THE CLOWES FAMILY IN WORLD WAR II: 1939 TO 1945

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This thesis argues that this single, white, upper-class Hoosier family was not as largely affected by the events of World War II as compared to other Hoosiers. The majority of the data collected for this project came from the Clowes Archives from the Indiana Historical Society and the Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis Library. Using letters, military records, and financial reports from the Clowes collection, this study examines the life of the Clowes family during the World War II years as compared to the historical understanding of life in Indiana during the same period. This project provides a historiography of Indiana during the Second World War relying heavily on historians James Madison, Max Parvin Cavnes, Bernard Friedman, and more. Together with the Clowes records, this thesis attempts to highlight on the similarities and differences between Hoosiers and the Clowes from 1939 to 1945, paying particular attention to the family unit. This study suggests that the Clowes’ socioeconomic status provided a sense of protection from the events of the war and enabled several benefits otherwise barred from other Hoosiers. Other areas of analysis include an examination of the sons’ military experience during the latter half of the war years in comparison with other fighting Hoosiers. In all, this study provides a unique methodology of examining a single Hoosier family during World War II and predicts that their socioeconomic status shaped their lives differently as compared to other Hoosiers.

Raymond Haberski, Ph.D., Chair
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Introduction

World War II officially began September 1, 1939, with Hitler’s invasion of Poland. Two days later, France and Great Britain declared war on Hitler, thus spawning the Second World War. For two years America remained largely separated from the military consequences of the war. In fact, the Allied and Axis powers sought military trade with the United States, with the U.S. siding more with the Allies. American production was largely directed to providing military aid to the Allied powers of Great Britain, French resisters, and the Soviet Union when the war officially broke out in 1939. Because the U.S. stayed out of the war physically, it allowed for an economic boom. The 1930s saw one of America’s largest depressions, due in part to economic aid to Europe in World War I. The Great Depression lasted over a decade with almost 25 percent of the population unemployed in 1933, the worst unemployment rate in America’s history. After witnessing the consequences of World War I including personal loss of soldiers and economic downfall, most Americans were hesitant to enter into another World War. It was only through America’s involvement in World War II that the Great Depression officially ended.

From 1939 to 1941, America reaped the financial rewards of World War II. Americans were generally happy so long as the U.S. made money and remained out of the war officially. This contentment changed December 7, 1941. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt considered this day as, “a date which will live in infamy.” On this day, the United States no longer remained isolated from the Second World War. The Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, located on Oahu, killing over 2,300 Americans and almost decimating the naval fleet stationed there. This day not only marked the beginning of
World War II for the United States, but it set in stone the role America would play up until the present day. Even though the U.S. did not declare war until December 8, 1941, December 7 is considered the first official day of World War II in America. After the attack at Pearl Harbor, the U.S. declared war on Japan, Germany declared war on the United States, and thus introducing the American military on the side of the Allies during World War II.

Eventually American soldiers and seamen were sent to both the European theater and the Pacific theater to fight against the German and Japanese forces respectively. Americans alongside Great Britain, the French resistance, the Soviet Union, and more, eventually defeated Hitler and Nazi Germany on May 8 and 9, 1945. The war continued in the Pacific theatre for several months after Hitler’s fall. America, along with Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain and Canada, continued to fight and liberate the Pacific Islands controlled by the Japanese Empire. Eventually President Truman decided to use the new atom bomb to destroy the Japanese war machine for good.

President Truman was given a horrible decision to make. Either send more American soldiers and risk countless casualties or drop the atom bomb on the civilian cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. President Truman chose the latter. President Truman advised Japanese Emperor, Hirohito, that if he did not give his full surrender, then the atom bomb would be used. Emperor Hirohito refused and on August 6, 1945, the first atomic bomb was dropped on the city of Hiroshima, decimating it. Emperor Hirohito was again asked to surrender, but did not. August 9, 1945, the second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. Both civilian cities were destroyed and created devastating consequences generations later, particularly in the form of cancers.
August 15, 1945, Japan surrendered and on September 2, 1945, six years after the outbreak of the war, World War II was officially over with an Allied victory. From 1941 to today, the U.S. is no longer isolated from the rest of the world. World War II shaped U.S. foreign policy well into the modern era and introduced dramatic changes within the country including an economic boom, alterations in the state and federal party systems, and social-cultural changes across race, class, and gender. There were also personal changes that occurred in each U.S. family from those who served and lost their lives overseas to those that worked in the factories at home. A case study of the Clowes family from Indiana during the war years serves this purpose.

In order to understand how World War II affected the Clowes family a broader examination of the war’s historical significance must first be examined. Since the end of World War II, historians have debated the events and effects of the war both on the home front and on the battlefields. From military historians to cultural historians, World War II marked the end of the great wars in the twentieth century and set forth the modern age. The World Wars reshaped diplomacy, the military, culture, economics, and more. A general overview of World War II centered on America’s involvement, featured the war as creating the “Greatest Generation,” and the war is largely regarded favorably by historians because it ended the Great Depression of the 1930s. Some historians argue the war as being “good” for the United States. In the 1980s, Studs Terkel in *The Good War*

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claimed that the war created a better American economy and more opportunities for women and minorities, but was unfavorable for American families and soldiers who saw the effects of battle and the U.S. victims of December 7, 1941. In order to prove this argument, Terkel used oral histories from a variety of people including military personnel and civilians who lived during the war and contemporaries who learned about it. However, the support for his argument is flawed by his choice of interviewed subjects. While his collection came from a multitude of people with varying backgrounds, he appeared to have chosen only proponents of his views. Still, Terkel’s book demonstrated multiple understandings of World War II.

By 2010, John Bodnar utilized veterans’ writings and analyzed monuments and movies about the war to examine the major disputes that took place over America’s interest in World War II. His argument was similar to Terkel’s in that he believed World War II was largely remembered favorably and overshadowed the horrors the war brought. That same year Piehler and Pash edited a collection of essays each depicting a unique aspect of World War II. To understand three major debates over the war in the Pacific, the essays “Containment, Rollback, and the Onset of the Pacific War, 1933-1941,” “Veterans Tell Their Stories and Why Historians and Others Listened,” and “American Pacifism, the ‘Greatest Generation,’ and World War II” are vitally important. The first essay argued Japan’s interest in fighting in World War II by analyzing Japan’s military movements and diplomatic choices. Several key primary sources included Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Papers, Rear Admiral Sadatoshi Tomioka’s Monograph #146,  

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GreW Papers containing letters from 1940 to Roosevelt, Stimson Diary, and *Pearl Harbor Hearings*. His secondary evidence included Tsunoda Jun’s “Leaning Towards War,” Heinrich’s “The Role of the US Navy,” William Langer and Everett Gleason’s *The Undeclared War*, and Koichi Kido’s *The Diary of the Marquis Kido*. Unfortunately this essay’s Japanese primary sources were limited. The second essay highlighted the use of veterans’ written documents from other historians’ works in order to depict their experiences during the war and represent what other historians have found interesting about them. Several key sources are S.L.A. Marshall’s *Men against Fire*, Carol Reardon’s *Soldiers and Scholars: The U.S. Army and the Uses of Military History*, G. Kurt Piehler’s *Remembering War the American Way*, and John Bodnar’s “Saving Private Ryan and Postwar Memory in America.” The method in this essay of analyzing other historian’s evidence of veterans’ documents was a unique way to show how historians remembered and understood World War II through the eyes of veterans. Like Terkel though, other historians and this book’s selection of veterans’ documents contained biases to support their views. Understanding historians’ biases to their sources leads to alternate interpretations on a single subject which is important to the collective understanding of World War II’s significance.

The third essay emphasized the role of American pacifism during World War II and its members that contributed to the “Greatest Generation.” The author, Bennett, included primary and secondary evidence that he found helpful in the essay and largely

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6 *The United States and the Second World War*, 216, 231-235.
used the endnotes for direct quotations. His secondary sources included *Army GI. Pacifist CO: The World War II Letters of Frank and Albert Dietrich*, Mulford Sibly and Philip Jacob’s *Conscription of Conscience: The American State and the Conscientious Objector*, Cynthia Eller’s *Conscientious Objectors in the Second World War: Moral and Religious Arguments in Support of Pacifism*, Peter Brock and Nigel Young’s *Pacifism in the Twentieth Century*, Larry Gara and Lenna Gara’s *A Few Small Candles: War Resisters of World War II Tell Their Stories*, and David Dellinter’s *From Yale to Jail: The Life Story of a Moral Dissenter*. Bennett’s sources provided historical analysis of American pacifism, a largely disregarded element that came from World War II. This collection presented a more global view on the impact of World War II at the time and how contemporaries remembered the war. While Piehler and Pash’s book did not present whether the war was good or bad, each essay marked a change that came about because of World War II’s inception. So unlike Terkel and Bodnar, Piehler and Pash presented research that emphasized how the war influenced specific people, but like Terkel and Bodnar, historians remembered the war in general as being a time of great change both good and bad.

Historians noted since the war’s end that World War II was a time of global change. Recently American historians have examined the effects of a two front war for the U.S. in the European Theater and the Pacific Theater. Several works analyzed the Pacific Theater and its effects, particularly the U.S. dropping the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. For example, co-authors Waldo Heinrichs and Marc Gallicchio published their insights on the last year of the Pacific War in *Implacable Foes: War in the...* 

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7 Piehler and Pash, 259-260, 282-292.
Pacific, 1944-1945. They argued that Americans were unwilling to endure more sacrifices and American leaders were at odds over manpower and procurement policies. Like the previous authors, Heinrichs and Gallicchio examined veterans’ written records and oral histories from other historians’ works, but these two authors relied on military history in order to frame the historical events of World War II. Their source collection relied more on secondary evidence including M. Hamlin Cannon’s Leyte: The Return to the Philippines, Philip A. Crowl’s Campaign in the Marianas, Robert Ross Smith’s Triumph in the Philippines, Sadao Asada’s From Mahan to Pearl Harbor: The Imperial Japanese Navy and the United States, Edward Drea’s MacArthur’s ULTRA and the War Against Japan, 1942-1945, and Otis Pease’s Blueberry Pie: The Meaning of World War II for the Americans Who Fought in It. Their method was analyzing the veterans’ documents found in other books and combining the stories from each published work in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the war in the Pacific through the eyes of select veterans.

The overall consensus among World War II historians is that the war shaped the second half of the twentieth century and the modern era in both positive and negative ways. Some historians dove even further into the story in order to understand how the war impacted/affected individual states. Hoosier historians interested in World War II wanted to examine how the war affected the state’s history and vice versa. It was generally understood that Indiana was a major manufacturing state during the war and even had a significant U.S. naval ship, the U.S.S. Indianapolis, named after the state’s

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9 Heinrichs and Gallicchio, Implacable Foes, 661-665.
World War II on some level affected all of Indiana. Like World War II historians that examined the war on a global level, Hoosier historians examined the war’s affects socially, culturally, politically, militarily, and economically.

Hoosier military historians noted several key changes that took place during the war. Beginning in 1952, Dorothy Riker, a member of the Indiana War History Commission staff, argued that World War II allowed Indiana to regain a national military “intimacy” that had not been seen since the War of 1812. More specifically, Indiana became one of the most significant locations for military training because parts of the state, such as Indianapolis, were industrial hubs at the time. Lynn Turner, also a member of the Indiana War History Commission, largely supported this argument and stated in 1956 that 363,000 Indiana men and women served in the armed forces and 10,000 gave their lives. This positive promotion of Hoosiers largely supporting the war was contested in 1982 by James Madison who argued that before Pearl Harbor most Hoosiers did not support the United States entering the war, but after the attack men and

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women signed up in all branches.\textsuperscript{13} Madison argued, “The war changed lives and relationships of mothers, fathers, and children, of husbands and wives. The social disarray of war-most evident in the absence from home of fathers and husbands and working wives and mothers-created new tensions for families.”\textsuperscript{14} Madison’s argument remains largely unchanged, even in his later book published in 2014.

Economically, the war also had a significant impact on Hoosiers. In 1956, Lynn Turner compiled a list of Indiana’s wartime spending, production, and employment rates. Three point two billion dollars’ worth of war goods were produced, over $1 billion spent on war factories, agricultural production increased 49 percent, coal production almost doubled, and employment rose 66 percent. At the same time Hoosiers purchased $3.085 billion in war bonds and were taxed $2.75 billion.\textsuperscript{15} These numbers were staggering, especially considering that many Hoosiers were opposed to the war until after Pearl Harbor. In 1961, Cavnes was able to justify these numbers by analyzing the war boom towns in Indiana. Cavnes found that the major war boom towns in Indiana were Charlestown, Newport, Kingsbury and Burns City which brought thousands of migrant workers creating problems for these small industrial towns.\textsuperscript{16} In 1965, historian Bernard Friedman published \textit{The Financial Role in Indiana} where he analyzed Indiana’s defense spending and taxation to mark how Indiana’s finances changed because of World War II. Friedman argued that the “idle men” and the “idle machines” needed to be put to work in order to gather the material and spiritual morale to fight in World War II.

\textsuperscript{14} Madison, \textit{Indiana through Tradition and Change}, 391.
\textsuperscript{15} Lynn W. Turner, 3.
\textsuperscript{16} Max Parvin Cavnes, \textit{The Hoosier Community at War} (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 15.
emphasized that a conservative state, such as Indiana, struggled with increased taxes and
defense spending, which were not necessarily the same thing, as a negative consequence
of World War II.\textsuperscript{17} This argument conflicts with Turner’s and Cavnes’ because it
suggested that many Hoosiers were not major financial supporters of the war, even if they
served or worked in the boom towns.

Madison added to this argument in 1982 by analyzing not only industrial changes
but agricultural changes as well. Indiana on the eve of World War II produced $106.5
million in corn on 4.03 million acres and $78.6 million in hogs. Madison also noted that
Hoosier farms by 1939 consisted of both traditional farms of the nineteenth century
where there was little heavy machinery used and modern farms similar to the mid-
twentieth century that used large farming equipment and became production farms rather
than producing crops solely for family use. Other crops whose production increased
during this era included wheat and tomatoes.\textsuperscript{18} Madison, like Cavnes, noted Indiana’s
role in industry during World War II. He stated that Indiana was ninth out of 48 states in
manufacturing.\textsuperscript{19} In 2014, Madison highlighted that big business located in Indianapolis
and northern Indiana flourished during World War II.\textsuperscript{20}

Along with military, political, and economic changes in Indiana during the war,
Hoosier historians also examined the social changes that took place as a product of World

\textsuperscript{17} Bernard Friedman, The Financial Role of Indiana in World War II (Bloomington:
\textsuperscript{18} James H. Madison, Indiana through Tradition and Change: A History of the Hoosier
State and Its People 1920-1945, (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1982), 153-
154.
\textsuperscript{19} Madison, Indiana through Tradition and Change, 205.
\textsuperscript{20} James H. Madison, Hoosiers: A New History of Indiana, (Bloomington: Indiana
War II. Beginning shortly after the end of the war, Charles Hirsch examined the conscientious objectors of Indiana who played as much of a role in the U.S. military at home as supporters of the war that took up arms. In connection with Hirsch, Max Cavnes examined the social impacts of World War II on Indiana in the 1960s. Cavnes analyzed the changes that took place in Indiana’s war boom towns, education, mental hospitals, population, prisons, aged persons, race relations, public health, recreation, juvenile delinquency, servicemen’s organizations, and housing. In chapter 1, Cavnes argued that the war “restarted” the industry in places like Indiana, Ohio, and New Jersey, which allowed for many migrants to move back from the farms into the boom towns and cities. In the 1970s, Richard Ugland presented a deeper analysis of the social effects of World War II on Indiana high school students, which related to Cavnes’ chapter on juvenile delinquency. Ugland argued that some high school students at the time faced the consequences of the war by engaging in juvenile delinquency which some invested adults considered a lack of morale for America. On a broader note, James Madison in the 1980s argued that the war changed everything in Indiana including politics, society, culture, and economy. “The economic, political, and social changes of the period 1920-1945 often brought conflict and turmoil to Indiana.”

24 Madison, 2, 370.
plethora of social changes in Indiana including education, religion, public health, public safety, and leisure, sports, and culture. Since the 1980s, historians relied on Madison’s book and arguments of social changes that occurred in Indiana during World War II.

Overall, historians agreed that significant changes occurred in Indiana because of World War II, which shaped the state in the latter half of the twentieth century and up to today. One social component that had not been thoroughly examined before was how the family structure was altered by the war. James Madison and Max Parvin Cavnes are arguably the closest historians to look at how the Hoosier family was altered. Madison stated in his 1991 article, “Hoosiers At War: An Overview of Indiana During World War II,” that Hoosier civilians had to sacrifice like their military friends and family members. Young men going off to war, he argued, longed for their old home life of high school loves and lazy Sunday mornings. Hoosier working class women no longer remained at home; instead they sought new opportunities presented to them in the factories. Even Hoosier children had to become militarily focused through the introduction of blackouts and air-raid drills.\(^{25}\) Family and everyday life was altered for all Hoosier citizens.

In order to understand how World War II affected Hoosiers in general, an in-depth analysis of the Clowes family needs to be examined. Their experiences in World War II contrasted significantly with other Hoosiers and as such their case study provides a unique understanding of the effects of the war. The main figures of this work are Dr. George H. A. Clowes, his wife Edith Whitehill Clowes, and their two sons George H. A. Clowes Jr. and Allen Whitehill Clowes. Dr. Clowes and his parents were originally from

Suffolk and Norfolk, England and in July, 1900, Dr. Clowes moved across the Atlantic to New York in order to fulfill his dream of being a medical researcher. On June 9, 1910, Dr. Clowes and Edith Whitehill married. On August 20, 1911, Dr. Clowes and Edith had their first son Alexander, named after Dr. Clowes who unfortunately passed away in his early childhood due to acute leukemia. After his son’s death, Dr. Clowes became that much more invested in cancer research so that no one else would suffer like he had. Eventually Dr. Clowes and Edith were blessed with two more sons, George Jr. and Allen born in 1915 and 1917 respectively. 

During the first two decades of the new century Dr. Clowes worked as a cancer medical researcher, but eventually turned his attention to the medical uses of insulin. With his outstanding work as a medical researcher, Dr. Clowes was invited to work as the research director at Eli Lilly and Company thus in the summer of 1919, the Clowes family moved from Buffalo to Indianapolis. The move was overly successful for the family and with Dr. Clowes new position they were able to start building their estate. Shortly after the move Dr. Clowes and Edith began building on their socioeconomic status including maintaining their old home at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, investing in a variety of stocks and bonds, purchasing property investments, and developing their philanthropic works including working with the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra, the Family Welfare Society, and Clowes Memorial Hall. The Clowes wealth was actually remarked on by George Jr. after Dr. Clowes death. “The wealth that he was fortunate enough to gain he considered a sort of public trust and responsibility.”

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socioeconomic status Dr. Clowes was able to send his two sons to Harvard and beyond through medical school for George Jr. and in a master’s program for Allen. By the end of his life Dr. Clowes was worth over $4 million based on his stocks and investments and according to his will he actually bequeathed Edith $400,000. In today’s terms, Dr. Clowes’ wealth included $42.5 million in his investments and he left $4.25 million to Edith. With this immense wealth, the Clowes family was considered upper-class in Indiana and because of their financial status their experiences with World War II were dramatically different compared to other Hoosiers.

Dr. Clowes, Edith, George Jr. and Allen represent a unique point of view on the impacts of World War II. As seen in the biography by Alexander Clowes, The Doc and the Duchess, the family unit and their lives remained intact and stable before, during, and after the war. This was arguably due to their socioeconomic status providing opportunities and protection from many of the war’s effects including inflation, taxation, policy changes, social changes, and more. By examining the Clowes family during World War II several comparisons can be made with other Hoosiers including those that remained at home as well as those that left for the fronts. When looking at their personal relationships, no clear changes caused by World War II could be determined. After examining their family dynamics it was clear George Jr. related more to his father and Allen related more to his mother. Compared to the evidence found in previous historians’ works such as Madison’s book, a collection of letters from fighting Hoosiers, and in support of the evidence found in Alexander Clowes’ biography of his family, this

29 Clowes, 129-137.
single, white, upper-class Hoosier family were not as significantly impacted by World War II as compared to other Hoosiers.
On September 1, 1939, Britain and France declared war on Germany. For the United States, not much changed on that day. The U.S. chose to remain neutral in the war at first, instead focusing on the debilitating consequences of World War I. Most states within the United States were still suffering at the hands of the Great Depression and Indiana was no exception. According to Bernard Friedman, Indiana’s personal income was still behind the 1929 mark by almost $100 million. Production also remained below 1929 levels while farm incomes dragged the bottom of the barrel with increasing indebtedness.\(^\text{30}\) Based on these numbers, no real argument was made to enter into another war, especially another costly World War. Once the war finally did start, dramatic political, cultural, economic, and social changes began occurring throughout Indiana. Using the Clowes family as a unique example, this study attempts to understand how one Hoosier family’s structure and daily lives changed with the onset of the war. Compared to the evidence found in previous historians’ works such as James Madison’s books, and in support of the evidence found in Alexander Clowes’ biography of his family, this single, white, upper-class Hoosier family was not as significantly impacted by World War II as compared to other Hoosiers.

**Politics and Economy**

Despite the United States remaining militarily neutral in 1939, there were still defense spending, war-time production, and changes in industry that took place nationally and locally. Before the declaration of war, there was constant feedback on what might

\(^{30}\) Friedman, 3.
happen if another World War took place. In May 1939, Major General H. H. Arnold, Chief of the United States Army Air Corps, wrote an article in the *American Legion Magazine* supporting President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s plan to increase spending on naval and army airplanes for defensive purposes. Major General Arnold used findings from Dr. George H. Gallup of the Institute of Public Opinion and concluded that a majority of the country wanted increased defense spending for the air corps while a select few found the increased spending wasteful. He countered these critics by stating that although there was no immediate enemy present, the *world* had expanded their air armaments, thus the United States needed to keep pace.  

According to Friedman, Hoosiers might have been some of those critics. Indiana legislators began discussing defense expenditures shortly after the declaration of war made by Great Britain and France. Hoosier representatives campaigning for defense expenditures were not well received. There was a conflict among Hoosiers about how much defense spending they should invest in, but as the war continued in Europe, that choice largely fell out of voting Hoosiers’ hands.

The choice of defense spending and the role Indiana would play at the beginning of World War II was mainly delegated to Indiana’s political leaders including Paul V. McNutt. During the 1930s, the Democratic Party remained largely in charge of Indiana through their leader, Governor McNutt, who was a pro-New Deal politician and considered the “heir” of President Roosevelt by his Republican adversaries. By 1939 the Democratic Party was losing power just as McNutt was attempting to pursue the

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32 Friedman, 5.
presidency. There were splits in the party and with the economic downturn from 1937 to 1938, many Hoosiers felt disillusioned with the Democratic Party and its New Deal policies. In connection with legislation, only a few public health bills passed in 1939, but more talk of defense expenditures were steadily on the rise.\footnote{Madison, 149.}

By 1939, many of Indiana’s industries had not changed since the end of World War I. Madison compared Indiana’s manufacturing in 1919 to 1939 and found only 10 leading industries in the state with differences due mainly to the Great Depression. In terms of production costs, iron and steel was the leading industry in Indiana in 1919 and 1939, which increased between those years from $242,972,517 to $463,128,573 and grew in establishments from 120 locations to 289. The other 9 industries in 1919 included automobiles, railroad cars, meat, food, foundry and machine-shop products, flour-and-grist-milling, printing and paper, furniture, and clothing. By 1939 several changes took place with the 10 leading industries being iron and steel, automobiles, petroleum refining, food, chemicals, meat, printing and paper, electrical machinery, clothing, and non-ferrous metals.\footnote{Madison, 204-207.}

The alterations in commerce largely led to the end of the Great Depression for Hoosiers because workers had more job opportunities in local factories, but it also meant that America at large was participating to a point in another World War that left a bad taste in the mouths of Hoosiers who wanted to remain isolated.

In connection with defense spending and the growth of industry, major corporations such as Eli Lilly and Company continued their research in medicine, particularly antibiotics and insulin, which had made headway during World War I and continued even into the Great Depression era. Here Dr. George H. A. Clowes encouraged...
Eli Lilly and Company to pursue medicinal research before World War II and attempt application of medicines through test trials including his most famous work the application of insulin for diabetes.\(^\text{35}\) According to Dr. Alexander Clowes, grandson of Dr. George H. A. Clowes and author of *The Doc and the Duchess: The Life and Legacy of George H. A. Clowes*, much of the Clowes’ family success came from Dr. Clowes’ work in diabetes and cancer research during the 1920s. Dr. Clowes did not receive the Nobel Prize awarded in 1923 to the team of Banting and Macleod who discovered insulin. Instead his legacy extended among his family and the Indianapolis community because Dr. Clowes aided in the development of insulin to help treat diabetes. Through his work and his past familial wealth in England along with Edith’s status in Buffalo, Dr. Clowes and his wife were able to build on their prior wealth and use that to create a large art collection and engage in many philanthropic activities that resonated within the city of Indianapolis. The philanthropic societies Dr. Clowes and Edith were part of during the entirety of the war and after included the Family Welfare Society, the Women’s Advisory Committee, and the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra. The Clowes family made a name for themselves in Indianapolis, especially with the continued research by Dr. Clowes and Edith’s philanthropic work.\(^\text{36}\)

In 1939, much of the Clowes’ family life remained undisturbed by the war efforts. The family was largely living in Indianapolis, where they had moved in 1919 from Buffalo, New York: the home of Edith’s family. By 1933, the family had settled at

\(^{35}\) Madison, 216.

\(^{36}\) Clowes, 3-5, 67, 140-149.
Westerley, in Golden Hill. They still remained largely connected to Buffalo and Woods Hole, Massachusetts, in particular.  

For everyone, the parents and the boys, summers in Woods Hole were a lovely escape. Their time was taken up with golf, tennis, swimming, sailing, gardening, and the company of summer friends. For the boys, there were delightful hours mucking about in boats, while for Clowes there was the pleasure of unfettered discourse with his scientific colleagues and research on problems of fundamental importance at the Marine Biological Laboratory (MBL). Lacking sufficient funds, the family for several years stayed in the Breakwater Hotel or rented houses on or near Eel Pond in the village of Woods Hole. In 1927 they constructed a house, Easterly, in the Cape Cod saltbox style on their property and, much to Edith’s delight, built a formal English garden.

As boys, one of the major delights George and Allen partook in was boating while at Woods Hole. George and Allen both belonged to the Woods Hole Yacht Club and the Quissett Yacht Club from 1930 to the 1970s. George was especially invested in this activity due to his status as secretary for the Quissett Yacht Club from 1933 to 1935, vice commodore from 1939 to 1941, rear commodore from 1969 to 1970, and commodore in 1971. This highlights that the boys and their parents were a part of an elite group in Woods Hole. The Clowes’ socioeconomic status enabled them to engage in activities and events no other average American could pursue during the end of the Great Depression and the start of World War II. Even at the height of the Great Depression the family made frequent trips to Woods Hole. Compared to many Americans at the end of the 1930s, the Clowes were considered an elite class.

To expand on the family’s wealth and status and to understand the familial connections during the war, George and Allen need to be examined at length, especially

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37 Clowes, 122-123.  
38 Clowes, 125.  
39 Clowes, 127.
their education and personalities. “George and Allen could not have been more different: from their earliest days, George was forceful, outgoing, confident, and determined to succeed in all that he tackled, while Allen was gentle, reserved, cautious, and insecure.” While both received the highest quality education George was better at math and science while Allen was better at humanities. By the start of the war, both sons were enrolled at Harvard College. George pursued a medical degree to become a surgeon at the Harvard Medical School in 1937. Allen, meanwhile, earned a degree in business and then spent a year at Eli Lilly and Company until July 1940. Because Eli Lilly and Company remained financially stable during the Great Depression, Edith and Dr. Clowes could put both of their sons through Harvard while at the same time beginning to collect art and pursue philanthropic projects including support for the Herron Art Institute, the Indianapolis Symphony, and programs Edith sponsored in Buffalo. Due to Dr. Clowes’ work at Eli Lilly and Company, the family maintained a financial stability that allowed for both George and Allen to pursue high-end careers, essentially following in their father’s footsteps.

What makes the Clowes family so unique was their financial security that followed them through the Great Depression into World War II. Not many Hoosiers had the education, financial stability, or opportunities that the Clowes had. For example, according to a Green and Hatfield statement, Edith was in the market to purchase antique

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40 Clowes, 128.
41 Personal AWC Military Service Records 1942, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 9, Folder 1.
42 Clowes, 127-129.
furniture from Europe. According to Friedman, many Hoosiers still struggled for constancy with the start of the new World War and the closing of the Great Depression, but not the Clowes.

Society

Further building on Friedman’s analysis, Cavnes analyzed several economic, social, and cultural shifts that occurred because of World War II, almost all of which did not directly affect the Clowes family. For example, Indiana’s population followed the early twentieth century trend of agrarian workers moving to industrialized cities and counties. Indiana cities that saw major population growth included the war boomtowns found in Charleston, Newport, Kingsbury, and Burns City. All of these cities developed wartime factories to aid the Allied Powers in Europe. In December, 1939, Charleston, Indiana shifted from a strictly agrarian community to an industrialized community with the birth of a powder plant led by Du Pont and the local government. It eventually came to fruition in July 1940.

For much of 1939, life in Indiana remained largely unchanged even after the start of World War II in Europe. Indiana remained a heavily agrarian society as the war commenced. Corn sales were close to $106.5 million produced on over 4 million acres, and hogs were worth $78.6 million, followed by $69.7 million in dairy cattle, and $36.3 million in poultry and eggs. The most dramatic alterations in daily life were the start of defense spending and changes in industry. Economic changes in terms of taxes, food

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43 Home Furnishing Receipts, 1939-1964, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 5, Folder 15.
44 Cavnes, 2-15.
45 Cavnes, 15-16.
46 Madison, 153.
rationing, and defense spending did not become major topics of discussion until later in the war. For most Hoosiers, the start of World War II simply meant a continuation of life from the 1930s. This was especially true for the Clowes family where Dr. Clowes and his wife Edith continued living in Indianapolis, developing their philanthropic projects, and continuing research for Eli Lilly and Company. Their sons likewise continued their education at Harvard University. Although the war seemed distant for many Hoosiers, the Clowes included, the Second World War was taking place and it was steadily reaching towards the United States.

1940

Economy

As the war progressed in Europe in 1940, dramatic economic changes took place in the United States, and in Indiana in particular. In agriculture, farmers began to rely more heavily on machines such as tractors to help with farming. By 1940, 59 percent of Hoosier farms had tractors. Most of the tractors, due to their cost, were found on the large farms that began replacing family farms in 1940. The total number of farms declined from 205,126 in 1920 to 184,549 in 1940 with large farms developing from 13.4 percent of that number in 1920 to 16.8 percent in 1940. The traditional family farm declined in numbers.\footnote{Madison, 155, 165.} Meanwhile, rising defense expenditures in Indiana caused increased prices and inflation, which began to affect all Hoosiers. For example, food costs in Indianapolis rose .7 percent from September 1939 to September 1940. The cost of living in Indianapolis rose 15.6 percent from August 1939 to December 1941.\footnote{Friedman, 40-42.} These economic
changes were in direct relation to several social and cultural changes that also began to surface.

**Society and Culture**

One dramatic social change that occurred in 1940 was the change to public health. Cavnes noted that in January 1940, the Indiana State Medical Association created a mobilization day committee in connection with the American Medical Association that sought out eligible doctors in case of wartime emergencies.\(^{49}\) Eli Lilly’s doctors were likely candidates, including Dr. Clowes. No evidence exists however of Dr. Clowes’ participation. Other social and cultural changes that came at the same time were changes in education, recreation, public welfare and state institutions, child welfare, and race relations.\(^{50}\) One example of social change was examined by historian Michella Marino. She inspected the changes that occurred to children in Madison, Indiana, with the start of the war. Madison, Indiana, in 1940 was chosen by the War Department as the site for the Jefferson Proving Ground. For over 155 days, the rural neighborhoods were fraught with 75 mm test rounds shot on the Jefferson Proving Ground disrupting the locals’ lives. A positive consequence though was that the proving ground aided the local economy with better paying jobs and jump-started more war industries. In the community, everyone became involved in aiding the war effort, including the children in various clubs and organizations that assisted the Red Cross. For the lower and middle class families in Madison, the proving ground provided the gateway to better economic standing and

\(^{49}\) Cavnes, 180-181.  
\(^{50}\) For a more in-depth analysis of the social and cultural changes that occurred during World War II in Indiana, see Max Parvin Cavnes, *The Hoosier Community at War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 180-404.
many did not feel deprived during the war years.\textsuperscript{51} Compared to other Hoosiers, particularly farmers, Madison, Indiana, residents mainly considered the war a positive change.

**Military**

In connection with the Madison, Indiana, case study, there were also noticeable differences within the military. Madison noted that several military installations were created in 1940 and 1941, which largely replaced cornfields and dairy farms.\textsuperscript{52} One such example of a new military establishment was found in downtown Indianapolis. In 1937, the Indianapolis Naval Armory NTS (Radio) was completed and taken over by U.S. Naval Reserve Commander O. F. Heslar in September 1940. The purpose of the Naval Armory was to train radio operators for the Navy in the Naval Training School located in the same building.\textsuperscript{53} Starting in 1940, before the U.S. declared war on Japan, Indiana and the U.S. were already taking precautions against foreign military action. These precautionary tactics left many Hoosiers on edge.\textsuperscript{54}


\textsuperscript{52} Madison, 372.

\textsuperscript{53} Dorothy Lois Riker, *The Hoosier Training Ground: A History of Army and Navy Training Centers, Camps, Forts, Depots, and Other Military Installations Within the State Boundaries During World War II* (Bloomington: Indiana War History Commission, 1952), 199. For more information on other military bases in Indiana during the war please see pages 1 to 198, 204 to 294, and 305 to 357.

For the Clowes family in 1940, very little had altered as a result of the precautionary efforts enacted or the social and cultural changes that took place because of the continuation of World War II in Europe. Dr. Clowes’ philanthropic undertakings led to strong national connections, several of whom wrote to Dr. Clowes during 1940. In a letter from Fletcher Hodges, Junior Curator of the Foster Hall Collection in Bardstown, Kentucky, dated May 3, 1940, Dr. Clowes was among several individuals who were associates of the Foster Hall Correspondents that received commemorative stamps that were said to be increasing in value at the time. Dr. Clowes also received a letter from the Little, Brown, and Company Publishers dated May 6, 1940, that invited him to present a manuscript of his work to the Boston office for consideration.\(^5\) In direct connection with Eli Lilly, Dr. Clowes received prestigious acknowledgements. As director of research, Dr. Clowes was considered a great scientist by many of his colleagues. In a letter dated September 18, 1940, Dr. Clowes, Dr. M.E. Krahl, and Dr. A. K. Kelch received praise from the Eli Lilly Company chairman of the board J. K. Lilly. “Being a mere observer on the side lines watching scientists march by, I wish to express my very deep sensibility of the prestige you are building up not only for yourselves but for the House of Lilly in the fine scientific work you are doing…. Please understand that the ‘old man’ is tremendously proud of having such extraordinary work come from the Laboratories.”\(^6\) Based on evidence from the letters, little of the war was discussed or even regarded and Dr. Clowes remained firmly ensconced in his socioeconomic status, doing good works for Eli Lilly and other social endeavors. This evidence also marks little to no change that

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\(^5\) General Correspondence GHA Clowes 1937-1955. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 3.

\(^6\) General Correspondence GHA Clowes 1937-1955. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 3.
took place for Dr. Clowes in 1940 despite the intense shifts occurring in Indiana and even Indianapolis at the same time. The only wartime experiences he was experiencing at this time came in the letters addressed to him and Edith from cousins in England.

Edith Clowes’ also remained busy with her philanthropic ventures, her art collecting, and maintaining ties with her immediate and extended family. Unlike her husband and sons, Edith was made more aware of the events of the war, particularly in England where several of Dr. Clowes’ family remained including Dr. Clowes’ cousin Weston Sydney Clowes, who wrote to Dr. Clowes and Edith throughout the war. One such letter was dated August 18, 1940, from Weston Rectory. In the letter Weston or Sydney (“Syd”) wrote about the Germans constantly bombing England.

Their best bag for 24 hours, so far, is 180 German planes, our loss being only 29!!.... 1st our pilots are better trained. 2nd our planes are quicker at maneuvering. 3rd our shooting is far more accurate. 4th our men are fighting in defense of their homes and fight for a really righteous cause, whereas their pilot…. appear to be very half-hearted and it has been the first great ‘shock’ they have received since the beginning of the war....

Syd went on to explain English daily life including the rationing of food at the same time bombs exploded, Churchill’s speeches, and the idea that the war was all-encompassing for men, women, and children. While the war progressed the Clowes family was privy to the personal challenges and outcomes and not necessarily secondary viewers. Another letter sent from England was addressed to “Alick” from Florence in Rattlesden dated November 23, 1940. In this letter Florence was upset by having to move to a 400 year old house in the country due to the bombings. In the letter she described the area as almost backwards because it only contained one store. She

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57 Clowes, 12.
58 Personal Correspondence EWC 1941-1949. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 10.
followed this statement with one about being close to a “hun” firing off a machine gun on an airplane. Florence noted that what she said in the letter might be omitted due to censor laws. Like Syd’s letter, Florence’s revealed life in England during the height of the German “invasion.” The letter also contained daily life experiences such as the desire to shop, the limits of obtaining supplies in the country, and the appeal to the United States to aid in the war.\textsuperscript{59} Life for the Clowes remained stable from 1939 to 1940, but they were not blind to the events of the war, especially their extended family in England. What Edith might have thought when she received this letter is not known, but it would not be too much of a stretch to argue that she might have felt fear and concern for her extended family overseas. Based on letters such as these among the family, it is understood that Edith was the gateway between life in England and life in Indianapolis thus she was a bridge between stability and war.

Like Dr. Clowes and Edith, life remained stable for George and Allen as well. On November 2, 1940, George wrote home to Edith describing his day-to-day life working towards his ideal career of being a surgeon.\textsuperscript{60} According to him, being a surgeon was similar to being a part of an “elite group.”\textsuperscript{61} George had tests on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the weather in Boston was perfect, he spent time at the Jackson’s where his future wife Peggy resided, and played tag football.\textsuperscript{62} Through this letter it is clear that the war was having very little impact on George’s life and studies. His education though

\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Family Correspondence, 1921-1966}. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 28, Folder 1.
\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Family Correspondence to EWC 1940-1949}. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 9.
\textsuperscript{61} Clowes, 129.
\textsuperscript{62} \textit{Family Correspondence to EWC 1940-1949}. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 9.
would eventually come in handy later on in the war. Life for Allen was also normal. From October 1939 to July 1940, Allen was employed at Eli Lilly and Company with his father. Starting in September 1940, Allen returned to Harvard to pursue a Master’s degree in Business Administration. For the two sons, education was the key to a life like their father’s. World War II remained on the back burner for George and Allen. Their biggest concerns were ensuring their future and following in their father’s footsteps.

1941

Like 1939 and 1940, the beginning of 1941 saw many Hoosiers, the Clowes family especially, much the same as previous years. By the end of 1941 life for the United States, Hoosiers, and the Clowes family changed forever. The four Clowes saw their lives dramatically altered when the United States entered World War II.

Economy

As 1940 gave way to 1941, Hoosiers still faced challenges economically due to inflation. To combat inflation there were three groups created by the Indiana state government in early spring to August 1941: the Price Stabilization Division of the National Defense Advisory Commission, the Office of Price Administration Division and Civilian Supply, and the Office of Price Administration. All three entities worked together to enact price-controls. For example, they controlled inflation through rationing by controlling the amount of resources being produced, bought, and sold in Indiana. By the end of 1941, particularly after December 7, rationing took effect on tires and rubber. This rationing affected thousands of Hoosiers. Like most Hoosiers who owned vehicles,

63 Personal AWC Military Service Records 1942, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 9, Folder 1.
64 Friedman, 50-52.
the Clowes family was affected by the rationing despite their socioeconomic status. Dr. Clowes received a letter from the General Tire Company in Indianapolis dated November 27, 1941, that included a price list for Dual 8 (4 ply) or Dual 10 (6 ply) tires for a Chrysler Windsor 1941 model. Dr. Clowes was given a 20 percent discount for the tires but the prices were as follows: black Dual 8 tires cost after the discount a total of $23.02 per tire and whites cost $28.46 per tire. Black Dual 10 tires cost $32.42 per tire after the 20 percent discount and whites cost $40.22 per tire. Allen also received a letter concerning the cost of tires dated December 4, 1941, which included Dual 8 and 10 prices for black and white tires. For black the costs ranged from $24.30 to $38.85 and for white they ranged from $30.35 to $48.60. Even for the Clowes, price regulations and inflation were affecting the family.

Another example of price inflation was connected to rent, which steadily rose from the summer of 1941 to 1942, until the Office of Price Administration established committees to combat the rising rental rates. Because Dr. Clowes and Edith lived in a home on Golden Hill, Indianapolis, Indiana, they did not have any connections with the price-control on rentals. In terms of agriculture, the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association began to be affiliated with farm co-operatives. In total there were 197 co-operatives in Indiana by 1941 and of them 125 were connected with the Indiana Farm Bureau. Through this cooperation, co-operative farmers began overseeing their wealth and value by regulating their distribution and production to include lubricating oil.

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65 Personal Correspondence AWC 1941-1947. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 29, Folder 6.
66 Friedman, 62.
gasoline, farm machinery, fertilizer, flour, baby chicks, and electricity.\textsuperscript{67} Economically, much of 1941 reflected 1939 and 1940 with rising inflation, agricultural shifts, and changing industry, but because so many Hoosiers were concerned, several price-oriented committees and co-operations began growing towards the end of 1941 to help stabilize the economy but also implement the use of rationing and price-controls, which would be featured heavily later on in the war.

**Politics and Military**

In conjunction with the economy, local politics and military were shifted in 1941, more so than in 1939 or 1940. Politically, Republicans held office pushing out Governor McNutt, which led to a decrease in his political power after 1940. According to Madison, the Democratic Party during the 1930s left a major impact on politics even after World War II.\textsuperscript{68} Although there was a shift in politics by 1941, industrial changes connected to the military continued. Like Indiana’s politics, military bases and industrial plants grew and changed every day. In April 1941, the Indianapolis Chemical Warfare Depot was opened. The purpose of the plant was to assist the chemical division of the Army Service Forces and to provide poison gases and masks for the Chemical Warfare Service. Fortunately, they were never needed. Other provisions included weapons like the 4.2 inch chemical mortar, smoke munitions, incendiary bombs, and flamethrowers. The purpose of opening the plant was to prepare for potential participation in World War II. Indianapolis was chosen because it was located in an ideal location in the country with great connections with the Chicago plant and was in the center of 800 miles of production.

\textsuperscript{67} Madison, 174-175.
\textsuperscript{68} Madison, 151-152.
that created 90 percent of the nation’s manufactured goods. The plant was largely successful, especially with the help of the Firestone Company, which produced rubber for the gas masks.\textsuperscript{69} The movement of goods for military use might have some correlation with the rationing of tires and rubber that began towards the end of 1941 and into 1942.

The plant was so successful that on December 12, 1941, 16,000 training masks were sent to San Francisco. By December 18, 1941, training masks were transformed to service masks and by April 1942 over a million masks were shipped.\textsuperscript{70} Before America declared war on Germany in 1941, the country was already preparing for possible military action. Although steps began taking place in 1939, there seemed to be a shift in 1941, particularly towards the end of the year. By December 7, 1941, there seemed little doubt in anyone’s mind that America was going to fight another World War.

The most significant military change in 1941 was the bombing of Pearl Harbor leading to the declaration of war by the United States on Japan and subsequently Germany. For fighting Hoosiers, the war had truly begun on a beautiful Sunday in December. For Army Air Corps master sergeant David Anderson, the attack on Pearl Harbor was life altering but also an experience that rallied all types of Americans. “We gave the Japs hell on the second go-round, though; several were shot down. They caught us with our pants down, but don’t worry, it won’t happen again. One reason is that we aren’t taking our pants off any more.”\textsuperscript{71} For Anderson, Pearl Harbor was a significant turning point in the war and his letter represents how many fighting soldiers felt at the

\textsuperscript{69} Riker, \textit{The Hoosier Training Ground}, 295-297.
\textsuperscript{70} Riker, 297.
time. Another similar response to Pearl Harbor was in a letter written by Air Corps Col. Arthur William Meehan to his parents dated December 12, 1941. “Since the surprise visit we received from our small yellow friends last Sunday I’ve been too busy to write…Now that the first bomb has been dropped we in the Army have a feeling of relief. It is nice to know exactly where we stand. Before it was all talk and uncertainties and we were in the position of waiting for someone else to fire the first shot…I’ve waited around fourteen years preparing myself for this war-and, believe me, I’m ready.” Col. Meehan’s letter revealed his desire to not only fight in the Second World War, but that there was a better sense within the military who the enemy was and what the U.S. military was meant to do. While December 7, 1941, was a time of great loss, it was also a time of rallying support behind American involvement in World War II. For their fallen brethren, Americans felt justified in entering the war on the side of the Allies. Fighting Hoosiers such as Col. Meehan and master sergeant Anderson had vastly different experiences with the start of World War II compared to the Clowes sons, who would not join the armed forces until 1942 and 1943. At the same time the idea of serving their country rang true among the fighting Hoosiers and the Clowes sons, which made them brothers in all but blood.

Society

Although there were changes in the economy, politics, and military from 1939 to 1940, Indiana society reflected only minimal social changes during that time. The year 1941 though saw immense changes to education, sports, and culture overall. By December 1941, there were more Hoosiers achieving a higher level of education than

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72 *Indiana in World War II*, 4-5.
their parents and grandparents. In all, while the population remained lower, more students were pursuing higher levels of education.\footnote{For a more in depth examination of the social changes that took place in Indiana during World War II please see Madison, \textit{Indiana through Tradition and Change}, 263, 282, 341.}

One unique and positive element that came with the war was the unity of Americans to fight for freedom. According to Cavnes, “Pearl Harbor cleared the decks for social reform and opened up possibilities for the Negro who had known only a combination of bread line, relief, and WPA during the decade of the thirties.”\footnote{Cavnes, 111.} What really encouraged this movement was the growth of wartime industries where there was a shortage of workers. One example connected to racial equality among local industries was the bill introduced to the lower house of the Indiana legislature that eliminated discrimination in defense industries. By August 1941, Indiana was over the national average of 46.6 percent of African American workers in industry.\footnote{Cavnes, 111-119.} Overall, 1941 saw several dramatic changes socially and culturally. Most of the changes were positive, especially for Indiana’s youth and its African American population. Although the war would eventually bring heartache, especially to those who lost family members in battle, on the home front, life was moving out of the Great Depression and back to a society of opportunity.

Despite the changes taking place, life remained mostly the same for the Clowes family until the end of the year when the United States declared war on Japan after the attack at Pearl Harbor. The war kept Dr. Clowes employed and busy at Eli Lilly. He was also swamped with letters and personal correspondence among coworkers, acquaintances, and family members. An example of his continuous exposure to the events of World War
II was the continued letters he received from his cousins in England. In a letter dated December 8, 1941, Syd wrote about the continued changes he and the rest of the extended family were facing because of the war. At the beginning of the letter, Syd revealed that while life was difficult in England because of the war, he constantly reassured Dr. Clowes that the family was doing fine and that they were mostly safe. Syd considered himself lucky because he and the English cousins had prayer and hope while many did not. Syd also revealed his gratitude to Dr. Clowes for sending gifts and care packages because it enabled him and his wife to remain independent rather than relying on their children. Towards the end of the letter, Syd revealed that while the events of Pearl Harbor were terrible, there was a sense of hope in his tone that the United States was finally entering the war.  

The underlying tone throughout all of these letters during the entirety of the war was hope. For the family living in England who was directly experiencing the war, fear should have been at the top of the list, but all of their letters revealed that they were trying to live life as normally as possible while maintaining hope that the war would turn in their favor. These letters revealed that the family in England compared to the Clowes in the United States had a more significant experience with the war. Through these letters addressed to Dr. Clowes and Edith, it brought the war and its consequences into the conversations and made them aware of what was happening with the war without truly experience the consequences of the war.

While open communication with extended family in Europe enlightened Dr. Clowes and Edith on what was happening during World War II, their home life and immediate familial relationships were not affected by the war. One unique aspect about

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76 *Family Correspondence GHA Clowes 1926-1947*. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 2.
the relationship between Dr. Clowes, Edith and their sons was that the boys seemed more 
comfortable approaching Edith in their letters about daily life whereas the letters from Dr. 
Clowes to his sons and his sons’ associates were more businesslike. One such example 
came November 6, 1941, where Dr. Clowes wrote to the Director of the U.S. Civil 
Service Commission Applications Division in Washington, D.C., on behalf of Allen. In 
the letter, Dr. Clowes advocated on behalf of Allen that he was a resident of Indiana at 
the time for voting and legal purposes although he was applying for a position as a 
professional assistant and junior business analyst in Boston. Another example of the 
relationship between Dr. Clowes and his sons was a letter he wrote to them dated 
December 9, 1941.

My dear George and Allen:

On October 22, 1941, acting as agent for you two boys, your 
mother, and myself, I arranged to acquire a 3/8 interest in the Harrison 
Apartment House in Indianapolis, it being understood under our 
preliminary agreement that the interest in question would be divided 
equally among the four members of our family, that is to say 3/32 to each 
of the following: E.W.C., G.H.A.C., Jr., A.W.C., and G.H.A.C. On my 
return to Indianapolis, I ascertained that a further 1/4 interest in this 
apartment could be obtained from Fred Cline by exchanging the equity 
that he had acquired in the Harrison Apartment House for the 
Massachusetts Avenue property, in which you two boys and I have an 
equal interest, and certain cash payments in addition, and on November 
18th, acting as your agent, I signed an agreement with Fred Cline under 
which we agreed to purchase his equity in a quarter interest in the 
Harrison Apartment House in exchange for the Massachusetts Avenue 
property.…

Based on this letter alone, it can be inferred that while Dr. Clowes was a father figure, he 
was also an astute business manager and had a professional relationship with George and 
Allen. Another example of Dr. Clowes’ business relationship with George and Allen was 

77 Family Correspondence AWC 1941-1947. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes 
Family Archives, Box 29, Folder 7.
a letter dated December 10, 1941, where Dr. Clowes encouraged both of his sons to take out a $10,000 insurance policy because they were the prime age for military service. The letter also contained day-to-day conversation about work-related drama where Dr. Clowes might not have made it for Christmas that year at Woods Hole and a family friend’s husband was engaged in fighting in Manila. These letters provided a unique insight into the relationship between Dr. Clowes and his sons. They also highlight the role of family during this time, especially with Edith involved in investments through Dr. Clowes. Finally, it is clear from the evidence that Dr. Clowes was growing concerned about the happenings of the war, as seen in his financial advice to George Jr. and Allen.

Nineteen forty-one for Dr. Clowes was a steady year with positive investments, little change in his socioeconomic status, and his role as financial manager for his sons seemed to have stayed the same in spite of the war.

Edith, much like her husband, had a stable life but what made her different was her relationship with her sons and her awareness of the consequences of World War II. The letters she received from the extended family in England provided a first person point of view about the events of the war. Edith was still benefitting from her social status though. Josiah K. Lilly dated a letter January 29, 1941, where he thanked Edith for a formula in making solutions and was told that Mr. and Mrs. Lilly would be visiting her home to see her roses. This letter enforced the assumption that Edith’s social status was partially connected to her husband’s work and as such both Edith and Dr. Clowes reaped the rewards. Another example was a letter from the Book-of-the-Month Club in New

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78 Family Correspondence AWC 1941-1947. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 29, Folder 7.
79 Personal Correspondence EWC 1941-1949. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 10.
York dated February 3, 1941. In the letter there was clear evidence that Edith’s social status enabled her to pursue several benefits such as obtaining a free book each month and having the choice of any book she wanted rather than sticking with the list. A final example was found in a letter from the Fuelite Natural Gas Corp in Massachusetts dated April 16, 1941. This letter consisted of turning on the gas and advising her to contact them in advance to avoid having to wait for the gas to be turned on when they are at Woods Hole, Massachusetts.  

These letters from various corporations and social groups highlighted Edith’s socioeconomic status along with her husband’s. It also emphasized that despite the war and Indiana undergoing economic, political, military, and social changes, Edith and her family were largely unaffected.

Within the family, World War II in 1941 had little impact on the familial connections. George and Allen both had close relationships with their parents but George seemed to connect more with Dr. Clowes discussing financial matters and Allen communicated more with Edith about daily life. One example of Allen and Edith’s relationship was a postcard sent to Edith dated July 13, 1941, where Allen described returning to New York after two days at Acadia National Park in Maine. For Edith, she received continuous letters from cousin Syd in England. One such letter dated August 4, 1941, further described the life he and the rest of the extended Clowes family were facing in England as the war progressed. Syd recounted that many personal gardens were being filled with crops like vegetables instead of flowers. Syd also professed that he and the rest

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80 General Correspondence to EWC 1941-1949. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 8.
81 Clowes, 129.
of his family were involved in meetings in their local church to discuss the matters of the war and to hear testimony from individuals like doctors that informed the locals on the events of the war as well as provided some minor first aid training. The letter continued with evidence that the locals were out nightly protecting their fields from German bombs because they believed that they would not stop fighting for their freedom from Hitler and his “gang.” Syd concluded with praising the United States for its aid to the Allies and almost encouraged U.S. entry into the war to prevent Japan from causing trouble.\(^{83}\) Other such letters from various family members in England revealed a sense of reassurance and the desire to continue life as if the war was not taking place. For example, Edith received a letter dated August 18, 1941, from Cori Mariau where she revealed how grateful Annette (another family member) was to Edith for sending a parcel of food. She also revealed that life was “good so far,” suggesting that while the war was wreaking havoc, the family in Britain was resourceful.\(^{84}\) World War II seemed closer to Edith than to the rest of her family, partially due to the fact that she received most of the correspondence with her extended family in England. Overall, the family relationships remained largely unchanged in spite of World War II’s continuation in Europe and America drawing closer to battle.

Like their parents’ lives, George and Allen’s lives during much of 1941 also remained largely unchanged with the progression of World War II. It was not until the attack at Pearl Harbor that the sons began considering military action. Their family relationships, as seen with Edith, also remained consistent as the war progressed. In 1941

\(^{83}\) Personal Correspondence EWC 1941-1949. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 10.

\(^{84}\) Personal Correspondence EWC 1941-1949. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 10.
Allen still pursued a Master’s in Business Administration at Harvard University. At the same time he received constant financial assistance from his father. One example of this was a letter from the Lilly Research Laboratories dated November 4, 1941 where Lenora Clark asked Allen on behalf of Dr. Clowes for Allen to send copies of his stock dividends from July to September.\(^\text{85}\) Allen’s letters to Edith held a different tone. While most of Allen’s letters to his father were addressed as “Dear Father/Dad,” letters to Edith were largely addressed to “Dear witchling/sousling.”\(^\text{86}\) Allen’s and George’s relationship with their mother held a more personal tone than with their father, but that does not mean that they were not close to their father. George’s life, like the rest of his family’s in 1941, stayed almost exactly the same as 1939 and 1940 while he pursued a medical degree at Harvard. As he was with Allen, Dr. Clowes was George’s finance manager.\(^\text{87}\) Overall, the interfamilial relationships and the daily lives of the Clowes were unchanged. By the end of 1941, with the attack on Pearl Harbor, both sons maintained their devotion to school but also thirsted to serve their country like many of their peers. By 1942, their desires would be realized.\(^\text{88}\)

Life in Indiana during 1941 progressed at a steady rate of change in economics, politics, military actions, and society. The United States prepared for war and Indiana was no exception. Far more industrial development took place in Indiana than in 1939 or 1940. The economy shifted out of the Great Depression and into troubling times of inflation, only combatted by the help of rationing, price-controls, and individual agencies

\(^{85}\) *Personal Correspondence AWC 1941-1947*. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 29, Folder 6.

\(^{86}\) Clowes, 135.

\(^{87}\) Cavnes, 111-119.

\(^{88}\) Clowes, 128.
dedicated to helping balance Indiana’s economy. Politically, Republicans were back in power but the legacy of the Democratic Party remained. Militarily, Indiana grew and served as a hub between major cities like Chicago and the rest of the country. Socially, dramatic changes took place that had not been seen before such as an increase in higher education and better race relations among Hoosiers. As all of this change was occurring in Indiana and the war was progressing in Europe, very little of it had a direct impact on the Clowes family as a unit. Economically, the Clowes remained stable and in some cases benefitted from their socioeconomic status like Edith and Dr. Clowes did, only really feeling the rationing of tires and rubber, which began in 1941 and impacted them because they owned cars. The Clowes’ family relationships remained stable with Dr. Clowes acting as business and finance manager for George and Allen. Edith’s relationship with her family remained unaltered but with letters coming from England, Edith was arguably more directly affected by World War II than her husband and sons in 1941. Finally, George and Allen’s lives also remained unchanged during 1941 with both pursuing their individual degrees as they had been since 1939 and 1940 respectively.

Conclusion

From 1939 to 1941 steady change began making its way through Indiana affecting the economy, politics, society, and culture for all Hoosiers of varying socioeconomic classes. From 1939 to 1940 Indiana faced the consequences of the Great Depression by the time Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. Meanwhile the threat of war for the United States hung in the air. The life-altering consequences of the First World War left deep scars for many Hoosiers and the possibility of another World War seemed overwhelming. Indiana in 1939 remained largely opposed to the war efforts, but the local
government and industries sought to enact wartime preparations. One positive aspect about the start of the war in Europe for Hoosiers was the development of war boomtowns where many Hoosiers began to work again. An unfortunate consequence of those war boomtowns was price inflation. From 1940 to 1941 however, agencies and co-operatives were developed to combat this. Other positives with the start of the war up until America’s entry was the growth of industry overall, the decreased racial tensions, the push for higher education, support from the government that opposed combat, and the movement of migrants to work in Indiana. By December 7, 1941 there was no more debate in Indiana over America’s entry into World War II. Hoosiers fully supported the entry of the United States, especially after the attack at Pearl Harbor.  

Indiana from 1939 to 1941 slowly evolved as the war progressed in Europe, and by the time the U.S. entered the war on the side of the Allies, life was never the same again.

For most Hoosiers the changes found all over the state impacted their daily lives. The Clowes family on the other hand, did not change as a direct consequence of the war. Their socioeconomic status saved them from most of the economic alterations taking place. In terms of industry, Dr. Clowes’ position as director of research at Eli Lilly further enhanced his and his family’s socioeconomic status. He and Edith still pursued their philanthropic duties and art collection while their sons from 1939 to 1940 developed their careers through higher education at Harvard University. The family unit remained strong with George and Allen writing to Edith about daily life and communicating with their father about their finances. Life in Indianapolis and at Woods Hole, Massachusetts remained balanced while World War II was placed on the back burner. The only time Dr.

89 Madison, 371.
Clowes and Edith were exposed to the war was through correspondence with cousins in England. In all, life was good for the Clowes family from 1939 to 1941. By 1942 however, World War II dramatically altered the family’s existence and future.
Chapter 2
January 1942 to December 1943

1942

As the years passed for the war in Europe, much of America was just at the threshold of witnessing some of the worst battles since its inception. By the end of 1941, America officially renounced its claim to isolationism and entered the war on the side of the Allied Powers, partially to end the war, and partially to seek revenge on Japan for the country’s actions at Pearl Harbor. The beginning of 1942 saw little military and governmental movement connected with war actions, but by the late spring, early summer of 1942, the U.S. was prepared to enter a war in Europe against Hitler’s Germany and one in the Pacific against the Japanese Empire.

The American Joint Chiefs of Staff suggested an all-out offensive against Japan, which was almost immediately rejected by President Roosevelt. The motivation for revenge though drove many high military figures in the United States to push a “Pacific-first” strategic plan. The debate on that continued well into 1943.  

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What aided this movement were the constant posters and political propaganda that spread throughout the country as seen in Image 1.  

Despite the use of these types of materials, the Pacific-first strategy never came to fruition mostly because of the ever-growing threat that was Adolph Hitler and his Nazi regime. As such Great Britain, through the guidance of Sir Winston Churchill, implored the United States to aid them in combating the powers of Germany. By January 1942, Churchill and Roosevelt had already established a combined command structure at the

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Arcadia Conference to put down the Axis powers.\textsuperscript{92} America had officially entered the Second World War bent on putting down Japan and Germany, just not necessarily in that order.

**Economy**

Internationally, not much was changing despite America’s declaration of war. It would not be until 1943 when American engagement overseas began taking effect. On the home front, life also remained about the same as before the Pearl Harbor attack other than a general understanding that America was officially at war and the need to prepare for the worst rang across the country. When looking at Indiana during the start of 1942, several key changes took place. To avoid any misconceptions about the Second World War, the Indiana War History Commission, established in 1942, was designed to preserve all types of documents relating to the war. Through these records it is understood that 363,000 Hoosier troops were sent to fight in World War II in both Europe and the Pacific. The mobilization of some of these troops began shortly after the start of 1942. Meanwhile, Indiana’s infrastructure was producing over $3.2 billion in war goods and spending over $1 billion in war factories. Along with the increase in infrastructure came a 49 percent growth in agricultural production during the war years and a 66 percent employment growth. Based on these numbers compared to other states, Indiana was referred to as “INDIANA-The Center of Almost Everything.”\textsuperscript{93}

One aid to the increase in manufacturing expenditures and wartime factories came from the federal government. “By April, 1942, the Federal Reserve System issued


\textsuperscript{93} Lynn W. Turner, 3-4.
Regulation V, as authorized by Executive Order 9112, whereby the federal government offered to guarantee credit agencies against losses on loans made to firms engaged in defense production.”  

This helped war production for small businesses. The state government was not the only institution providing funding for the war. From May 1, 1941 to December 1942, Hoosiers purchased more than $7 billion in savings and war bonds.  

Through several of these actions taken by the general population, the state government, and the federal government, Indiana was arguably one of the more invested states in World War II.

**Society**

In conjunction with increased military spending and ever-increasing wartime production in Indiana, there was also a demand for workers. According to Madison, the summer of 1942 saw labor shortages due to more able-bodied men joining the military.  

This trend continued throughout the duration of the war. A product of this labor shortage was the induction of minorities and women into previously denied work. Unfortunately not many white males saw this change as a good thing, but many put their differences aside in order to win the war. In support of this social change, there was the Indiana Plan of Bi-Racial Cooperation led by the Indiana government in order to put “idle workers to work.” With this plan in place it set a precedent among all that there was a civil rights
problem nationally.\textsuperscript{97} While the war would cause a great deal of stress and turmoil for years to come, there were some social benefits that came as a product of the war.

By extension, other social changes such as education, public health, and recreation came out of World War II. In regards to public health, World War II sought a need for doctors nationally and in the case of Indiana over 800 physicians were in service. By the end of 1942, Indiana had met its quota of physicians in the Armed Forces, so much so that the state was not able to send any more doctors until other states met their quotas.\textsuperscript{98} While Dr. Clowes worked in the medical industry, his researcher status did not enable him to be considered for this program. Other social changes included providing more community youth programs through the YMCA and the YWCA to help decrease child delinquency and installing defense training programs in secondary schools.\textsuperscript{99} While life continued on in Indiana, social, economic, and political changes took place as a direct response to the war. Interestingly the Clowes parents seemed largely unaffected by the changes taking place around them making them unique to other Hoosiers of the era.

\textbf{Clowes and the Military}

For the Clowes sons, life would change dramatically with their induction into the military with Allen joining the Navy in 1942 and George Jr. joining the Army in 1943. Before their induction into the military, both sons’ lives remained the same since the start

\textsuperscript{98} Cavnes, 185-186.
\textsuperscript{99} Cavnes, 259, 316-317.
of World War II. During the spring of 1942, both George Jr. and Allen finalized their education in pursuit of their individual careers.

Meanwhile, the first half of 1942 was a time of great life-altering decisions for Allen. In the spring of 1942, Allen completed the last few requirements he needed for a master’s in business from Harvard Business School and then joined the Navy shortly before finishing his degree during the summer of 1942. Allen’s pursuit to join the military began shortly after the start of the New Year in 1942. On January 8, 1942, Allen submitted an application for the Commission in the U.S. Naval Reserve to the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation requesting that he be appointed as an Ensign O-V-(S). Allen indicated that he would be finished with his master’s program in June 1942 and eligible for active duty afterwards. The response to his application came on March 20. Allen enlisted as an ensign. Later, on April 9, 1942, Allen was assigned as a volunteer special service member. April 18, Priscilla M. Dade, Secretary to Professor Fraser of Soldier’s Field in Boston, Massachusetts, responded that his application was accepted for the Naval Ordnance and he was sworn in that week. With his college education, Allen was able to immediately rank as an officer. From May 28 to June 1, Allen was classified as special service to complete his degree requirements. At the same time, Allen received several documents from the Navy including “Hints to Our Newcomers” which contained suggestions and information for newly indoctrinated naval officers who did not go through boot camp. Several of these suggestions included salutes to higher-ranking officers, dress for different occasions, and when to stand and in what setting while other

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100 Clowes, 128.
officers are present. Allen’s desire to pursue a military career shortly before receiving his master’s degree from the Harvard Business School implies that he strongly anticipated being part of the growing movement of American men and women invested in defeating the Axis powers of World War II.

Beginning in June 1942, Allen’s naval career took shape while he finished his Harvard education. Between May and July two members of the Naval Ordnance and the Navy Department recognized Allen specifically. On May 30, 1942, A.S. Hickey wrote such a letter to Commander Lewis L. Strauss, which included Hickey’s observations of Allen. He mentioned Allen’s time at Harvard including his cum laude status associated with his bachelor’s degree and his completion of his master’s degree. In this letter, Hickey stated that he interviewed Allen for an assistant position to someone named Lasell. Hickey encouraged Commander Strauss to consider Allen for further perusal because he seemed to stand out. The fact that Allen was mentioned by name among higher members of the U.S. Navy so early into his military career emphasizes Allen’s unique position within the Navy, aided mostly by his education and socioeconomic status created by his father. In response to Hickey’s letter, Commander Strauss replied June 2, stating that Allen’s record had been examined but his only reservation of putting Allen in an active role was because he did not complete an indoctrination course as an officer. After Allen completed the indoctrination course, Commander Strauss told Hickey that he would work hard to put Allen in Hickey’s office.

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101 Personal AWC Military Service Records 1942. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 9, Folder 1.
102 Personal AWC Military Service Records 1942. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 9, Folder 1.
On June 3, 1942, Allen was officially ordered to participate in the officer’s indoctrination course at Cornell University that began on July 1. While Allen took the course, he was also enlisted as active duty on June 9th with full pay and benefits. His social standing along with his military enlistment further aided Allen’s livelihood as seen in a letter from the Quissett Yacht Club dated June 5, 1942, where they suspended all of his dues. Allen’s socioeconomic status allowed him to be a member of several elite groups and pursue an education from a highly ranked university, which in turn enabled his connections to high-ranking members of the Navy. Because of his social standing, Allen was granted more benefits and recognition than most other individuals and presented a unique experience of World War II that not many other Hoosiers had the benefit of having.

For most fighting Hoosiers, joining the military in World War II meant strenuous training and eventual combat. According to Staff Sergeant Ernest Maye in a letter he wrote home to the staff of the Indiana State Library dated 1942, the Army provided equal chances but not equal ability. His experience at the training camp in North Carolina revealed him successfully earning his stripes, but only after hard work on and off duty. Maye also told his colleagues that being in the Army meant following his tough superiors and not a day went by when he and his fellow soldiers were not exhausted after a day’s hard work. Compared to Allen’s experiences at Cornell, this soldier seemed to have a more rough time with his military training. Another example of the differences in training camps between Allen and other soldiers include a letter by Air Corps John Stanley Popp

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103 Personal AWC Military Service Records 1942. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 9, Folder 1.  
104 Indiana in World War II, 19-20.
dated December 5, 1942, from Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Popp discussed his purpose for serving in the military, “I find that butchering the Japs and Germans isn’t my real objective. I don’t believe in killing, but there is something greater than the life or death of a freedom-grabber like Hitler and his puppets. I’m in here fighting for the things freedom stands for—our church bell ringing every Sunday, the truth on our radio and in our newspapers, our children going to school and learning something besides military tactics, everyone having the same privilege to get ahead, the gang on the corner doing and saying what they please.” He also said in his letter that he was grateful for his harder classes in his training in order to show that he was better than the Japs and the Germans.\(^{105}\) While both Allen and other Hoosier soldiers went through training camps that included classes and lectures, Allen’s experience at Cornell seemed far less strenuous and devoted to battle. After examining these fighting Hoosiers’ stories, the Clowes are that much more unique from other Hoosiers of this time.

Compared to most other military Hoosiers, Allen’s first exposure to the military seemed far less invasive and overwhelming. From July to August, Allen was enrolled in the indoctrination course for officer training. According to a newspaper clipping dated August 6\(^{th}\), Cornell University’s indoctrination course was the “Alma Mater to Hundreds of U.S. Navy Officers. All officers, including Allen, were provided with instructions and information related to the course. Part of the information included transportation options, which were few and far between; car storage, which applied to Allen because he owned a Buick at the time, making him even more elite than his other officers because he owned a car; and the dress code including khakis, dress blues, and polished black shoes. The

\(^{105}\) Indiana in World War II, 21-22.
course covered several topics relating to the U.S. military including Executive Drill, Inspections, Physical Training, Practical Ordnance Drills, and Seamanship Historical and Medical Lectures. Part of the course was to submit to a health screening, where Dr. Clowes actually aided Allen by providing his vaccination list. During the course Allen was fit for service based on his health screening with only minimal defects such as poor vision in his right eye and some missing teeth. During his time in the course Allen’s schedule ranged from 0815 (8:15 am) to 2200 (10:00 pm), and included multiple lectures along with drills and physical exercise. Based on his quizzes and exams, Allen did fairly well during the course and passed toward the end of August. Allen’s time in the course provided him with the necessary background information about the U.S. Navy through an officer’s position and was largely regarded as his first active duty assignment.

Towards the end of 1942, the U.S. Naval Reserve assigned Allen various tasks and duties, but none of them included time overseas or on a ship. On August 28, Allen received a telegram from Randall Jacobs claiming a change of duty for Allen after he completed the indoctrination course. Allen was assigned to Washington, D.C., on September 4 to work for the Commandant of the Navy Yard under instruction of the Ordnance Inspectors School. Allen’s social position entitled him to many benefits, one of which he applied to his positions throughout his duration with the Navy. In a correspondence with Captain King dated October 7, 1942, Allen politely requested a change of assignment to one that would put his skills to use such as administrative work. He referred to his inquiry as one where it required “meeting the right person at the right

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106 Personal AWC Military Service Records 1942. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 9, Folder 1.
107 Personal AWC Military Service Records 1942. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 9, Folder 1.
time.” Captain King responded on October 19, stating that he had been in conversation with Hickey in regards to placing Allen as an assistant in his office. Captain King urged Allen to keep working and continue establishing different connections within the Navy and before he knew it he would be in a position that he longed for. On November 4, Randall Jacobs assigned Allen temporary additional duty at the Bureau of Ordnance after which he would return to the Naval Gun Factory, Navy Yard. From August 29 to November 6, Allen was paid $491.90. During his active duty Allen also took two leaves of absence. In all, Allen’s first year in the Navy ended with his master’s degree in business from Harvard, an indoctrination course certificate from Cornell University, and several positions at the Bureau of Ordnance and Navy Yard in Washington, D.C. Of course, what made Allen unique from his fellow soldiers and officers was that Allen never saw battle or left the country.

During his time in the Navy, Allen spoke frequently with his parents in Indianapolis. Despite being a part of the military during the Second World War, the familial relationships between Allen and his parents did not change. Dr. Clowes sent several letters to Allen during 1942 covering topics such as cars, finances, and life in Indianapolis. The letters also contained Dr. Clowes’ sullen attitude when it came to Allen’s personal life. Dr. Clowes claimed Allen hardly revealed news from the Navy. On January 13, Dr. Clowes told Allen the condition of the Buick so that he might have it during his time in New England in exchange for another vehicle’s plates that Dr. Clowes wanted for a vehicle in Indianapolis. Dr. Clowes also commented on his concern about

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tires being shipped to Boston for Allen that had not arrived yet. Dr. Clowes still acted more as a business manager for George Jr. and Allen, particularly while they were in school and beginning their careers. The letter also showed Dr. Clowes’ displeasure at not hearing more about naval operations. “Now about the naval situation, I have not heard from you as to how things are shaping up… at least drop us a line so that we may know how things are progressing.” From this sentence alone it was clear that while Dr. Clowes managed his sons’ finances and personal documents, he seemed almost disconnected and unhappy with his personal relationships as seen with Allen’s lack of communication about his career and personal life.

Further examples of Allen’s strained personal relationship with his father included several letters sent by Dr. Clowes to Allen. In a letter dated February 19, Dr. Clowes mentioned how George had come to visit him and Edith with news that he would be interning for the Indiana University Medical School Base Hospital. He also mentioned a discussion between himself and George Jr. where they both agreed that it was a good opportunity for Allen to be in the Navy. Similar to the three previous letters, in a later dated February 23, Allen continued to inquire about the vehicles the Clowes possessed along with any business dealings he and Dr. Clowes had to process. Dr. Clowes meanwhile was seeking answers from Allen in regards to his upcoming naval assignments and whether Allen wanted Dr. Clowes to “aid” in his situation by speaking with the dean of the Harvard Business School. Similar content and concerns from Dr. Clowes also exists in letters dated February 26 and March 23 respectively. Interestingly in the letter dated February 26, Dr. Clowes stated, “I am very glad to learn from your

109 Family Correspondence AWC 1941-1947, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 29, Folder 7.
letters to mother that it looks as though you might be in line for a commission in the Naval Ordnance.”

This letter clearly implies that Allen was communicating far more with his mother about his personal life and military career than with his father.

By May 4, 1942, Allen had been inducted into the Navy, but still, Dr. Clowes was yearning for more communication from his son. “I imagine that you are very busy with your work and so have not been able to write us sooner to let us know whether you have actually been sworn in in the navy or not.” All of these letters suggest a hint of discontent among Dr. Clowes in regards to Allen’s career and naval interest. While Dr. Clowes and Allen’s relationship seemed strained and impersonal, it was not as a direct consequence of World War II. As seen in prior years, Allen and Dr. Clowes’ relationship was more professional rather than personal and that did not seem to change even though Allen joined the Navy. Based on these letters and prior evidence, the Clowes familial relationships remained the same before, during, and after the Second World War.

It is clear that Allen’s relationship with his father through letters showed a more professional relationship than a personal one. The same cannot be said for Edith and sometimes other family members such as Allen’s grandfather. Within most of the letters addressed to Edith were Allen’s extensive remarks on his daily tasks and actions. On July 6, 1942, Allen wrote to “Sousling” (Edith) about his time at Cornell University. In this letter he talked about the weather, drills, the fact that he went to bed at 9:30, and his daily class schedule and training. One note that he did make in his letters was the fact that he

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110 *Family Correspondence AWC 1941-1947*, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 29, Folder 7.
called Edith and Dr. Clowes. This evidence might counter the observations made with the correspondence between Allen and Dr. Clowes because there are no records indicating what was discussed among them over the phone. Other forms of communication such as postcards present more evidence that Allen was discussing his personal life in detail with Edith. Examples include July 14, 21, and 22 where Allen wrote “Dear Sousling/Dear S” and regaled his daily activities such as watch times, his personal health, and potential leave from the military to visit his maternal grandfather. Another personal document highlighting Allen’s more personal relationship with his mother was dated July 17, 1942, where Allen emphasized some of the stress he was feeling at Cornell, but urged her not to worry too much. Every one of the letters and postcards Allen sent in 1942 addressed to Edith stress the differences in relationships he had with his parents, but not as a direct result of the war.

Allen also communicated with his grandfather through letters that contained more personal information than his letters to Dr. Clowes. On August 10, 1942, Allen wrote to his grandfather implying that he had not written in some time, but that he was in constant communication with his parents over the phone. Allen also related that he wished he could have visited his grandfather in Buffalo, but that the trains were horrible for his schedule at Cornell. Allen related that George Jr. had gotten married, he had graduated from Harvard Business School, received his first naval assignment, and was currently undergoing an indoctrination course. Towards the end of the letter, Allen stated that he

112 AWC Letters to Parents 1942-1944, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 30, Folder 9.
included a photo of himself in uniform. There was a clear indication that Allen had a close relationship not only with Edith but also with his grandfather, far closer it can be argued based on written documentation alone, than his relationship with Dr. Clowes.

1942 saw a great amount of change in Allen’s daily life. Over the course of one year Allen’s life underwent dramatic alterations including graduating from Harvard Business School with a master’s degree in business, becoming an officer in the Navy, completing an officer’s indoctrination course, and being assigned to the Navy Yard in Washington, D.C. Allen remained in constant communication with his immediate and extended family. Through his letters it is clear that his personal relationships mirrored his life before the military, but Dr. Clowes seemed to become more discontented with his and Allen’s relationship simply because of the lack of personal communication among them. Still, it is clear that Allen’s relationship with his family remained strong and unchanged as the war continued, even after his life altering decision to enter the military during wartime.

Meanwhile, George Jr.’s life, similar to Allen’s, saw dramatic changes which altered his relationships with his mother and father forever, but were not as a direct consequence of World War II. Like the rest of the Clowes, George Jr.’s socioeconomic status afforded him more leeway during the wartime period than it did for most other Hoosiers, especially those serving in the military. George Jr. studied at Harvard Medical School to become a surgeon. That spring, he completed a surgical internship at the Boston City Hospital after which he became interested in burn management. According to Alexander W. Clowes, the Cocoanut Grove nightclub fire in Boston fueled George

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113 Family Correspondence AWC 1941-1947, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 29, Folder 7.
Jr.’s training during this program. One set of communication between Dr. Clowes and George Jr. was the discussion of burn patients versus cancer patients and how the metabolisms of the victims seemed similar.\(^\textit{114}\) These conversations between Dr. Clowes and George Jr. further developed their relationship professionally and personally because they were able to connect through their mutual interests in medicine. Unlike Allen, George Jr. did not immediately sign up for the war, instead he waited a year in order to finish his internships and education to become a doctor. Despite not immediately enlisting into the military, George Jr.’s life took a dramatic turn when he met Margaret “Peggy” Gracie Jackson in June 1942.\(^\textit{115}\)

While their sons pursued their ideal career paths, Dr. Clowes and Edith’s lives remained largely unchanged despite the start of World War II. Dr. Clowes continued his work as director of research for Eli Lilly and helped Edith with their philanthropic duties throughout Indianapolis as well as attending family gatherings at Woods Hole throughout the year.

Meanwhile evidence suggests that Dr. Clowes received more news from his British relatives, which must have had some minor impact on his and Edith’s lives in Indianapolis. On July 11, 1942, Dr. Clowes received a letter from his British cousins in Suffolk who called him “Alec.” In this letter they revealed that they had not written him for some time and they hoped that he and Edith were not suffering too terribly because of the war other than the taxation that affected both sides of the Atlantic. They also praised George Jr.’s proposal to Peggy at the same time as talking about the horrors of the war. In the letter cousin Anthony Walker declared the Germans to be “huns” and he was pleased

\(^{114}\) Clowes, 129-130.  
\(^{115}\) Clowes, 130.
that despite the atrocities of war, Roosevelt and Churchill were perfect leaders for the situation. Walker concluded his letter with, “The huns have always, for many hundreds of years been a curse to the world, and must be cured this time.”

This letter is a clear example of the other types of familial relationships Dr. Clowes maintained during the war, which largely remained unaffected despite the war’s consequences. Compared to those family members in England experiencing all the war had to offer, the Clowes in Indianapolis remained cushioned mostly due to their socioeconomic status. Even compared to other Hoosiers, the Clowes had a unique experience with the war hearing from family members being directly affected by it while also maintaining their life of luxury that most other Hoosiers did not have the benefit of.

As it was in 1939 to 1941, Edith remained in constant contact with Dr. Clowes’ extended family in Britain throughout the duration of the war. The main individual Edith communicated with was cousin Syd. On January 26, 1942, Syd sent Edith a detailed letter containing information solely about the war. Syd especially touched on the Pearl Harbor attack of 1941 and asked, “How on earth do they imagine that they can ‘take on’ the U.S.A, the British, Russian and Chinese empires to say nothing of the Dutch.” Even as Syd presented his views on the war, he also described daily life in England featuring illnesses, the overall health of the extended family, and Sunday evenings at the local church. After a brief intermission, Syd returned to the matter of the war and included his praise of the Russian empire and justified their actions in relation to German prisoners. Syd also condemned the leaders of the Axis Powers and stated that even if Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo were not punished in this life they would be punished in the next.

\[116\] General Correspondence GHA Clowes 1937-1955, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 3.
One of the main concerns Syd had were the food shortages and he described in detail the many ways potatoes could be cooked but Britain longed for sugar. He concluded his letter with a note that Japan was shocked by the U.S. Navy’s movements through the Marshall Islands along with the fact that England had not taken down as many enemy planes as it did in previous years.\textsuperscript{117} Through these letters Edith and Dr. Clowes were kept up to speed on how the war affected their family’s lives on the front.

At the close of 1942, Indiana’s involvement in the war saw far more steady changes financially, socially, and politically. For the Clowes family, 1942 was a catalyst year in their familial relationships, but not as a direct consequence of World War II. Allen graduated Harvard Business School and immediately became an ensign in the United States Navy. Meanwhile George Jr. began his pursuit in the medical industry as an intern for burn trauma. 1942 saw a shift in the relationships among Dr. Clowes, Edith, George Jr., and Allen with George Jr. having a “closer” relationship with his father and Allen having a closer relationship with Edith. The communication Edith and Dr. Clowes had with the British relatives left the Indianapolis family connected to the consequences of World War II whilst also maintaining their protected lives due mostly to their socioeconomic status. The war became more “real” however with Allen’s induction into the military as a direct response to Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor. 1943 further altered the family’s lives and personal relationships with the sons’ career development in the military.

\textsuperscript{117} Personal Correspondence EWC 1941-1949. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 10.
As 1942 faded into 1943, the United States military had been engaged in a two-front war with Japan and Germany for a year. As explored earlier, most Americans and American political and military leaders supported a “Pacific-first” tactic when dealing with the Axis Powers, but many other leaders, advisors, and even citizens supported the “Germany-first” notion because Hitler was seen as more of a threat.\textsuperscript{118} Regardless, the United States was engaged in a two-front war, but unlike the other Allied Powers, the U.S. was freshly soldiered and supplied during 1942. By 1943, doubt and concern began leaking in on how long the war would last. Finances and war supplies were constantly on the rise alongside the increase of soldiers while at home resources were stretched thin to accommodate the soldiers overseas. Minorities were called to factories including women, African Americans, and more to fill the positions that used to be held typically by white men.\textsuperscript{119} The war effort changed a lot on the home front and on the battlefront for most Americans.

\textbf{Economy and Politics}

As the United States military conducted battles, raid, and operations in both the Pacific and Europe, life in America continued to reflect the wartime era with female and minority workers taking up the mantels in factories, shortages of resources, and


increasing costs on products. Families wondered about their loved ones overseas while trying to maintain “ordinary lives.” This was the case in every state including Indiana. Financially, World War II entering its second year for the United States marked more dramatic changes for Hoosiers. According to Friedman in 1943 Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Herbert E. Gaston announced before war laborers from the Jeffersonville Depot, “…American industry, American agriculture, American labor are turning out a physical production of goods far in excess of any quantities the country has ever produced before…More than half that great production is going directly to the uses of war…If half our goods go to war, half our dollars must go to war too.”  

120 In this address, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury implored Americans to not only support the war effort by producing resources that could be shipped overseas, but the United States government also asked Americans to look in their pockets and aid the war effort. Gaston continued his address by stating that Americans that gave money also benefited through safety. Finally, by giving the money necessary to aid the war, it provided jobs for returning soldiers while maintaining work for “the working man who stayed at home.”  

121 Clearly this was a psychological strategy to appeal to those that supported the war effort while claiming they were not fully participating in the war thus their only way to show their loyalty to the fight was to help fund the war.

In Indiana, many Hoosiers responded to this call by stating that they were patriotic and as such funded the war, but the issue of taxation as well as compulsory lending was a threat to many Hoosiers. The Indiana Treasury Department along with state bond salesmen worked with management and labor to enact the Payroll Savings Plan

120 Friedman, 94.
121 Friedman, 95.
which enabled nine out of ten laborers to save a portion of their pay for war bonds. By introducing this plan, workers felt more at ease about giving their money to the war, whilst maintaining a sense of autonomy over their funds. It also enabled war bonds to skyrocket. In the short-term and long run, the payroll plan worked not only for Hoosiers but also for many American workers.

At the same time wartime taxes were seen as more of a burden on the American public than as a help, unlike the Payroll Savings Plan. Hoosier representatives were able to prevent a general sales tax, but there was a cap of $25,000 on salaries. As a product of the Revenue Act of 1942, which raised taxes levied against the production, sale, or use of goods and services, the 1942 Current Tax Payment Act was installed which, “radically altered the collection procedures of the federal government…Workers that made over $100 from sources other than wages were to make quarterly current payments of taxes on their earnings.” Those exempt from this act included agricultural workers, domestic servants, and casual laborers. Essentially by July 1, 1943, the state withheld taxes, which directly affected the state bond organization.\textsuperscript{122} Two conflicting measures on increasing funds for the war effort presented challenges to Hoosier finances, and affected all Hoosiers, including the Clowes family as seen in a 1943 tax audit Dr. Clowes contested leaving him fearful of providing an estate to his sons.\textsuperscript{123} Eventually, Dr. Clowes was able to overcome the audit and maintain his wealth throughout the duration of the war, but this was one of the few experiences where the Clowes' socioeconomic status did not protect them from the war.

\textsuperscript{122} Friedman, 96-130.
\textsuperscript{123} Clowes, 129.
Society

Even though finances were stretched thin alongside resources, Hoosiers remained heavily patriotic during World War II across generations and in many different aspects of society such as schools and in communications between soldiers and their families back home. In 1943, Indiana labor laws permitted girls, aged sixteen to eighteen, to work as late as 10:00 P.M. and boys as young as fourteen could work in bowling alleys as pin boys. The passage of these laws enabled child labor to assist in the war effort, but many educators feared the lack of labor regulation when it came to the youth simply because some political advisors thought that reduced regulation on child labor laws would prevent child delinquency. As a result of the reduced regulation, more factories and war-related industries employed the youth taking them away from their education. Meanwhile, the youth were excited to participate in any form to assist the war as seen in Image 2. This image clearly shows that no matter the age differences among Hoosiers, almost all were supporters of World War II and the Allied Powers.

Image 2

Military and Society

By 1943, many Hoosier soldiers had seen battle in the Pacific, in Europe, and even in Africa against the Axis Powers. Letters from these soldiers became evermore wary of the continued fighting, but still a sense of hope ran true for many of the servicemen as they headed into the second year of fighting. The campaigns in North Africa to aid the Allied Powers and begin preparations for an assault on Italy began in 1943 and some Hoosiers saw battle there. On May 19, 1943, master sergeant John Hays Brown wrote home to his parents in New Albany from Tunisia with his and his division’s movements from January to May in North Africa. He stated that the 34th Division landed in Oran January 3rd, made their way to Tlemcen until February 7th, and continued their journey to the front crossing Sidi-Bel-Abbes (home of the French Foreign Legion) Orleansville, L’Arba, Sidi Embarek, Ain M’Lila, Souk Ahras, and Maktar. On February 18th the 34th Division saw action after which they were praised for their artillery taking out several of the enemies’ tanks. By March 26th however the 34th Division saw several defeats in Hadjeh El Aouin and Fondouk. On April 10th, Brown was a part of a separate reconnaissance mission north where after three to four weeks his team captured Mateur and Bizerte. By May 5th, Brown’s team returned to the 34th Division where some of the bloodiest fighting took place at Hill 609 10 miles west of Tebourba. By roughly May 9th, the 34th Division had met with the British 1st Army and both groups were able to take Tunis. By the end of the letter, Brown stated, “All in all it’s been rough and tough going and I’ve seen all of the bloodshed and killing I care for. However, it’s been exciting as hell and we got plenty of laughs out of the whole thing.”125

125 Indiana in World War II, 48-49.
Another example of fighting Hoosiers’ experiences versus the Clowes sons was a letter dated October 3, 1943, by 1st lieutenant Army Medical Corps Wymond W. Krieble who was serving in Sicily and writing to a Mr. Storm. In this letter Krieble wrote about the “good old days” in Mr. Storm’s class and worrying about making the basketball team. With his service in the Army Medical Corps, Krieble was exposed to many of the war’s horrors, all of which he could not relay in the letter due to regulation laws. He did say though that being an American was much better than being a Sicilian. “We Americans do not realize how much the rest of the world must envy us.” He also said that the troops were doing an amazing job despite the difficulties and deserved all of the praise.\(^{126}\) This letter along with many more represent not only the horrors of war that several fighting Hoosiers saw, but also their undying patriotism against the Axis Powers and their hope that America and its allies will win this devastating war. These types of letters also represent the significant differences among the Hoosiers soldiers and the Clowes sons, what with Allen staying in the United States and working at the Crucible Steel Company beginning shortly after the end of the indoctrination course at Cornell, and George Jr. seeing battle wounded soldiers rather than fighting on the front lines. While their service is no less important, there are dramatic differences between George Jr. and Allen’s time in the military compared to most other Hoosier soldiers.

Even though many Hoosiers were patriotic during the war years, there were still racial tensions brewing beneath the surface that affected how World War II was remembered in later years. Nineteen forty-three was a pivotal year for manpower in Indiana. According to Madison, there was a shortage of troops to fight the two-front war

\(^{126}\) *Indiana in World War II*, 60-61.
and as such the use of African American soldiers and laborers at home became vital to aiding the war. This new introduction of African Americans in previously “white-only” industries received several types of responses. For example, the RCA factory in Indianapolis and Chrysler in Evansville, employed high numbers of African Americans. Meanwhile Anderson’s Guide Lamp and Delco-Remy along with Studekaer’s Fort Wayne plant, employed African Americans remained as janitors and common laborers. Other responses such as protests and strikes were also used such as the Allison plant strike in Indianapolis. With the increased use of African American laborers in many of these positions, it opened doors to discussions on discrimination and racism. Similar opportunities were offered as well to women. By 1943, about 390,000 women worked not only in traditional occupations, but also in war industries. From January to October 1943, female workers in factories and war industries rose 22 percent with men’s percentages dropping. By the end of 1943, Indiana had more than 1/3 of its female population working in factories. Most of the positions women filled included industries that produced and shaped metal used for war instruments such as a tank armor plant in Gary, Indiana. 127 As World War II carried on, dramatic social and cultural changes took place similar to the economic and political changes of the era. Questions on gender and racial roles began to arise because of the distribution of laborers to soldiers for white men and from domestic/unskilled laborers to white-collar/skilled laborers for minorities and women. World War II opened the door for discussions and arguably led to the Civil Rights Movement along with the Women’s Rights Movement after these groups tasted what life was like on the other side.

127 Madison, 387-389.
As Hoosier society continued reflecting the dramatic changes brought upon by the war, some Hoosier families seemed exempt from those changes. Arguably, the Clowes’ family dynamic remained relatively stable during the latter half of the war, even with George Jr. and Allen joining the war effort. This was partly due to the fact that the family largely remained together, with neither son leaving for the war, and it was also due to their socioeconomic status. Their wealth provided the Clowes ample opportunities to remain insulated from the war. Of course they were still affected through taxation, inflation, and letters from family in England. Interestingly, in January 1943, Dr. Clowes revealed to George Jr. that he was worried about his and Edith’s tax returns for that year. It concerned him so much that he wrote to George Jr. highlighting his fear of not being able to leave any of his wealth to his children after he died. George Jr. responded on January 21 saying,

It is too bad that things have come to such a state in the country that a man who works hard should not be rewarded in goods, and the matter you brought up in your letter must be causing you no little unhappiness. But as far as estate and that sort of thing is concerned, it does not matter a tinker’s damn to Allen or me. You and Mother have left us a heritage of health, a proper outlook, and a fine education, which are far more important than mere wealth, for we are thereby enabled to provide ourselves with what we and our families will need. Happiness in looking over one’s accomplishments and relations to other people are really what one takes with one. These you have. You must not worry yourself one little bit on our account.128

Any familial changes that took place largely were a product of typical life changes such as new careers, graduations, marriages, and more. There were several personal changes that affected the family and the war did create minor relationship alterations, but the traditional roles of the family remained relatively unchanged.

128 Clowes, 129.
For Allen, life in the military created new goals and challenges that he had not seen in his life previously. In 1943, Allen’s Naval Career was well underway. From November 1942 to March 1943, Allen served as the assistant to the chief of section of the Bureau of Ordnance and as Fire Control. At the same time Allen was assigned multiple temporary duties as part of the Bureau of Naval Ordnance, dealing mainly with the production of materials as an officer/overseer of the production and largely as an assistant doing mostly office work.

By March 24, 1943, Allen had been assigned as the Naval Inspector of Ordnance at the Crucible Steel Company in Harrison, New Jersey. In May 1943, Allen had put in a request to the Bureau of Naval Personnel Correspondence to be enrolled in the Course Navigation “B.” On June 3, 1943, Allen was assigned additional temporary duty in Washington D.C. working for the Bureau of Naval Ordnance. On July 13, 1943, Allen had been promoted from an ensign to a Lieutenant O-V(S) despite some negative comments on his fitness report. According to Captain Elmer Kiehl, “Ensign Clowes has not found himself and [I] believe it will require considerable time to do so. Not particularly industrious and lacks a sense of balance. Inexperience and lack of business methods account for his slowness in taking hold of his duties. Time will very likely improve him.” Even though Allen faced some negative comments on his work ethic, he remained firmly ensconced in the Navy only taking three leaves during the entire year to return home to Golden Hill, Indianapolis, or to Woods Hole, Massachusetts, to be with
family. Allen’s military career was well underway in 1943 while George Jr.’s was just beginning.

Towards the end of 1942, George Jr. and his new wife Margaret “Peggy” Gracie Jackson lived in Brownwood, Texas after George had enlisted in the Army as a staff physician in Indiana University Medical Center’s 32nd General Hospital. Shortly after moving to Texas and George Jr.’s enlistment, Peggy gave birth to a daughter, Margaret “Mardi” Allen Clowes, born May, 1943. With the birth of Mardi, George Jr.’s life changed forever. Shortly after Mardi was born, Edith traveled to Texas via train in order to help with the new arrival. Dr. Clowes was unable to attend. For two weeks, George Jr. worked as the staff physician for the 32nd General Hospital on orders from the Army while Peggy and Edith worked to establish the new baby. Almost immediately, Edith fell in love with the little one and claimed, “Peggy is wonderfully well and George to and he simply looks in the pink, tanned and hard as nails.” After her two-week visit, Edith returned home to Indianapolis claiming she had the best time cooking and cleaning. In the summer of 1943, Peggy and Mardi spent most of their time with Dr. Clowes and Edith in Woods Hole while George Jr. was stationed in England to work on the SS Borinquen. News of Mardi’s birth was actually recorded by a bulletin from Harvard Alumni dated August 8, 1943. Despite the war progressing and George Jr.’s enlistment in the Army as a staff physician and later surgeon, he and his new wife were able to begin their family and with the help of his parents, George Jr. was largely able to fulfill his role

129 Personal AWC Military Service Records 1943-1945, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 9, Folder 2.
130 Clowes, 130.
131 Clowes, 131.
132 Family Correspondence to EWC 1940-1949, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 9.
as a medical personnel in the military without fearing for his wife and daughter’s safety and care.

For Dr. Clowes and Edith, their personal lives grew with the addition of baby Mardi, but on the whole they remained relatively unchanged. In early 1943, Edith commissioned artist Hilda Meier to paint a triptych based on the theme of Christ the healer for George Jr.’s medical unit. During the same period Dr. Clowes maintained his status as chairman of the board of the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra, and they continued to collect art and maintain most of their estates. While their philanthropic duties grew, Dr. Clowes’ work as the director of research also remained unchanged.\(^\text{133}\) Despite some minor upsets in their finances during 1943, the Clowes remained stable and their socioeconomic status was largely untouched.

While the relationship transformed between George Jr. and his parents, Allen’s familial relationships remained unchanged same as his work in the Navy. On September 15, 1943, Allen wrote to his family explaining that he would not be staying long at 82\(^{\text{nd}}\) Street in Harrison, New Jersey, because of the constant changes of assignments he was being given working at the Crucible Steel Company. Later in this short letter, Allen explained that he would be taking a friend, Terry, to see an early showing of “Watch on the Rhine,” and also noted that he would be trying to gain leave to meet the family in Woods Hole later in September. He concluded the letter with “Kiss the baby Mardi for me. Love to Peg.” On October 6, 1943, Allen wrote to “Sousling” stating that he was sending her a package containing waterproof paper and a pencil. He went on to mention that he and Dirk Cahill would be attending a Series baseball game with tickets gained

\(^{133}\) Clowes, 140-150.
from Mr. Van Cleve of Crucible Steel."\textsuperscript{134} These letters clearly mark Allen’s socioeconomic status as well as the benefits he received with his position in the Navy.

One unique aspect in 1943 that was not previously seen in prior years was a lack of communication from extended family from England. This might be due in part to a lack of physical documents provided/kept by the family. It also could be because of George’s placement in England as part of the Army where he was able to relay in letters (also not provided) back to Dr. Clowes and Edith about the family’s wellbeing. Either way, personal communication among Edith, Dr. Clowes, Allen, and George Jr. with extended family members were few and far between in 1943.

Conclusion

Nineteen forty-three was a time of continued change and fighting for many Hoosiers including individual members of the Clowes. As the war progressed in Europe, the Pacific, and Africa, Americans grew ever more weary about the continued action of the war. Campaigns in Africa, Italy, and the Pacific Islands seemed to contain both successes and failures, but no real victories that could determine the end of the war. Some soldiers and even folks at home were beginning to struggle maintaining hope for an Allied victory, especially in the case of the operations and campaigns dragging on in Italy. Not all hope was lost though, as can be seen with Hoosiers.

Many Hoosiers on the home front no matter their background remained largely patriotic. Finances continued to be stretched in Indiana, especially with the introduction of taxes, but more and more Hoosier workers sought to aid the finances of the war by taking part of their pay to help purchase war bonds. Hoosier high school students

\textsuperscript{134} Allen Clowes Letters to Mother 1942-1945, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 30, Folder 6.
participated in the war effort by purchasing war bonds alongside their older counterparts. Hoosier soldiers wrote home to tell their families of the battles they faced and the memories they made. Social and cultural changes were also taking place that would shape the latter half of the 20th century featuring African Americans and women entering professional paths previously closed off to them. Meanwhile the Clowes were experiencing their own dramatic changes, while the family dynamic remained largely unchanged. George Jr. was blessed with a daughter at the same time he enlisted in the Army. Allen began work in New Jersey at the Crucible Steel Company and was even promoted to Lieutenant. Life carried on for Dr. Clowes and Edith and the communication between Allen and his family was unchanged while George Jr.’s correspondences reflected the dramatic life changes he underwent. As 1943 closed, the Clowes family became firmly established in World War II, further developing, affecting, and changing their family dynamic, their lives, and their futures.
Chapter 3
January 1944 to September 1945

1944

On the dawn of 1944, the United States like the rest of the Allied Powers began to feel the consequences of the war. According to the National World War II Museum in New Orleans, during 1944 over 11 million U.S. military personnel were somehow involved with World War II. More specifically 7,994,750 served in the Army, 2,981,365 were in the Navy, 475,680 were Marines, and 85,783 were part of the Coast Guard.\textsuperscript{135} With the numbers of service members steadily increasing throughout the war so too did war casualties. What made 1944 different from 1942 and 1943 were the significant victories such as D-Day on June 6, 1944, and the Battle of the Bulge December 10, 1944. These two separate battles in Europe were the key deciding factors for an Allied victory against Hitler and Nazi Germany.

In Europe during the first half of 1944, Allied and Axis Powers fought several skirmishes leaving both sides fairly even. The U.S. from January to June 1944 was engaged in major battles in Italy, which proved to be disastrous. By June 1944, the U.S. and Britain turned their attentions to freeing France from German forces and thus came up with the campaign to storm the beaches of Normandy with a large scale amphibious attack. According to historian Stephen Ambrose, D-Day was “the biggest event in history.” Churchill stated that the operation was the most complex and difficult one to ever take place. Hitler also recognized the campaign’s significance by conveying to his forces that if Germany defeated the Allied Powers on the beaches of Normandy then the

war would turn in favor of the Axis Powers. Both sides clearly understood what was at stake with this campaign.

What made this battle so significant was the geography of the land as well as the organization of troops. Going against the Allied Powers was the land where the German Army was essentially stationed on top of the hill of the beach while American and British forces used a combination of aquatic and land methods to land on the beaches of Normandy providing the Red Army a clear line of sight over the Allied troops. What aided the Allied victory was the number of troops. British and American forces combined on D-Day were over 3 million with everyone playing a part no matter race, class, or gender. Major figures such as General Dwight D. Eisenhower and German commander Erwin Rommel faced off in one of the greatest battles of World War II. Despite the fear of losing 7 out of 10 men, Eisenhower pursued with his battle operation at the urging of Churchill and Roosevelt. Meanwhile the German forces, even though they held the upper hand with the geography, were grossly outmatched. On the home front churches and synagogues were filled to bursting with people praying for their soldiers to make it through the day that turned the tide of the war for the Allies. Americans were also directly involved with the invasion with farmers providing food for the soldiers and factory workers providing the guns and ammo needed as seen with some Indiana factories like the Crane Naval Ammunition Depot in Martin County. By the end of the day on June 6, 1944, the Allies rose over German forces much to their relief. Germany’s heartland was about to be breeched.

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136 Madison, 373.
137 Ambrose, “D-Day: June 6, 1944,” 132-139.
As 1944 continued, Germany began to suffer greatly due to a depletion of resources, a successful invasion of France, and the continued incursions of Russian forces on the eastern front. By the end of 1944, the Allied Powers had one more plan of attack to truly decimate the German forces. Known as the Battle of the Bulge, Ambrose argued it was the single biggest battle on the western front with the largest engagement of the United States Army ever. Ranging from December 16, 1944 to January 25, 1945, the Battle of the Bulge was fought mainly in the Ardennes, which made up Belgium, Luxembourg, and Germany. The most significant day according to Ambrose was December 27, 1944 where men of the 10th Armored Infantry advanced toward the town. What made this battle so important was the fact that the U.S. was largely unprepared for it. Ambrose stated that the German army was able to form two new armies each consisting of almost 250,000 troops right under the Allies’ noses. Ambrose emphasized that the German army Wehrmacht contained 200,000 troops and 2,000 tanks which was surprising since Germany had 83 million people (2 million had already perished over 5 years of war) and was technically fighting a three front war. Eventually the Allies won against the German army with U.S. forces killing 30,000, wounding 40,000 and taking 30,000 troops as prisoners. Going into 1945, American and Allied forces seemed hopeful that the end of the war was near.

For the Americans, 1944 was proving a successful year on behalf of the Allies. These victories, instead of promoting more war production actually led to a shortage in war resources. This led to the War Department campaigning the American public to continue wartime production in factories.\footnote{Heinrichs and Gallicchio, 138-144.} Regardless, the American people seemed to
take the accomplishments as a sign that the war was coming to an end thus the need for wartime resources such as planes, tanks, and ammunition would no longer be needed. As such those home front employees decided to search for peacetime employment. Whatever may be the reason behind their decreasing production, the War Department was struggling to put guns and ammo into the hands of their soldiers, which was felt in both the Pacific and European theaters. This was also true for Indiana’s war factories.

**Politics and Economy**

In Indiana, war time industry and taxes increased. As a result of the burden of taxes on Hoosiers, the Republican Party presented a counter argument to the ever-increasing wartime taxes, which most Hoosiers found burdensome. According to Friedman, the 1944 Indiana Republican Party created a platform which stated, “we protest the exemption from taxation of politically favored groups. The terrific burden of taxation will be willingly assumed by our people only if equitably and honestly distributed and when reduced to the point of actual governmental necessity.”

The Indiana Republican Party did not favor taxes, but they agreed they were a “necessary evil” during wartime and seemed to only want those taxes that were equally distributed among all Hoosier businesses not just those that were politically connected.

In general, Hoosiers seemed willing at the start of the war to make the necessary fiscal sacrifices needed, but that did not mean that they were unaffected. In fact, wartime taxes were a burden on many Hoosiers. Friedman questioned the use of taxes during the latter part of the war years and argued that at the beginning of World War II there was a

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139 Friedman, 132-134.
steady increase in tax collections as well as a steady increase in personal income.\textsuperscript{140} This meant that the tax collections were not as significant on Hoosiers’ finances at the beginning of the war. In 1944, however, there was a leveling off in personal incomes for most Hoosiers, but not because of a rise in tax collections. Unfortunately for all Hoosiers inflation was still a major factor, but the tax plans put in place by the local and federal governments did not act as a deterrent. In actuality, the leveling off of personal incomes, countered with inflation, produced even more stress on Indiana’s general economy. Friedman concluded his analysis by arguing that wartime taxes were inadequate.\textsuperscript{141}

Compared to other Hoosiers, the Clowes were unique when it came to their finances in relation to taxation. While no documents exist of the Clowes’ financial statements during the war, in 1948 the Clowes collectively owned stock in the consumer industry, the agriculture industry, and the raw materials industry along with stocks in transportation, public utilities, and finances. In total Dr. Clowes had over $1.5 million in stocks by January 26, 1948. The whole family actually owned over $2 million in stocks at that same date.\textsuperscript{142} For the Clowes, wartime inflation and taxes seemed insignificant.

Hoosiers were still hard at work in wartime industries. In 1944, Crane was at its peak performance with almost 10,000 workers (one third of whom were women). Military installations aided in payroll for the local economies, especially in southern Indiana. Wartime industries such as ammunition factories, technology industries including electronics and chemicals, steel, petroleum, and metalworking industries which

\textsuperscript{140} Friedman, 134-135.  
\textsuperscript{141} Friedman, 135-136.  
\textsuperscript{142} Clowes Family Investments, 1947-1952, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 33, Folder 12.
grew from 1940 to 1943 began leveling out during 1944. As industry shifted to peace
time, Hoosiers voted for the Republican Party in 1944.143

Society

With the return of the Republican Party and the leveling of per capita income,
Indiana society was a byproduct of these changes in 1944. Opportunities opened for all in
Indiana due to the start of World War II. Women and African Americans were presented
economic opportunities previously closed off to them, but as the war drew to a close
minority groups feared losing their jobs and the social advances they were able to slowly
gain beginning in 1939. While positive social changes for minorities grew from 1940 to
1943, there were still tensions. In 1944 for example, Muncie’s largest plants such as the
Ball Brothers, Warner Gear, and Durham Manufacturing Company only employed 215
African Americans and instead hired southern whites to fill jobs leaving many unsatisfied
African Americans. Women faced some positive social changes due to the wartime
economy allowing more female factory workers. Unfortunately throughout the duration
of the war, most of the women were relegated to unskilled and low-paying jobs within the
factories. Regardless of these hardships, women still pursued careers, mostly out of
necessity with their husbands, fathers, brothers, and other male figures fighting in the
war. A by-product of this though was the established social norm for women to remain at
the home to be wives and mothers.144 This was evidenced by the Clowes family
remaining the “stereotypical” pre-war family with the sons off fighting the war, Dr.

143 Friedman, 132-134.
144 Madison, 388-390. For more detail on the youth of Indiana during the war years
please see Madison, 392, Max Parvin Cavnes, The Hoosier Community at War
(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 325, 249-253, 256-257, 261, and Richard
M. Ugland, "Viewpoints and Morale of Urban High School Students during World War
Clowes providing the income, and Edith maintaining the home. Instead of working at a career Edith pursued personal interests such as her philanthropic duties, parties, and social gatherings.

**Military**

The experiences of World War II varied from person to person depending on their social status, their political status, their psychology, their economic status, their age, and so on. The most deciding factor among Americans’ experiences during World War II was whether they served on the front lines or at home. No service was less than another, but actually fighting in the war left scars no one at home could truly understand, unless of course they had served in prior wars. The experiences of fighting Hoosiers shaped Indiana’s history during the war years just as much as those that remained at home and provided the resources the troops needed. 1944 was arguably one of the most challenging years for American troops because of the significant battles that took place. The lack of successes in 1943 and in some cases the bitter defeats, particularly in Italy, left many Americans with a bitter taste in their mouths. 1944 changed American perception to the war, especially after D-Day, the Battle of the Bulge, and the Marianas Campaign. These great successes came at a great cost however and for most soldiers, including Indiana troops, those losses shaped their lives and their families’ lives forever.\(^{145}\)

Although not representative of all Hoosier soldiers, some written documents were preserved that captured their voices during the invasion of France. On July 4, 1944, paratrooper Jesse Trinkle Bobbitt of Paoli wrote to his parents from France. In his letter Sgt. Bobbitt explained how he had not received a scratch during his time in France,

\(^{145}\) *Indiana in World War II*, 120-121.
which included the airborne invasion of Normandy on D-Day. Sgt. Bobbitt went on to say that his unit’s biggest problem were snipers that hid in the trees and dressed like French civilians making them difficult to target, but once they were discovered, essentially no mercy was taken. His letter is particularly important because he indirectly described the invasion of Normandy and considered the second day containing one of the prettiest sights he had ever seen because the tanks had arrived during an especially harrowing time. He revealed that the Czechs and the Poles were the ones the Allied forces really faced because the German Army forced them to. He concluded his letter with a note about his unit earning a presidential citation, his praise at himself for having more stories than his friend Paul Stout from World War I had, and the fact that he thought the French did not use salt and pepper shakers.\footnote{Indiana in World War II, 121-123.}

This single soldier’s letter to his parents revealed what the American forces faced on D-Day and despite the challenge of invading an enemy nation, this soldier and his unit were able to press on and eventually led to his disclosure that his experiences in World War II could rival those of a friend’s from World War I. The underlying tone of this letter presented hope and comfort despite the horrors of war.

On the opposite side of the world, Hoosier troops also experienced the horrors of war. Unlike Hoosiers in Europe, soldiers in the Pacific seemed to struggle more. Similar to the letters from Europe, their letters revealed a sense of reassurance, some measure of calmness to contain the situation, hope, and the desire to prevent revealing all of the brutal details to avoid scaring their loved ones and breaking martial law. In a letter dated January 13, 1944, naval lieutenant (j.g.) Henry E. Wahl wrote to his wife describing life
in the Pacific Theater. During his watch, lieutenant Wahl noticed a strange flight on their radar. Shortly after, dive-bombers attacked using the illuminated tropical night, which ended in a few short minutes with one enemy downed and with two dead and five injured. Over the course of that night (nine hours), several more dive-bombers attacked leaving the men nervous and on edge.

Nine hours of nerve-wracking work, and the worst yet to come, the particulars of which I cannot divulge. But knowing bombers are diving and not a shot can be fired in defense. Dirt falls in our faces, our dugout groans and strains. Finally, all clear. Eight killed, twenty-five wounded. It was a rough night. Men are still missing, and various parts of anatomy are still being assembled for identification. Our worst raid…The moon is full tonight. Ho hum. It’s all part of the game. But it’s bloody, and rough.147

Another letter, much like this, was written by Pvt. Charles D. Putnam of the 37th Division, 6th Army who wrote to his parents on May 21, 1944. In his letter Pvt. Putnam described his week on a Pacific Island where he was stationed including trading “Jap” grenades for light bulbs and plastic glass, carrying wounded men from the beach to the mountain outpost, and performing drills to keep them sharp. Putnam went on to describe how he and his squad were the lucky ones because the island they were stationed on had beautiful tropical weather, some mosquitos, and only a few minor cases of malaria compared to the other islands. This letter also revealed other Allied troops such as the Fijians, which Putnam described as being burly black men that were professional soldiers and a severe threat to any “whites.” Several unique characteristics stand out from this letter including Putnam’s racial thoughts/feelings, his sense of calm and content, even

147 *Indiana in World War II*, 248-249.
though on his first day he and his squad fired on several “Japs” with return fire, and his gratitude to be able to actually write a letter to his parents without being censored. “It was a problem before…It was a problem when you couldn’t write anything at all except ‘Hello, I’m fine, Goodbye.’ It helps a fellow’s morale when he can say a little about what he thinks would be interesting to you.”

As 1944 and 1945 took place Hoosier soldiers were able to reveal more about their experiences of the war, which contained more fear and worry. The soldiers’ documents highlight the horrors of war, but also present hope. These letters also serve as a comparison between the fighting Hoosiers and the Clowes sons. Between George Jr. and Allen, George Jr. had more exposure to the horrors of war due to his medical affiliation in the Army. Still he was only exposed to the wounded in Europe and not the wounded from the Pacific. Another difference between other fighting Hoosiers and the Clowes sons was the type of service. Most Hoosier troops were sent overseas to fight and kill the Axis Powers. The Clowes sons did not directly fight the enemies and as such their experiences with World War II were vastly different compared to the average Hoosier soldier. As a product of their service, World War II had a far less impact on their lives than other fighting Hoosiers. With this minimalistic exposure to the horrors of war, the Clowes sons were able to maintain their pre-war relationships and lives, something other Hoosiers did not have the benefit of. For all of the Clowes, their experiences in 1944 revealed a more detailed and nuanced version of the events of World War II both militarily and on the home front. Even as the war continued and the Allies saw more victories, the Clowes’ lives and familial relationships saw mostly stable changes.

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148 *Indiana in World War II*, 252-256.
reflective more of everyday life interspersed with experiences of war. While the Clowes

do not represent the majority of Hoosiers’ experiences in World War II, an examination

at their lives in 1944 presents an alternative look at how 1944 shaped their family and
daily life.

In connection with other Hoosier soldiers, George Jr.’s and Allen’s military
careers also reflected the international battles taking place. Neither brother actually
engaged in any type of fighting. Their contributions were nonetheless symbolic of what
some American soldiers sacrificed during their time in the military including time away
from loved ones and, in the case of George Jr., the sight of so many fallen brothers-in-
arms. George Jr. was assigned to a British unit where he performed only a few surgeries,
then he was transferred to France on July 27, 1944, seven weeks after D-Day. Most of his
military documents were unavailable, including his communications home, but there
were several V-mail sent to Edith, Dr. Clowes, and Peggy saying that he was
“somewhere in France.”149 Not only did George Jr. face challenges with his surgical
practices on the front, but he also faced emotional struggles as well because he had such a
young daughter. One respite for George Jr. was the letters he received from Indiana as
well as some time spent with his extended family in England at a distant cousin’s
wedding on July 4, 1944. In the letters Dr. Clowes and Edith remarked on life in
Indianapolis and at Woods Hole describing the antics of baby Mardi and the adoration
both Dr. Clowes and Edith had for Peggy.150

Towards the end of the year, stress for George Jr. skyrocketed. In September
1944, George Jr. had his first “real” experience of World War II with mass casualties and

149 Clowes, 131.
150 Clowes, 131.
devastation in France and Belgium while at the same time a hurricane crashed through Woods Hole leaving the family home somewhat destroyed. Around the same time, from August 17 to November 22, 1944, George Jr.’s unit was staffed at the 32nd General Hospital in Normandy where they worked on over 5,000 patients until being placed on inactive status in Belgium for a short period until the start of the Battle of the Bulge. At the start of this battle, George Jr. was stationed with the 5th Evacuation Hospital. In a letter to his Harvard Medical School mentor, George Jr. revealed he had worked night and day during those months. Like other Hoosier soldiers, regardless of his socioeconomic status, George Jr. was affected by the war in Europe in negative ways, but held out hope for his and his family’s futures with his garnered experience working on his wounded “brothers” as a surgeon and the victories gained for the Allied Powers.

Allen’s naval career at the Crucible Steel Company as an associate to the Naval Inspector of Ordnance remained steady with only a few temporary additional duties assigned to him. During the entire year, Allen requested 6 total leaves from the Navy. His destinations were Woods Hole and Indianapolis. During the summer of 1944 Allen was granted leave for Woods Hole each month for a few days. It was during these leaves that Allen was able to spend time with Dr. Clowes, Edith, Peggy, and his niece Mardi. On October 6, 1944, Allen was presented with the opportunity to move up in rank following a medical examination from a Lieutenant (j.g.) to a full Lieutenant endorsed by James Ely and Commander E. W. Smalzreid. By October 25, 1944 Allen was promoted to

\[151\] Clowes, 131-133.
\[152\] Personal AWC Military Service Records 1943-1945, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 9, Folder 2.
Lieutenant (S) from O-V(S). Based on Allen’s military records from 1944, Allen was considered a good officer, one whose work and position allowed for him to move up in rank and have a total of 16 days of leave from the Navy to spend time with his family in Woods Hole, Indiana, and just time away from New York/New Jersey. Compared to George Jr. Allen’s 1944 was far less strenuous and stressful, but that does not mean that his work was any less valuable. Allen’s work at the Crucible Steel Company and with the Chief of the Bureau of Naval Ordnance represented his status in the Navy, built on his skills from Harvard Business School, and symbolized that not all military sacrifice was done on the battlefield. Much of the work and victory of 1944 came out of the troops at home organizing weapons and defensive measures used on the front lines.

For Dr. Clowes, 1944 was largely the same as prior years with the exception of George Jr. stationed in Europe and a few upsets in his work. A positive consequence was Dr. Clowes and Edith got to spend so much time with their granddaughter Mardi and daughter-in-law Peggy. A negative life change was Dr. Clowes felt he could no longer fulfill his theoretical approach as Eli Lilly’s research director. Instead he wrote in a memorandum to Eli Lilly in 1944 that as the organization grew he felt that he was being stretched too thin and his work as a medical researcher was suffering. The biggest struggle by far for Dr. Clowes was George Jr.’s station in Europe. Along the same lines, Edith’s life was similar to the first 4 years of the war. The couple’s philanthropic works along with their art collection only continued to grow despite the end of the war coming.

153 Personal AWC Military Service Records 1943-1945, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 9, Folder 2.
154 Clowes, 112.
During George Jr.’s time in Britain and later France, Dr. Clowes and Edith wrote several letters to him to keep his spirits up including information on how Mardi was getting along and the love Dr. Clowes felt for the two new women in his life despite Dr. Clowes’ self-proclaimed awkwardness with young children. With these letters Dr. Clowes helped George Jr.’s emotional struggles. At the same time, Dr. Clowes and Edith received letters from George Jr. briefly talking about what he was doing in the Army and inquiring about home. In a V-mail message to Dr. Clowes dated December 6, 1944, George revealed that he was working as a temporary member of staff on the 3rd auxiliary surgical group at a local evacuation hospital. He stated that even though it was only temporary, he was excited to be practicing his dream career under the guidance of Lt. Col, Stouer, head surgeon of the hospital that George Jr. was placed at. The constant communication between George Jr. and Dr. Clowes throughout the war symbolized a close bond between father and son, more so than what Dr. Clowes had with Allen. In fact, Dr. Clowes praised him for his communication with Allen. In a letter he wrote to George in 1944, Dr. Clowes revealed that the “heavy work and responsibility is really very good for him [Allen] and is strengthening his character and giving him some characteristics that he lacked up to the time that he went to Harvard Business School. I think we should all be thankful that he decided to take that course, as it did a great deal to stabilize him, just as you’re going to Harvard Medical School did for you, only, of course, you needed it less. Your letters to Allen have been tremendously appreciated by him and also by us.”

155 Clowes, 131.
156 Family Correspondence GHA Clowes 1926-1947, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 3.
Like Allen, George sometimes wrote to Edith. On May 3, 1944 George wrote:

Dearest Mother,

This is our day. Never did I realize how this is until Peg and I had a little daughter born to us. Twenty nine years is not a long time, but it is long enough for me to have realized the great debt I owe to you and Dad and Allen for my present ability to get on in this world. The only way I can even repay it is to do as well by my own little ones. When I look about at people, unhappy because of unfortunate upbringing which will color their whole lives, I realize what luck I was in when I became your son. That’s pretty strong stuff isn’t it? Better take it in easy doses, but it says in a fool way what I should like to be with you to say.

Things are not as we would quite have them, are they? I can’t even tell you and Peg what I’m doing, yet all goes well. This business will be over one day to let us take up where we left off. Those nifty little pictures of you and Mardi which Peg sent show that the Duchess remains her old self. It gives me much pleasure to think of my girls with you and Dad in the familiar surroundings. Evidently Peg is enjoying herself immensely. Also I know she feels very close to you as I would have it. This is what she wrote on April 13th, ‘You know there is a certain recompense in being with your family. If I can’t have you, I get a slight echo of you from your family, your staunch supporters. It is quite consoling and pleasant’.

How Mardi is growing. She has changed beyond all recognition of the little tike I think of as my daughter. What a funny little thing she was when you were in Texas, and how strangely you must have thought we acted in our inexperience. I don’t think there ever was a more considerate grandmother. I wonder what she will call you. Evidently she has captivated Dad as much as ever.

Was able to get away up to the 32nd this past week-end. The countryside is now unbelievably beautiful in the freshness of spring. The flowers would please your heart. I was fortunate enough to stay a couple of nights at Anne Bagley’s farm which is a lovely old Tudor house. The garden is full of a thousand little flowers. On Sunday morning I did another of those colored pencil sketches which is not good but gives some idea of it all. One day I’ll show it to you. It looks rather like the one of Woods Hole without any pond.

Brought my bicycle back with me which should add some pleasant hours of exercise when time permits. This afternoon I was able to get out for a bit of a spin. Actually I am out of doors all the time now and have turned a good dark brown. You see old G.C. manages to get pretty good fun out of it all. But somehow it lacks genuineness.
Thanks for the ‘Clowes’ advertisements which come with the nice little picture holder yesterday. I have already installed the pictures of you and Dad holding Mardi in it which were taken at Dover last fall.

Much love to all,

George\textsuperscript{157}

Allen meanwhile continued his close bond with Edith in his communications with her in 1944. On June 3, 1944 Allen wrote to “Sousling” again discussing his daily life in New York and New Jersey. In this letter it was revealed that Edith had written to Allen frequently about her and Dr. Clowes’ life during the first part of the year as being largely content. One aspect different from this letter was the fact that Allen defended himself and his letter writing capabilities to Edith. “Of course, I agree that one letter a week is the thing to do, and I think you will be the first to say that I have always been faithful in that since I first went away from home, now nearly nine years ago.”\textsuperscript{158} Based on this statement alone, it seems as if there was some tension and guilt for not writing more frequently. This is one of the only times Allen apologized for his lack of communication with Edith. After this brief interlude, Allen continued with his letter explaining his life in New York, his excitement to see the family in his upcoming leave, and what his friends and colleagues were going through including marriage, death, and babies. Throughout most of the letter Allen wrote about several dinners he partook in with extended friends and colleagues. He concluded the letter that he would speak to her and Dr. Clowes over the phone the next day and could not wait to see the family.\textsuperscript{159} The most important notation missing from Allen’s letters to Edith in 1944 was his discussion of anything

\textsuperscript{157} Family Correspondence to EWC 1940-1949, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 9.


\textsuperscript{159} Allen Clowes Letters to Mother 1942-1945. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 30, Folder 6.
stressful related to his time in the military. Compared to George Jr.’s letters to Edith and even Dr. Clowes, Allen’s letters were calmer and content and most definitely did not relate to any of the major events of World War II in 1944.

One major difference in Allen’s communication in 1944 was his added correspondence with other family members. On January 4, 1944, Allen wrote to his maternal grandfather explaining daily life and inquiring about his life. In the letter Allen spoke highly of his new niece, Mardi, and even stated that he almost thought of her as his own. Allen also spoke of how apologetic he was for not writing sooner. Eventually Allen moved on to his time in the military, how he was promoted in 1943 to Lieutenant (j.g.), and what he thought of his work. “I have a job in the Navy which my Harvard Business School training qualifies me to do and I feel that I am able to contribute to the war effort in a real way through what I do.” He concluded this letter stating he was still unhappily single, especially after George Jr.’s marriage and the new baby, but he was hopeful that even though he was in his late 20s, he would find a wife soon.  

His final correspondence of the year with his grandfather came from a Christmas card dated December 17, 1944. In the greeting card Allen apologized again for not communicating more with his grandfather, but noted that the year was good for him, especially learning about the ordnance materials including how guns were made and even some about bombing. Allen’s letters to his grandfather reflected more about the war in 1944 than in any of his letters to Dr. Clowes, Edith, or George Jr.

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160 Family Correspondence AWC 1941-1947. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 29, Folder 7.
161 Family Correspondence AWC 1941-1947. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 29, Folder 7.
For the Clowes family, 1944 represented, as it did for many Americans, a time of great success that came at a cost. While Edith and Dr. Clowes maintained their daily lives in Indianapolis and in Woods Hole, their lives were also disrupted by events such as adding new family members, George Jr. leaving for Europe, and the hurricane that wreaked havoc at Woods Hole. For George Jr. 1944 especially reflected the happenings overseas. His victory at starting a family and beginning his career came at the cost of having to see the horrendous side of war. Operating on his fallen “brothers” left scars for George Jr., but his work as a surgeon in Europe gave him the necessary skills for his life after World War II. Meanwhile for Allen, much of the war seemed to leave him untouched. Instead Allen saw almost nothing but success and stability in 1944 and his letters reflected as such. The relationships among the Clowes family remained stable throughout the war years with George Jr. relating more to Dr. Clowes and Allen relating more to Edith. 1944 however saw some minor changes among the family with George Jr. being able to relate to Edith and Dr. Clowes as parents and some tension building between Allen and his parents for his lack of communication. Even still the Clowes family in 1944 only reflected a small portion of the events taking place in America and compared to other Hoosiers, seemed largely unaffected by the dramatic proceedings of World War II.

1945

By the start of 1945, World War II in Europe and the Pacific had been taking place for almost 7 years with the United States entering into its fourth year. Millions of people had already been lost to the devastation of World War II, but after the victories in 1944 for the Allied Powers, the end seemed to be in sight. The Battle of the Bulge and D-
Day marked a turning point for the Axis Powers and after those two battles in Europe, Hitler and the Nazis began to feel pressure that they might not make it out of the war. The same was said for the Japanese after the Battle of New Guinea and the successful campaigns of the Philippine Islands. The final year of World War II came with an Allied victory against the Axis Powers, but at what cost? Even though America came out on top alongside the Soviet Union, millions of people were killed and/or wounded.\textsuperscript{162} For America and its “Greatest Generation” 1945 like 1944 was a time of great victory and a time of great loss. In order to understand the significance of the war on the Clowes family compared to other Hoosiers, there must first be a breakdown of the history of the war.

In Europe, the first half of 1945 seemed to be a race to the end on both sides. Along both the eastern and western fronts in Europe, the American, British, French, and Russian militaries were successful against the Warsaw army. By March 25 Allied forces seized control of the Rhineland. During March, 1945 Germany became desperate as the Allies took both of their fronts and as such pockets of German resistance took up fanatic methods, but were quickly put down.\textsuperscript{163} For Germany the loss of the Rhineland and Eastern Europe was devastating for the Reich. From the end of March through May, 1945 Germany focused solely on survival within its original borders before the start of the war. On March 23, British and American naval forces launched an amphibious offensive attack on Germany across the Rhine River. Combined with air force and land movements the German military was unable to establish an effective defensive line along the eastern side of the river. On April 19, over 325,000 German prisoners were taken making the

\textsuperscript{162} The American Experience in World War II, 1-313.
\textsuperscript{163} Edgar McInnis, The War: Sixth Year (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), 83-129.
encirclement of the Ruhr even greater than the encirclement of the German Sixth Army at Stalingrad. With the aid of the Russian air force, the Allied Powers were able to “kill” the Luftwaffe in April. The Nazis though still clung to hope that if they could still hold out some resistance then they might have been able to negotiate peace instead of offering a full surrender.

The final campaign of the European theater came with the invasion of Vienna and Berlin. On April 4, 1945, Hungary expelled all Germans and Vienna was in imminent trouble. By April 5, 1945, the attack on Vienna broke out and on April 13, Vienna was under Russia’s control. At the same time the western Allies were making their way to Berlin.\textsuperscript{164} The Germans would not give up though without a fight. From April 15, to May 2, righteous Germans set up several small pockets of defense against two sides of the Allied forces. They were not successful. On May 2, 1945, Berlin surrendered with over 500,000 Germans killed or captured. Shortly before that on May 1, Hitler committed suicide, leaving Berlin to the Allied Powers and the German people with no lasting sympathy for Hitler’s forces or the Third Reich.\textsuperscript{165} By May, 1945, World War II had ended in Germany with the fall of Hitler and the Third Reich, but in the Pacific Theater several battles and a catastrophic decision was still left to be decided.\textsuperscript{166}

The Pacific theater was proving a formidable might. After the final battle of Okinawa, American forces were faced with unyielding Japanese so the only solution for

\textsuperscript{164} McInnis, 144-148.
\textsuperscript{165} McInnis, 148-153.
now President Harry Truman was to sacrifice more American lives or utilize a new indescribably dangerous weapon. Truman arguably had to make the toughest decision of any American president. With the success of Okinawa, Allied forces were of the opinion that the war would be over soon. Germany had surrendered after the death of Hitler in May, and even though the Pacific theater was taking longer, the Allied Powers were certain that a complete and total surrender from Japan was eminent. On July 26, 1945, Truman issued a bipartisan Congressional order demanding complete and total surrender of Japan. At the same time as the Potsdam Declaration was taking place, two separate military strategies were being decided on including the secret work of utilizing the new atomic bomb. Multiple steps had been taken in order to prevent the use of the new atom bomb, but without Japan’s unconditional surrender, Truman and the American federal government were left with no other option. Japan did not surrender and on August 6, 1945, Truman ordered the first atomic bomb to be dropped on Hiroshima. After another order of surrender from Truman, which Japan denied, the second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki August 9, 1945. By August 15, 1945 Japan surrendered under Emperor Hirohito’s orders and World War II came to a close officially on September 2, 1945.167

For America, 1945 was a year of great success but that victory came at a monumental moral cost. With the dropping of the atomic bomb, the United States became one of the world’s superpowers along with the Soviet Union, but the bomb also opened the door for the Cold War. For Americans at the time though they were just glad to see

167 Heinrichs and Gallicchio, 560-581.
the Second World War over. As seen in the European and Pacific theaters, 1945 was also a time of victory and great change on the home front, Indiana included.

**Economy**

Financially, Hoosiers struggled throughout the war with inflation, rising wartime taxes, and rationing of various goods. Despite these fiscal changes, many Hoosiers devoted some of their spending on war bonds in order to produce the necessary resources to defeat the Axis Powers. As the war drew to a close, Indiana’s economy shifted from wartime to peacetime. During the first half of the year, war bonds and loans in Indiana actually rose with Hoosier labor leaders urging the public to participate in the March 14th “Seventh War Loan.” In this drive Hoosiers were asked to invest at least $167 million in federal securities and buy up to $104 million in Series E bonds. What made it difficult for Hoosiers to invest was the rapid closure of World War II in 1945. Following the successful Seventh War Loan drive was the Eighth War Loan also known as the Victory Loan drive, which came after the bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima but was less successful than previous drives because the nation was at peace again and many war contracts were ending leave people out of work temporarily. For the Clowes family taxes and inflation played a part in their personal finances, but the loss of employment was never an issue. Indiana, as seen in the rest of the country after the war, saw some economic downturn because of conversion to peacetime production. World War II ended the Great Depression and even with some minor economic upsets immediately following the war, Hoosiers’ personal income doubled. At the same time, the American federal government did not want a repeat of the 1929 Stock Market crash and because of this

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168 Friedman, 180-194.
taxes remained high to pay for the war. Until the beginning of 1950, despite the record rise of personal income taxes totaling $446 million, Hoosiers were able to buy homes, cars, appliances, and more on credit. According to Friedman, Indiana is still paying for World War II both financially and emotionally with the loss of soldiers.\textsuperscript{169} In regards to the Clowes, they only saw increases in their finances as seen with their stocks and investments immediately following the war.\textsuperscript{170}

**Politics**

As World War II ended Indiana’s politics changed. The Republican Party regained its presence in Indiana in 1944 as a direct consequence of wartime spending in the state. After the war, Republicans tried to repeal much of the Democratic Party’s policies formed in the 1930s that were carried over into the 1940s. Some New Deal policies stuck though and are still debated in the modern-era such as Social Security.\textsuperscript{171} Madison argued after the war, Hoosiers reverted to their old ideals that they did not want the federal government “babysitting” them and they wanted the right to tax themselves how they saw fit. This statement was never better represented than in the 1947 House Concurrent Resolution 2.\textsuperscript{172} Republicans garnered voter support in Indianapolis and Fort Wayne, which enabled them to prevent the extension of New Deal policies.\textsuperscript{173} For Indiana’s politics, the end of World War II sought a change back to the traditional ideology of conservatism in regards to the federal and state governments. Despite

\textsuperscript{169} Friedman, 210-212.
\textsuperscript{170} *Clowes Family Investments, 1947-1952*, Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 33, Folder 12.
\textsuperscript{171} Madison, 152.
\textsuperscript{172} Madison, 308.
\textsuperscript{173} Madison, 404.
Republicans trying to turn back policies, some New Deal policies remained. With the war over and the state economy thriving, Hoosiers felt safe to return to a “simpler” time.

**Society**

The end of World War II also saw dramatic social and cultural changes which, like the local government and economy, saw some permanent placements, but also a turn back to the “good ‘ole days.” Receiving the news about the end of the war came early August on a rainy day, 1945, and Hoosiers everywhere celebrated. With horns blaring and church bells ringing, Hoosiers felt relief from the economic burdens of the war and a return to normal life. Life would never be the same in Indiana though, especially for women, African Americans, and the youth of the “Greatest Generation.” Because there was a labor shortage throughout the war in Indiana, women and African Americans were able to step outside of their traditional social circles to seek employment in predominately white male jobs. As the war came to an end, however, and soldiers returned home, those same people were forced out of the job to be replaced by the returning white males. However, these new issues were now in the open and could be debated. In 1945, for instance, the Indiana General Assembly passed the State Fair Employment Practices Act, but it was largely ineffective at combating racial and sexual discrimination in the workforce. For female and black Hoosiers, 1945 saw a large return to traditional sociocultural roles, but the door was left open for the future debates for women’s rights and the Civil Rights Movement.175

174 Madison, 273-274.
175 Madison, 387 & 407. For details on the youth of World War II in 1945 please see Cavnes, 228-244, 265, 321, 333, and Madison, 274.
Military

As seen on the home front in Indiana, 1945 and the end of World War II was a time of dramatic life alterations from wartime to peacetime but it was also a time of getting back to pre-war Indiana society. For the soldiers fighting in the final battles of World War II, 1945 was a year of hope to return home from a war that was coming to an end in a few short months that seemed to take eons. Those Hoosiers fighting in 1945, present even more evidence that even at the worst times of the war, there was still faith and commitment to the Allied Powers. Compared to their Hoosier brothers-in-arms, the Clowes sons only showed minimal feelings towards the end of the war, George Jr. more so than Allen.

In May, 1945, Colonel Ernest Lee was present when Germany surrendered to the Allied Powers on V-E Day. In a letter he wrote to his mother, Col. Lee described in minute detail the happenings when Germany surrendered and the sincere relief that the war was over in Europe. Lee described Berlin as being covered by a thick haze caused mostly by the fires and the city in utter ruins. Alongside Russian soldiers Lee and other American troops entered the city where life no longer seemed to exist. Later Lee described meeting General Zhukov of the Soviet Union and ironing out the final details for the “signing.” Shortly after this Allied meeting the German officers entered adorned in their decorations, including Nazi garb, and with an air of arrogance despite being defeated. After the signing, the Germans were asked to leave the room, which was then turned into a banquet hall where the Allies feasted. The next day Lee described walking to Berlin and stated, “it is a dead city.” Another significant factor Lee touched on were the Russians overseeing the rebuilding of the city for the Victory parade. Lee concluded
his letter talking about Hitler’s suicide and remarked upon the Allies finding his body as, “whether it has or not makes little difference.”

By this point it is interesting to note that Lee’s tone undergoes a sense of anger but also one where he regards Hitler as a lesser being. Lee concluded his letter by asking how long it would take for Berlin and the German people to learn about the Brotherhood of Nations.

The peace is almost anti-climactic after all these years—a sort of letdown feeling and still continuing with our work. The job at hand will be almost as tough as the fighting, but we can all thank God that it is over and no more of these fine boys of ours will be killed here. We must bend every effort to finish the Pacific job so we can all return and take up the life we left so many years ago—it seems that I have known nothing but war for so long that nothing else exists, but a few days at home will change that.

Overall, Col. Lee’s letter embodied what many Americans were feeling at the time including relief that the war was over in Europe, a sense of unease with how the war ended, and the desire to see the Pacific theater close so that they may all return to a life without war. In connection to this letter, the Clowes did not remark in any of their documents about the end of the war in Europe.

Compared to Europe, the war ending in the Pacific was anything but anticlimactic what with some of the bloodiest battles taking place there. For some troops though, a few missions were as anticlimactic as the end of the war in Europe despite being a part of one of the more difficult battles of World War II. One Hoosier, Captain William Madigan of the air corps, related his experiences of Iwo Jima in a written document dated February 25, 1945, which was far more catastrophic than the end of the war in Europe. Captain

176 Indiana in World War II, 209-213.
177 Indiana in World War II, 213-214.
Madigan called Iwo Jima “our D-Day.” His purpose on the island was to debrief the civilian correspondents with the pre-invasion bombardment. Later that night Captain Madigan, after tucking into a piece de resistance of spam, was on a truck ride through the jungle when their truck jerked to a stop in front of a big bomber. As part of the flight crew, Captain Madigan noted that one of the tensest moments was take off. Madigan went on to explain the night sky as it turned to dawn at the same time as they were about to unload their bombs onto Iwo Jima. Even with the dropping of the bombs and the death that followed them, Madigan related how there were still thousands of fanatical Japanese underground still alive and waiting to die for their Emperor. After the bombing, Madigan highlighted on the crew and how they was no longer any tension, the men were working for their families, and they all determined that they did their part for Uncle Sam. To them, Madigan noted, this was just another mission and one that was one step closer to Japan.\textsuperscript{178} In this document, Captain Madigan’s report on one of the bombings of Iwo Jima contained his sense of nonchalance about his mission. At the same time, his descriptions of the sky from night into dawn symbolize that with a new day the war was coming ever closer to ending and all it needed were a few good men to fight for their country long enough to start working for their families again.

Unlike in Europe, the war in the Pacific theater took until mid-August, 1945 before the Japanese surrendered after the atomic bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. Hardly any Hoosier soldiers were a part of the bombings of the two civilian cities, but some were able to reflect on life in Japan as an American after the bombings and the total surrender of the country.

\textsuperscript{178} Indiana in World War II, 279-282.
In a letter dated September 18, 1945, Lieutenant Richard Blackwell wrote to his parents from Tokyo Wan, Japan. In the letter Lieutenant Blackwell described his time in Japan including traveling with the Liberty party to Yokohama, which was largely destroyed in the Tokyo bombings, and taking an electric train into downtown Tokyo. On this trip Blackwell remarked on the burned factories and homes in the surrounding area as well as the demolished Mitsubishi aircraft plant. Once he reached downtown with some friends, Blackwell noted that the Imperial Hotel was “Off Limits” so instead they went to Hiubya Park to eat their K-rations but were overwhelmed by several hungry “Japs.” He compared himself to Louis XIV eating a steak while his subjects starved. After their break the group set out for the Imperial Palace, which Americans were barred too. At the end of his letter, Blackwell related an experience he had with an English-speaking Japanese who seemed to have a soft spot for Americans and that his unit would hopefully be heading home to the United States.179 This letter clearly showed one Hoosier’s point of view of Tokyo and despite the war, he and several other Americans were largely able to explore the city and even ran into a sympathetic Japanese citizen. The most interesting note was how at peace Blackwell was, but there was an underlying tone that he was ready to come home and no longer face the destruction that Japan underwent. This might also be why he did not remark on the bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

Even as the war came to a close in Europe and in the Pacific, American military force did not immediately leave, instead several Americans, Hoosiers as well, occupied the surrendered countries and remarked on the similarities and differences among those places compared to the United States. Hoosier soldiers on the front lines expressed

179 Indiana in World War II, 388-389.
happiness that the war had come to a close and most could not wait to return home. On the home front, Hoosiers with family and friends serving in the military anxiously awaited their loved ones’ return. The war was far longer and strenuous than most Americans expected it to be and even those that did not serve directly on the front lines were missed. The same was true for the Clowes family. With the war over, George Jr. and Allen could return home and continue life post-World War II forever changed by their experiences and in the case of Allen, remain in the military for a few more years because of the success he had garnered while serving. For the Clowes family, like most other Hoosiers, 1945 was a time of hope. Unlike other Hoosiers their lives and their family relationships remained largely the same as before and during the war with only minor differences.

During the first half of 1945, Dr. Clowes and Edith went about their lives as they had before and during World War II. For Dr. Clowes, his work consisted of maintaining his position as the research director of Eli Lilly and Company. At the same time, he was working on the pharmacological aspects of insulin. As mentioned in the introduction, Dr. Clowes also kept up on his philanthropic duties that he mostly shared with his wife including his devotion to the arts, science, and music within Indianapolis and his donations to his various organizations continued unhampred as World War II came to a close in 1945. At the same time Edith was still pursuing her philanthropic duties with the Family Welfare Society in Indianapolis, which she started with in Buffalo and carried over to Indiana. In 1945, the Family Welfare Society was renamed to the Family Service Association; all the while Edith remained on the board throughout the transition into
1947. Her prior work with music, art, and societal organizations continued largely un-
interrupted.\(^{180}\)

For George Jr. and Allen, their military careers progressed along the same lengths as they were in 1945 with mostly a steady incline in status and career opportunities. In the early winter of 1945, George Jr. was still stationed at the 5\(^{th}\) Evacuation Hospital near Belgium where he performed thousands of surgeries for the Allied soldiers pushing the Germans back across the Rhine and Alsace-Lorraine. Even though George Jr. was introduced to career building skills for a surgeon during the end of the war, he was still emotionally wrought by the devastation. In order to alleviate some of the tension, George Jr. created a watercolor painting of a young girl on her sled moving through Hannut, Belgium in January 1945. In this painting, George Jr. was trying to express his hope of peace and the chance to return to his family. The painting was actually included in a small memoir published by the 5\(^{th}\) Evacuation Hospital staff on May 8, 1945. When August came around, George Jr. wrote to Dr. Drinker, a mentor from the Harvard Medical School, stating that the world was now at peace, but he did not feel overexcited about it. Instead he felt relieved and thankful. Even though the war had ended in Europe, George remained with his unit and as his unit moved to Gotha, which was positioned between Weimar and Leipzig, Germany, he went along. In Germany during the latter half of 1945, George Jr. assisted in a few surgeries. He also had the opportunity for recreation. He hiked in Chamonix before leaving for the United States in the early fall.\(^{181}\) Out of all of the Clowes family members, George Jr. was the one most exposed the direct events and consequences of the fighting, but even then his position as a staff surgeon provided

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\(^{180}\) Clowes, 71, 140-153.

\(^{181}\) Clowes, 133-134.
some level of cushion from actually engaging in the battles compared to other Hoosier soldiers. George Jr.’s experiences as well also were significantly different from most other Hoosiers because other than some psychological trauma, World War II presented George Jr. with ample opportunities and furthered his socioeconomic status afterwards.

For Allen the end of the war meant little when it came to his career in the Navy. Even after the Allied Powers won World War II, Allen continued with the Navy until 1947. During much of the year Allen maintained his position as a Lieutenant (S) and continued to work at the Crucible Steel Company handling ordnance contracts. On June 15, 1945, Allen was promoted from an S class Lieutenant to a D(L). Allen took several leaves even as the war ended including July 14 and 15, August 4 to 13, September 19 to 24, October 5 to 9, October 19 to 23, November 23 to 26, and December 21 to January 2, 1946. All of these leaves were to Golden Hill, Indianapolis, Indiana, or to Woods Hole to spend the various holidays with the rest of the Clowes family minus George.\textsuperscript{182} Due to Allen’s position in the Navy in America and partially due to the connections he made through the help of Dr. Clowes during the first part of the war, Allen enjoyed privileges other soldiers were not privy to. The most interesting change Allen faced in the Navy in 1945 was a course that he took from August 20 to September 1, 1945, called the war readjustment course.\textsuperscript{183} This course was a preparation of American life during peacetime. Even though Allen did not serve on the frontlines or witness the same atrocities as George Jr. and his fellow Hoosier soldiers, because of his service Allen was awarded the World War II Victory Medal on October 22, 1945, and on October 25, 1945, he was

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{182} \textit{Personal AWC Military Service Records 1943-1945}. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 9, Folder 2.
\item \textsuperscript{183} \textit{Personal AWC Military Service Records 1943-1945}. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 9, Folder 2.
\end{itemize}
awarded the American Campaign Medal. Unlike other troops within the American military, fighting Hoosiers, and even his brother, the end of World War II and the major battles fought in the first half of 1945 meant very little and had almost no effect on Allen’s personal and professional life.

Comparatively, George Jr.’s and Allen’s wartime experiences compared to other Hoosiers seemed less consequential, but their lives along with their extended family’s lives were only minimally shaped by the events of World War II, just not as much as their fellow Hoosiers. In regards to the familial relationships, 1945 seemed no more different than 1939 other than the life changes the sons underwent with Allen and George Jr. joining the military, beginning their careers, and George Jr. starting his family. For George Jr. he was always closer with Dr. Clowes than he was with Edith before, during, and after the war just as Allen was more connected to Edith during the same period. With Peggy and Mardi added to the mix, George Jr. spoke more with Edith about being a parent and he often relayed to Peggy his desires to return home during the spring and summer of 1945. At the same time, Dr. Clowes remained in almost constant contact with George during 1945 expressing his concerns, fears, and hope that his son would return safely. In several letters, Dr. Clowes conveyed his worry for George Jr.’s safety and often warned him to keep his gas masks and firearms close at hand during the final battles of the war. George Jr. wrote back to Dr. Clowes April 4, 1945, discussing the struggles he was facing in Belgium and Germany and the hope that when he returned to the United

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185 Clowes, 134.
States that he would find a suitable career.\textsuperscript{186} In one particular letter, Dr. Clowes conveyed his experiences of Germany as a Ph.D. student and said that he was very familiar with the territory that George Jr. was stationed at. In a letter dated August 26, 1945, to Edith, George Jr. wrote:

\begin{quote}
My Dear Duchess:

No doubt Peg has passed on my adventures in Chamonix to you and Dad. Suffice it to say that it was a marvelous trip with all the joys of mountain and climbing…In my absence the unit moved to this nice little medieval town [Fulda] which has been very little damaged by bombs. We are now running a small hospital in a convent and living in nice quarters nearby. For the first time in the army I am luxuriating in a room to myself. Apparently from all that can be learned people are to be sent home in order of points. Therefore my 83 should help which is above what the major portion of the docs in this outfit have. It is hard to predict when but I’ll get to the right dispersion camp-no fear. I shared your thankfulness on V-J Day and know how you felt about us all. With luck we should all be together before the end of the year.\textsuperscript{187}
\end{quote}

For George Jr. the end of the war could not have come soon enough as he was scheduled to tour the Pacific shortly before August 15, 1945. With his duty over, George Jr. conveyed to Peggy that he was happy to be coming home, but like other soldiers, feared finding a job as a senior resident in Boston. By the mid- to late-fall, 1945, George Jr. returned to New England where he met up with the family, spent months recuperating at Woods Hole with Peggy, and getting to know his two-year-old daughter. In a letter dated shortly after the end of World War II, Dr. Clowes wrote to George Jr. to help alleviate his worries about getting reacquainted with his young daughter whose early life he was largely absent for. In the letter Dr. Clowes conveyed that the early years are critical and because Dr. Clowes could relate more with George Jr.’s common sense and

\textsuperscript{186} General Correspondence GHA Clowes 1937-1955. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 3.
\textsuperscript{187} Clowes, 134.
calm demeanor, he built a closer connection to him rather than Allen.\footnote{Clowes, 134-137.} Between Dr. Clowes and George Jr., 1945 like the earlier years of the war, conveyed a strong bond between father and eldest son, but as George Jr.’s life began to take shape with a new family and the end of his military career, George Jr.’s family relationships, particularly among the women in his life, added a new dynamic.

For Allen, like George Jr., his closest family relation in 1945 as it was in 1939 was with Edith, but that did not mean that he was a black sheep. In fact, as Allen grew older, his relationships within the immediate family, extended family, and personal acquaintances grew all largely untouched by the war. In a letter Allen wrote to his parents dated June 6, 1945, he conveyed his well wishes on their 35\textsuperscript{th} anniversary and expressed his love to both individuals. Also within the letter Allen’s “wealth” was conveyed which was somewhat reflective of the economy in Indiana in that many Hoosiers had far more spending power than at the start of World War II. For their anniversary, Allen gifted them a set of glass crystal candlesticks for their dining table both at Woods Hole and in Indianapolis. Allen continued by expressing his gratitude that George Jr. was returning home and that he was grateful to Edith for keeping him informed. Other information such as contact with friends Ruthie and Gray, dinner parties and social gatherings, and his desire to have repaired suits, were also in the letter. Towards the end, Allen talked about work and highlighted on his responsibilities as a duty officer including working 70-hour weeks through Sunday. Allen concluded his letter praising Dr. Clowes and Edith for their anniversary as well as their parenting skills to him and George Jr.\footnote{Family Correspondence to EWC 1940-1949. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 9.} Similar letters were
written specifically to “Sousling” or “Duchess” from Allen one of which was dated October 1, 1945, where Allen specifically told Edith about using a new typewriter and telling her about Dr. Clowes’ trip to see Allen where he said, “Dad and I had a good trip down, and I really believed that he liked staying here. I, needless to say, was more than delighted to have him here with me.” This final sentence alone showed Allen’s relationship with Edith compared to with Dr. Clowes where he expressed more comfort with Edith and even though he had fond memories of his father, Allen definitely seemed to prefer the company of Edith than any other family member.

Building on Allen’s personal relationships, 1945 was a time when Allen received several letters from friends and colleagues, each containing information that Allen’s life was largely untouched by World War II. On May 25, 1945, Allen’s friend Ruthie wrote a letter to him expressing her undying love to Gray, her fiancé and Allen’s friend. In the letter Ruthie told Allen that she was longing to see him and thanked Allen profusely for being a good friend to both of them. His relationship with Ruthie and Gray was so great that she asked him to be the best man at their wedding. Ruthie went on to say, “Al, I want to thank you for everything you’ve been to me during these last two years and for all you’ve done for me. We really have had such wonderful times and you’ve come to be closer to me practically than anyone I’ve ever known.” Based on this sentence, Allen’s relationships with family and friends grew more out of his time working in New Jersey and New York in relation to his station in the military during World War II, but they were not a direct cause of World War II and its consequences. In fact, Allen’s personal life and

191 Personal Correspondence AWC 1941-1947. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes Family Archives, Box 29, Folder 6.
his familial connections remained largely untouched by the war as seen in his letters to
and from him. Further evidence of Allen’s relationships being disconnected from the war
came in a letter he wrote to his grandfather February 27, 1945 explaining his job in the
Navy, expressing a happy birthday to his grandfather, conveying his age of 28, and his
regret of not already being married. Very rarely did Allen ever mention the specifics of
the war like George Jr. and because of this Allen’s life in 1945, even as he became a part
of the “Greatest Generation,” was separate from the end of World War II.

As for Dr. Clowes and Edith, their communication with their sons as well as with
each other and friends also remained largely unchanged from the beginning to the end of
the war. The major difference for Dr. Clowes and Edith in 1945 was their 35th
anniversary. In fact, Dr. Clowes wrote a note to his wife dated September 21, 1945,
claiming his love and happiness that he had for his wife. Also in the letter is Dr. Clowes’
gift to Edith, which was an English tea service, funded by a check, which she could use
within the year. One interesting point to this note was the fact that the Clowes were
wealthy enough in 1945 for Dr. Clowes to purchase a genuine English tea service. While
Indiana Hoosiers had more spending power, only a few were wealthy enough to purchase
these types of rare items. Another point to make with the letter is the underlying tone Dr.
Clowes held with his wife. The tone of this note suggests that Dr. Clowes loved doting on
his wife, but at the same time he saw her as a partner in that even the gift he presented to
her was at her discretion. Not many men in the 1940s would have this type of relationship

192 Family Correspondence AWC 1941-1947. Indiana Historical Society, M1028 Clowes
Family Archives, Box 29, Folder 7.
193 Family Correspondence to EWC 1940-1949. Indiana Historical Society, M1028
Clowes Family Archives, Box 17, Folder 9.
with the women of their lives, especially considering Dr. Clowes and Edith were more than a married couple, they were dual investors throughout the 1940s.

For the Clowes family, life at the end of World War II was relatively unchanged other than for George Jr. The consequences of World War II also were not as impactful on the Clowes family as they were on other Hoosiers and Americans in general. Based on their documents, the Clowes continued life almost as if the war had never taken place. There were some elements in each of their lives that the Clowes had to contend with including rationings, taxes, and having two sons in the military, with one stationed overseas, but compared to other fighting Hoosiers, George Jr. and Allen along with Dr. Clowes and Edith were relatively unharmed and untouched. Their familial relationships at the same time were also as equally unaffected by the end of World War II. For the Clowes, the war was not all encompassing in their lives. Daily life continued for all Hoosiers, but especially for the Clowes family.

Conclusion

Nineteen forty-five brought about the end of the Second World War II, but not without major sacrifices both on the front lines and at home. From January to May, the European theater came to an almost anticlimactic ending. The death of Hitler and the invasion of Germany by all of the Allied Powers brought Berlin to its knees quickly despite several skirmishes from the German people. Meanwhile in the Pacific theater, battles like Iwo Jima and Okinawa left far more lasting scars on the Americans than battles in Europe in 1945. By the time Germany surrendered, Japanese forces rallied to defeat the Americans and their allies with no form of surrender. The deaths at Iwo Jima and Okinawa were some of the most remembered experiences by Americans throughout
the entirety of the war, Hoosiers included. This led to the hardest decision any president ever had to make: dropping the newly created atomic bombs and utterly destroying Japanese civilian cities. The bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima will forever remain in the memories of Americans and all across the world as some of the worst devastation in history. By August, 1945 World War II was officially ended with an Allied victory.

In Indiana, the economy remained booming while the Republicans tried to repeal several of the New Deal policies. A turn back to the “good ‘ole days” seemed underway in Indiana as it was throughout the rest of the country as white men returned home and replaced the blacks and women in the factories. Fortunately, the labor shifts opened conversations about racial and sexual discrimination and led to the Women’s Rights Movement as well as the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s and 1970s. As for the Indiana youth, they became a part of the “Greatest Generation” even though they felt disconnected from their elders. Finally, as Indiana returned to peacetime, Hoosier soldiers that had not yet returned with the end of the war were writing home about their experiences with the final battles both in Europe and the Pacific. In all of their letters there was sense of relief, gratitude, and somewhat reluctance on the end of the war, because for many that is all they had known. The question of “what’s next?” rang true throughout all of the fighting Hoosiers’ minds.

As for the Clowes family, while life in Indiana changed dramatically from 1939 to 1945, their daily lives and familial connections remained largely unchanged. Some minor alterations took place, especially with George Jr. because of his time as a surgeon in Europe from 1944 to 1945. George Jr.’s service as well as the start of his family with Peggy and Mardi influenced his connections with Edith, Dr. Clowes, and Allen, but the
core connection between Dr. Clowes and George Jr. remained stable and untouched. In fact, it can be argued that George Jr. was able to relate more to his father because he was now a new father himself and he was building his career in medicine. For Allen, the end of the war meant very little as compared to George Jr. and other fighting Hoosiers. His life in the military progressed even into 1947 and all of his documents showed that his relationship with Edith, Dr. Clowes, and George Jr. was also unchanged other than with the introduction of Peggy and Mardi. From 1944 to 1945 as was seen from 1939 to 1943, the Clowes’ lives and relationships were not as influenced by World War II as other Hoosiers were.

After the war ended in the fall of 1945, life in America largely returned to peacetime conditions with only a few minor hiccups including initial struggles finding jobs, particularly for returning soldiers, and living in a post-war era where the United States along with the Soviet Union were superpowers. For the Clowes family life, before, during, and after the war seemed about the same. Dr. Clowes continued working as the director of Eli Lilly and even though some researchers and board members of the company had doubts about Dr. Clowes’ ability to run his division, they all agreed that he introduced high standards for research and provided the push to Eli Lilly and Company to enter the modern era. Shortly after the war, Dr. Clowes retired and lived out his life with Edith in Golden Hill, Indianapolis Indiana. They remained in Indiana and continued their work up until their deaths in 1958 and 1967 respectively.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Clowes, 4-5, 157.

Beginning in January 1946, George Jr. searched for a place to complete his residency as a surgeon. After contacting Dr. Drinker, a mentor from Harvard, George Jr.
was able to work at Massachusetts General Hospital as an orthopedic surgeon. Even though he wanted to be a general surgeon, the slots were already filled. Shortly after that, George Jr. became a senior resident at the Cushing Veterans Administration Hospital in Framingham. In 1949, George Jr. completed his surgical training and a fellowship at the University of Toronto with Dr. Charles Best for further training and experience. In 1951, he moved his family to Cleveland to work as an academic cardiothoracic surgeon at Western Reserve University. Throughout the rest of his life he worked as a surgeon, to the pride of his father and had four more children including Alexander, Thomas, Jonathan, and Edith.  

Finally, Allen continued to serve in the Navy until 1946. Shortly after, he joined the Brown Brothers Harriman firm where he earned more experience in finance. The only letter where Dr. Clowes relied on Allen was when he wrote about Allen’s financial experience and asked his son to use his skills to help the family find “good” investments. Shortly after that, Allen bought the stock of the Federal-Mogul Corporation. In 1948, Allen returned to Indiana from New York where he considered returning to college for hospital administration, horticulture, landscape, architecture, and finance. After returning home, Allen agreed to be the financial advisor for the Clowes family assets including various oil investments, an apartment building, and a farm northeast of Indianapolis along with the various investments and stocks. Dr. Clowes relied on Allen’s financial skills and was confident with his Harvard training, his time in the Navy, and his work with the Brown Brother Harriman firm. This was one of the few times were Dr. Clowes seemed close with Allen. Until 1967, Allen took charge of the Clowes family assets, but

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195 Clowes, 135.
196 Clowes, 138.
during that same year he was in a car accident. Doctors had to remove his spleen. Shortly afterward his mother died. After Edith’s death, Allen married Leila Holmes, but the marriage lasted less than a year. For the final years of his life, Allen lived as a recluse due to his accident, death of his mother, and his failed marriage.\textsuperscript{197}

The Clowes family, including Dr. Clowes, Edith, George Jr., and Allen were a part of this war generation, but compared to other Hoosiers, and other Americans, their lives were not as affected by the events and consequences of the Second World War. While the war may have had some impact on the Clowes’ lives and familial relationships, I argued that it had more to do with “typical” life changes in correlation with the events of World War II as seen with the Clowes sons joining the military, rather than those caused directly by World War II as seen with other fighting Hoosiers.

At home, Indiana during World War II faced an economic boom at the same time as experiencing inflation, tax increases, rationing, and war bonds. According to Friedman though, “The actual cost of World War II to the people of Indiana will probably never be determined; too many variables are involved in the equation.”\textsuperscript{198} The Clowes family were largely unaffected by the changes in Indiana’s economy because of their economic status, which provided a cushion for much of the war. Even as Hoosiers at large were faced with these economic struggles, Dr. Clowes continued his research at Eli Lilly as the director of the company, giving him sufficient funds to invest in apartment complexes in Boston, hold a separate home in Woods Hole, Massachusetts, own at least two vehicles, and put both of his sons through Harvard. Dr. Clowes and Edith were also fortunate enough that they engaged in several philanthropic activities such as Edith’s involvement

\textsuperscript{197} Clowes, 138-139.  
\textsuperscript{198} Friedman, 199.
with the Family Welfare Society, providing donations to the Church of the Advent, giving funds to the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra, building a Clowes Memorial Hall for the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra, collecting several antique paintings, and having a hall named after them at Butler University.¹⁹⁹ By the time of his death in 1958, Dr. Clowes’ will stipulated that all of his properties would be divided among Edith and their two sons, all of his debts would be paid off, $400,000 would be given to Edith, an annual stipend would be paid to the Clowes Fund, and more.²⁰⁰ Based on the amount given to Edith alone Dr. Clowes was worth in today’s money over $4 million.

Economically, World War II had very little effect on the Clowes.

Also compared to other Hoosiers, the Clowes family were largely unaffected by the social changes brought about by World War II. In Indiana and across the country women and minorities were given the opportunity to change their social statuses simply because they were introduced to new economic privileges largely closed off to them prior to the war. Women were actually encouraged to work as seen in propaganda posters featuring Rosie the Riveter.²⁰¹ As for minorities such as African Americans, the labor shortages that plagued the new wartime factories with white men leaving the country, opened doors across the country. In all World War II in Indiana helped minorities and women to advance socially, politically and economically.²⁰² With these opportunities,

questions on sex and racial discrimination were also opened which led to the Civil Rights Movement and the Women’s Rights Movement in the latter half of the 20th century. With the Clowes, their status as upper-middle class, whites prevented them from experiencing most of these social changes other Hoosiers were having.

Finally, compared to the fighting Hoosiers, World War II had only minor impacts on George Jr.’s and Allen’s military career. For most fighting Hoosiers, life overseas left dramatic changes including wounds and emotional scaring. Out of all of the family members, George Jr. was the closest individual to suffer some of the emotional consequences of World War II similar to other Hoosier troops. In the latter years of the war, George Jr. was exposed to the horrors of war through his work as a surgeon in Europe. George Jr. worked on his wounded “brothers-in-arms” and as such this left a lasting impact. As noted earlier, George Jr. actually took several months to recover at Woods Hole when he returned to the United States after the war ended. Allen meanwhile saw no battles and only experienced the positive consequences of World War II including rank advancements, travel along the East Coast, financial experience, and the freedom to have a lavish social life that his fellow soldiers largely did not experience. At the same time, World War II hardly affected their family ties with Dr. Clowes and Edith as seen with the constant communication between Dr. Clowes and George Jr. and Edith with Allen. The family remained close before, during, and after the war, but there were more significant bonds between the father and his eldest son compared with the mother and her youngest son.
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