The obituary in the *Huntington Free Press* reported that Frances “Sue” Anstett died on February 19, 2012, at the age of 80.¹ A lifelong Hoosier, she had worked for General Electric for twenty-nine years, attended the local Catholic church, and enjoyed working in her yard. On the surface, nothing about Sue’s life appeared unique.

The newspaper writer did not know that on one day, seventy-five years ago, Sue and her family became a part of American history. They were among thousands of Americans photographed as part of a New Deal project designed to highlight ordinary people and show how the Great Depression was affecting every region of the United States. The photographs—produced by the Resettlement Administration (RA) and its successor the Farm Security Administration (FSA)—have been called “the

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most remarkable human documents that were ever rendered in pictures.”2 But the photographs tell only part of the story.

Behind the RA/FSA photographs are two other stories, each of which contributes to a deeper understanding of how Hoosiers experienced the Great Depression. One shows how photographers selected their subjects and what problems they hoped to highlight. The other sheds light on the people who appear in these photographs.

I sat down with Sue Anstett three years before her death to learn about the day when a young RA employee photographed her family, how she survived the Great Depression, and how it influenced the rest of her life.

Photographer Russell Lee arrived in Indiana on a clear spring day in March 1937. The flat dusty fields would have been familiar to him—he had grown up in Illinois and attended Culver Military Academy in Indiana.3 But this was no homecoming; Lee had a job to do.

Two years earlier, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had created the Resettlement Administration by executive order.4 The new agency consolidated various government programs designed to assist the poorest American farmers—sharecroppers, hired hands, and migrants. Such workers had not yet benefitted from Roosevelt’s agricultural policies, which had focused on landowning farmers.5 In order to expose the problems faced by rural farmers, the RA sent staff photographers throughout the country on assignment.

For the Roosevelt administration, the purpose of documenting rural America went beyond human interest or historical preservation. While Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire danced across movie screens, and the Empire State Building soared to 102 stories, only ten percent of America’s farms had electricity.6 Rural poverty represented a stark reality for millions of Americans during the 1930s, but not everyone saw it. RA photogra-

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4Exec. Order No. 7027 (May 1, 1935).
Photographers set out to “introduce America to Americans” by showing people in New York and Washington, D.C., what the Great Depression looked like in America’s heartland, across the dust bowl, and along migration routes to California.7

The Resettlement Administration hired Russell Lee in the summer of 1936. Though he would be called a “taxidermist with a camera” for his tendency to capture all the details of a particular subject, Lee never saw his work in such clinical terms.8 Instead, Lee’s photographs conveyed a

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8Hurley, Russell Lee, Photographer, 14.
human edge, perhaps because the Great Depression had already gripped the nation by the time he first picked up a camera in the early 1930s. His work displayed a social consciousness, born not out of political belief, but from an understanding that “people were so damned poor.”

Lee was hired when the RA was only a year old, having been willed into existence by Rexford Tugwell, a Columbia University economist and member of President Roosevelt’s brain trust. Tugwell hired his former student Roy Stryker to run the agency’s historical section. Stryker later recounted the orders he received from Tugwell: “Show the city people what it’s like to live on a farm,’ he said. ‘And remember—even though people are hungry and without work, wearing ragged clothes and old shoes, they’re still important human beings.” Internal documents from the period indicate that the RA saw its purpose no less sentimentally, describing its photography as “a simple and unspectacular attempt to give information ... to confront the people with each other ... in order to promote a wider and more sympathetic understanding of one for the other.”

Stryker occasionally accompanied Lee on the road and observed that Lee took the RA’s mission to heart:

We saw a very curious, very nice looking little old lady with her hair done in a little top knot and . . . Russell [Lee] said to her, “may we take your picture?” And she bristled, “what do you want my picture for?” “Well we’re with the government.” “Oh you’re with the government. Well, I don’t want you to take my picture.” He said, “well, now look. There’s a lot of people think (sic) that you represent a bunch of lazy good-for-nothings. We don’t think so. And we’d like to tell ‘em a little bit more about who you are, what you’re (sic) problems are.” It got her intrigued and she started to talk. And it was one of the most interesting experiences I had while

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9Ibid., 13.
I was on this job. . . . The picture's still in the file. I still have a
glow when I see it.12

The exchange provides insight into the relationship the two men formed
and the passion they shared for the historical section's mission. From
his office in Washington, D.C., Stryker kept in constant contact with his
photographers, sending neatly typed letters and telegrams. Stryker also
gave the photographers autonomy, issuing only general instructions, in
one case requesting photographs that showed the “part played by corn”
in the lives of midwesterners, or, in another, photos of the “cut-over re-
gions of Wisconsin and Minnesota.”13 In return, he received handwritten
letters on quaint hotel stationary in Lee’s scratchy cursive describing what
he was seeing on the road.

During the first eighteen months of Lee’s employment with the RA,
Stryker dispatched him to his native Midwest to focus on a widespread
and growing problem—farm tenancy. In a December 1936 letter, Stryker
informed Lee that “the New York Times, Des Moines Register, and various
other papers are hollering now for anything we can get ahold of on farm
tenancy. . . . We will be able to use everything we can get.”14

In his 1937 State of the Union address, given just one month after
Stryker’s letter to Lee, President Roosevelt warned of “an un-American
type of tenant farming,” and urged Congress to offer tenant farmers advice
and training “instead of permitting them to go along as they do now, year
after year, with neither future security as tenants nor hope of ownership
of their homes nor expectation of bettering the lot of their children.”15
Weeks later, Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace stated that “no prob-
lem associated with American agriculture and rural life is creating more
widespread interest than the problem of farm tenancy,” and noted that

Roy Stryker (1893-1975) Papers, Photographic Archives, University of Louisville Special Col-
lections.
13Roy Stryker to Russell Lee, December 1, 1936 and December 9, 1936, Roy Stryker (1893-1975)
Papers, Photographic Archives, University of Louisville Special Collections.
14Stryker to Lee, December 1, 1936, Roy Stryker (1893-1975) Papers, Photographic Archives,
University of Louisville Special Collections.
Fred L. Israel (New York, 1966), 2829.
“fewer and fewer” of the nation’s 2.8 million farm tenants were “able to take the step from tenancy to ownership.”16 That spring, the President’s Committee on Farm Tenancy drafted a report recommending that the federal government take a large-scale role in facilitating farm ownership as well as farm retention for existing owners.17

As a 1938 report published cooperatively by the FSA, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and U.S. Department of Agriculture put it, tenancy “forces family living standards below levels of decency; develops rural slums; and breeds poverty, illiteracy, and disease.”18 It went on to note that “tenant families live in houses of poor construction, almost universally in need of repair, often without doors and windows, with leaky roofs and sometimes even without floors. Seldom are these houses equipped with running water, electricity, bathrooms or indoor toilets. The surroundings are usually unsightly and devoid of beauty.”19 And in the perilous economy of the Depression, tenants lived under constant threat of eviction from land they might have worked for much of their life.20

In 1880, 25 percent of all farmers in the United States were tenants. Fifty years later, that number had ballooned to 42 percent.21 In the South, tenancy’s roots ran deep—many southern tenant farmers were the descendants of freed slaves, whose families had never earned enough to purchase their own land.22 But by the 1930s, tenancy had taken root all over the country.

In Indiana, 21,000 rural families were on relief. Most earned a living as farm laborers, tenant farmers, or sharecroppers.23 To make matters worse, the late 1930s saw a steady rise in the price of Indiana farmland. By

17Sarah T. Phillips, This Land, This Nation: Conservation, Rural America, and the New Deal (New York, 2007), 145.
19Ibid.
22Orlando Patterson, Rituals of Blood: Consequences of Slavery in Two American Centuries (New York, 1998), 44.
1938, farm prices in the state peaked after a five-year uninterrupted rise.\(^{24}\) As a result, farm ownership fell even further outside of the tenant’s reach. Residents of three northwest counties—Newton, White, and Benton—felt the tenancy problem most acutely.\(^{25}\) A map accompanying the Report of the President’s Committee on Farm Tenancy showed that as of 1935, tenants operated between 40 and 59 percent of farms in these three counties, compared to 20-39 percent in the rest of the state.\(^{26}\) The reason was historical—in the 1830s, Eastern investors had purchased large swaths of land in the area with no intention of ever farming it. As one historian wrote, “nowhere was there a greater concentration of absentee and speculator ownership than in the prairie counties of Indiana and in few other sections did the dead hand of the speculator have such a far reaching influence.”\(^{27}\) As a result, by the early 1900s, only 31 percent of Benton County farmers worked their own land—renters occupied a staggering 69 percent of the county’s farmland.\(^{28}\)

Benton County’s largest town, Fowler, was a flat, windy place in western Indiana. For those traveling west, it offered a preview of the great American prairie. A local judge often commented that he had always wondered why whoever named Fowler did not use the superlative rather than the comparative, and simply call the town Fowl’est.\(^{29}\) But Fowler was not without its natural gifts or small-town charm. An 1888 town atlas noted that “the soil is rich black . . . . It is unexcelled in the production of corn, oats, wheat, and all kinds of vegetables.”\(^{30}\) And with its drugstore and tiny main street, Fowler had that peculiar midwestern quality of feeling quintessentially American precisely because of its few distinct character-

\(^{24}\)“Farm Prices in State Best in Eight Years,” Indianapolis Times, February 4, 1938; and “Indiana Farm Real Estate is Higher in Value,” Indianapolis News, June 22, 1938.


\(^{26}\)Lewis Cecil Gray and Henry Agard Wallace, “Farm Tenancy, Report of the President’s Committee” (Washington, D.C., 1937), 37.

\(^{27}\)Ibid., 17.


\(^{29}\)U.S. District Court Judge Allen Sharp of the Northern District of Indiana (1932-2009) frequently told this anecdote from the bench.

istics.

There, in the middle of middle America, Lee encountered Sue Anstett’s family—the Estes family.

Sue Estes was born in 1931, twenty-three months after Wall Street crashed. In 2009, when I spoke to Sue about the day Lee spent at her parents’ house, she did not remember much about the man himself. Only six years old when he visited her home, she recalled that he was polite, spent the whole day with her family, and ate supper with them that night.

Though no record exists showing how Lee found Sue’s parents, farm laborers had been on his mind for months. In December 1936, he wrote to Stryker from Iowa lamenting the condition of the so-called “hired man.” Lee’s hired man must be distinguished from the folksy figure described in the Report of the President’s Committee on Farm Tenancy who lived in the home of his employer and enjoyed treatment as a member of the family. In reality, the hired men Lee encountered were expected to perform all manner of tasks around the farm in exchange for squalid living conditions. Lee noted that “the job seems to offer no future to the great majority of them.”

Stryker also wrote to Lee about a reporter’s suggestion for a series of photos tentatively titled “The Tenant’s Day” or “A Day In A Tenant’s Life.”

Two months later, when Lee arrived in Fowler, he sought out a local hired man—Sue’s father, Henley Tipton “Tip” Estes. Per Stryker’s suggestion, Lee structured the photos of the Estes family—thirty-two in all—as a series showing a day in the life of a hired man and his family.

According to historian Doris Kearns Goodwin: “It is important to know not only what a man says about his life but under what conditions and at what stage in his life he speaks.” When I sat down with Sue, her father had been dead for over forty years, but her memories of him remained vivid. “He hardly ever smiled,” she recalled, “but he was funny. His was a

31Douglas Waitley, Portrait of the Midwest: From the Ice Age to the Industrial Era (New York, 1963), 12.
33Lee to Stryker, December 9, 1936, Roy Stryker (1893-1975) Papers, Photographic Archives, University of Louisville Special Collections.
34Stryker to Lee, January 13, 1937, Roy Stryker (1893-1975) Papers, Photographic Archives, University of Louisville Special Collections.
35Doris Kearns Goodwin, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream (New York, 1976), xi.
Henry Tipton “Tip” Estes, 1937. Sue described her father as extremely hardworking, recalling that in his lifetime, Tip did everything from laying plumbing tiles to working the fields and tending livestock.

Courtesy, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection, LC-DIG-fsa-8b30310 DLC [tractor], LC-USF34-010565-D DLC [field].
dry sense of humor.”36 She also remembered how hard he worked, doing everything from laying plumbing tiles to working the fields and tending to livestock—all things that Lee’s photos of Tip Estes plainly document.

More revealing was the way Sue—at the end of her life in 2009—described one of her most poignant memories of her father. A few years after Lee took his pictures, Sue’s class went on a field trip to Chicago’s Field Museum of Natural History and the Shedd Aquarium. Her excitement had been building for weeks as she worked her “little fanny off” to save two dollars for the trip. The morning she was about to leave, Tip asked Sue how much money she had. When she told him, he replied, “that’s not enough,” and handed her three more dollars. Sue remembered that she never felt richer in her life.37

At a service station on the way into Chicago, Sue bought five pieces of her favorite candy—Bit-o-Honey, which she savored throughout the day. At the museum gift shop, she bought her mother a small trinket. The whole time she never touched the three dollars her father had given her.

When Sue arrived home, her father asked her if she had had a good time. She said yes, but then she handed him back the three dollars, saying she had not needed it. Sue remembered that her father said: “Since you were truthful, you just keep that. What I want to see you do is go down to Burkholders and get some tablets and pencils for school.”38

Sue probably remembered her father giving her money because it was a rare and special event. However, one must reconcile this memory—which showed the importance Tip placed on education—with other facts. As Lee noted in one of his captions, the Estes home contained no reading material—something Sue corroborated, simply explaining that they could not afford it. Furthermore, out of nine Estes children, only one would go on to receive a high school diploma, perhaps not surprising given that neither Tip nor his wife Laverne graduated from high school. Laverne went to school through the eighth grade, and Tip went through the third grade. Yet at the end of a long day, Lee snapped a photo of Tip

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37Ibid.
38Ibid. Burkholder Pharmacy was established in 1924. Benton County Historical Society & Fowler Centennial Committee, Fowler Centennial, 19.
39Anstett, interview with author.
Estes holding his youngest daughter. Sue explained that Tip was not just holding baby Ilene, he was teaching her how to count, using pennies and a can. Lee’s photos did not portray a man with book learning, but they do suggest that Tip valued education.

The other notable aspect of her father’s personality in Sue’s memory was the extent to which he demanded honesty. She recalled the punishment her father gave her after he caught her lying about losing the change from bread money—she had used it to buy licorice. “Oh did I get a spanking!” she remembered. She also spoke about the time he caught her and her cousin sneaking whipped cream out of her aunt’s pantry: “Everyone finally figured out what happened. We were punished. My father didn’t like liars or thieves.”

Russell Lee knew something that Sue did not—Tip may not have liked liars, but he worked for one. One of Lee’s photographs shows a crisp white house, surrounded by trees and bushes. The caption explains that “Tip Estes, hired man on a Benton County, Indiana farm, was promised this house to live in, but the employer has now rented it to the manager of the Farm Bureau Coop Association.” Instead, all ten members of the Estes family lived in a three-bedroom, weather-beaten shack, which offered scant protection from freezing winters and stifling, humid Midwestern summers. Tip’s disappointment must have been acute, and yet the hired hand never said a word to his daughter. Years later, Sue learned for the first time that her family was never meant to live in a shack. She fell silent for a moment looking at the seventy-year-old photograph. “Hmmm,” she muttered. And then, echoing everything her parents had instilled in her so many years before, Sue concluded that she and her siblings had been “lucky” to have a roof over their heads at all. Certainly, Sue was a product of her time—an era when a child was lucky to have a roof over her head—but she was also a product of an upbringing that, for all its hardships, taught her enduring lessons.

In one of the first letters Lee wrote to Stryker about the condition of hired farm workers, he observed that the job offered no future to most

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40See LC-USF341-T-010508-B DLC, FSA/OWI Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, online at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?fsaall:32:/temp/-ammem_69Cs:.
41Anstett, interview with author.
42Ibid.
individuals, “especially when they are married.”43 When he arrived at the Estes home, Lee explored this angle in a few photographs that showed Tip’s wife Laverne in their tenant shack. Sue remembered that her mother kept the inside of the Estes home spotlessly clean. “You could eat off of my mother’s floors,” she remembered. “We cleaned every window in the house every week. You would clean the window whether it needed it or not.” Lee’s photos support Sue’s description. Far from being “unsightly and devoid of beauty” like other tenant homes, the house appears clean, a calendar covers up torn wallpaper, and tablecloths and doilies cover the tabletops.44

Unsurprisingly, the photos do not show the full extent of Laverne’s influence on her family. Although tenant wives routinely “carried out immense physical labors in isolated homes [and] were expected to bake bread, cook large meals, preserve garden produce, and manufacture clothing and housewares,” they received little attention in government reports or photographic exposes.45 According to Sue, her mother could make garter belts and dresses out of feed sacks without ever using a pattern. Laverne made sock monkeys and helped the girls fashion a dollhouse out of cardboard boxes. She collected bits of wallpaper and showed the girls how to mix a paste using flour and water and to use mud and water to mold tiny couches and tables, which they left out in the sun until they dried.

Farm wives also contributed to family finances by working inside and outside the home—an aspect of daily life that typically went unnoticed by Lee and policy makers of the era. Laverne took in laundry and ironing, wallpapered and cleaned homes for the wealthy residents of Fowler, and eventually got a job cleaning the doctor’s and dentist’s offices in town. Undoubtedly, Laverne’s work outside the home helped the Estes family become more prosperous. But it also led to Sue’s first confrontation with a different world. Sue remembered that while helping her mother clean a beautiful house in town, she realized for the first time that not everyone slept five to a room in a shack wallpapered with old newspapers. When

43Lee to Stryker, December 9, 1936, Roy Stryker (1893-1975) Papers, Photographic Archives, University of Louisville Special Collections.
44Anstett, interview with author; and Taylor, Wheeler, and Kirkpatrick, Disadvantaged Classes, 38.
she returned home with her mother, Sue looked around and thought to herself, “I’ve got junk.”

The effect of poverty on youth was becoming a recognized crisis during the Great Depression. A 1936 New York Times editorial by the future head of the National Youth Administration suggested that “by degrees” a poor child came to understand that she was “outside the group that have

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Anstett, interview with author.
things, that go places, that dress well, that somebody speaks well of, and that somebody finds valuable.”47 Sue seems to have escaped the feeling that no one found her valuable, but she did not enjoy an easy childhood as the daughter of a hired man. Sue remembered the grueling hard work that everyone in the family performed. Even at five years old, Sue hauled water from the pump into the house several times each day, a task which Lee photographed. But the lasting influence in Sue’s life was not poverty.

Sue recalled, for example, that her parents had made great financial sacrifices to pay for her fifty-cent music lessons. Many education reformers of the era called for a reduction in what they considered fads and frills

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in education—things like music, art, and recreation. But Laverne loved music—she could play by ear and proudly kept an organ in the home. It was the one detail Lee got wrong in his captions, in which he noted that the organ did not work. Sue recalled that after her lessons she “played that thing like mad.”

Teachers also helped instill self-worth in impoverished children like Sue, whose second-grade teacher, Mrs. Shop, worked with Sue during recess every day until Sue mastered reading. The small community in Fowler also provided a support system for families like the Estes. On

49Kathryn A. Flynn, The New Deal (Layton, Utah, 2008), 86. Lee often wrote captions for his photographs months after taking them.
50Anstett, interview with author.
Saturdays, farmers and their wives and children gathered in town; the men visited with one another while the women did their shopping. Some nights, the town held band concerts. Sue also remembered the government distributing bags of flour, rice, and sugar to rural families once a month. Sue’s aunt and uncle sometimes gave Tip and Laverne their share of these valuable commodities. Combined, the influences of family, teachers, and friends helped prevent some of the effects of poverty outlined in the *Times*.

The Great Depression continued for more than four years before World War II changed the country’s economic prospects. During that time, one of Fowler’s banks failed, as did nearly one in four U.S. banks in the 1930s. Sue’s parents lost everything, including the tractor that was crucial for their livelihood. As a result, Tip gave up the life of a hired man, and the family moved to town. Like many children who came of age during the Depression, Sue did not graduate from high school. Although she loved school, she went to work and began contributing to the family’s finances. She grew up, got married, and raised a family of her own. As she grew older, Sue’s views on the role of government came to reflect the lessons she learned as a girl: she believed that government should help people, but only those who were willing to help themselves.

In 1951, Sue began a long and happy marriage to a man named Alvin Anstett. Her three children would never truly understand what it was like for Sue growing up, and that was what she wanted. She did not want them to know what poverty felt like, and she tried to give her children the things she did not have. But Sue did carry on some of her parents’ traditions by being a self-described strict parent and making her children do household chores. Until she died, Sue made her home amongst Indiana cornfields not unlike the ones in Fowler. Meanwhile, the photographs taken by the RA/FSA photographers live on.

For Sue Estes, the FSA project began and ended the day Russell Lee photographed her family. But the FSA photos soon took on a life of their own across the nation—not only in newspapers and magazines, but in museums and history books.

In 1938, an exhibit at the First International Photographic Exposition in New York City featured the photos. They became, as the *Bridge-
The Bridgeport Post noted, “a surprise ‘hit’ of the show.”52 According to the paper, most spectators expressed indignation that Americans lived under such circumstances, while others skeptically suggested that the photographs were mere propaganda. The FSA kept a suggestion box at the exhibit and collected hundreds of revealing comments. One spectator wrote: “Your pictures demonstrate clearly that one half of the people do not know how the other half live.”53 Another asserted that “something should be done!”54 Though in the minority, the skeptics were also represented. One stated cryptically, “Good (?) propaganda for F.D.R.,” and another, “This exhibit is meant to be one-sided.”55 Yet, if Sam Traum of Brooklyn, New York, was representative, the photography unit of the FSA had achieved its mission. He wrote simply: “Support Roosevelt’s program for farm relief.”56

Indiana newspapers focused on FSA projects rather than pictures. Only a few months after Lee photographed Sue’s family, the head of FSA Region III announced plans to begin offering government-backed loans to help tenant farmers buy the land they farmed and the equipment that would allow them to compete. The FSA hoped that the loans would help “reduce tenant farming and place the agricultural industry on a firm foundation of land-owning farmers.”57 By 1940, the Indianapolis Star reported that nearly one-third of FSA loans had been repaid, with 9,488 families increasing their net worth by $3,175,064 in 1940 dollars.58

Dividends from the FSA programs continued after the end of the Depression. Six months after the United States entered World War II, the Indianapolis Star reported that 355 former tenant farmers across thirty-six Indiana counties had begun growing “food for freedom” on land they

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52 “Slum Farmers,” Bridgeport Post, November 30, 1938.
53 “Farm Security Administration Picture Comments,” (unpublished comments contributed by people attending the First International Photographic Exposition-New York, N.Y., 1938), comment 8, Roy Stryker (1893-1975) Papers, Photographic Archives, University of Louisville Special Collections.
54 Ibid., comment 17.
55 Ibid., comments 26, 50.
56 Ibid., comment 44.
58 “Nearly One-Third of Farm Security Administration Loans Repaid, State Head Reports,” Indianapolis News, April 5, 1940. In 2012 dollars, this equates to a $52 million increase.
bought with an FSA loan. One Marion County farmer who received a $735 FSA loan in 1935 had become one of the county’s top farmers by 1942. The article included a picture of the proud farmer with his wife and seven children.

The Estes family may not have achieved that kind of success themselves, but they were a part of it. The precise correlation between the impact of the photographs and the political will of the country to address rural poverty is impossible to quantify. Yet, as the Bridgeport Post succinctly reported in 1938: “The puzzled, haunting eyes of miserable children are not easily forgotten.” By helping to show the country what farm tenancy looked like, the Estes family may well have strengthened nationwide support of a “government that had pledged itself to help hundreds of thousands of disadvantaged farmers who were the victims of an economic condition that was no fault of their own.”

Russell Lee ultimately took more photographs in Indiana than any other FSA photographer. He later stated that the photos helped “some . . . parts of the country understand what other parts were like.” Americans responded by supporting the numerous New Deal programs that went into effect in those years, from aid to the poor to a massive reorientation of agricultural policies. Sue Estes Anstett lived a part of that history. Because of a young photographer, the government agency that employed him, and a decade of dire economic crisis, Depression-era images of an Indiana hired man and his family will exist in the public record forever.

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59 “Former Hoosier Tenant Farmers Aid Nation through FSA Program,” Indianapolis Star, July 12, 1942.
60 “Success Story: $735 FSA Loan in 1935, One of County’s Top Farmers in 1942,” Indianapolis Star, June 22, 1942.
61 “Slum Farmers,” Bridgeport Post, November 30, 1938.
62 “Success Story: $735 FSA Loan in 1935, One of County’s Top Farmers in 1942,” Indianapolis Star, June 22, 1942.
63 Reid, Back Home Again, ix.