

Rectifying the misleading history of IPS presented during “Let’s Talk: An Honest Conversation about Race” and in parts of the June 25 IPS news story on the influence of the district’s history of racism and segregation on the need for a Racial Equity Policy and the Black Lives Matter Resolution

Summary On June 25, 2020, an IPS news post titled, “IPS Board Approves Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution” was published: <https://myips.org/blog/district/ips-board-approves-racial-equity-policy-and-black-lives-matter-resolution/>.

The news release announced and explained the district’s historic and truly transformative policy and resolution, placing IPS as Indiana’s leader in public education policy for 21st century race relations which are currently being inspired by the global Black Lives Matter Movement.

However, those parts of the post dealing with the district’s history of racism and segregation mislead the reader. Reviews of IPS history through relevant research show glaring omissions.

As IPS tries to point out exactly where, how, and with whom, “The foundation of IPS’s history is rooted...” and its segregationist policies originated, the district only mentions 3 local early 1920s white supremacist organizations: the White Supremacy League, White People’s Protective League, and the Capital Avenue Protective Association.

In the next paragraph of the post, IPS does mention the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, the IPS board itself, and the KKK. However, with no particulars, this passage also misleads the reader.

It’s not that prejudice, bigotry, and racism weren’t alive and well in Indianapolis between 1920 and 1930, but a closer review shows there were many local players with equal or far more political, cultural, social, economic, and geographical racist ideologies and actions than that of the 3 civic groups, the Chamber, the 1922-1930 IPS boards, or the Klan.

The IPS story also misleads because many civic organizations were more interested in segregated neighborhoods than schools. The KKK wanted power and the right to practice political patronage, not segregated schools. It was the racist Indy Chamber’s membership of business elites who helped enable a Jim Crow district and city. This paper will also go into the current Chamber/IPS relations.

The present analysis with commentary intends to name and unpack a number and variety of organizations, entities, and persons not mentioned in the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/district/news-story, exposing both their hidden and blatant racism. For example, the long-time overtly racist IPS boards (1929-1980), the Citizens School Committee, the city’s early 1920s Federation of Civic Clubs, local newspapers such as the Indianapolis Star and Indianapolis Times and racist school leaders at Shortridge and Butler College—and including Butler’s 1927 racial/gender quota policy—welcoming Black coeds, but not Black males.

And what’s equally important is why these racists of Indy’s white establishment were not “called out” June 25 as well, and what this moral lapse implies about the present board and the IPS administration.

In conclusion, the oral and written history of our IPS must not be influenced by politics. If IPS is to discredit and abandon white supremacy, its history must have clarity and integrity. For the sake of the children and youth, it must be honest and accurate.

A rectified IPS history will help students understand Indy’s white supremacist roots, providing teachers with local examples of the intersectionality of racial equity policy issues such as bias, oppression, privilege and advantage, and institutional and structural racism with culture, social class, gender, geography, religion, journalism, education, or local politics all in order to help fulfill the district’s obligation to equitably serve and educate each and every student.

Preface

But, it wasn't the Klan who created Crispus Attucks High School.

~ Narrator, 5:20 mark of [Attucks: A school that opened a city](#)

The key to understanding the Klan and segregation...is to understand that Klan politicians were far more interested in patronage and power than ideology. The Klan and segregationist movements were [mainly] independent of each other. The decision to segregate the public schools was made in 1922 by the board of the Citizen School Committee at the urging of not only the white neighborhood protection associations, but also the Chamber of Commerce and other business groups that backed the citizen's board. The segregation program did not depend on the Klan support and would have been carried out had the Klan never existed.

~ Dr. Leonard J. Moore, *Citizen Klansmen*, p. 150

...it is significant for the purposes of this study that, while the "Klan board" was accused of loose financial practices, politicizing the school system, and nepotism, they were neither charged with racism nor criticized for segregating schools.

Not until many years later, after the state law that abolished school segregation was adopted in 1949 and "establishment" whites wanted to remove the stigma of racism represented by segregated schools, did the tradition developed that the Klan was responsible for Crispus Attucks high school.

~ Dr. Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana Blacks in the 20th Century*, p. 60

Named after Crispus Attucks...the school opened in September 1927, but from the foregoing account it is clear that the decisions to develop a Black high school...were made by the school board elected in 1921. The so-called "Klan" board was not elected until November 1925. These facts refute the popular tradition that the "Klan" board was responsible for authorizing a segregated high school.

~ Dr. Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana Blacks in the 20th Century*, p. 58

The completion of [Attucks] during the Klan reign, along with the attempt by the Klan city council to enact the [1926] residential segregation order ordinance, led to a pervasively belief in later years that the segregation campaign of the 1920s grew out of the Klan movement and was implemented primarily by Klan politicians. While the claim made an excellent scapegoat for later generations of politicians attempting to justify decades of legally sanctioned discrimination, this was simply not the case...

~ Dr. Leonard J. Moore, *Citizen Klansmen*, p.149-150

In the end, the Klan was merely one of the architects of Indianapolis's segregated schools. The policy of segregation was instituted before Klan-supported candidates took office, continued while they were in position, and was maintained after they were ostensibly removed from the school board. The simple but unpopular explanation is that the majority of white voters wanted segregated schools. Faced with a seemingly ever-increasing black population, whites created formal, structural barriers.

~ Dr. Richard Pierce, *Polite Protest: The political economy of race in Indianapolis 1920 to 1970*, p. 31

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Two recent IPS initiatives regarding its history are misleading the public

Introduction

As is portrayed in the Preface quotes, the Klan had little to do with educational changes in the Indianapolis Public Schools (IPS). Yet, as reviewed in this in depth analysis, certain board members in their June 12, 2020 “Let's Talk: An Honest Conversation about Race” on-line discussion, as well as parts of a June 25 IPS news story, “IPS Board Approves Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution” push this idea. **Why?**

The parts of the Indianapolis Public Schools June 25 myips.org/blog/post dealing with the district's history of racism and segregation in support of its Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution

A) “The racial equity policy speaks to the history of racism and segregation throughout the educational framework in the city and state, including hiring practices and budgets. The foundation of IPS’ history is rooted – like many school districts throughout the country – in the segregationist policies set forth by civic organizations like the White Supremacy League, White People’s Protective League and the Capital Avenue Protective Association as early as 1920. The Black population during this formative decade grew to more than 11% of the city’s total – one of the highest Black populations of northern cities.”

B) “City leaders, however, fearing the high numbers of Black students in predominantly white high schools, created a school for Blacks in 1922: Crispus Attucks High School. Leaders forced all Black students to attend the school based on the supposed spread of tuberculosis infections in the Black community. The Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, the IPS Board, and the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), supported the decision and suppressed and diverted any protests to oppose segregation. Ultimately, the then governor of Indiana, mayor of Indianapolis and five members of the school Board became either members of or were backed by the KKK.”

Issues

Issue I

The Indianapolis Public Schools conversation on race

On June 12, 2020 IPS had a conversation, “Let's Talk: An Honest Conversation about Race.” From my perspective as an IPS historian of over 40 years, some statements by board members misled the audience about the of the state’s and city’s Klan history.

Here’s the link to the 06.12.2020 IPS forum “Let's Talk: An Honest Conversation about Race”:

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mvEoBeYEB-8>.

Statements by Commissioner Hawkins regarding the Klan: “...100 years ago, we think about the composition of our state government, our local government and even this school district was operated by the Klu Klux Klan” were made at the 36:40 mark on the video. Commissioner O’Connor’s statement about the Klan was made at the 38:45 mark: “It wasn’t even as far back as 100 years ago that the KKK controlled our government...it was only as far back as 70 or 75 years ago...it’s more recent and that should disturb us all.”

Commissioner Hawkins also extolled: “I encourage particularly our white brothers and sisters who are doing the work to keep doing the work and pressing into our history and ask and continue to ask questions about why things are how they are.” Refer here to the 38:23-38:39 mark.

Following Commissioner Hawkins’ advice, this paper tries to rectify what’s seen as a misleading IPS story through an analysis that will “...continue to ask questions about why things are how they are.”

Issue II

The history sections of the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/post dealing with the district’s history of racism and segregation in support of its Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution

Don’t make waves; don’t be unpleasant; and if Truth is unpleasant, then avoid Truth.

~ Mari Evans on Indianapolis, *Clarity as Concept*

Until the story of the hunt is told by the lion, the tale of the hunt will always glorify the hunter.

~ African proverb

Can we trust IPS to write its own history?

~ Anonymous

And so it is with Indianapolis. Looking back over the last 40 years, everything has changed and nothing has changed. This is a tale of 2 cities: “Locked in” to one city, “locked out” of the other. Being “locked out”...one has to experience the acid psychological locking out that depends on color as the referent—not money, not manners, not clothing, not caste. Color.

~ Mari Evans, *Clarity as Concept*

For a span of my memory this has been a city of opposing wills, two faces firmly set toward different directions—one covertly determined to maintain the status quo, to continually block any access to power, or to parity; the other advocating an active morality and its right to inclusion as an equal entity rather than a colonized one. This has been a city of perpetual confrontation, however cloaked, between the powerless and those who influence, control, and engineer the city’s movement in the inexorable and often ruthless march toward “greatness”...

~ Mari Evans on Indianapolis, *Clarity as Concept*

[Here in Indianapolis,] we are programmed to disbelieve what we experience. This impacts how we view society and how we view ourselves.

~ Mari Evans, *Clarity as Concept*

Indianapolis is truly dichotomous; a city in which contradictions is truly the norm. It is easy to be deluded here, especially when one prefers delusion to clarity.

~ Mari Evans, *Clarity as Concept*

Indianapolis, I tell friends in other places, is a city where the preservation of Euro-American cultural traditions and the enhancement of those traditions has been consistent. Not only consistent, but increasingly an economic factor too significant to be ignored or dismissed.

~ Mari Evans, *Clarity as Concept*

What is more acceptable [in Indianapolis], more comfortable, is a high level of acculturation. Acculturation being defined as to alter...through a process of conditioning.

~ Mari Evans, *Clarity as Concept*

1.) The first paragraph of IPS history covered in the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/ on the board's approval of its Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution

(<https://myips.org/blog/district/ips-board-approves-racial-equity-policy-and-black-lives-matter-resolution/>)
states: (See the whole IPS June 25 press release in APPENDIX A on p. 28 of this analysis)

A) *"The racial equity policy speaks to the history of racism and segregation throughout the educational framework in the city and state, including hiring practices and budgets. The foundation of IPS' history is rooted — like many school districts throughout the country — in the segregationist policies set forth by civic organizations like the White Supremacy League, White People's Protective League and the Capital Avenue Protective Association as early as 1920. The Black population during this formative decade grew to more than 11% of the city's total — one of the highest Black populations of northern cities."*

Questions regarding statements in the June 25 IPS myips.org/blog/news story

According to the extensive research of the Charles E. & Virginia P. Vornehm-Loflin Center on the History of IPS (Loflin IPS History Center), the above paragraph raises many questions concerning the limitations of the historical information presented in this IPS June 25 on-line news article.

- Where's the proof that the White Supremacy League, White People's Protective League and the Capital Avenue Protective Association had the gravitas and membership numbers to have the status and level of influence given to these groups by IPS, as opposed to others?

For example, the Capital Capitol Avenue Protective Association membership consisted of certain white residents living on Capital Avenue south of Fairview Park (46th Street/Sunset Avenue) and north of 10th Street. They were a neighborhood organization interested in neighborhood issues and did not solely exist to fight neighborhood integration. See this September 19, 1924 clipping on a story covering the group's campaign around bus routes/schedules on Capitol Avenue:

<http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/09.19.24-Capitol-Avenue-Protective-Association-protests-proposed-Capitol-Avenue-street-car-line-route.pdf>

Loflin IPS History Center research shows these 3 "civic organizations" were mainly concerned with housing issues, not education

To be sure, the Mrs. Otto J. (Daisy) Deeds, head of White Supremacy League, did speak before the IPS board on June 13, 1922 for a segregated high school. Review this *Indianapolis Star* newspaper article: <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/06.13.22-Indianapolis-White-Supremacy-League-speaks-to-IPS-board-urging-segregated-schools.pdf>. As well, Mrs. Deeds urged "separation of races in all manners" in April 28, 1922 *Indianapolis Times* story: <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/04.28.22-Separation-of-races-in-all-manners-urged.pdf>.

However, neither the White People's Protective Association nor the Capital Avenue Protective Association ever spoke to IPS.

Again, neighborhood segregation was why community groups formed and organized, not education.

All of this misdirects IPS supporters, who want and deserve the truth, away from the Federation of Civic Clubs (FCC) (<http://vorcreatex.com/federation-of-civic-clubs/>) which was our city's largest organization representing the many north side neighborhood and community groups. (Why not south side areas? ¹) Yes, FCC was an entity that did go to the board asking for a segregated high school. Thus, the FCC enabled both a Jim Crow school district and city: neighborhoods, theaters, restaurants, parks/pools, hospitals, etc., just like the "up South" Indianapolis Mari Evans describes below:

"Many Black folk thought of Indianapolis as urban, 'up South.' It was better than being 'down South,' but it retained many of the negative propositions of the deep South and was not yet enlightened and 'progressive' as their West or East Coast counterparts. Conservatism and racism were alive and compatible."
~ Mari Evans, *Clarity as Concept*

2.) The second paragraph of IPS history covered in the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/ on the board's approval of its Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution (<https://myips.org/blog/district/ips-board-approves-racial-equity-policy-and-black-lives-matter-resolution/>) **states:** (See the whole IPS June 25 press release in APPENDIX A on p. 28 of this analysis)

B) *“City leaders, however, fearing the high numbers of Black students in predominantly white high schools, created a school for Blacks in 1922: Crispus Attucks High School. Leaders forced all Black students to attend the school based on the supposed spread of tuberculosis infections in the Black community. The Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, the IPS Board, and the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), supported the decision and suppressed and diverted any protests to oppose segregation. Ultimately, the then governor of Indiana, mayor of Indianapolis and five members of the school Board became either members of or were backed by the KKK.”*

“City leaders, however, fearing the high numbers of Black students in predominantly white high schools, created a school for Blacks in 1922: Crispus Attucks High School. Leaders forced all Black students to attend the school based on the supposed spread of tuberculosis infections in the Black community.”

- Using just the term “leaders” is vague for such an important and historical discussion on a policy and resolution as reported in the 2 IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/ paragraphs about IPS’s decision.
 - Who were these leaders: IPS administration leaders, IPS board leaders, business leaders, political leaders, society/cultural leaders, parent leaders...?
 - What were their names, what did they do, and where did they live?

More questions concerning statements in the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/district/
“The Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, the IPS Board, and the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), supported the decision and suppressed and diverted any protests to oppose segregation.”

- We know from the Attucks documentary that the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce (ICC), “supported the decision” yet, where is any proof the ICC “...suppressed and diverted any protests to oppose segregation”?
- Which IPS board supposedly *supported the decision and suppressed and diverted any protests to oppose segregation*: the 1922 board won by the Citizens School Committee (CSC) or the 1926 so-called “Klan board”? If either of these boards did, where, when, and how did this “suppression” and “diversion” manifest?
- When and how did the KKK support the decision?
 - Where is any proof, “the KKK “suppressed and diverted any protests to oppose segregation”?

IPS can’t just make statements the district can’t support with research/references. IPS can’t make statements which can mislead and take advantage of the historical naiveté of the district administration, teachers and staff, and district citizens who trust the IPS board to tell them the truth.

IPS needs to have students create the history of their school and present it to the public for debate.

More analysis of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce and IPS

In late 1922, “Another delegation of black ministers and NAACP leaders told the [IPS] board that segregation inevitably meant inequality of opportunity, and that the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, which advocated a separate school, was pervaded by a ‘...**malicious spirit that would produce a serf class**’” [emphasis mine] (Thornbrough, p. 57).

As well as the Attucks film, according to the 40 years of research by the Loflin IPS History Center, the ICC was instrumental in enabling a segregated school district in 1922 because it had money/power: <http://vorcreatex.com/indianapolis-chamber-of-commerce/>.

What is more relevant, ICC helped create a segregated Indianapolis in the early 1920s that some say is still around. Look at 2010 census where Indy was 1 of the 21 most segregated US cities. View <http://www.businessinsider.com/most-segregated-cities-census-maps-2013-4>.

Next see <https://www.flickr.com/photos/walkingsf/5560477952/in/album-72157626354149574/> showing Indy is segregated not only by race, but also by class. Note the white majority south of US 40, Indy's Mason-Dixon Line, who have been and continue to be working class.

The stark white supremacy and consequent racism of ICC in the 1920s needs more scrutiny than the Attucks documentary, or that IPS has displayed. IPS can deconstruct ICC by investigating:

- the racist underbelly of the ICC and its actions in cahoots with the CSC during the decades of the 1930's, 1940s, 1950's and up to the early 1960s, (more on CSC below);
- the present influence of ICC on the district regarding policy such as the report on the "right-sizing" of district facilities: <https://indychamber.com/news/indy-chamber-releases-details-on-ips-operational-assessment/>; and,
- the current IPS pro-business/pro-corporate "College and Career" high school curriculum (<https://cbs4indy.com/news/jpmorgan-chase-invests-1-million-into-ips-career-academy-programs/>) which ignores education for critical citizenship.

The ICC and IPS from early 1920's to 1930: The beginning of the ICC/CSC matrix

The information and links below will provide proof of the ICC connection to IPS through the CSC. The 1920's ICC history is covered well in Dr. Leonard Moore's book *Citizen Klansmen: The KKK in Indiana, 1921-1928*. Moore unpacks the antagonism between our city's business elites/Republican Party and the Klan. The Klan was critical of the CSC and Indy's/Indiana's business elites who supported CSC. In fact, the Klan assembled a slate (United Protestant ticket) and ran against the CSC and won the 1925 election creating the notorious "Klan school board." The United Protestants lost to a rejuvenated CSC in November of 1929.

ICC: School segregation in IPS and the KKK

As described in *Citizen Klansmen*:

"The key to understanding the Klan and segregation...is to understand that Klan politicians were far more interested in patronage and power than ideology...the Klan and segregationist movements ...were, [mainly] independent of each other. The decision to segregate the public schools was made in 1922 by the board of the Citizen School Committee at **the urging of not only the white neighborhood protection associations, but also the Chamber of Commerce** (emphasis mine) and other business groups that backed the citizens' board. The segregation program did not depend on the Klan support and would have been carried out had the Klan never existed."

~ Prof. Leonard J. Moore, *Citizen Klansmen*, p. 150, <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Citizen-Klansmen-The-KKK-in-Indiana-1921-1928-Indianapolis-Section-pp-139-150.pdf>.

Here are links showing the early 1920's commonalities connecting the CSC and ICC. Revealed are a shared ideology and backgrounds of the business people, mainly Republican members, of each group:

- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/1921-Citizens-School-Committee-forms-Oct-25.pdf>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/1921-Citizens-School-Committee-members.pdf>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/1921-Breakdown-of-Citizens-School-Committee-membership.pdf>

- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/1922-Indy-Chamber-Info-on-Board-of-Directors-members-.pdf>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/1922-Indy-Chamber-Info-on-Education-Committee-members.pdf>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/1923-Breakdown-Indy-January-newsletter-Education-Committee-members.pdf>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/1923-February-2-summary-Chamber-issues-with-IPS-building-plan.pdf>

Note too, in May of 1922, ICC sponsored the initial organizing gathering of the FCC at the ICC headquarters (Thornbrough, p. 55).

Here is general information on the CSC: <http://vorcreatex.com/citizens-school-committee-2/>.

The ICC and IPS from 1930 to the early 1960s

As stated, a revived and reorganized CSC won the 1929 IPS board election and took over control of IPS in January of 1930. It did not hurt the CSC campaign that the Indiana Klan's Grand Dragon was arrested, convicted, and jailed for rape—leading to the Klan's political demise throughout the state. What made ICC/IPS relationship so relevant in the decades after the IPS Klan board was defeated was the business group's continued involvement with and empowerment of the CSC to the benefit of ICC.

To review, since 1921 Indy's local business community supported the ideology and politics of the CSC. Once the CSC came back into power, ICC became co-conspirators as the 2 groups controlled the district unopposed for over 3 decades: 1930-1964. See more at [IPS segregation and desegregation 1920s-1970s](#).

John Niblack and Bill Book

The 2 local power brokers and social conservative accomplices were Republican and Marion County Circuit Court Judge John L. Niblack (1897-1986) and Indianapolis Chamber executive and Republican William H. "Bill" Book (1891-1965). Niblack was the head of CSC from 1930 to 1963. Book was head of ICC from 1934 to 1963. *Note the importance of 1963; that's when the tide began to turn and certain citizens began to question the CSC/ICC control of the IPS school board.*

The above links (bottom of p.8 to p. 9) showing the 1920's demographic similarities of these 2 allied racists and Indianapolis Jim Crow era public school segregationists groups. Below are the links to some of the statistics from 1929, 1934, and 1942 showing the demographics of the CSC membership:

- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/1929-IPS-school-board-candidates.pdf>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/1934-Citizens-School-Committee-members.pdf>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/1934-Breakdown-of-Citizens-School-Committee-members.pdf>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/1942-Citizens-School-Committee-members.pdf>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/1942-Breakdown-Citizens-School-Committee-membership.pdf>

Were the 1950's maneuverings by SCS the origins of later efforts by Thornbrough's Indianapolis "establishment' whites" to avoid the stigma of racism by making the KKK the scapegoat for their hate?

What is interesting here are the efforts by the CSC to distance itself from its October 25, 1921 origins. A 1951 IPS campaign brochure claims CSC began in 1928!

<http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/1951-Citizens-School-Committee-brochure-claiming-the-organization-started-in-1928.pdf>.

Evidently, CSC leadership wanted to avoid any connection to CSC's 1921 original organization, the one that helped create Attucks in 1922 and go on to enable a Jim Crow school district and city.

Oddly, did they think 2020 IPS voters wouldn't go back and look at the October 25, 1921 *Indy Star*? <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/1921-Citizens-School-Committee-forms-Oct-25.pdf>

“Not until many years later, after the state law that abolished school segregation was adopted in 1949 and ‘establishment’ whites wanted to remove the stigma of racism represented by segregated schools, that the tradition developed that the Klan was responsible for Crispus Attucks high school.”

~ Dr. Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana Blacks in the 20th Century*, p. 60

Questions:

- By declaring a causal relationship between the Klan and a 1920's Jim Crow IPS, is the IPS June 25 news release on the district's Racial Equity Policy and the Black Lives Matter Resolution actually avoiding holding the then 1920's “‘establishment’ whites” (Indy Chamber, Citizens School Committee, Federation of Civic Clubs, Butler College, the *Indy Times* and *Indy Star*) answerable for a segregated district and Indianapolis?

- Is the way the IPS June 25 story is now worded really playing into the hands of today's white establishment (Indy Chamber, *Indy Star*, Eli Lilly, Butler University, GIPC, United Way, MIBOR) which does not want to be associated with a past that will stigmatize our city?

Also, aiding Indy's present day “establishment whites” to squirm out of accountability will be hard for IPS to do since, 1) Indiana's 1907 Eugenics Law legitimized white supremacy for the whole world, 2) Indiana was the “Home of the Klan,” and 3) IPS built a one of a kind segregated high school (Attucks) in a city's whose 1920s Jim Crow policies became the DNA building blocks of Indy's racist underbelly.

The issue: Instead of being the Chamber's conscience, IPS is its apologist

IPS can't afford to be seen as the critic of the Indy Chamber, which this analysis will show, continues its 100 years of influence over the district.

Gentrification

Finally, having Indianapolis stigmatized by its racist past is not good for tourist cheerleaders www.VisitIndy.com who are directly trying to attract millennials and the other professionals needed to continue the city's gentrification of downtown and other urban spaces like the Riverside and 16Tech area. So, it is simply better for IPS to make people think it was the Klan's fault for a Jim Crow school district and neighborhoods, not the inherent racist DNA of our state and city.

Out of the same cloth: The new ICC/CSC/IPS matrix 1930 to 1964

“...Indianapolis gained a reputation for political conservatism between 1930 and 1970. In part this can be traced to such local power brokers [and Republicans] as [*Indianapolis Star* and *News* owner] Eugene C. Pulliam and Chamber of Commerce executive William H. Book...”

~ *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, p. 167

“...[the] Chamber of Commerce [was] often regarded as bastion of white conservatives.”

~ Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana Blacks in the 20th Century*, p. 199

“Many Black folk thought of Indianapolis as urban, ‘up South.’ It was better than being ‘down South,’ but it retained many of the negative propositions of the deep South and was not yet enlightened and ‘progressive’ as their West or East Coast counterparts. **Conservatism and racism were alive and compatible.**” (emphasis mine)

~ Mari Evans, *Clarity as Concept*

ICC resistance to Black advancement in Indianapolis: 1930-1970

As stated in the *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, throughout the 1930-1970, Indy was known for its political, economic, and social conservatism. For example, the John Birch Society was founded here in 1958: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Birch_Society/.

During and beyond the 1934-1963 tenure of Bill Book, the Chamber resisted any sense or political and/or social equality for Indianapolis Black Americans. Bill Book was known locally as a social conservative who expected Indianapolis Blacks to “stay in their place.”

For instance, the ICC opposed:

- federal fair employment practices in 1945 (Thronbrough, p. 111) and 1949 (Thornbrough, p. 129).
- federal public housing initiatives as ICC and the Indianapolis Real Estate Board were the plan’s most influential opponents in 1943 and 1944 (Thornbrough, p.102).
 - interference from or competition by federal government to private enterprise regarding building public housing. George Kuhn, the chairman and former president of the Chamber of Commerce noted, “We do not want any recurrence of federal aid, and we won’t go begging to Washington for any further extension of the evils of federal aid and federal domination over local units of government” (Pierce, p. 67).
- any resistance to interstate I-65 and I-70 which was coming through and destroying the homes, history, and culture of Black urban Indianapolis neighborhoods.

“The Indianapolis Redevelopment Commission expressed concern in January 1964 that there was insufficient housing to accommodate the residents displaced by interstate construction, but the Chamber of Commerce persistently dismissed resistance to the interstate.”

~ Dr. Paul Mullins, “In the shadow of interstate: Living with highways” October 3, 2019
<https://paulmullins.wordpress.com/2019/10/03/in-the-shadow-of-the-interstate-living-with-highways/>

- any resistance to UNIGOV--a system to make sure Indianapolis would not have a Black mayor (Thronbrough, p. 179).

In the late 1940s, the power of CSC and Judge Niblack began to fade:

- In 1948, Eugene Pulliam, the owner/publisher of the *Indy Star*, decided to support integration (Pierce, p. 44).
- In 1949, Indiana Governor Henry Schricker decided to support Henry J. Richardson’s 1949 Indiana school desegregation law (Pierce, p. 45).

By 1959, the League of Women Voters and Indianapolis PTA had organized against CSC. Still Judge Niblack remained the driving force behind it and the organization continued its practice of controlling nominations, and thus every seat on the school board. Despite these women’s push back, CSC won November 1959 election (Pierce, pp. 49-51).

A 1963 US Civil Rights Commission report noted desegregation efforts in Indianapolis were lacking.

It was 1968 before the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice (CRD-DoJ) directed the IPS board to take voluntary steps to end its 14th Amendment violations (Pierce, p. 51).

The ICC supported UNIGOV legislation (Pierce, p. 116). UNIGOV became law in the years of 1969 and 1970 (Thornbrough, p. 165).

As a result of the CRD-DoJ actions, white families realized that their children would have to sit in classrooms with Black children. Known as “white flight,” these families began to leave the district.

- In 1971, IPS had 102,734 students.

- In 1981, because of “white flight,” IPS had 57, 269 students
 - a loss of 45, 465 in 10 years.
 - ~ “IPS enrollment, 1950-2003: Chronology of IPS segregation efforts.”
Indianapolis Star, May 10, 2004

It was not until 1968 when Robert DeFranz, backed by the Non-Partisans for Better Schools slate (<http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/05.06.68-Pre-election-ad-for-Non-Partisans-for-Better-Schools-running-their-slate-for-1968-IPS-board-election.pdf>), won an IPS seat. Independent and African American minister Rev. Landrum Shields also won a seat. The days of Judge John Niblack and CSC’s domination of IPS were over.

With Bill Book gone, ICC changes politics

In 1964, with social conservative and segregationist Bill Book gone, ICC changed its mind regarding public housing (Thornbrough, p. 171). And, in 1965, ICC started supporting fair/equal employment acts (Thornbrough, p. 181).

- Get more information on CSC: (Pierce, pp. 38-40)
- For more information on Judge John Niblack: (Pierce, pp 49-50)
- Discover more on Bill Book in the *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, pp. 335-336.
- See more on UNIGOV: (Pierce, pp. 114-123)

The Indy Chamber and IPS today

“Pro-reform coalitions tend to be dominated by business and political elites and supported by neighborhoods with large concentrations of highly educated middle-class professionals”

~ Kimbal & Sterns, “Democracy at work: School board elections & reform in St. Louis”

Throughout the last 120 years, Indianapolis adopted a business approach to local government emphasizing efficient operation and decentralization (Pierce, p. 11).

Early 20th century Indianapolis business leaders, most notably the Chamber of Commerce, had a disproportionate impact on city development.

Here the ICC took the lead in providing advice to elected officials believing businessmen provided the best leadership for city development.

Moving the Indianapolis corporate/business community from advisor and collaborator to IPS overseer

Over the past 20 years, IPS continued this Indianapolis “business approach” legacy through a neo-liberal politics and its purpose of education by:

- privatizing our public schools;
- selling off IPS assets (schools and valuable properties like the 16th street maintenance center and Coca Cola buildings and grounds): <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Urban-school-reform-is-really-about-land-development-not-schools-or-reform.pdf>;
- de-unionizing teachers and bus drivers;
- circumventing traditional teacher education programs via Teach for America and Teacher Plus;
- buying school board elections with the help of billionaires (NYC Mayor Bloomberg, Reid Hoffman co-founder of LinkedIn): <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Purchasing-the-2012-2014-and-2016-IPS-school-board-elections.pdf>, and
- buying off local Black media: *The Indianapolis Recorder*, 1310 AM Community Connections, or Hot 96 FM, e.g.,: <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Without-parents-present-IPS-tries-to-engineer-the-consent-of-students-to-accept-its-plan-to-reinvent-high-school.pdf>.

Here is a review of ICC's current influences

2013

"Indy Chamber & IPS 2013 Operational Analysis" regarding "right sizing" the district (e.g., selling-off IPS assets) for budget purposes.

- <https://ronepraiseindy.files.wordpress.com/2014/02/ipsreportfinal.pdf>

February 24, 2014

Indy Star's Erika D. Smith: "Right sizing' is right option for IPS" on the Chamber's 2013 Operational Analysis report.

- <https://www.indystar.com/story/opinion/columnists/erika-smith/2014/02/24/erika-d-smith-right-sizing-is-right-option-for-ips/5788845/>

October 20, 2014

"3 IPS candidates are ready to lead" Michael Huber, Chamber president supports pro-choice

- <https://www.indystar.com/story/opinion/readers/2014/10/19/ips-candidates-ready-lead/17456221/>

March 5, 2018

IPS Delays \$725 Million Tax Referendums after Chamber Voices Concern

- <https://www.wfyi.org/news/articles/ips-suspends-725-million-tax-referenda-after-chamber-voices-concern>

July 11, 2018

"Chamber says it would back IPS tax hike request if district made certain cuts." From an assessment, the ICC makes several "key recommendations" to IPS.

- <https://www.wthr.com/article/news/local/chamber-says-it-would-back-ips-tax-hike-request-if-district-made-certain-cuts/531-911d67f6-0ef0-41b3-b366-85c75898e074>

July 2019

- <https://myips.org/blog/district/july-2019-board-highlights/>
 - IndyGo Pilot Expansion
 - Pilot costs: 2019-20 – \$75,000; 2020-21 – \$160,000
 - "Based on an analysis by the Indianapolis Chamber, the goal is for IPS to save \$111 million in transportation costs over 8 years, starting with the 2019-20 school year."

Taxation without representation is tyranny

Even ICC's current support of corporate school reform and the consequent privatization of our public schools in predominately urban Black Indianapolis areas, raise questions regarding the true intent and outcomes of these neo-liberal reforms. For example, the boards of charters/Innovation schools are selected, not elected. This policy disenfranchises the very Black families ICC claims it wants to help—and in many cases this anti-democratic policy requires spending these same families' taxes.

Neo-liberalism: The market ideology of the Chamber and corporate school reformers

Prof. Lester Spence *The neo-liberal turn in Black politics*

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k5prifYxTsE&t=11s>

The Intersection: Spence on Neo-liberalism's Effect on Black Politics. *Detroit Today* Jul 6, 2016

- <https://wdet.org/posts/2016/07/06/83418-the-intersection-lester-spence-on-neoliberalisms-effect-on-black-politics/>

"How Bill Cosby, Obama and Mega-Preachers Sold Economic Snake Oil to Black America"

- <https://caribreport.com/2018/05/05/how-bill-cosby-obama-and-mega-preachers-sold-economic-snake-oil-to-black-america-must-read/>

How the "free market" has devastated black communities. TED Talk

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vDJormxhmVI>

The above local and IPS history (p. 7-13) shows the years of self-serving influence by the Chamber around the city's race relations notably around housing (Pierce, 2005) as well as IPS. Also shown are the over 3 decades of the Chamber's collaboration with the Citizens School Committee to control IPS. Surely, the Chamber's enabling a Jim Crow IPS--a district that was so racist and discriminatory it was sued in 1970 by the federal government for still not integrating long after Brown vs. Board--are actions and policies just as hateful and bigoted as any of Indy's white supremacist groups (White Supremacy League, White People's Protective League, the Capital Avenue Protective) noted in the IPS June 25 news spot. *Thus, needn't Indy's Chamber be spotlighted as well and held accountable?*

Putting all of this into perspective: A discussion on our city's more influential entities not mentioned in the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/district news story about the board's Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution, and why they were ignored

Besides deconstructing the role that the ICC, CSC, and UNIGOV played in the racist history of Indianapolis, let's put all of this in perspective with this questions:

Why did the IPS June 25 "blog" just mention the local establishment's Indy Chamber, as well as the 3 blatant 1920s hate groups the White Supremacy League, White People's Protective League, the Capital Avenue Protective Association and the KKK when there were other entities--though camouflaged--and instances which were just as, or more significant and powerful?

These entities/instances appeared not to be outright "hate groups" or actions. And, some had state and national prestige and influence that also contributed to a Jim Crow IPS and Indianapolis. Still, they were not mentioned. **Why?**

Here are other racists figures, besides the ICC and CSC, of which the IPS community needs to know:

- The Federation of Civic Clubs
- *The Indianapolis Star*
- *The Indianapolis Times*
- *The Indianapolis Recorder*
- Butler College
- Shortridge High School
 - Principal George S. Buck
- The Mind Trust of 1922
- The 1907 Indiana Eugenics Law
- More on UNIGOV

The Federation of Civic Clubs

Formed in January of 1922, the [Federation of Civic Clubs](#) (FCC) was an association of community groups (e.g., northwest Indy's Mapleton Civic League) which organized to make sure their neighborhoods stayed white. FCC lobbied the IPS board and "...the school board responded to pressure from [these] civic clubs, the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, and other respected 'establishment' groups by authorizing the building of a separate high school for blacks..." (Thornbrough, p. 55).

The FCC was one of the groups pushing Tuberculosis (TB) as an excuse for segregated schools. Here they even suggest a sanitarium for Blacks: <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/06.13.22-TB-sanitarium-for-Blacks-urged-by-Federation-of-Civic-Clubs.pdf>

The Indianapolis Star

Star features for white children and comics for white adults spanned 5 years (1921-1926)--the same 5 years IPS and the city were expanding their racial, educational, ethnic, religious, class, and geographical segregation. Here's, "Lessons for Our Kiddies: A bottle of ink turned into a pickaninny":

- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/07.26.21-Racist-childrens-activity-Drawing-Lessons-for-Our-Kiddies-A-bottle-of-Ink-turned-into-a-pickaninny-Indy-Star-1.pdf>

These racist and bigoted drawings endorsed by the Star's editors became an everyday "matter of fact" reality, not only rationalizing racism and prejudice for the readers of the *Star* and their children, but for our city's white power structure.

- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/11.16.22-Racist-Cartoon-Indy-Star.pdf>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/12.10.23-Racist-Cartoon-Indy-Star.pdf>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/01.04.26-Racist-Cartoon-Indy-Star.pdf>

The newspaper comics of "Roger Bean" by *Indianapolis Star* cartoonist Chic Jackson mocked Black people, yet the *Star* also franchised them out to other Indiana newspapers. This was simply anti-Black imagery and ugly hateful propaganda. These caricatures of 1920's African Americans, alone, did more to spread hate and racial discrimination than any actions of local white supremacist groups (White Supremacy League, White People's Protective League, the Capital Avenue Protective), but the *Indianapolis Star* was not mentioned in the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/district news story. **Why?**

The Indianapolis Times

The influence of the *Times* via an April 28, 1922 editorial, "The Negro Problem" and a May 10, 1922, opinion, "Regulating Negro Cabarets" came months before the December 1922 IPS board decision to create a segregated district. Still, it can only be assumed these editorials by the editors of a prestigious national-class Scripps-Howard newspaper must have had an effect on the Citizens School Committee dominated board, and the racist lobbying efforts of the ICC, the FCC, and other persons and groups.

- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/04.28.22-The-Negro-Problem.pdf>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/05.10.22-Regulating-Negro-Cabarets-.pdf>

The 02.20.1923 editorial "White Supremacy" is in and of itself more than enough to be mentioned in the IPS June 25 news story alongside our Indy Chamber, White Supremacy League, White People's Protective League, the Capital Avenue Protective Association, and the KKK. But, it was not. **Why?**

- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/02.20.23-White-Supremacy-Editorial-IndianapolisTimes.pdf>

The Indianapolis Recorder

Why are 9 years of the *Recorder* still missing? And, *cui bono*?

According to IUPUI library photocopies, around 468 editions, from January 1, 1917 to December 31 of 1925 of the *Recorder* are missing: <https://ulib.iupui.edu/collections/IRecorder>.

- *Cui bono?* Who benefits from the absence of these newspapers?

Just think, without these *Recorder* editions Hoosiers will never get to read the stories and editorial commentary by Indy's Black journalists about the June 1921 destruction of America's "Black Wall Street" in Tulsa, OK, let alone the [Red Summer](#) of 1919, or the news of the lynchings of this period.

What's relevant, how did *Recorder* journalist and columnists cover what happened in the city and state during this 9 year 1917 to 1925 span? For example, we will never get to read the *Recorder's* coverage of the events and the players in these events that lead up to and followed the December 1922 creation of Attucks and a Jim Crow school district and city.

Today's historians won't have the *Recorder* news stories and editorials around the involvement of the ICC or CSC in creating Attucks and Jim Crow neighborhoods in the early 1920s. Stories about the KKK—exactly who members were and what they did, of what the Klan did or didn't do—are gone.

Yes, the *Indianapolis Star*, *News*, or *Times* did stories on Attucks and/or the “Klan school board,” but the Black perspective based on the Indy Black experience is gone missing, and so...*qui bono?*

As well, of course, today’s readers will not see what 1917-1925 African and Pan-African, and other global events, were seen as newsworthy by *Recorder* staff and publisher.

The missing *Recorders* editions: Similarities between Indianapolis today and the Soviet Union during the 1930s Stalin era

For example, while Stalin was dictator of Russia, the Communist Party would, for example, publish a picture of him and other leaders as they reviewed a military parade in Red Square. The next day a doctored photo would be published in *Pravda* the communist newspaper, with one of the men on the reviewing stand, who had evidently fallen out of favor with the Party overnight, erased as though he was never there. This would become official Soviet history.

Fortunately, we have our own Mari Evans* to remind us to keep our eyes on the prize and not forget why 9 years of the *Recorder* are missing, and where we live and who we are: “Up south Naptown.”

“[Here in Indianapolis,] we are programmed to disbelieve what we experience, this impacts how we view society and how we view ourselves.” ~ Mari Evans, *Clarity as Concept*

“Don’t make waves; don’t be unpleasant; and if Truth is unpleasant, then avoid Truth.” ~ Mari Evans on life in Indianapolis

“Indianapolis is truly dichotomous; a city in which contradictions is truly the norm. It is easy to be deluded here, especially when one prefers delusion to clarity.” ~ Mari Evans, *Clarity as Concept*

*Some of the quotes from Mari Evans are repeated here for emphasis

- **The missing *Recorder* editions are a metaphor:** each represents a need for both a broad and in-depth factual peer-reviewed analysis regarding exactly where and with whom “The foundation of IPS’s history is rooted...” as discussed in the IPS June 25 news brief.
- *This also applies to and calls for an accurate history of Attucks and therefore our Indianapolis.*

Exposing, dismantling, and making aright the blatant bunkum from our city’s entrenched power structure are what is at the heart of the inspiration for the research by the Loflin IPS History Center and the documentary, *Attucks: The school that opened a city*.

Contemplate the following quotes to understand why the 468 *Recorder* newspapers are *still* missing:

“The city [Indianapolis] shows us the things we want to see while we ignore the things you cannot face. In this way the city becomes a fractured mirror.”

~ “Axes & Mirrors” *The Manufactured History of Indianapolis* (Reeves, 2013)

“I don’t think Indianapolis has ever been a place for radical or even progressive politics. Historically, it has been a place where you rear your family and people smile even when there’s nothing to smile about. Everybody acts right and stays in their place.”

~ The Rev. Dr. Thomas L. Brown, Ebenezer Baptist Church

“The most frightening thing about Indianapolis is Indianapolis, the fact that it continues to undermine itself by being someone other than what it is or who it is.”

~ Transcript from Callers #43-#47, *The Manufactured History of Indianapolis* (Reeves, 2013)

“What may set Indianapolis apart, though, is the local emphasis on getting along. Being a team player, fitting in, seems more crucial here than in many other places. To get ahead in Indy, you mustn’t want to change things, but improve them, oh so gradually.”

~ David Hoppe, *NUVO* magazine columnist

Butler University

From the *Butler Collegian*, Butler campus newspaper, February 22, 2012

“Butler has made progress, needs to continue diversity work”

Starting in the mid 1920s Butler’s ethics and moral values went down the drain. Butler President, Robert Aley turned spineless when D.C. Stephenson, a Grand Dragon in Ku Klux Klan became Butler’s newest neighbor.

As president of a university founded on equality, the shock of his silence instead of denouncing segregation came as a shock to many.

Instead of being grouped with their peers in the year book, African Americans were being grouped in the back of each section—separated.

In 1927 Aley instituted a quota only allowing ten black students per year to attend Butler. This quota stayed until 1948. The damage of the gutless acts would linger over everyone for generations.

<https://thebutlercollegian.com/2012/02/opinion-butler-progress-continue-diversity-work/>

President Dr. Robert Aley

On June 12, 1922, Butler President Aley spoke during the college’s graduation ceremony where he listed the qualities he wanted graduates to have. A quality was, "One should be obedient to the law. The main characteristic of Anglo-Saxon supremacy everywhere is found in the attitude toward law."

- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/06.12.22-Butler-President-Dr.-Roberty-J.-Aley-validates-Anglo-Saxon-supremacy-everywhere-during-commencement-address.pdf>.

Dr. Aley’s global-oriented white supremacist ideology reflected the college’s and laid the social-cultural-political groundwork for Butler’s shameful August 1927 racial quota discussed below.

Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerald_L._K._Smith)

Around 1924, the Rev. Clay Trusty Sr. was forced to resign leadership of the 7th Christian Church because of his friendly relationship with Indianapolis Catholics. To pastor the church, the Disciples of Christ (the church associated with Butler) brought in none-other than the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith—who became a nationally prominent anti-Semitic propagandist and far-right rabble rouser. Read p. 53 in *Indiana through tradition and change* by James Madison.

- 1926 Rev. Smith leaves 7th Christian and becomes founder/pastor of Capitol Avenue Christian at 142 West 40th Street
- 1928 Capitol Avenue Christian becomes the “...semi-official church of Butler”
- Rev. Smith becomes Butler’s Minister of the Chapel of the School of Religion which made him *college chaplain*
- 1934 Rev. Smith joins Gov. Huey Long’s depression era “share the wealth” campaign

For more, see Glen Jeansonne’s *Gerald L. K. Smith: Minister of Hate* (1988).

IPS and Butler’s history are connected

In September of 1927, IPS Washington and Attucks, as well as the Catholic Cathedral high school opened. In September of 1928, IPS Shortridge opened at 34th and Meridian and Butler College opened in Fairview Park around 46th and Sunset.

These IPS and Butler decisions to move the schools to the north side were made at the same time in December of 1922. <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/1921-1929-Events-leading-up-to-and-through-the-creation-of-Attucks-and-Washington-and-the-relocation-of-Cathedral-Shortridge-and-Butler-College.pdf>

Were these decisions pure coincidental?

Butler and the Klan

Once the word was out that Butler would leave Irvington, the KKK praised the college in its *Fiery Cross* newspaper's February 9, 1923 editorial:

<http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/02.09.23-Yea-Butler-KKKs-Fiery-Cross-newspaper-praises-Butlers-move-to-Fairview-Park.pdf>

Note the *Times* "White Supremacy" editorial mentioned above came out 11 days later the KKK commentary: <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/02.20.23-White-Supremacy-Editorial-IndianapolisTimes.pdf>

The "Butler quota"

For all that, it was the infamous "Butler quota" limiting the number of Black students to 10 per year/per freshmen class that was missed in the IPS June 25 news story's attempt to discuss/discover where and with whom "The foundation of IPS's history is rooted...", foundations that were racist.

Most striking was the fact that Butler shamelessly announced the quota in late August, close to when Attucks was to open in September. The IPS June 25 news story should have added Butler's racism, but the district did not. <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/08.25.27-Butler-letter-on-quota-limiting-new-Black-student-to-10-per-year.pdf>

Surely, the white supremacist ideology Dr. Aley plus the stark racism of Butler's quota were just as mean-spirited and harmful to Indy's Black Americans as the policies and actions of any of the local white supremacist groups noted in the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/district: the White Supremacy League, White People's Protective League, or the Capital Avenue Protective Association. Yet, Butler was not held accountable for its outright bigotry by the IPS June 25 news publication. **Why?**

Shortridge High School

At the September 19, 1922 IPS school board session, Mr. George S. Buck, principal of Shortridge, spoke endorsing a need for an all-Black high school. Today, IPS has a school, George Buck School 94, 2701 Devon Avenue, 46219 (<https://myips.org/georgebuck>) proudly named after this segregationist: <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/George-S.-Buck-IPS-Shortridge-principal-and-public-school-segregationist.pdf>.

Like the statements in the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/ news story, the Shortridge High School *Wikipedia* entry ³ (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shortridge_High_School) misleads the reader regarding the 1928 move of the high school from Pennsylvania and Michigan streets to 34th and Meridian streets: "... its creation was due in large part to the influence of a branch of the Ku Klux Klan led by D.C. Stephenson, on the city's school board."

In Dr. Moore's 1991 book, *Citizen Klansmen*, he argues the Klan was more interested in moral issues, acquiring political power and the right to practice patronage, and empowering the "average" person--not segregated schools and neighborhoods. Catholics, Jews, and immigrants were the issue, not Black Americans. Indy's Blacks were mainly members of "the Party of Lincoln" and so voted Republican.

"...the Klan gained wide-spread support in large part because of its response to popular discontent with changing community relations and values, problems of Prohibition enforcement, and growing social and political domination by [business and Republican] elites. Moreover, Moore shows that the Klan was seen as an organization that could promote traditional community values through social, civic, and political activities....promoting the ability of average citizens to influence the workings of society and government."
~ Buffalo & Erie Public Library review of *Citizen Klansmen* (n.d.)

Certainly, the example of prejudice/racism the Shortridge *Wikipedia* entry represents is tantamount to any hatred or bias by the KKK, the White Supremacy League, the White People's Protective League, and the Capital Avenue Protective Association. Still, today's IPS leadership, the board, and the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/ story fails to hold Principal George Buck and Shortridge responsible. **Why?**

The Mind Trust of 1922

As Dr. Thornbrough writes in *Indiana Blacks in the 20th Century* (p. 60), associating the Klan with segregation policies at IPS was a strategy used decades later by Indy's "establishment' whites" who wanted to deflect or remove any personal and local guilt associated with the stigma of racism represented by Indy's segregated schools created by the "establishment' whites" of the 1020s.

The current board's gullibility about its own past and the hyped history posted in the IPS June 25 on-line news story misleads the public away from the real culprits, the Mind Trust of 1922—the 1920's "establishment' whites" who schemed to monopolize IPS: the Indy Chamber; the Citizens School Committee; the Federation of Civic Clubs; the *Indy Star, News and Times*; Butler College; and, Shortridge's George Buck. <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/The-Mind-Trust-of-the-1920s-Connecting-the-dots-Indianapolis-establishment-education-decision-makers.pdf>.

Nothing's really changed: Those who now run the Mind Trust (<https://www.themindtrust.org/>) or support its neo-liberal and school privatization ideology are of the same social-economic stratum of central Indiana society as those who enabled a Jim Crow school district and city 100 years ago.

The 1907 Indiana Eugenics Law: Indiana justifies white supremacy for the whole world



In 1907, Indiana codified eugenics for the whole world, normalizing the sterilization of the "unfit." This official sanctioned legislative action permanently entered white supremacy into the DNA of the Hoosier state. Also known as "racial hygiene," from the point of view of both the common citizen and white supremacists, eugenics proved "scientifically" the alleged mental and cultural inferiority of Africans and African Americans.

Surely this world's first and internationally acclaimed Indiana Eugenics Law legalizing white supremacy is just as or more important as any local action leading to a Jim Crow IPS than the 3 local white supremacy clubs foregrounded in the IPS June 25 news story.

More on UNIGOV: Blocking Black power in Indianapolis

In the 1969/1970 era, the Indiana Republican Party leader Keith Bulen and Indy's Mayor Lugar found a way to maintain political control of Indianapolis. The state legislature passed a proposal to make Marion County Indianapolis. For more on UNIGOV: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unigov>.

The ICC supported UNIGOV from the beginning. It was to their political, economic, cultural and social advantage to do so.

The last elections fully changed that. Republican voters left the county. Now the council is majority Democrat. Yet, up until then, UNIGOV maintained the power of Indy's "establishment' whites."

Thornbrough explains, "Indianapolis African Americans opposed the UniGov bill from the beginning. [It was] denounced...as 'dangerously and maliciously motivated as to race and a political enslavement of minorities and an unfair political power grab.' The Indiana Conference on Civil and Human Rights opposed the legislation because it weakened the political powers of black voters..."

“Headlines in the *Indianapolis Recorder* cried, NEGROES OPPOSE LUGAR UNIGOV PLAN and the front page article that followed suggested that the main purpose of UniGov was to eliminate the possibility of a Black mayor like [Gary, IN] Hatcher in Indianapolis” (Thornbrough, pp. 178-179).

In an August 2016 essay in *The Atlantic*, “Racial Bias and the Crumbling of a City,” Shaina Cavazos writes, “The racial segregation and declining enrollment that plagues Indianapolis Public Schools today can be traced back to the decision made 46 years ago to merge Indianapolis with its surrounding suburbs.” <https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2016/08/indianapolis-school-districts/496145/>

In the 2019 essay, “The Undemocratic Making of Indianapolis” the writer Nicole Poletika stated, “Unigov changed the city’s landscape in a way that many of us benefit from today, but at the expense of groups with fewer resources and less political power.” <https://beltmag.com/undemocratic-indianapolis-unigov-poletika/>

“The local Republican Party [Keith Bulen] which had done little to woo the black vote is now out to eliminate the need of it in the future. . . . It is not surprising therefore, that in the controversy centering around Mayor Richard Lugar’s [UNIGOV] plan to dilute the black vote and to render ineffectual the local black vote in the future, Negroes cannot count on either the liberals, the Jews, the Catholics or the white Protestants. By far and large they are for the plan no matter what it does to Sepia Indianapolis. So here, in Indianapolis, the Negro needs friends as he does nationally. The sixty-four dollar question is ‘where to find them?’” (Pierce, p. 117)

For more on UNIGOV see Pierce, pp. 114-123.

Straightening out, once and for all, the extent of the Klan’s involvement with IPS

Citizen Klansmen: The KKK vs. business elites, Chambers, and Indiana Republicans

As stated by Dr. Thornbrough, and verified and iterated by Dr. Leonard Moore, Dr. Stanley Warren, and Dr. Richard Pierce, segregated neighborhoods and schools existed in Indianapolis long before the Klan arrived and segregated neighborhoods and schools existed long after the Klan’s demise. To give the KKK anything but a small amount of credit and acknowledgement for planning and developing a segregated Indianapolis public school district and a Jim Crow city is either pure ignorance or pure politics.

Dr. Leonard Moore, author of *Citizen Klansmen*, says the Indiana Klan represented a unique span of white Protestant society. More than 25% of native-born men in the state became official members. The Klan was many times larger than any of the state’s WW I veterans organizations. Moore noted it was even larger than the membership of the state’s popular Methodist Church.

The Klan's approval, Moore shows, can’t be explained just by the group’s appeal to nativist sentiment (which protected the interests of native-born Americans) and its antagonism toward ethnic minorities such as local Catholics, Jews or European immigrants.

Rather, the Klan got support in large part from the popular discontent of the average citizen who supported traditional values. Especially disturbing to these citizens was the Roaring 20s effect on the role of younger white women: cigarette smoking flappers, with bobbed hair and short skirts, who listened and danced to jazz, and drove Model Ts on their own. The Klan also supported prohibition and was critical of the lax anti-alcohol enforcement actions of the Republican Party who ran the state.

What is relevant, Klan numbers increased due to the organization's push back against the growing social and political domination by business elites in local politics. Many of the state's Chambers of Commerce (white Republican businessmen) had decided to become involved in local affairs, notably political power, education, and community improvement.

This increased local political community involvement by these businessmen elites lessened the ability of the Klan-supporting average citizen to influence the working of society and government.

For instance, we see where the Klan actually ran the United Protestant slate to fight Indy's business, political and cultural elites who had formed the CSC and taken over the board in the November 1921 election. The Klan was not necessarily concerned with segregated schools, but wanted an IPS building program and the CSC, the ICC, and the *Indianapolis News* and *Star* did not.

Analysis: What?

The parts of the Indianapolis Public Schools June 25 [myips.org/blog/post-dealing-with-the-district's-history-of-racism-and-segregation-in-support-of-its-new-Racial-Equity-Policy-and-Black-Lives-Matter-Resolution](https://myips.org/blog/post-dealing-with-the-districts-history-of-racism-and-segregation-in-support-of-its-new-racial-equity-policy-and-black-lives-matter-resolution)

A) "The racial equity policy speaks to the history of racism and segregation throughout the educational framework in the city and state, including hiring practices and budgets. The foundation of IPS' history is rooted – like many school districts throughout the country – in the segregationist policies set forth by civic organizations like the White Supremacy League, White People's Protective League and the Capital Avenue Protective Association as early as 1920. The Black population during this formative decade grew to more than 11% of the city's total – one of the highest Black populations of northern cities."

B) "City leaders, however, fearing the high numbers of Black students in predominantly white high schools, created a school for Blacks in 1922: Crispus Attucks High School. Leaders forced all Black students to attend the school based on the supposed spread of tuberculosis infections in the Black community. The Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, the IPS Board, and the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), supported the decision and suppressed and diverted any protests to oppose segregation. Ultimately, the then governor of Indiana, mayor of Indianapolis and five members of the school Board became either members of or were backed by the KKK."

Analysis: Why?

"It [Attucks] was created out of hatred."

~ A'Lelia Bundles stated at 5:00 mark of *Attucks: The school that opened a city*

Using the assertion of A'Lelia Bundles as a frame of reference, "The foundation of IPS's history is rooted..." in not only the White Supremacy League, White People's Protective League and the Capital Avenue Protective Association, but these other 1920s hate groups, institutions, and individuals: the State of Indiana, the Citizens School Committee, the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, the Federation of Civic Clubs, Shortridge Principal George S. Buck, *The Indianapolis Times* and *Indianapolis Star*, Butler's Dr. Aley and the college's racial quota, and the hate politics of Rev. Smith.

IPS has to deal with this wider spectrum of who were the Indianapolis hate groups, entities, and persons who enabled a segregated IPS district. IPS must analyze the educational politics of the last 100 years of Indiana, Indianapolis, and IPS history. Then, IPS must take these outcomes and speak these truths to the power brokers and power structure of Indianapolis.

Why? Part I Not being afraid

Holding the above groups, organizations, institutions, state and local legislative bodies (1907 Eugenics Law/1969-70 UNIGOV law), and individuals as responsible **is not being afraid**.

As argued in this analysis with commentary, "it is obvious why IPS is not telling the whole story behind of the district's "racial equity policy" as it "speaks" "...of the history of racism and segregation throughout the educational framework in the city and state..." See part "A)" above: "The parts of the IPS June 25 post dealing with the district's history of racism and segregation in support of its new Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution."

Our district's board and leaders are reluctant to confront the Chamber—which has backed corporate reform/privatization of our IPS since the 2011 publication of *Opportunity Schools* by the Mind Trust.

It is unjust and misleading to assert in the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/ news story that:

"The foundation of IPS' history is rooted...in the segregationist policies set forth by civic organizations like the White Supremacy League, White People's Protective League and the Capital Avenue Protective Association as early as 1920."

This analysis with commentary shows that 2 of the 3 white supremacists groups were more concerned with segregated neighborhoods than a segregated IPS. To illustrate, none of the 3 racist organizations mentioned had the credibility needed to last into the 1930's.

Also, there were ugly and mean racist actions by far more prominent Indy entities such as the *Indianapolis Times* newspaper. ³

It is also unjust and misleading to assert in the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/ story that:

"The Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, the IPS Board, and the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), supported the decision [for Attucks HS] and suppressed and diverted any protests to oppose segregation."

- Where is the proof as to exactly how, when and where the Chamber, IPS board, and Klan "suppressed and diverted any protests to oppose segregation"? Where's the documentation as exemplified by all the references used to back up the assertions stated in this analysis?

Irony

If we read Thornbrough, and also the research and conclusions of IPS historians Moore and Pierce, critically conscious citizens will see the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/district/ story, by trying to emphasize the Klan's involvement in early 1920's IPS actions, is actually covering up for the real hatred that concerned A'Lelia Bundles, letting today's "establishment' whites" and their current political, economic, social, and cultural "decedents," off the hook.

In other words, the mis-leading IPS June 25 news story on the board's approval of its Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution actually supports the vestiges of the very 1920s Indianapolis white establishment powerbrokers who 1) legislated and institutionalized a global eugenics ideology; 2) voted for an Attucks high school while enabling a Jim Crow school district and city; 3) established a racial college entrance quota; and finally, whose local newspapers 4) normalized white supremacy throughout Hoosier homes.

In that real bad guys, the KKK, were here and powerful, there were other bad guys--namely the racist Mind Trust of 1922 and Indy's mainly politically dominant north side business elites and their families, neighbors, and peers. These folks, who because they did not see themselves as Klan allies and did not join (Moore, p. 141), were seen and are still not only viewed as above reproach, but whose culpability is rationalized by the causalities of their racism as manifested in the current IPS June 25 news story.

Why? Part II The truth

The answer to the question of “**Why?**” is that the scenario painted by the 2 paragraphs referring to district history in the IPS June 25 news story, is just a continuation of the local urban legend--that the Klan and 3 local neighborhood white supremacist groups had something to do with a Jim Crow IPS. Of course this was bolstered by the sensationalism of the June 25 IPS news story’s implications.

Drawing sympathy for a Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution in the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/district story by appealing to our worst instincts by virtue of the aggrandizement of the Klan and Indy’s 3 other 1920’s white supremacist groups, borders on the shock tactics used by the tabloid magazines sold at grocery checkout lanes.

This KKK angle is catchy; however, it is not how IPS proves Black Lives Matter.

Again, if we use Prof. Thornbrough’s critical lens, what it does show (whether intentional or not) isn’t “Black Lives Matter,” but more in line with saying, “The lives of Indy’s white establishment matter more than the truth.”

To be sure, the 1925-1929 “Klan board” ran the district, but in many respects did little except to push for an expanded school building program. Most pertinent, they carried out what the Citizens School Committee, the Indy Chamber, and the Federation of Civic Clubs had already decided regarding Attucks, Washington, and Shortridge high schools when they ran the district between 1922 and 1925.

In fact, for all concerned, this analysis challenges IPS to reveal what did the “Klan board” do that their members alone originated that was racist regarding the district during its years in power?

Providing the wrong flashpoint

As we know, the Klan dominated Indianapolis City-Council did pass the 1926 ordinance (later found unconstitutional) that Blacks could not live north of 30th Street: <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/03.15.26-Indianapolis-neighborhood-Segregation-Ordinance.pdf>. It was unwritten that Jews could not live north of 30th Street. ⁴

But the ordinance dealt with housing/neighborhood segregation--not education:
<http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Klans-involvement-with-public-education-was-not-about-segregated-schools-The-real-story-about-the-KKK-and-IPS-2.pdf>

What is interesting here is the Citizens School Committee’s effort to distance itself from its October 25, 1921 origins: <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/1951-Citizens-School-Committee-brochure-claiming-the-organization-started-in-1928.pdf>

But why? Did the 1951 CSC leadership want to disassociate themselves from the original 1921 CSC, the original CSC that helped create Attucks in 1922? Did they think IPS citizens wouldn’t go back and look at the October 1921 *Indianapolis Star*? <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/1921-Citizens-School-Committee-forms-Oct-25.pdf>

Why? Part III A more accurate and honest IPS history for our children and youth

Here are the suggested revisions of the 2 original paragraphs in question. See APPENDIX A p. 28. The sentences in bold help make up the amendments to the passage:

The rectified parts of the IPS June 25 myips.org/blog/district post dealing with the district's history of racism and segregation in support of its Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution

A) The racial equity policy speaks to the history of racism and segregation throughout the educational framework in the city and state, including hiring practices and budgets. The foundation of IPS' history is rooted — like many school districts throughout the country — in the segregationist policies set forth by civic organizations like the White Supremacy League, White People's Protective League and the Capital Avenue Protective Association as early as 1920. **The wider and deeper basis of such white supremacy policies in Indiana was our state's passage of the world's first Eugenics Law in 1907 which required “the sterilization of the unfit.” This law not only legalized white supremacy here, but normalized it around the world. Also, organizations such as the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, the Federation of Civic Clubs, the Citizens School Committee were segregationists. In the early 1920s, the *Indianapolis Star* published racist comics and *Indianapolis Times* published commentary endorsing white supremacy. At the September 19, 1922 IPS school board session, segregationist George Buck, principal of Shortridge, spoke endorsing a need for an all-Black high school. Earlier in June of 1922, Butler President Dr. Robert Aley endorsed white supremacy during his commencement speech. In the fall of 1927, Butler started a racial quota policy limiting the number of Black students to 10 per year. In 1928, “Minister of Hate” the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith becomes Butler college chaplain. The Black population during this formative decade grew to more than 11% of the city's total — one of the highest Black populations of northern cities.**

B) City leaders, however, fearing the high numbers of Black students in predominantly white high schools, created a school for Blacks in 1922: Crispus Attucks High School. Leaders forced all Black students to attend the school based on the supposed spread of tuberculosis infections in the Black community. The Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, **the Federation of Civic Clubs, Butler College, the *Indianapolis Times*, the Citizens School Committee** and the IPS Board, and the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), supported the decision and suppressed and diverted any protests to oppose segregation. **Although the Klan supported the IPS decision, research notes the KKK were far more interested in winning elections to gain power and have members benefit from political patronage. The Klan and the racist IPS movements were mainly independent of each other. A segregated IPS and would have been carried out had the Klan never existed.** Ultimately, the then governor of Indiana, mayor of Indianapolis and five members of the school Board became either members of or were backed by the KKK.

In conclusion

The KKK as “patsy”: Using the critical consciousness of Prof. Thornbrough

“Not until many years later, after the state law that abolished school segregation was adopted in 1949 and “establishment” whites wanted to remove the stigma of racism represented by segregated schools, that the tradition developed that the Klan was responsible for Crispus Attucks high school.”

~ Dr. Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana Blacks in the 20th Century*, p. 60

The 2 paragraphs under review deal with the history of our local roots in the foundation of IPS racism and segregation as stated in an IPS June 25 news story reporting on the board's approval of its new Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution: <https://myips.org/blog/district/ips-board-approves-racial-equity-policy-and-black-lives-matter-resolution/>

From the perspective of this analysis, what the information in the 2 passages under critique actually do is sustain the very racism and inequities the IPS board claims need resolving.

Using Dr. Thornbrough's critical studies techniques to decipher the IPS June 25 blog, the arguments in the 2 passages present misleading historical interpretations, the conclusions and manifestations of which actually protect the political, economic, social, cultural, and real estate heritages of Indy's *status quo*. This Indy mainstream is portrayed in the current Indianapolis/Marion County white establishment, some of whom are: the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, Eli Lilly, the Marion County Republican Party, the United Way of Indianapolis, the Metropolitan Indianapolis Board of Realtors (MIBOR), the Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee (GIPC), Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), the Central Indiana Corporate Partnership (CICP), WFYI, the Columbia Club, the *Indianapolis Business Journal*, and the *Indianapolis Star* among others.

The wording of the 2 above paragraphs "A" and "B" at issue reflects the sensationalism that amateur historians and the Indianapolis establishment want to continue--that it was not our city's innocent, upstanding, churchgoing, involved, law-abiding, hardworking, patriotic, sober, middle-class and north side white citizens who segregated our schools and city in the 1920s, but evil Klansmen under hoods and the dark of night!

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"Rectifying the misleading history of the district presented in the Black Lives Matter Resolution of the Indianapolis Public Schools" is also done in cooperation with the Charles E. & Virginia P. Vornehm-Loflin Center on the History of the Indianapolis Public Schools <http://vorcreatex.com/charles-e-virginia-p-center-on-the-history-of-indianapolis-public-schools/>, Parent Power--Indianapolis affiliate of Parents Across America, and the Education-Community Action Team.

Notes

1. Housing and neighborhood segregation in Indianapolis during the 1920s was not just about race. The south side of town was where Italian, German, and Jewish immigrants and many Black American and Appalachian white migrants from the South lived. On the Westside, mainly in Haughville, were immigrants from Eastern Europe: by 1921 totaling 16,958: Polish 379, Hungarian 313, Czech 58, Slav 558, Russian 1309, Romanian 701, and Bulgarian 110.

The point here is Federation of Civic Club members and other establishment whites who lived on the city's north side also did not want these immigrants/migrants in their neighborhoods, not just Blacks.

As well, Shortridge was pushing for a new Shortridge to be located on the North side—away from these Southern European Westside immigrants living in Haughville and other neighborhoods.

2. Shortridge's *Wikipedia* story leaves out such important factors as social class, ethnicity, religion, and even geography. Look under "Early 20th Century" section of entry: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shortridge_High_School

3. The *Indianapolis Times* editorial "White Supremacy" not only impacted Indianapolis and IPS, it infected the whole state with hate: <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/02.20.23-White-Supremacy-Editorial-IndianapolisTimes.pdf>

4. 1979 interview with Henry J. Richardson

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- Warren, S. (1987). The Evolution of Secondary Schooling for Blacks in Indianapolis: 1869-1930. *Black History News & Notes*, Nos. 29-30 (August, November, 1987).

Resources

Dr. Leonard Moore *Citizen Klansmen*

- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Citizen-Klansmen-The-KKK-in-Indiana-1921-1928-Indianapolis-Section-pp-139-150.pdf>.

Preface and Introduction from *Citizen Klansmen*

- https://books.google.com/books?id=a1eSbLokxk8C&pg=PP7&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=4#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Dr. Richard Pierce *Polite Protest: The political economy in Indianapolis 1920-1970*

- http://www.untag-smd.ac.id/files/Perpustakaan_Digital_2/POLITICAL%20ECONOMY%20Polite%20protest%20%20the%20political%20economy%20of%20race%20in%20Indianapolis,%201920-1970.pdf

Dr. Thornbrough “The Indianapolis story: School segregation and desegregation in a northern city”

- To better understand the involvement of the Indianapolis Chamber, the Citizens School Committee, and the Federation of Civic Clubs in IPS from the 1920s-70s, read https://cdn.vox-cdn.com/uploads/chorus_asset/file/19931405/The_Indianapolis_Story_School_Segregation_and_Desegregation_in_a_Northern_City_thornbrough.pdf.

The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana in the 1920s as viewed by the *Indiana Catholic and Record*. Joseph M. White, Butler University, 1974.

- <https://digitalcommons.butler.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1023&context=grtheses>

Archives of *The Fiery Cross*, the Indianapolis Klan's newspaper covering various dates from 12.08.1922-09.26.1924

- <https://libraries.indiana.edu/collection-digital-archive-fiery-cross>

Links to specific Klan *Fiery Cross* story on the IPS board, “Plan to throttle IPS conclusively shown” 02.16.1923

- <http://bl-libg-doghill.ads.iu.edu/gpd-web/fierycross/1923216/1923216.pdf>

Links to the *Chalkbeat* series on IPS history

- The end of busing in Indianapolis: 35 years later, a more segregated school system calls it quits <https://in.chalkbeat.org/2016/6/30/21100652/the-end-of-busing-in-indianapolis-35-years-later-a-more-segregated-school-system-calls-it-quits>

- How racial bias helped turn Indianapolis into one city with 11 school districts
<https://in.chalkbeat.org/2016/8/3/21098810/how-racial-bias-helped-turn-indianapolis-into-one-city-with-11-school-districts>
- Reading list on school segregation
<https://in.chalkbeat.org/2016/9/1/21105705/want-a-deeper-understanding-of-school-segregation-here-s-a-chalkbeat-reading-list>

Links to general resources around the history of IPS

- <http://vorcreatex.com/charles-e-virginia-p-center-on-the-history-of-indianapolis-public-schools/>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/general-ips-resources/>

Timeline of Indianapolis education events from 1921-1929

- <http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/1921-1929-Events-leading-up-to-and-through-the-creation-of-Attucks-and-Washington-and-the-relocation-of-Cathedral-Shortridge-and-Butler-College.pdf>

The 1920s Indianapolis education organizations

- <http://vorcreatex.com/indianapolis-chamber-of-commerce/>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/citizens-school-committee-2/>
- <http://vorcreatex.com/federation-of-civic-clubs/>

Videos on IPS history 1864-1930 by the Loflin Center on the History of IPS

- Part I-A 1864-1921 A Critical History of the Indianapolis Public Schools 1864-1930
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9kKigk3m4kc&t=283s>
- Part I-B 1922-1930 A Critical History of the Indianapolis Public Schools 1864-1930
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KqwJKBBoruY&t=1121s>

National responses to the outside influence of super-large donations by corporations and wealthy business people to influence 2020 IPS school board candidates to support privatization of IPS:

- “Indianapolis Public Schools for \$ale”
<https://dianeravitch.net/2020/07/25/john-h-loflin-indianapolis-public-schools-for-sale/>
 - National columnist Diane Ravitch published John Harris Loflin’s analysis and commentary of past IPS elections, “Purchasing the 2012, 2014, and 2016 IPS school board elections”:
<http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Purchasing-the-2012-2014-and-2016-IPS-school-board-elections.pdf>
- “The School Board Elections 2020: The Good, The Bad and The Ugly”
<https://tultican.com/2020/11/12/school-board-elections-2020-the-good-the-bad-and-the-ugly/>
- “Worse than Betsy DeVos: The disturbing story of 2020 school board elections
https://www.alternet.org/2020/12/school-board-elections/?utm_source=&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=6002

Other articles on the 2020 IPS school board elections

- “Indy’s education ‘gangstas’ rule 2020 elections, the ‘Billionaire’s School Board’ now rules IPS”
<http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Indys-education-gangstas-rule-2020-elections-The-Billionaires-School-Board-now-rules-IPS.pdf>

APPENDIX A

Making of a Mass Institution: Indianapolis and the American High School by Dr. Kyle Steele

In the [Introduction](#) to his 2020 book, *Making a Mass Institution*, Dr. Steele describes how Indianapolis, Indiana created a divided and unjust system of high schools over the course of the twentieth century, one that effectively sorted students geographically, economically, and racially. Like most U.S. cities, Indianapolis began its secondary system with a singular, decidedly academic high school, but ended the 1960s with multiple high schools with numerous paths to graduation. Some of the schools were academic, others vocational, and others still for what was eventually called “life adjustment.” This system mirrored the multiple forces of mass society that surrounded it, as it became more bureaucratic, more focused on identifying and organizing students based on perceived abilities, and more anxious about teaching conformity to middle-class values. By highlighting the experiences of the students themselves and the formation of a distinct, school-centered youth culture, Kyle P. Steele argues that high school, as it evolved into a mass institution, was never fully the domain of policy elites, school boards and administrators, or students, but a complicated and ever-changing contested meeting place of all three.

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2. Forced Segregation and the Creation of Crispus Attucks High School, 1919-1929
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4. An End to De Jure School Segregation, Crispus Attucks Basketball Success, and the Limits of Racial Equality, 1941-1955
5. “Life Adjustment” Education, Suburbanization, Unigov, and an Unjust System by a New Name, 1955-1971 The “new Manual” and Harry E. Wood High School

APPENDIX B



IPS Board Approves Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution

Post published: June 25, 2020

The Indianapolis Public Schools (IPS) Board of School Commissioners approved a new policy to address the district’s ongoing efforts to curtail racism and biases, and their negative effects on students, parents and staff.

During Thursday’s Board Action Session, the Board approved the Racial Equity Mindset, Commitment & Action policy, which focuses exclusively on the elimination of policies, practices, attitudes and cultural messages that reinforce differential outcomes or fail to eliminate them.

“IPS has reached a major milestone in the history of our district, and it has been a long time coming. We are now on a journey toward authentic racial equity,” said Dr. Patricia Payne, director of the IPS Racial Equity Office. “This will require major shifts in knowledge, attitudes, mindsets, belief systems and practices. We will know this has been achieved when student outcomes can no longer be predicted by race or ethnicity.”

Through the racial equity policy, along with the district-led racial equity initiative, IPS will implement several measures, including:

Creating the infrastructure for all IPS staff members to have access to robust professional learning experiences around racial equity.

Activating and responding accordingly to support the district's most vulnerable communities, especially in the event of an unprecedented crisis (e.g., a global pandemic).

Intentionally ensuring that all students have access to high-quality, culturally relevant curriculums and instructional materials.

In addition to the racial equity policy, the Board also approved the Black Lives Matter resolution. The resolution details not only the city, state and country's history of systemic racism, but also the pervasive remnants of racial exclusion and the barriers to universal success. The resolution underscores the policy's intentional efforts to support legislation, advocacy and the culture of diversity throughout the district, including the targeted training and hiring of teachers and staff of color, and the restructuring of the IPS Police Department.

"The commitment of the Board and district leadership to further refine our ability to level the playing field for all students, regardless of race or ethnicity, is profound," said Aleesia Johnson, IPS superintendent. "All of our 31,000 students deserve the best instructors, classroom environments, curriculum and technology to reach their full potential now and in the future."

These and other measures outlined in the policy and resolution aim to improve the ability of students to excel in every classroom, in every school across the district.

To read the full Racial Equity Mindset, Commitment & Action policy, click [here](#).

To read the Black Lives Matter resolution, click [here](#).

The racial equity policy speaks to the history of racism and segregation throughout the educational framework in the city and state, including hiring practices and budgets. The foundation of IPS' history is rooted — like many school districts throughout the country — in the segregationist policies set forth by civic organizations like the White Supremacy League, White People's Protective League and the Capital Avenue Protective Association as early as 1920. The Black population during this formative decade grew to more than 11% of the city's total — one of the highest Black populations of northern cities.

City leaders, however, fearing the high numbers of Black students in predominantly white high schools, created a school for Blacks in 1922: Crispus Attucks High School. Leaders forced all Black students to attend the school based on the supposed spread of tuberculosis infections in the Black community. The Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, the IPS Board, and the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), supported the decision and suppressed and diverted any protests to oppose segregation. Ultimately, the then governor of Indiana, mayor of Indianapolis and five members of the school Board became either members of or were backed by the KKK.

It wasn't until the Brown v. Board of Education decision in 1954, the subsequent U.S. Department of Justice lawsuit in 1968, and a federal court ruling in 1971 ordering a supervised busing program that ultimately facilitated the phasing out of the district's desegregation efforts. Tangible remnants remained until 2016.

Because of the aforementioned facts, coupled with academic barriers, and housing and economic inequalities, the school Board and district leadership agreed that the deliberate actions to keep Black and Brown students and their families at a disadvantage for decades, still reverberate in today's communities of color.

For more information about the history of racial equity in IPS, please watch the abbreviated WFYI feature [here](#).

Click here for the complete June 25, 2020 IPS public notice, "IPS Board Approves Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution": <https://myips.org/blog/district/ips-board-approves-racial-equity-policy-and-black-lives-matter-resolution/>.

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