, 1939, October 30, 1950.

57. Lohmann, *History of the Class of 1910*, Yale University (1935), 55.

58. "Doctor Henry Roe Cloud, Winner of Indian Achievement Medal," *Indians At Work* 3 (November 15, 1935):31-32.

59. Lewis Meriam to All Board of Trustees, April 30, 1928, Hugh Scott Papers, Box 50, Library of Congress.

60. "Dr. Roe Cloud Wins Achievement Medal," *The Indian Leader* 39 (October 11, 1935):3.

61. Deloria and Lytle, *The Nations Within*, 41, 95.

62. Quoted in Kenneth R. Philp, *Indian Self-Rule: First-Hand Accounts of Indian-White Relations from Roosevelt to Reagan* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1986), 55.

63. Lewis Meriam to E. E. Dale, September 25, 1928, Edward E. Dale Papers, Box 45, Folder 11, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma (hereafter cited as WHC).