

Bizzell and Brandt:



Pioneers in Indian Studies,

1929-1937

by Steven Crum

Most observers assume that the idea and establishment of American Indian (Native American) Studies programs was the direct result of "Indian Self-Determination," the "Red Power Movement" as well as the "Third World Movement" of the 1960s. As a result of Indian assertiveness, several universities, including the University of California at Berkeley, UCLA, and the University of Minnesota, introduced Indian-oriented courses into their curriculums beginning in 1969. Some universities also intro-

duced Indian research centers and sponsored annual Indian studies conferences. Responding to this historic development, Dr. Terry Wilson, Coordinator of Native American Studies at UC Berkeley, correctly stated that in "the brief history of Native American Studies in academia, the year 1969 is all-important" and that "the official recognition of NAS as a scholarly concern on many campuses falls within that twelve month span."¹

Wilson is right that the establishment of Indian studies began in 1969, but the idea behind it preceded the year 1969, and very few scholars have argued this point.² One of the supporters is Indian historian Roger Buffalohead who asserted at the First Convocation of American Indian Scholars, in 1970, that "the idea of establishing an American Indian or Native American Studies Program at the University level has a history."³ Although Buffalohead did not elaborate in depth on this point, his argument was correct, for the idea of Indian studies goes back to the early years of this century. In fact, the first big push for Indian studies was made by several individuals at the University of Oklahoma in the late 1920s and 1930s.⁴

The first Oklahoman to advocate a university-based Indian studies program was Joseph Brandt, hired in 1928 as the first editor of the newly-created University of Oklahoma Press. In September, 1929, Brandt wrote a letter to then-university president William Bizzell, calling for the establishment of an "American Institute of Indian Civilization." Such an entity, if created, would be placed on the university campus and consist of three components combined into one unit. First, a special building would be constructed to accommodate an Indian library/documentation center. The money to construct this facility would come from wealthy private donors. Second, annual conferences, to be attended by both Indians and non-Indians, would be held in the Indian building. The participants would discuss Indian policy and contemporary socio-economic conditions of Indian people. Third, Indian-oriented courses, including Indian art, culture, and history, would be added to the university's curriculum. These courses would be taught in the Indian building.⁵

Brandt's idea of an Indian studies program was truly innovative, for he was the first individual to advance such an elaborate plan in the United States. He presented a valid argument by stating that America's university system had ignored the American Indian over the years. Brandt pointed out that some of California's universities offered courses on Japanese and Chinese history and culture. Why

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not do the same for the Indians, Brandt asserted, by establishing Indian studies at the University of Oklahoma.⁶

There were several factors which influenced Brandt to push for an Indian studies program. In 1915, and again in 1926, the American Indian students at OU had requested an on-campus building to house an Indian museum. Various Indian tribal leaders in Oklahoma endorsed this museum concept.⁷ In addition, OU art professor Edith Mahier, with the backing of her department chairperson, Oscar Jacobson, had been offering university-based art instruction to five Kiowa Indian students since 1925.⁸ Without doubt Brandt picked up on these developments.

Brandt also was influenced by the well-known report, *The Problem of Indian Administration* (1928), better known as the "Meriam Report." This significant reform document publicized the plight of the American Indian and recommended numerous reforms to raise the status of America's first inhabitants. One of the ten members who drafted the report was Dr. Edward E. Dale, Professor of History and Chair of the Department of History at OU since 1924.⁹ Dale and the other members encouraged the teaching of Indian art, Indian history, and Indian culture to Indian students.¹⁰

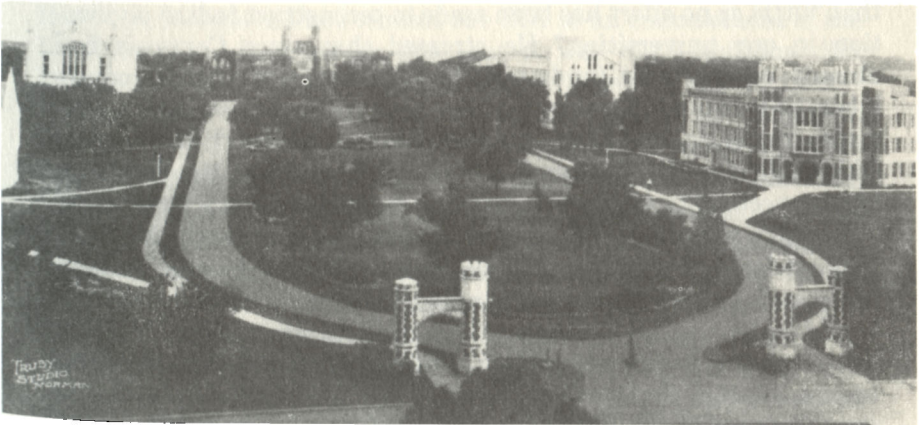
It seems likely that Brandt was influenced by an important development that took place at the University of New Mexico in 1929. In that year the UNM introduced the very first university-level Indian-oriented course in the nation. This course was entitled "Indian Art."¹¹

Last, Brandt believed that OU needed a special building to accommodate the new Frank Phillips Collection. This collection of Indian books and documents was established in 1927 after Oklahoman oil tycoon Frank Phillips provided money for its existence.¹² This collection would grow over the years to become part of the Western History Collections at OU.

Having read Brandt's letter, William Bizzell, president of OU from 1925 to 1941, endorsed the idea of the "American Institute of Indian Civilization." Bizzell, one of the few early 20th Century university presidents who took a deep interest in the American Indian, knew that the state of Oklahoma had the largest Indian population in the nation. He also knew that many Oklahoma Indians still practiced their native traditions and that his university could help them preserve their tribal heritages. Without hesitation Bizzell supported Brandt's idea and inaugurated a letter-writing campaign to secure funds from wealthy private donors to construct the Institute building.¹³

Unfortunately, the letter-writing campaign of late 1929 did not succeed because potential wealthy donors, even though they liked the idea of an Indian studies program, were not willing to give money to advance an experimental, innovative idea. One individual who favored the idea but did not provide financial support was oilman Frank Phillips, who wrote in October, 1929: "I would not be interested in helping to finance such a movement, though I have no doubt such a program has certain merit."¹⁴

Without private support, and lacking enough of its own funds for constructing new buildings, the University of Oklahoma could not build an Institute building, at least not in late 1929. However, the OU community did not lose interest in Brandt's Indian studies ideas. At least two faculty members in the 1930s carried out the Indian course component. In the spring semester, 1930, history professor E. E. Dale introduced a new course entitled "The American Indian."¹⁵ This was the first Indian history course introduced at the university level in the nation. Dale established this course owing to his deep interest in the American Indian. As already indicated, he had served on the Meriam Report staff, and its members had favored the teaching of Indian studies courses. In the fall semester, 1930, Maurice Smith of the Department of Anthropology established a course in his department also entitled "The American Indian."¹⁶ This course, unlike the one under history, focused on the aboriginal lifestyle of the Indians. Two years later, in



The University of Oklahoma, pictured here in 1924, was ready and willing to start the nation's first Indian studies program (Courtesy OHS).

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1933, the Anthropology Department introduced two additional Indian courses, one entitled "Indians of Oklahoma" and the second "American-Indian Life."¹⁷

The fact that the University of Oklahoma introduced these courses in the early 1930s made it the second university in the nation to give attention to the American Indian. As already noted, the University of New Mexico was the first to introduce an Indian course.

Even after the Indian courses were introduced, Brandt continued to work for his overall Institute plan. In February, 1931, he added new components to his original idea. Brandt called for the creation of a special "advisory council" to be chaired by President Bizzell and to consist of both Indians and non-Indians. The council would secure funds for the construction of the special Indian Institute building. Brandt also called for the establishment of a publications division within the Institute. The publications, focusing on Indian history and culture, would be a series released by the University of Oklahoma Press.¹⁸

Inspired by Brandt a second time, President Bizzell once again campaigned on behalf of the Institute. Beginning in September, 1931, he inaugurated a second letter-writing campaign, this time addressing his correspondence to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Oklahoma congressional delegation in Washington, D.C. Knowing that his earlier quest to secure private funds had failed, Bizzell turned to the federal government. Bizzell argued correctly that "little or no effort has been made to reconstruct Indian civilization in our universities." He stressed that since Congress had already appropriated funds to help build a special wood-products laboratory at the University of Wisconsin, then it could also appropriate funds to build an Indian Institute at the University of Oklahoma. Obviously, Bizzell was trying to convince the Washington connection to initiate legislation to fund Brandt's Institute.¹⁹

Bizzell's letter received favorable responses from both the Oklahoma delegation and BIA officials. Senator Elmer Thomas, wanting his state's university to be a leading institution, stressed that he would author a bill requesting Congress to appropriate funds to construct the Institute building. Thomas specified that he would secure support from other congressmen.²⁰ Charles Rhoads, the commissioner of the BIA since 1929, and who supported the introduction of Indian-oriented courses at the university level, also expressed an interest in Bizzell's letter.²¹ In fact, Rhoads had been



OU president William Bizzell (left) and OU Press director Joseph Brandt (right) fought for the American Institute of Indian Civilization (Courtesy Western History Collections).

cooperating with the University of New Mexico since September, 1929, in educating several Indian students. These students stayed at the BIA's Albuquerque Indian School while attending the nearby university to take the "Indian Art" course introduced in 1929.²² However, Rhoads did not commit the BIA to an endorsement of the Institute plan. Perhaps he felt that it was too ambitious. But Rhoads promised that BIA officials would discuss the idea further.²³

The Oklahoma congressional delegation took swift action. In December, 1931, and January, 1932, its members introduced bills into the House and Senate calling for the creation of the Institute. The legislation specified that the University of Oklahoma would donate some of its campus land to the federal government. Congress would in turn appropriate money to construct a building on the land. In this facility the Indian-oriented courses would be taught, Indian documents would be housed, research would be conducted, and periodic conferences would be sponsored. But the bills went beyond the original plan laid out by Joseph Brandt and President Bizzell, calling for the establishment of a special Indian college. This college would be part of the Institute, and it would award degrees to those Indians who graduated.²⁴

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It was the Indian college provision that killed the legislation. W. Carson Ryan, Director of Education of the BIA, favored constructing the Institute but not founding a degree-granting Indian college.²⁵ Like Professor Dale at OU, Ryan was a member of the



Oscar Jacobson (3rd from right) and the Kiowa Five began the tradition of Indian Studies in 1925 (Courtesy Western History Collections).

Meriam Report staff, and one of the staff's recommendations was that no special Indian college should be established.²⁶ Charles Rhoads, the BIA commissioner, also favored building an Insititute, but he too opposed an Indian college.²⁷ BIA officials, instead, wanted Indians to attend regular colleges and mingle with white students. Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur backed his subordinates, and the legislation, not receiving support from these key officials, died at the committee level.²⁸

Although the legislation failed, Joseph Brandt created the publications component of the Institute plan. Beginning in 1932 the University of Oklahoma Press started publishing a series of books on Indian history and culture entitled the "Civilization of American Indian Series." Several of the early publications focused on the Indian tribes of Oklahoma. However, as the years rolled by, the editors gave attention to other tribes in the nation as well as tribes in the Latin American countries. By the mid-1980s, the university press had published 176 volumes under the series.²⁹

As for William Bizzell, he was satisfied, at least for awhile, that his university had carried out two components of the planned Institute. But wanting his university to be the leader in Indian higher education, he still fought for the over-all idea to be implemented. He therefore inaugurated his third big push for the Institute plan in November, 1936.

Fully realizing that private donors had not provided assistance in the past, and that the Roosevelt administration, in power since early 1933, was providing assistance to build public works projects, Bizzell again turned to the federal government. He wrote a letter to John Collier, the Commissioner of the BIA since 1933. Bizzell not only emphasized the old component ideas, but also added a new one—the Institute would educate young Indians who desired to work for the BIA after securing their education. OU was the appropriate location to provide the education because it had more than one faculty member who was an expert in Indian studies. Furthermore, the university had the largest Indian student population, making it an adaptable and acceptable place for incoming Indian students. Obviously, Bizzell was suggesting to Collier that a cooperative relationship could be inaugurated between his university and the BIA. He hoped that this issue would be discussed sometime soon.³⁰

The Indian Institute idea was not at the top of Collier's priority list, and Bizzell never met with the BIA commissioner to discuss it. However, Bizzell traveled to Washington, D.C., and discussed the issue with Willard Beatty, Director of Education of the BIA beginning in 1936. Beatty favored the concept of cultural pluralism and therefore spoke favorably of the Institute idea. But not being the top official of the Bureau, he could not make any commitments or promises to Bizzell. Beatty agreed to travel to the Oklahoma campus and discuss further the Institute proposition.³¹ No such meeting ever occurred.

The fact that nothing materialized between Bizzell and the BIA did not discourage the Oklahoma president from pursuing his quest. Bizzell convinced the Oklahoma congressional delegation a second time to submit bills to Congress to establish the Institute. This action was taken in January, 1937, when Congressman Robert Hill and Senator Elmer Thomas introduced the legislation. Some provisions were identical or nearly identical to the ones included in the 1931–1932 bills. Dropped from the new legislation was the controversial Indian college provision. The striking new feature

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was that young Indians preparing to work for the BIA would be trained in the Institute.³²

The Board of Regents of OU stood behind its president and endorsed the congressional bills. In February, 1937, its members wrote a somewhat lengthy report supporting the Institute plan and gave several reasons. First, Oklahoma had the largest Indian population. Of the 334,013 Indians in the nation, 96,244, or 29.1% of the population, were living in Oklahoma. This justified placing the Institute in Oklahoma. Second, the university enrolled 250 Indian students, or the largest number of any university in the nation. This meant that OU did not discriminate against the Indian, and the Indian students at the university were an integral part of the large student body. Having an established Indian Institute would certainly increase the existing Indian enrollment. Third, the university had more than one faculty member who was knowledgeable in "Indian Studies," and these members would be valuable as an instructional staff in the Institute. Fourth, the university had the Frank Phillips Collection which could be housed in a newly established Institute building. Fifth, a completed Institute could prepare young Indians to become future employees of the BIA. The board members included in their report a resolution endorsing the overall Institute plan.³³

Hoping to get the bills sanctioned by John Collier, Bizzell wrote a letter to the BIA Commissioner in March, 1937. He argued that the federal government had already appropriated funds to other universities for constructing special projects. This policy could possibly be continued if the BIA endorsed the bills, influencing Congress to pass them. Bizzell hoped that Collier would send a written endorsement to Congress.³⁴

Commissioner Collier finally responded to President Bizzell. He pointed out that the Institute proposal, as specified in the bills, was full of merit. But Collier did not support the pending legislation for several reasons. If congressional funds were appropriated to the Institute, he argued, then other universities would also make similar requests. Collier did not want to set off a chain reaction. He objected to the training of Indians preparing for the Indian Service, for they could not be assured of jobs having graduated from a university-based Institute. Collier also did not like the idea of an Institute owned and run by a state university but located on federally-owned land. The commissioner called this arrangement "divided ownership" and did not favor it. Finally, Collier did not



E. E. Dale (standing at left) was a professor of history at OU and a member of the Meriam Commission, which recommended Indian-oriented courses at the university level (Courtesy Western History Collections).

want federal funds channeled to only one university for Indian higher education. Instead, he favored the BIA's present policy of giving educational loans to Indian students if accepted into the university of their choice.³⁵ Collier therefore rejected the overall Institute plan. More importantly, his decision was supported by his superior, Acting Secretary of the Interior Charles West.³⁶ Thus, without the endorsement of high officials, Bizzell's drive for the "American Institute of Indian Civilization" came to an end in 1937.

Bizzell had hoped that Collier would support the Institute proposal, for it included the teaching and preservation of Indian culture, something that Collier had always favored. Going back to 1923 he expressed a deep interest in Indian arts and crafts.³⁷ Ten years later, the Wheeler-Howard Bill of 1934, Collier's brainchild, contained an Indian culture provision which read: "It is hereby declared to be the purpose and policy of Congress to promote the study of Indian civilization and preserve and develop the special cultural contributions and achievements of such civilization, including Indian arts, crafts, skills, and traditions."³⁸ This provision, which was dropped from the Wheeler-Howard Act (Indian Reorganization Act) of 1934, was exactly what the University of Oklahoma had pushed for from 1929 to 1937. Yet, Collier did not support its fruition at OU.

Why Collier did not favor the passage of the Institute proposal is somewhat unclear. What is clear, as specified by historian Law-

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rence Kelly, is that Collier most likely had "a bias against 'provincial' universities," which in his mind included the University of Oklahoma. Commissioner Collier in the 1930s did give financial support to university-based scholars who were conducting research on the American Indian. But this support was given to those associated with the so-called "prestigious universities" such as the Ivy-League institutions.³⁹ Without doubt Collier favored these institutions because he was a product of Columbia University. Perhaps Collier would have supported the legislation if the Institute were to be placed at Harvard, Yale, or Columbia.

The fact that the OU Indian Institute was never built cannot be blamed entirely on Collier's lack of support. Perhaps the Institute building would exist today had Bizzell by-passed special legislation and simply relied on general New Deal funds for building construction. Numerous buildings were built on college and university campuses in the 1930s under the various public works programs, including the Public Works Administration (PWA).⁴⁰ Bizzell could have used PWA funds for construction of the Indian building.

One point must be emphasized. The BIA has never given full support to one particular private or state-run university for the teaching of Indian studies. Instead, in recent years the Indian Bureau has established its own special schools that offer Indian studies courses. In 1962 it created the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico, a unique art school which offers courses in Indian art, culture, and history.⁴¹ In 1970 the BIA converted one of its off-reservation boarding schools, Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, into an Indian junior college. This college provides students with Indian-oriented courses.⁴²

In the years before 1969 there were other attempts to create Indian studies programs at the public university level. One effort was made in 1941 by James Zimmerman, president of the University of New Mexico. He wrote a proposal calling for the establishment of a "School of Indian Affairs on the Campus of the University of New Mexico." His plan was similar to, but also different from that of Oklahoma. The university would donate some of its land to the BIA, and the Indian Bureau in turn would provide money to build a special Indian building. Indian students from both the United States and the Latin American countries would be educated in this college-within-a-college. In addition to providing instruction, the school would also be a place where scholars could conduct research on the American Indian.⁴³ But the BIA never responded to Zimmer-

man's request, for it came at a time when the American government was engrossed in wartime activities. Additionally, the government had reduced expenditures for domestic projects, and Zimmerman's proposal was never given a chance.

In conclusion, one can say that the University of Oklahoma was far ahead of its time, for Indian studies programs in public universities across the country did not become a reality until 1969. In examining the American Indian Studies Center at UCLA, observers can see evidence of the ideas first advocated by Joseph Brandt and William Bizzell. The UCLA center has a library/documentation unit. It sponsors annual conferences on Indian issues. It produces publications, including a journal called the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* and a special series called the *Contemporary American Indian Issues Series*. It sponsors scholars who are conducting research on the American Indian. And it coordinates the Indian-oriented courses offered by the various departments on the UCLA campus, making it possible for an Indian studies major to exist.⁴⁴ This is not to say that the UCLA program was directly influenced by the earlier OU plan. Instead, it was the result of Indian self-determination of the late 1960s, coupled with the fact that America's universities were more accepting of different peoples and cultures and were responding to the requests of minority peoples, including American Indians. What must be emphasized is that the Indian studies idea had been around for a long time before 1969. If Brandt and Bizzell were alive today, they would most likely be pleased to see their dreams fulfilled across the country.

ENDNOTES

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¹ Terry P. Wilson, "Custer Never Would Have Believed It: Native American Studies in Academia," *American Indian Quarterly* 5 (1979): 214. There are several good sources on American Indian studies, including the following: *American Indian Issues in Higher Education*, Contemporary American Indian Issues Series No. 3 (Los Angeles, American Indian Studies Center, 1981), Pts. I and II: 3-58; "Symposium on American Indian Studies, January 1977," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 2 (1978): Entire Issue; Charlotte Heth and Susan Guyette, *Issues for the Future of Indian Studies: A Needs Assessment and Program Guide* (American Indian Studies Center, UCLA, 1984).

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² Margaret Connell Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928*, 2nd edition (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977). Szasz is one author who argues that the idea of Indian studies had its roots in the 1960s. She writes that "as late as the mid-1960s the idea of Indian Studies programs was not even under consideration." (p. 166).

³ *Indian Voices: The First Convocation of American Indian Scholars* (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1970), 161.

⁴ Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974). The idea and development of Indian studies at the college level actually had its beginnings in Mexico. In 1536 the Franciscan Order of the Catholic Church established the College of Santiago Tlatelolco for the sons of Aztec leaders. Ricard writes that this college "was a kind of center for Mexican studies." (p. 224). Students were offered Indian-oriented courses, including the Aztec language, "Nahuatl." For an in-depth study of the College of Santiago Tlatelolco see Jose Maria Kobayashi, *La educacion como conquista (empresa franciscana en Mexico)* (El Colegio de Mexico, 1974), 292-407.

⁵ Joseph A. Brandt to William B. Bizzell, September 7, 1929, William B. Bizzell Presidential papers (WBP), file entitled "American Institute of Indian Civilization" (AIIC), University of Oklahoma Archives (OU); George Lynn Cross, *Professors, Presidents, and Politicians: Civil Rights and the University of Oklahoma, 1890-1968* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 64.

⁶ Brandt to Bizzell, September 7, 1929, WBP, AIIC, OU.

⁷ Earle Boyd Pierce, "University of Oklahoma has unique Indian Organization," *The American Indian* 1 (December 1926): 11; Oklahoma Indian leaders to Robert L. Owen, 1915, Jack Haley Papers (JHP), Western History Collections (WHC), OU.

⁸ "Indians and Art," 3, unpublished paper, Oscar Jacobson Collection, WHC, OU.

⁹ For a good source on Dale see Arrell Morgan Gibson's *The West Wind Blows: The Autobiography of Edward Everett Dale* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1984).

¹⁰ *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), 372.

¹¹ *The University of New Mexico Bulletin, Thirty-Ninth Annual Catalogue Issue, 1929-1930*, 109.

¹² "Proposal for Type B Grant for Indian Material, University of Oklahoma Library," 2, Grant #OEG 0-72-6367, HEW, JHP, OU; Cross, *The University of Oklahoma and World War II* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 107.

¹³ Bizzell to W. B. Pine, October 8, 1929, WBP, AIIC, OU.

¹⁴ Frank Phillips to Bizzell, October 26, 1929, WBP, AIIC, OU.

¹⁵ Judy Day to Steven Crum, August 1, 1984, Reference Report; In possession of the author.

¹⁶ General Catalog, *University of Oklahoma Bulletin, 1930-31*, 169.

¹⁷ *University of Oklahoma Bulletin, 1933*, 168-169.

¹⁸ Brandt to Bizzell, February 18, 1931, WBP, AIIC, OU.

¹⁹ Bizzell to Jed Johnson, October 15, 1931, Central Files (CF), 58780-31-General Services-810, Record Group (RG) 75, National Archives (NA).

²⁰ Elmer Thomas to Bizzell, October 21, 1931, WBP, AIIC, OU.

²¹ C. J. Rhoads to F. B. Swank, November 10, 1931, WBP, AIIC, OU.

²² "Indian Art Students," *El Palacio* 29 (September 23, 1930): 182-183.

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- ²³ Rhoads to Swank, November 10, 1931, WBP, AIC, OU.
- ²⁴ H. R. 6397 (1931); S. 2450 (1932), Library of Congress (LC), Washington, D.C.
- ²⁵ W. Carson Ryan, Jr. to Rhoads, January 14, 1932, CF, 58780-31-General Services-810, RG 75, NA.
- ²⁶ *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 419.
- ²⁷ Rhoads to Ray Lyman Wilbur, January 29, 1932, CF, 58780-31-General Services-810, RG 75, NA.
- ²⁸ "Acceptance of Donation of land and construction of suitable buildings, etc., on Campus of University of Oklahoma," *House Reports* (72nd Cong., 1st sess.), Report No. 1370, Serial 9493.
- ²⁹ *The American Indian*, catalog of books, University of Oklahoma Press, 47.
- ³⁰ Bizzell to John Collier, November 23, 1936, CF, 58780-31-General Services-810, RG 75, NA.
- ³¹ Willard Beatty to Collier, December 4, 1936, CF, 58780-31-General Services-810, RG 75, NA. For biographical information about Beatty see Margaret Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*, 37-49.
- ³² H.R. 3157 (1937); S. 1222 (1937), LC. The original name, the "American Institute of Indian Civilization," was not used in these bills. Instead, a new name, the "Institute of Indian Education," was used.
- ³³ "Brief in Support of the Establishment of the Institute of Indian Education," February 1, 1937, WBP, AIC, OU.
- ³⁴ Bizzell to Collier, March 12, 1937, CF, 58780-31-General Services-810, RG 75, NA.
- ³⁵ Collier to Bizzell, March 25, 1937, WBP, AIC, OU.
- ³⁶ Charles West to Elmer Thomas, April 20, 1937, WBP, AIC, OU.
- ³⁷ Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 47.
- ³⁸ *Readjustment of Indian Affairs*, Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs, House (73rd cong., 2nd sess.), Pt. I: 7.
- ³⁹ Lawrence Kelly, "Indian Records in the Oklahoma Historical Society Archives," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 54 (1976): 241.
- ⁴⁰ William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963), 133.
- ⁴¹ Winona Marie Garmhausen, "The Institute of American Indian Arts, 1962 to 1978: With Historical Background 1890 to 1962," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1982.
- ⁴² "Self-Study Report of Haskell Indian Junior College, Prepared for the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools," June 1978, 53.
- ⁴³ James F. Zimmerman, "The Advisability of Establishing a School of Indian Affairs on the Campus of the University of New Mexico," June 1941, CF, 51971-41-General Services-800, RG 75, NA.
- ⁴⁴ David Draper, "Proposal for a Master of Arts Degree in American Indian Studies," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 2 (1978): 20-23; Velma Salabiye, "American Indian Library Resources at UCLA," *Institute of American Cultures, UCLA*, 19 0; "UCLA Master of Arts Program in American Indian Studies," Pamphlet, American Indian Studies Center, UCLA.