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Fontenelle Hotel  
Omaha, Nebraska  
February 15, 1943

Mr. Thomas W. Holland, Chief  
Employment Division  
War Relocation Authority  
Barr Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Holland:

I am submitting herewith an account of the  
community investigation which I recently undertook in  
Indianapolis.

I hope that this report will assist you in  
the development of policy for the Indianapolis area.

Very truly yours,

Theodore Waller  
Acting Relocation Supervisor



# I N D E X

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## PART I - INTRODUCTION

The first indication of the development of an anti-Relocation issue in Indianapolis occurred last fall (approximately in September) when the Lafayette Courier Journal and the Indianapolis News attacked Secretary of Agriculture Wickard on the assumption that he planned to employ evacuees. At this time Democratic leaders in the state became concerned over the political potentialities of the affair and Republicans were apparently prevented from making capital out of the situation only because a Republican leader in the Legislature happened to have Japanese evacuees in his employ.

The second development occurred when Earlham College (a Quaker Institution) at Richmond, Indiana accepted six evacuee students. This action was bitterly attacked by the American Legion and local officials, but opposition gradually died down and the Japanese students are still there.

In January, the National Legionnaire, an official weekly publication of the American Legion, carried an editorial which strongly attacked the Student Relocation Program. Legion sources indicate that such an editorial was considered at the time of the Earlham College affair but was not actually decided on until after a WRA information specialist visited the Legion's Director of Americanism.

The local Legion Post has been bitter in attacking Flanner House, a Negro settlement, for having had an evacuee social scientist in residence there for several weeks early in the winter.

On January 15 the Indianapolis Times carried a story based on an OWI release from Chicago. This story, a clipping of which is attached, described the establishment of a WRA field office in Chicago the purpose of which would be "to place Japanese-Americans in war industries in Illinois and Indiana". This story produced the following results: fifty telephone calls and letters (none good) to the Times; a resolution opposing Relocation passed by the Central Labor Union and conveyed through various channels to Congress; a resolution in the State Legislature memorializing Congress to prevent the "infiltration of Japanese into Indiana"; a very vicious article in a neighborhood newspaper; and widespread anti-Relocation agitation in the Negro community.

Indianapolis and Marion County, the population of which are slightly under 500,000, have 51,000 Negro residents. Less than 1% of their population is foreign born. This area was a concentration point of the Ku Klux Klan influence.

Morale in the Negro community appears to be rapidly deteriorating. Both Negro leaders and civic leaders of the white community are greatly concerned about this development, and everyone with whom Relocation has been discussed mentions the Negro problem as a major source of difficulty in the relocation of Japanese-Americans in Indiana.



The trade union structure in the state is not particularly strong. The C.I.O. has somewhat more members than has the A. F. of L. There are a great many open shop establishments and an unusually high percentage of the workers belong to company unions. There has been a very considerable amount of factionalism in both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. Within both groups there are dissidents who would be delighted to have an issue through which the prevailing leadership could be attacked.

Indianapolis has for many years had an evenly balanced political situation in which power periodically swings back and forth between the Republicans and the Democrats. Political competitiveness is very keen.

There are two rabidly anti-Administration papers, and one paper published by the Scripps-Howard chain.

Some time ago the Methodist Hospital employed a Japanese-American nurse. Community pressure was brought to bear upon the Superintendent in sufficient volume so that he discharged this nurse, who was then employed by the City Hospital. Dr. Meyer, the Superintendent of City Hospital, indicates that no problems whatever have developed with other members of the hospital staff or with patients. The nurse has done such excellent work and has been so thoroughly accepted that she is now a ward supervisor and Dr. Meyer is interested in employing additional personnel from the project.

There are a number of Japanese-American domestics in the community and none of them have had difficulty. One young Japanese-American who visited in Indianapolis for several weeks last fall was the victim of an incident in the Public Library but he handled it sufficiently adroitly so that no complications developed.

The characteristics of the community indicated above made the consequences of the publicity which we have described particularly serious. It is in just such a situation that a national issue could very easily develop. The newspaper story which the Times carried on January 15 was factual and objective. It in no sense editorialized against the Relocation Program. There has been only one negative editorial in the metropolitan press. There is a great deal of liberal and far-sighted leadership in the labor movement and in the community as a whole. The Negro community can be dealt with if the support of the proper leaders is established before publicity occurs. In the Republican leadership there are many men of sufficient civic integrity so that there would be no possibility of Relocation becoming a political issue if these men were adequately informed.

Unless, however, the measures suggested are taken in such communities as Indianapolis before the Authority negotiates with employers and without local publicity, the Relocation Program will almost certainly become a racial, political and trade union issue and an issue of sufficient moment that irreparable damage will be done, not only to the Relocation Program, but to the War Effort as a whole. Attention is called particularly to the recommendations made at the end of this report. The factors indicated are negative only by virtue of inertia. With proper advance clearance all those forces



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which have worked to the detriment of the Relocation Program in Indianapolis could have and may still become aligned in support of this Program. In addition to the forces which have been active to date, there are many powerful elements in the community that are strongly and effectively interested in the success of our enterprise.



## PART II - PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND POLITICAL LEADERS

The Relocation Program has become a political issue in Indiana.

When Secretary of Agriculture Wickard's intention to employ evacuee farm labor was publicized by the Lafayette County weekly paper and by the Indianapolis News, the Republican State Committee was prevented from exploiting the political possibilities of the situation only by the fact that the Republican leader of the State Assembly (now the Speaker of the Assembly) was at that time employing evacuees at his chicken hatchery.

When the possibility of evacuees being released to accept employment in Indiana was publicized in the Chicago papers the Central Labor Union of Indianapolis decided that the best way to combat this threat to the trade union structure would be to apply political pressure. It consequently communicated with the congressman from the district and apparently had something to do with the introduction of the anti-Relocation measure in the State Legislature.

At least one neighborhood paper urged that outraged citizens write to their congressmen and senators, as well as to the Governor, protesting the introduction of evacuees into the community.

The matter also became an explosive if complex issue in the Negro community.

It is obvious that it is a great deal more difficult to suppress an issue of this nature once it has developed political currency than it is to forestall the issue in the first place. The tangible pressures behind the anti-Relocation resolution in the State Assembly were the Negro and Labor lobbies. It was a relatively simple matter to convert these groups sufficiently so that their full force could be brought to bear in behalf of the defeat of the resolution. This by no means eliminated the resolution, however. In the first place, its sponsor was threatened with loss of face; in the second place a variety of unorganized individuals had been aroused and their correspondence is being utilized as evidence of the demand of the people for action by the Legislature.

From the point of view of intellectual integrity and moral competence, the most useful political leaders who have been contacted are Governor Schriker, Speaker Hobart Creighton and Mayor Tyndall. It seems probable that any political threat could be eliminated by these three men acting in accord with, and on the basis of the expressed support of Hapgood and Frisbie of the C.I.O., Fritz, Vogel and Kern of the A. F. of L., Book of the Chamber of Commerce and the Negro legislative delegation. We now possess the support of each of these individuals, and with proper clearance, there is no reason why it cannot be retained.

ASTRUM, HENRY - Marion County Republican Chairman.



BAYS, FRED - Chairman, State Democratic Committee.

Mr. Bays was interviewed at the instance of and in company with Vogler of the AAA. He had been greatly concerned about the political implications of Secretary Wicard's announced intention of employing evacuees. At that time (approximately September of 1942) many Democratic leaders protested to Bays. Bays' feeling about the Relocation Program when we talked with him was that however morally desirable and militarily essential it might be, it was political dynamite in Indiana and should not be undertaken in this state. He went to great length to describe the multitude of politically significant groups who would be certain to oppose any attempt to bring American Japanese into Indiana, and on the basis of his preconception of the reaction of these groups, he urged that no further consideration be given the matter.

Rather than argue with him, we asked him for a list of men on whose collective judgment we would be justified in acting. He suggested the following names: Jackson of the State Chamber of Commerce, Brannon of the Farm Bureau, Frisbie of the C.I.O., Millen of the A.F. of L., Gordon and Gilbert of the Brotherhoods, Hutson of the State Department of Labor, Wells of Indiana University and Johnson of Purdue. Four of these men have been interviewed and are strongly in support of the application of the Relocation Program to Indiana. It seems certain that those remaining to be interviewed will also be in accord. It is suggested that when an opportunity presents itself, Mr. Bays be apprised of the attitude of these individuals and reminded of his advice to the Authority that it proceed on the basis of their collective judgment.

COUGHRAN, B. HOWARD - U. S. District Attorney

Mr. Coughran is a sensitive, scholarly, courageous and highly intelligent public official. He fully measures up to the high standards of the other U. S. Attorneys whom we have interviewed. He fully and completely supports the Relocation Program and is very definite in his feeling that several hundred evacuees can safely and advantageously be placed in Indiana. He can be counted on to offer extensive assistance to the Authority. His counsel will be invaluable and it is recommended that our field personnel remain closely in touch with him.

CREIGHTON, HOBART - Speaker of the Assembly

Mr. Creighton is one of the outstanding Republican leaders in Indiana. He is also one of the largest hatchery owners in the country. For some time (and until the political pressure became so great that for him to continue to have done so would, he felt, have been a disservice to his party) he employed two evacuees at his hatchery at Columbia City, Indiana. These evacuees are now employed at another hatchery in the same community. Mr. Creighton says that at no time has there been any appreciable community reaction against the presence of these Japanese-Americans.



Mr. Creighton was very quick to understand the serious international implications of the anti-Relocation resolution introduced by Mrs. Lowe, and he consulted with a number of individuals in the Assembly in an effort to see that the measure was killed in Committee. It had been referred to Judiciary A, and it is assumed that it will not get out of the Committee.

Mr. Creighton was very outspoken and unequivocal in urging that the authority proceed without hesitation in relocating Japanese-Americans in Indiana. He said that although there would probably be some localized opposition, he did not feel that the consequences would be sufficient and serious enough to damage the war effort.

SLINKER, GLEN - Chairman of Judiciary A in Assembly.

Mr. Slinker agreed to take any measures necessary to keep the Mable Lowe resolution in Committee.

DAWSON, CHARLES - Lt. Governor

GATES, RALPH - Chairman, State Republican Committee

Army Armstrong of the Legion authorized the use of his name in approaching Mr. Gates.

HAIGHT, J. BRADLEY - Area Director, War Manpower Commission

Mr. Haight was, until recently, State Director for the U. S. Employment Service. He is not tremendously enthusiastic about the Relocation Program and has the conventional WMC idea that it should be applied only to those regions in which there is a decisive manpower shortage. However, he will be useful in a limited way. He has the very marginal support of labor and industry.

HELLER, - Democratic Leader, State Assembly

HUTSON, TOM - State Labor Commissioner.

Mr. Hutson is highly regarded by all the labor and political leaders who have been consulted. He is an iron worker. He feels that without any question it will be possible to successfully relocate a substantial number of American Japanese in both industry and agriculture in Indiana. He strongly stresses, however, the urgency of very careful clearance with the union officials whose jurisdictions become involved. It is recommended that close contact be maintained with Mr. Hutson.

LOWE, MRS. MABEL

Mrs. Lowe has for many years been Business Representative of the A.F. of L. Garment Workers. She has been a member of the so-called Labor Delegation in the State Assembly. In January she was defeated for re-election to her union position. She introduced the anti-Relocation



resolution, which is discussed elsewhere in this report. The resolution was originally killed through a technicality of its assignment to committee, and was re-introduced and assigned to Judiciary A. In its later form, it is a statement of opinion by the Legislature. It supposedly memorializes Congress to prevent the outrage of Japanese infiltration into Indiana. Mrs. Lowe was asked by the Speaker of the House to abandon the resolution and refused to do so. She is a Republican.

MONK,

City Director of Civilian Defense

SCHRIKER, HENRY - Governor

Governor Schriker is a very unusual, honest, able and forthright public official. He has the respect and confidence of leaders in both major parties. Even the ardently anti-Administration press feels that he has done a fine job. Governor Schriker said that he has, from the beginning, felt that the evacuation was a mistake and that he wished that the evacuees could return to the Pacific Coast. Realizing the impossibility of this, however, he said that any honest man would accept the necessity of releasing the American citizens from the Projects and that there was no reason why they could not come to Indiana as well as to other Middle Western States. He felt that there were some hazards involved but that the only thing to do was to proceed as carefully as possible and hope for the best. He thought it improbable that there would be serious difficulty in Indiana. He will be glad to have the Authority consult him from time to time.

SHUFFLEBARGER,

Acting State Director, U.S. Employment Service.

Mr. Mr. Shufflebarger has been informed of the purposes and policies of the Authority.

SULLIVAN, REGINALD H.

Mr. Sullivan has just retired after two terms as Mayor of Indianapolis. He is regarded as an honest, plodding, uninspired and not very well informed leader. Everybody likes him, but his leadership is not significant. He had an unusually able group of officials supporting him. He is a Democrat. He fully accepts the necessity for the Relocation Program and will render the Authority any assistance in his power. He can be consulted without hesitation, but his judgment will need supplementing. He feels that it is not unlikely that Japanese-Americans can be successfully relocated in Indianapolis.

TYNDALL, MAJOR GENERAL ROBERT - Mayor of Indianapolis.

General Tyndall was recently retired from the Army, and has just been installed as Republican Mayor. He has a rather substantial interest in race problems based largely on his experience as Commandant of a large Army post



in Mississippi. He apparently maintains a very liberal point of view in this connection. Immediately after our interview with him, one of the newspapers (clipping attached) asked him for an expression of opinion on the possibility of relocation of evacuees in Indianapolis. He made a very strong and completely favorable statement which was published and rather widely discussed. It is urged that he be kept thoroughly informed of all developments. He made such comments as, "If we don't respect the citizenship of the Japanese-Americans, then what are we fighting for?"



PART III - PRESSINDIANAPOLIS NEWS

Republican afternoon paper. Publisher: Fairbanks. News Editor: J. Walter McCarty. Director of the Editorial Page: Noland.

We interviewed Mr. Fairbanks and Mr. McCarty. Mr. Fairbanks was extremely sympathetic and deeply touched by our story of the plight of the American Japanese and its implications for our Far Eastern policy. He was remarkably unrestrained in his feeling that evacuees could successfully be relocated in Indianapolis. He called Mr. McCarty in and Mr. McCarty was very dubious. He felt that it probably would be dynamite to experiment with Relocation in this area and he said that he certainly wouldn't want the ----- in his house. Both Mr. McCarty and Mr. Fairbanks, however, were apparently impressed with the soundness of the Authority's approach in determining community policy. They indicated that they were glad to have been consulted and would render any possible assistance in guiding the Authority. Mr. McCarty reported that the News received about fifteen letters (all negative) and no telephone calls, as a result of the very considerable amount of publicity given the Relocation Program in the community.

Having seen Mr. McCarty and Mr. Fairbanks, it seemed better for us to make no attempt to talk to Mr. Noland. Evans Woolen undertook this chore and may be able to obtain the support of Mr. Noland. See critical editorial attached.

INDIANAPOLIS STAR

Benjamin Lawrence, General Manager

Mr. Lawrence has been very helpful indeed. Through his political reporter, he has kept us in touch with each development in the State Legislature as rapidly as events have materialized. He definitely does not feel that there is sufficient evidence to justify the Authority in refusing to permit evacuees to accept employment in Indianapolis. He suggests that no evacuees be released to this community until after the Legislature has adjourned. In our judgment, Mr. Lawrence is the most substantial and reliable of the newspaper people in this city. He is the only one of the group whom we would feel justified in consulting by telephone from Washington on some distant occasion. He has commented to a number of people in the community that he had confidence in the desire of the Authority to proceed in a sane and intelligent manner and that we could count on any assistance he might be able to give us. He very urgently recommends that we not repeat the blunders which produced local publicity in Indianapolis and Chicago. In Mr. Lawrence's judgment, any and all local publicity will be detrimental to the success of the Relocation Program.



INDIANAPOLIS TIMES

Editor: Walter Le Chrone. Managing Editor: Norman Isaacs.

This is a Scripps-Howard paper. Only Mr. Isaacs was interviewed. He moves widely and very verbally in the best liberal circles and is extensively advertised as one of the leading liberals of the community. He protested his support of the Relocation Program just a little too much. After the Times carried the story which was picked up from the Chicago Tribune and verified through OWI (a clipping of this story is attached), the paper received approximately fifty letters (some of which are attached) and telephone calls protesting against the "Japanese infiltration". This relatively large volume of protests is one of the factors which seems to threaten community acceptance in Indianapolis.

THE UNION

This is the organ of the Central Labor Union. It is edited by Joe Shepherd, who is otherwise a reporter on the Indianapolis Times and (as a Guild delegate) the president of the Indianapolis Industrial Union Council.

WEST SIDE MESSENGER

This neighborhood paper carried the stories which, with the action taken by the Central Labor Union, were probably responsible for a large percentage of the protests to Congress. A copy of this story is attached.



PART IV - LABOR

An important plank in the platform of the A.F. of L. Garment Workers has been its fight against prison labor. Some months ago a report was circulated to the effect that the WRA was attempting to purchase a large number of power sewing machines in order that the Projects could produce Army uniforms in mass quantities. This matter was at that time discussed in the Central Labor Union, and a letter which was written to the Director brought a denial.

When the Indianapolis Times printed the story about the opening of the WRA office in Chicago for the purpose of bringing Japanese labor into Indiana industry, the same people who had earlier been concerned about the possibility of competition with the Projects now took the leadership in opposing Relocation. Regardless of the source of leadership, however, the delegates to the Central Labor Union were unanimous in their opposition and their resolution (which is described in the attached clipping from the Indianapolis Union) was very vigorous. The same leadership of the C. L. U. decided that it would be more appropriate to the war effort if Labor's opposition were brought to bear quietly and through Congress, than if a large-scale publicity campaign were organized. The Mabel Lowe resolution was apparently not officially endorsed by the State Federation of Labor or the Central Labor Union, but since Mrs. Lowe had for so many years been identified with the labor movement and had on many occasions been its spokesman, her resolution was generally regarded as "labor legislation". Prior to our appearance on the scene, the A.F. of L. did nothing to oppose the resolution, and may have spent some time supporting it.

FRITZ, ADOLPH - A venerable and greatly beloved old-line trade unionist.

Mr. Fritz has the respect and admiration of the entire community, but he is so old that he is no longer a major factor in policy making. The A.F. of L. in Indiana would never oppose him. He is secretary of the State Federation of Labor. He came from the Iron Moulders Union. It was absolutely incredible to him that any Japanese were citizens and that there was any such thing as a Japanese of unquestioned loyalty. He was so thoroughly and completely convinced that all Japs are our enemies that it took a very great deal of discussion to open his mind. He is a basically honest man, however, and consequently he eventually discussed the problem of Relocation fairly objectively. He also agreed to talk with his friend, Coughran, the U.S. District Attorney. It is likely that if he were worked with sufficiently carefully, his support could be obtained.



MULLEN, CARL - President, State Federation of Labor

Mr. Mullen was interested in and accepted the necessity (particularly from an international point of view) of the Relocation Program. He indicated that he had never been in favor of the anti-Relocation resolutions in the Central Labor Union or in the State Legislature. He suggested that it would be appropriate for the Authority to employ seasoned, trained unionists to present its case to organized labor. He said that it was perfectly clear that what we wanted to know was whether or not he opposed the Relocation Program in its application to Indiana, and he did not. He agreed that if things were handled wisely and with the necessary clearance with the unions that become involved, there will be no unfavorable reaction from the Labor movement. We assured Mr. Mullen that under no circumstances would placements be made in organized establishments without prior consultation with the union concerned.

VESTAL, CARL - President, Central Labor Union, and Business Agent, Iron Workers Union.

Mr. Vestal has all of the conventional characteristics of a building trades business agent and a great many of the virtues of the most liberal and able C.I.O. leaders. He is a remarkable fellow. He responded very constructively and dynamically. He had been strongly in support of the Mabel Lowe resolution and upon being informed of the true intentions of the Authority, he developed just as strong an antagonism to the resolution. He had honestly believed, on the basis of the Times story, that a substantial portion of 117,000 Japanese were about to be forced into employment in Indiana, and he felt it his duty to do everything possible to oppose such a move. Upon receiving our assurance that at most a few hundred individuals would be placed in Indiana and that no evacuees would be released to accept employment in organized industries without proper clearance with the trade union involved, Mr. Vestal completely changed his position and did everything within his power to assist us. He can be consulted with complete confidence and is certainly a key man from the point of view of selling Authority policy to the community. If any representative of the Authority ever gets into negotiations with an employer operating an organized establishment and if the appropriate union is not consulted early in the game, we can expect that Mr. Vestal will descend upon us with all the fury of a justifiably outraged and betrayed militant unionist.

KERN, CHARLES - Business Agent, Steamfitters Union and President, State Building Trades Council.

Mr. Kern is cut out of the same cloth from which Mr. Vestal was obtained. He is a very high type union official, thoroughly reliable, very objective and wholly competent. He was just as strongly in support of the Lowe resolution as was Vestal and was just as quick to change his position on learning the facts. He went further than Vestal in that he volunteered to immediately go to the State House to talk with various members of the Legislature in an effort to kill the resolution. He should be consulted frequently.



FOX, ROBERT - Business Agent, Plumbers Union.

HAMMOND, COURTNEY - Business Agent, Painters Union.

CREASEY, ROY - Business Agent, Electricians Union; Secretary-Treasurer, County Building Trades Council and Member, City Manpower Commission.

RANKIN, W. J. - Business Agent, Carpenters Union.

TOBIN, DAN - International President, Teamsters Union.

Mr. Tobin was out of town at the time of our visit.

HUTCHINSON, WILLIAM - International President, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

If the international officers of this union are interviewed, it is very important that Mr. Hutchinson, Sr., be seen, rather than his son.

BAKER, CLAUDE - International President, Typographical Union.

Mr. Baker was out of town.

LOWE, MABEL - See Section on Public Officials and Political Leaders.

The C.I.O. had done nothing to support either the Lowe resolution or any other anti-Relocation activity. Several of its leaders, however, had been thoroughly alienated by the Times story, and the Industrial Union Council was undoubtedly on the verge of taking some action to oppose the infiltration threat. The C.I.O. in Indiana is a rapidly growing organization. Indiana is one of the largest centers of war industry in the country, and the C.I.O. organization has apparently more or less kept pace with the development of industry.

In dealing with the C.I.O. in Indiana as well as in other localities, care should be taken to avoid becoming involved in factional disputes. Here, as in some other communities, the steel workers are in a position of a good deal of isolation with reference to the rest of the industrial unions.

HAPGOOD, POWERS - Regional Director, C.I.O.

Mr. Hapgood comes from an old and widely respected Indianapolis family. His father is a leading manufacturer. He went to Harvard, and ever since his departure from college he has been a leading radical and union worker. He was immediately sympathetic to the Relocation Program. As a matter of fact, his sympathy doubtless existed from the time he first read of the Authority's policy. He will extend himself to do anything within his power in support of our activities, and he can be consulted with confidence and profit.



FRISBIE, WALTER - Secretary, State Industrial Union Council.

Mr. Frisbie is not quite as stable or sound as is Mr. Hapgood, but he is a good union executive and on the basis of our assurance that the union concerned would be consulted at each step, he agreed that there was no possibility of the C.I.O. making an issue out of the presence in the community of Japanese-Americans working in unorganized industries and that the C.I.O. would approach with an open mind any proposal to employ evacuees in organized industries. It is perfectly apparent, of course, that in many industries it would damage the War Effort to attempt to introduce Japanese-Americans, but there are many places in which such an attempt would succeed, and if the proper clearances are made, both the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. leadership will make every possible effort to assist us.

McKEON, JIM - President, State Industrial Union Council

Mr. McKeon was consulted in company with Mr. Frisbie and his position was about the same.

McKENZIE, - also an official of the State Industrial Union Council.

His spontaneous reaction was more negative than that of the other C.I.O. leaders, but he will go along on the proposition outlined above.

SHEPARD, JOE - Member of the Newspaper Guild and President of the City Industrial Council.

Shepard also is editor of the A.F. of L. paper on a paid basis. He is a very astute, poised, able and resourceful person whom we would like to persuade to apply for appointment to the WRA staff. He is effectively sympathetic with our purposes, and if he remains in Indianapolis, can be counted on for any possible assistance.

ROBE, JIM - Regional Director, U.S.A. and P.W.O.C.

ATWOOD, ARNOLD - Regional Director, U.A.W.

GORDON, ALEX - Legislative Representative, Railroad Brotherhoods

The United Mine Workers were not consulted. Apparently District Fifty has not yet been active in Indiana. It is very vital that whoever becomes responsible for national trade union relationships be very careful indeed not to become involved in District Fifty's current organized campaign. District Fifty of the U.M.W. has undertaken mass piracy in both A.F. of L. and C.I.O. jurisdictions. The situation is intensely complicated and great caution should be used in dealing with it. It is, in many localities, an ambiguous situation because in various places District Fifty has managed to take over personnel hitherto employed by reputable C.I.O. or A.F. of L. unions.



PART V - MINORITY GROUPS

Contact with the Negro community in Indianapolis was arranged through the good offices of Cleo Blackburn, Director of Flanner House, an experimental Negro settlement. Mr. Blackburn is a sociologist who is conducting research and experimenting with various techniques in the development of group responsibility. He has the full and complete confidence of the widest variety of individuals in Indianapolis. His attitude toward the problem of Relocation of Japanese-Americans can be summed up in his statement that he is interested in the attainment of equality wherever the lack of it may be found. He recognizes that attacks on the civil liberties of any minority group threaten those of all other such groups and that gains made by one group react to the advantage of all. For these reasons, Mr. Blackburn can be counted on to assist the Relocation Program in any manner within his power.

In order to give the Authority additional insight into the reaction of the Negro community, as well as to crystalize Negro opposition to the Mabel Lowe resolution, Mr. Blackburn arranged a luncheon meeting which was attended by approximately twelve of the outstanding Negroes in the community. In order that the maximum degree of frankness might be achieved, their anonymity was guaranteed. Included in the group were two members of the State Legislature and two other leading politicians, a federal official, a newspaper editor, a social agency executive, two prominent medical men, a retired Army officer, and Mr. Blackburn. What follows is the consensus of this group and, in our judgment, can be taken as representative of the thinking of a major element in the Negro community.

Negroes all over the country are in a state of rapidly deteriorating disillusionment. They feel that, in general, the National Government has violated its pledge and that the country as a whole is attempting to prevent the Negro from advancing toward his goal of social and economic equality. This is a particularly serious frustration because the average Negro has been lead to believe that war would bring him an opportunity for great social gains, and it appears to be producing anything but such an opportunity. It is typical of the situation, if not actually a serious threat (which it might well be) that there is widespread discussion in the Negro community of mass civil disobedience. The action of Chairman McNutt in ordering the F.B.P.C. to indefinitely postpone its hearings on railroad discrimination has been a major factor in the situation.



It is in this context that the Negro's reaction to Japanese-American relocation must be considered. His first thought is that it is typical of the Government's irresponsible and discriminatory attitude toward the Negroes that before anything is done about the most pressing racial problem in the country, an elaborate agency is set up to solve a minor racial problem. The flash reaction of many Negroes is that Japanese would be considered only for the few jobs which are open to Negroes and that therefore as long as there are Negro unemployed, no single Japanese-American should be permitted to enter the community. A very explosive racial situation could undoubtedly be created if it became generally known in the Negro community that Japanese were being given employment (which they will be) which was not open to Negroes. Some Negro leaders feel that the Pacific Movement has created so much suspicion of Negro-Japanese relations that it would be inexpedient for Japanese to come to Indianapolis.

*How about  
no discussion  
policy?  
was from  
Chicago*

The Negro leadership can, of course, be reasoned with. After some discussion, it can be made to admit that the thing that it is primarily opposed to is not Japanese-Americans coming to Indianapolis, but rather any new source of labor being made available to employers while Negroes are unemployed and seeking work. The leadership of the Negro community can be made to realize that nothing could be more detrimental to Negro interests than such manifestations of racial intolerance as the Mabel Lowe resolution. The reactions given above, however, should serve to impress the Authority with the importance of very carefully developing protective relationships with Negro leaders in any community having a large Negro population.

The similarities between the reactions of the Negro leaders and those of the more conservative and narrow-minded business executives and patriotic leaders was remarkable. At the end of the luncheon conference these Negro leaders were saying that it was probably necessary and desirable to get the Japanese-Americans who are loyal out of the Relocation Projects but that it would, for the time being, be inexpedient for them to come to Indianapolis: "Why can't they all work in agriculture until the war is over?" If one had closed one's eyes during this portion of the conversation, it would have been easy to imagine that the speaker was an employer explaining why present circumstances did not permit him to take on Negroes.

A Chinese biologist named Chan is employed by the Eli Lilly Company. His reactions will probably be of interest.

No extensive contacts with the Jewish community have been possible. This step should be undertaken in the near future if evacuees are to be released to Indianapolis.

Incidentally, in the conference with Negro leaders described above, considerable antagonism toward the relocation of Jewish refugees was evidenced.



PART VI - BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Superficial contact has been established with business and industry in the Indianapolis area primarily through three channels:

- (a) Evans Woolen, Jr., President of the Fletcher Trust Company
- (b) Chamber of Commerce
- (c) A group of industrialists who were called together by Mr. Guy Wainwright to discuss the Relocation Program.

Mr. Woolen is a young, stable, widely respected and highly imaginative banker. He is without question one of the most substantial figures in the business community.

He is really concerned with rendering the Authority every possible assistance. He can be consulted without hesitation either by telephone or in person and, properly used, will be a valuable source of advice and assistance.

Bill Book, the Executive Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce, is an unusually successful Chamber of Commerce worker. He occupies something of the same position in Indianapolis that Tom Dysart has in St. Louis. He is intelligent, discreet and possessed of a great deal of insight about significant people, institutions and trends.

We lunched with Mr. Woolen and Guy Wainwright, President of the Diamond Chain Company, and on the basis of the interest which he developed in the course of discussing the Relocation Program at that lunch, Mr. Wainwright called together the following individuals who devoted a luncheon meeting to Relocation:

Knowlson, Chairman of the Board, Stewart-Warner Corporation  
Don Alexander, General Manager, Stewart-Warner Corporation  
George Coons, Real Estate Operator and President, Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce  
Joe Cain, General Manager, Mallory  
James Carroll, President, Indiana Bell Telephone Company  
F. Kroeger, General Manager, Allison  
Stoll Wasson, President, National Malleable Castings Company  
Tice, Curtis-Wright Propeller Plant, and  
Mr. Wainwright.

The discussion at this luncheon was extensive and, in general, followed the pattern of other similar meetings. It can perhaps best be described by saying that the participants explored to the limit all the reasons for excluding Indiana from participation in the Relocation Program and left the meeting in varying degrees of conviction that in spite of the difficulties that might arise, a small number of evacuees could and probably should be absorbed in Indiana.



From the point of view of industrial employment (and, unfortunately, the Chicago newspaper publicity had emphasized that it was the intention of the Authority to move the evacuees in large numbers into "war industry") there are a number of very serious problems. In the first place, many of the older concerns have segregated toilets and eating facilities. If Japanese were employed in such concerns, the management would immediately be confronted with the problem of whether they were going to wash their hands and eat their lunches with the Negroes or with the Whites. Apparently, F.E.P.C. has recently been putting the heat on Indiana industry and the boys are extremely sensitive. Their first reaction to the possibility of industrial placements for evacuees can be summed up in the following way: it would be possible in many plants to sell the other workers on the necessity and/or desirability of working with Japanese but since it is not the Government's intention to put more than a very few evacuees into any one establishment, the amount of work that would be involved in this sales job would far exceed the contribution which the evacuees' labor might make to production.

It is interesting that the Stewart-Warner Corporation has a Japanese engineer of longstanding in its employ. The plant security officials require that he be completely removed from any contract with war production, but it was generally agreed around the table that he was an exceptional Japanese and a fine fellow - that he was accepted by the community without any question because his loyalty and professional excellence were well known. It was the consensus of this meeting that it would be extremely difficult and perhaps hazardous to place evacuees in service enterprises (laundries, hotels, clubs, etc.) where Negroes are employed. Apparently, all of the men who participated in this luncheon are greatly impressed with the very explosive situation that exists in the Negro community, and they all feel that unless very, very careful examination is given each and every placement of evacuees, the Relocation Program might very materially damage the war effort.

From the point of view of these men, the only easy placements would be domestic and in small establishments where Negroes are not employed. It was their unanimous recommendation that a small number (perhaps eight or ten) of evacuees be released for employment of this sort; that the thing be watched carefully, and that future decisions be made on the basis of this experiment.

As the discussion proceeded, several individuals raised the point that, after all, national policy demanded the release of the evacuees, and that industry should bear its share of the burden for their absorption. Mr. Wainwright said that he had broached the possibility of employing two or three evacuee draftsmen and that his personnel man had pleaded with him to be "let off just this once." It seems to have been the sense of the meeting that although it is regarded as a difficult and very involved problem, at least two or three of the concerns represented may very well come to the point where they find it worth while to give consideration to the possibility of employing evacuee technicians.



The reaction of this group of men to the Authority's procedure in determining community acceptance was very interesting. The suggestion that policy should be developed on the basis of consultation with local leaders was accepted with a good deal of enthusiasm.

Mr. Carroll felt in the beginning that the Government should not investigate offers of employment at all "After all, any major employer is going to know more than the Government can possibly know about whether or not he can, with safety, employ evacuees." Others, however, (and Mr. Carroll later approached this point of view) agreed that it would be necessary to carefully check each offer of employment to be sure that undesirable and irresponsible employers did not obtain Japanese and in the process develop a community issue which would destroy the program in Indiana. Several such employers were discussed, and it was the general conclusion that the greatest care will have to be exercised. It was proposed that all offers be cleared through the Chamber of Commerce.

We made it very clear, however, that clearances would have to be individual, that the Authority is not working through any organization (public or private), but, rather than that Authority policy with reference to specific offers is based upon the advice of well informed individuals. Each man who was present agreed that we might consult him at any time and that he would give us the best and most confidential advice of which he was capable.

ALEXANDER, DON - General Manager, Stewart-Warner Corporation  
BOOK, BILL - Executive Vice-President, Chamber of Commerce  
BROWN, VOLNEY M. - President, Union Trust Company  
CAIN, JOE - President, Mallery  
CARROLL, JAMES - President, Indiana Bell Telephone Company  
COON, GEORGE - Real Estate Operator and President, Chamber of Commerce  
GRAVEN, ARTHUR - Vice-President, Indiana Trust Company  
DAILLEY, FRANK C. - Attorney and friend of Wendell Wilkie  
DENNY, GEORGE L. - Attorney  
EFROYMSON, GUS - President, Realsilk Hosiery Company  
FESSLER, JAMES W. - Attorney  
FRENZEL, JOHN - President, Merchants National Bank  
FRENZEL, OTTO - President, Indiana Trust Company



GRIFFITHS, THEODORE - President and General Manager, L. S. Ayers & Co.

HICKMAN, HERBERT - Member of the Alien Enemy Hearing Board and Attorney.

JACKSON, CLARENCE - Executive Secretary of the State Chamber of Commerce; Past Department Commander, American Legion; also a state official under McNutt.

KROEGER, F. - General Manager, Allison Corporation

LEE, WALLACE O. - Director of Public Relations, Power & Light Company

LILLY, ELI - President, Eli Lilley & Company

METZGER, ARTHUR - Division Manager, Kroger Grocery Company

MONTROSE, FRANK - General Manager, Indiana Bell Telephone Company

MORSE, HOWARD - President, Water Company

Probably the best public utilities man in town.

ROGAN, JAMES - President, American National Bank

SHEERIN, THOMAS D. - Investment Banker

WAGNER, DON - Electric Iron Castings Company

Has two evacuees in his home, and is considering employing an evacuee secretary in his office. Has had no negative reaction whatever to the employment of the two servants.

WAINWRIGHT, GUY - President, Diamond Chain Company

WASSON, STOLL - President, National Malleable Castings Company

WEST, HAROLD - President, West Baking Company

WOOLEN, EVANS, JR. - President, Fletcher Trust Company



PART VII - AMERICAN LEGION

ARMSTRONG, V. M. (Army) - ex-National Vice Commander, leading candidate for Commander next year.

Mr. Armstrong is a very thorough-going Legionnaire, and an honest and sincere man who does not hesitate to give the best advice of which he is capable with reference to strategy in the Legion. Will be a useful contact, particularly on Legion relationships in the State.

CHAIULLAUX, HOMER - Director of Americanism

Mr. Chaiullaux is an ex-San Bernardino, California mail carrier who achieved national distinction at the time of the 1934 general strike in San Francisco when he first undertook to expose the threat of Communism as exemplified by militant trade union leadership. Since that time he has conducted many of the most remarkable exposures in Red-baiting history. He has frequently been a source of embarrassment to the Legion (as on a recent occasion when he denounced the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Indianapolis for its endorsement of Russian War Relief), and there is some question as to how independent of the national leadership he is. He certainly has a very strong position with many rank and file elements. Armstrong says that he is an employee and takes orders from the National Commander like any other employee. Other well informed Legionnaires say he is pretty much of a law unto himself. A representative of the Authority talked with him not long ago and inspired him to undertake an exposure of the WRA policy of "pampering the Japs while our boys are off dying in behalf of their fatherland". To this end he corresponded with the national office and with various of the religious groups who have been interested in Relocation. The result of his interest has been an editorial in the National Legionnaire (weekly paper) bitterly attacking the Student Relocation Program. There is probably no man in the American Legion who has more enemies, both in and out of the Legion, than Chaiullaux. On the basis of our rather cursory examination of the situation it seems wise to depend upon the National Commander until it is established that he is unable to take care of Chaiullaux.

ELDER, BOWMAN - a leading figure in the Legion and a major cog in the McNutt machine. A friend of Leo Bozell.

GLASCOFF, DON - Assistant National Adjutant.

GREGG, RALPH - National Judge Advocate and Indianapolis Attorney, and supposedly a very splendid, stable, open-minded gentleman.

HASSELHRING, FRED - a clerk at the American National Bank and District Commander. Should be consulted before anything is undertaken in Indianapolis.



McCULLOCH, DR. CARLETON B. - Insurance Company physicaian and leading Indianapolis Legionnaire.

RUDDICK, JOHN R. - National Treasurer. Telephone Company official, highly regarded.

SAMUELS, FRANK - National Adjutant

WARING, ROANE - National Commander

We talked with Mr. Waring in considerable detail. He was very much interested in the Relocation Program, and particularly in the effect of the interment of the Japanese-American citizens on our relations with the Chinese and other Asiatic peoples. He was intrigued to learn of the tremendous force for Americanism that is represented by the small group of alien Japanese Legionnaires in the various projects. He was distressed at the thought of the California Department revoking the charter of the Japanese Posts. It was perfectly clear to Mr. Waring that the Americanism Program of the Legion makes support of the relocation of Japanese-American citizens an indispensable Legion policy on the basis that the Japanese-Americans are demonstrably good citizens, and it is a vital national responsibility that their citizenship be both conserved and respected. Mr. Waring asked for material which he could place in the American Legion publications, and he has been supplied. He undertook positively and without hesitation to see to it that the Legion press will carry material which will constructively interpret the Relocation Program. He took the anti-Student Relocation editorial (which he had not previously seen) and indicated that he would have a talk with the editor of the National Legionnaire about it. We discussed with him briefly the possibility of the Legion doing more than accepting passively and refraining from making attacks on the Relocation Program. He is definitely open to conviction with reference to the possibility of the Legion actually undertaking the dynamic sponsorship of some portion of the Relocation Program. He can see how this ties directly into the most basic policies of the Legion and although he has not committed himself in this regard (as he very definitely committed himself with regard to the publicity) it will certainly be worth while to further explore the matter with him.

It seems conceivable that the Legion nationally might undertake some form of cooperation with the Relocation Program. It seems much more practical, however, to consider collaborating with Mr. Waring on local situations in which he might find it appropriate to suggest to a Post that it sponsor evacuees or aid in placement or housing. Local Posts might also be valuable in determining and developing community acceptance.

Your attention is called to those sections of our other reports dealing with the Legion. You will remember particularly that in Omaha the Legion leaders were exceptionally cooperative. With the backing of the National Commander, such Posts as Post No. 1 in Omaha might very well be expected to undertake large-scale cooperation with the Authority.



PART VIII - EDUCATION

No general contacts have been made in this area. It is suggested that when and if permanent staff is assigned to Indiana, the following individuals should be contacted:

DENNIS, DR. WILLIAM C. - President, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.

This institution, a Quaker College, has six evacuee students whose arrival became a rather major community issue. Pertinent clippings are attached.

HOKE, FRED - President, State Welfare Commission

JOHNSON, THOMAS - Public Relations Director, Purdue University

Fred Bays says that Johnson is a major factor in the development of policy at Purdue, and that he is in very close touch with public opinion throughout the state.

MORGAN, DE WITT S. - Superintendent of Schools, Indianapolis

Mr. Morgan is regarded as a community leader and has a fine reputation in his profession throughout the country. He is familiar with the Relocation Program, and can be counted on to offer all possible cooperation.

WELLS, - President, Indiana University

President Wells has been contacted by telephone and should be interviewed as soon as possible.



PART IX - INTERNAL SECURITY

It is particularly interesting to note that when we arrived in Indianapolis, we found none of the Internal Security Agencies had heard anything whatever about anti-Relocation agitation in the press, in the Negro community, or in the labor movement. As a matter of fact, on the basis of the categorical statements by all four agencies, we at first suspected that we had gone to the wrong city.

LOPEZ, - Special Agent in Charge, F.B.I.

Mr. Lopez was out of town. His assistant and Acting Special Agent in Charge, Mr. Pettijohn, was interviewed. Mr. Pettijohn had no knowledge whatever of any anti-Relocation agitation. He indicated that there were from 40 to 50 Japanese in the State of Indiana, and said nothing to convey to us the idea that he felt that additional Japanese would be an internal security problem.

CROYDON, LT. - Naval Intelligence

Lt. Croydon was extremely interested in our mission, tremendously cooperative and very anxious to keep in touch with the Authority. He knew nothing of anti-Relocation agitation and said that the Japanese in Indiana, of whom there are a negligible number, have been no problem to Naval Intelligence.

McLAUGHLIN, LT. - Officer in Charge of G-2

Lt. McLaughlin was phenomenally uninformative.

RAY, COL. MARTIN H. - Plant Security Officer attached to Fifth Service Command.

Col. Ray was interested and skeptical and talked a good deal about his son who was killed in the Pacific. He questioned whether or not there had been adequate clearance with the War Department and several times asked whether or not the Military determined local WRA policy. He strongly urged consultation with Major General Fred Wallace, Commanding the Fifth Service Command. He was cordial.



## PART X - INDIANA COMMITTEE FOR VICTORY

We attended a meeting of the Executive Committee of an organization known as the Indiana Committee for Victory. The meeting was given over to a discussion of the problems of Japanese relocation. The Committee is a very broad community group whose supposed concern is with post-war international relationships. The members of the Executive Committee who were present were unanimous in their interest in and support of the Relocation Program, and it is felt that any one of them might appropriately be called upon for assistance in the future. It should be noted, however, that several members of this group heard Hallet Aberd bitterly attack the Relocation Program (he told the Community Forum that it would be criminal folly to release Japanese of whatever citizenship for industrial employment) and as a consequence the enthusiasm of some of them may have diminished. The following individuals were in attendance:

W. Rowland Allen, Personnel Director, L. S. Ayres and Company. Active in civic affairs. (Harvard)  
Julius Birge, Editor, Legal Department, Bobbs-Merrill Co. (Harvard)  
Cleo Blackburn, Director of Flanner House (Negro leader).  
Dr. A. C. Corcoran, Associated with Dr. Irvine H. Page in research in the Lilly Clinic.  
Edgar Evans, President, Acme-Evans Milling Co., Trustee, Wabash College.  
Norman Isaacs, Managing Editor, Indianapolis Times.  
Charles J. Lynn, Vice-President, Eli Lilly and Company.  
DeWitt S. Morgan, Superintendent of Indianapolis Public Schools.  
John K. Ruckelshaus, Lawyer  
Stanley Shipnes, Local Manager for Sears-Roebuck  
John G. Coulter, Executive-Secretary of the Indiana Committee for Victory, 918 Fletcher Trust Building, Indianapolis.  
Rabbi Goldblatt  
A. A. W. Grist (British)  
Dr. Kenneth Kohlstaedt  
Dr. Irvine Page



## PART XI - RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

Dr. Howard Baumgartel, Secretary of the Indianapolis Church Federation, called a meeting which was attended by fourteen or fifteen Protestant leaders, including a substantial representation of the Disciples of Christ Church (the international headquarters of which is in Indianapolis).

At this meeting we discussed in a good deal of detail the background of the Relocation Program and the reasons for proceeding inconspicuously and with extreme caution. It was interesting to observe that apparently none of the individuals present (including some of the leading ministers and church women of the community, as well as several people who have devoted all of their time for some months to the Relocation Program) had had any inkling whatever of opposition to the Relocation Program in Indiana.

We stressed that for the time being the Government was committed to withholding action on offers of employment from the State, and therefore no very general contacts should be made with employers. It was emphasized that if and when it becomes appropriate to proceed in Indiana the representative of the Authority who is given responsibility for the community will need to work very closely and rely in a very large degree on the active cooperation of the church groups. For the time being, however, it seems clear that the church leaders can best serve the Relocation Program by counselling their constituents to avoid any general discussion of the problem.

It seemed obvious that the individuals who were present agreed with this general philosophy and with these proposals for the immediate future. When additional activity is undertaken in Indianapolis, Dr. Baumgartel will be very helpful. It is suggested that contact with the Protestant group be made through his office.

The Friends have a strong movement in Indiana. It is somewhat dissimilar to the Quaker communities in the East in that here the Friends operate with a paid pastor. The FOR (which is greatly interested in Flanner House - see Cleo Blackburn) has been interested and apparently, has a rather substantial membership. It seems probable that if the thing is handled properly, it will be possible to work out an arrangement whereby the FOR, the Friends, the Church Federation group, the Jews and the Catholics can come together in some sort of very informal collaboration on the Relocation Program. It seems very clear that in view of the American Legion and trade union situation in the community, it would be highly desirable to submerge the FOR in a broader group and certainly there is no question but that the FOR people are going to be very active.



It is further suggested that in Indianapolis it would be wise to work through a rather informal and loosely knit group of individuals rather than through a formally organized and publicized committee. These individuals might do all the things committees do (meet, discuss, take action, recommend, petition, etc.), but as individuals they would be a much less substantial target than as a formally appointed committee. In general, Dr. Baumgartel and the Federation leaders with whom we breakfasted agreed on this point.

There seems to be no question but that there is an abundance of excellent, very sincere and potentially useful manpower in church groups, and we will be repaid for our efforts, if we take sufficient pains to work out a technique through which all of the groups can come together to work on this problem which is of such general interest to each of them.

BAUMGARTEL, DR. H. J. - Secretary, Church Federation

COTE, ALVIN T. - Insurance Man and probably the leading Friend

FEURELICHT, RABBI

LYTLE, - Good Will Industries

RITTER, - Catholic Bishop

SEIDNER, MERLE - operates an advertising agency and teaches a tremendous Sunday School class (apparently utilizing the most modern and scientific merchandising techniques).



PART XII - AGRICULTURE

ABBOT, HORACE - County Agent

Mr. Abbot was unable to keep one appointment and we were unable to make another. Bill Book is going to discuss the Relocation Program with him. He is apparently very well informed about the local situation and should be seen at the earliest opportunity.

BRANDON, - Vice President, Indiana Farm Bureau

The Farm Bureau in Indiana is obviously highly political. Mr. Brandon is, by reason of his political position, somewhat more sympathetic than are certain other leaders in the Bureau. About all that we could get out of him, however, were the following three points:

- (a) It takes years to train a dairy man.
- (b) The subject of Relocation is extremely interesting.
- (c) We should certainly talk to Mr. Schenck.

HULL, - Manager, Farm Bureau Manufacturing Enterprises

Many regard him as the most liberal leader of the Bureau.

HUFFMAN, ROY - Director of Extension, Purdue.

REED, HARRY J. - Dean of Agriculture, Purdue.

SCHENCK, HASSELL

Mr. Schenck should be dealt with with extreme care. He is by no means committed to the support of the Relocation Program. He tends to think and talk in slogans and his slogans are manufactured on a highly political basis. He does a great deal of talking about the infamy of taking farm boys off to war and leaving struggling widows with the responsibility of feeding the world. He explains that there will be a natural resentment on the part of the good people of Indiana when Japs come in to take the places of boys who are out dying for Democracy. However, he also says that there is not enough objective evidence to justify the Authority in turning down farmers who wish to employ evacuees. He says very definitely that evacuees should be released where farmers take the initiative in making application for them. He indicates that the greatest labor problem in the state (perhaps aside from certain seasonal labor needs) is year around labor on large farms.

He says that he will be glad to be consulted about specific local problems.

At the conclusion of the conversation, he picked up a copy of the Farm Bureau magazine and he said: "I can't tell you how the people



of the state will react, but I can tell you that this publication will not attack your Program".

VOGLER, MARSHALL - Chairman of the State War Board and Director of AAA.

Mr. Vogler has discussed Relocation with us on two or three occasions, has consulted a number of the members of his staff and took us to the headquarters of the State Democratic Committee for a conference with Fred Bays, the State Chairman.

Mr. Vogler is by no means the most astute, able or confidence-inspiring War Board Chairman we have seen. However, he has a very high regard for Mr. Myer and seems to be genuinely interested in helping us in any way that he can. He at first had the feeling that rather large scale placements were possible in Indiana agriculture. After discussing the thing with Mr. Bays (whose ideas he seems to mirror to a remarkable degree) he cooled off rather considerably. He has agreed, however, to contact his County War Board Chairman wherever we are in need of information or advice on a local situation. It is suggested that all agricultural offers of employment be checked with Mr. Vogler. It may be that as the Program proceeds in Indiana some better method of clearing offers of this type will emerge. For the moment, however, the War Boards seem to be the best source of guidance and cooperation. If this procedure is not to be followed, Mr. Vogler should immediately be advised of the policy that will obtain with reference to agricultural offers.

Mr. Vogler suggests that there are a number of large intensive farming operations in the state in which Japanese might immediately be employed to the very great advantage of the Agricultural War Program, and with little or no danger of community resentment. There are a number of cases in the state where Japs are now being employed with a high degree of community acceptance (Columbia City poultry establishment, for example). There are other cases where the mere suggestion that Japanese might be brought in has created a serious problem. That has been true at Elkhart, where a clergyman was particularly maladroit in creating a community issue and similar situations have developed on a lesser scale elsewhere in the state.

There is a very large celery grower near Fort Wayne, and near Bourbon there is an extensive potato and lettuce operation. It seems possible that the employment of evacuees might be a boon in both these situations. Evacuees might also be considered for employment in the extensive hot house (tomatoes) and truck garden operations in the Indianapolis area.



PART XIII - CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is no question but that community acceptance in Indianapolis has been threatened to the point of destruction by the several factors described herein. The problems which have developed have, in almost every case, been the outgrowth of perfectly innocuous publicity. No one of these problems would be sufficient in itself to jeopardize community acceptance. However, resolutions, letters to the editor, editorials and other similar negative responses develop a unique momentum which it is very difficult to offset or compensate for. There is at this moment in Indianapolis what might almost be described as an anti-Relocation movement which is independent of any individual, institution, agency or organization. As long as this movement continues to develop or until the incidence of anti-Relocation pressures decrease, it would certainly be very hazardous, if not fatal, to release evacuees to this community.

The labor unions have almost beyond doubt changed their position and it seems certain that they will either support or at least passively accept the relocation in Indiana of a small number of evacuees, providing the Authority fulfills its commitment to clear each placement in an organized establishment with the union concerned.

The public officials who have been consulted are more than sympathetic. The Republican Speaker of the Assembly strongly urges that placements be made forthwith without consideration for the anti-Relocation agitation.

The position of the newspapers is somewhat ambiguous. One of them (the Star) probably will support the Program. One of them (the News) probably will attack it with restraint, and the third (the Times) is an unknown quantity.

Probably the most difficult problem is that of the Negro community. There is no question but that the most serious imaginable consequences would result from the development of anti-Relocation agitation among the Negroes. This is now threatened.

The business men by and large are inclined to feel that relocation of evacuees in Indianapolis is just too hot a potato to handle. There are, however, certain industrial employers who will probably be willing to go ahead and experiment with a few placements. There are undoubtedly a substantial number of immediate offers of employment for domestic and service employees.



It is very difficult to predict the trends in this kind of situation. Most of the anti-Relocation agitation has been dealt with in such a manner that the people who were responsible for it have either definitely changed their position or have at least been neutralized. Yet, getting to the individuals who started the agitation is not necessarily the same thing as revising the trend of public opinion.

It seems wise to release no evacuees for employment in Indiana for the next thirty days. In this length of time several things will have occurred: the flow of letters of protest to the papers will either have accelerated or substantially diminished; the Legislature will have adjourned (probably without having passed the Mable Lowe resolution); the revised position of organized labor will be crystallized; and hitherto undetected opponents of Relocation will have had an opportunity to show their hands; whatever is brewing in the Negro community will probably have emerged.

There is a very good possibility that at the end of thirty days further investigation will reveal that if sufficient care is taken to avoid publicity and if the proper individuals in Labor, the American Legion, Government and Business are consulted, one to two hundred placements can be made in Marion County easily and without significant risk. However, no placements should be made without such a lapse of time and without further investigation on the ground at the end of the indicated period.

We have told a number of leaders in the community that the Authority would contemplate no placements in Indiana during the next thirty days.



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Howard B. Coughran, U.S. District Attorney

A very pleasant southern gentleman who is perfectly willing to give his time to a WRA representative and who presents an unbiased picture of what the WRA Program would mean in Indianapolis. He advised me that he, as an individual, had no racial prejudice, but that he lives in a community made up of ordinary people a number of whom are "Professional Patriots", who, for \$10.00 a head, would at a moment's notice start an organization against anything and that the bringing of persons of Japanese ancestry to Indianapolis might cause such patriots (he disagrees with their philosophy) an opportunity for soap box oratory which would be quite undesirable.

He tends to minimize the negro question and suggested several people of prominence who could speak for them, namely F.B. Ransom, Attorney, and Robert Lee Brokenburr, a member of the State Senate, and a local attorney. He, however, advised strongly against dignifying the problem by discussing with the "little firebrand leaders close to the large negro population" the question of Japanese American being acceptable in the community. He said the negroes were powerful and could decide any election and knew it.

Msgr. Dugan, Head of the Chancery Office and Spokesman for Bishop Ritter

Father Dugan knew very little about the WRA Program and knew nothing of any community feeling against it. He is opposed to any form of discrimination and just recently, on the instructions of Bishop Ritter, has opened all of the Catholic Schools to negroes and mentioned that each graduating class has some negro members.

He is willing to do what he can to help the program and volunteered to ask the local K.C. organization to help in housing.

He also volunteered to employ several persons in Catholic Hospitals or Schools.

A very good contact if the program ever starts in Indianapolis.

The Bishop was not available at the time of my visit but Father Dugan assured me that he could speak authoritatively for him and reflected his views.

J.M. Lopez, Agent in Charge, F.B.I.

Mr. Lopez is a young man with a decided southern accent who was well informed of the WRA Program and was very pleasant and cooperative.

He expressed a definite opinion that community feeling is not in favor of or in sympathy with persons of Japanese ancestry working in Indianapolis. He cited several cases to explain his reason for such an opinion, principally the Earlham College, Richmond, Ind., 65 miles from Indianapolis, incident where 5 students of Japanese ancestry were enrolled which resulted in mass meetings and bad publicity. Three of these persons came to Indianapolis by car and were picked up by the police within 30 minutes, after many complaints were received.

Some chick sexers, who are employed farther north in the state, visited town and many townspeople, including police officers, made such remarks as "What in hell are Japs doing here? Get them out." One Japanese man entered a barber shop for a haircut. The barber told him he could not



J.M.Lopez, Cont.

serve him, whereupon the Japanese person got up from the chair, politely smiled and bowed and said "So sorry." This reported incident caused a great deal of discussion.

Mr. Lopez made his position clear. He is in favor of our program in general and said the Japanese would be afforded every protection by the law enforcing agencies, but "Indianapolis is made up of good solid Americans who hate the Axis and though they are people like you and I they are not so well informed and the appearance of Japanese on our streets would cause my phones to ring continuously and might create an incident."

Clifford F. Becker, Chief of Police

Mr. Becker is quite an agreeable and cultured person, very cooperative but knew practically nothing about our program. He is a new man, recently appointed, and occupies a large, well furnished office with numerous inter-communicating systems, and altho he was quite busy with phone calls and callers, he gave me over an hour's interview. His first reaction was that he thought that Japanese should be treated as any other persons and that there would not be any difficulty in their acceptance by the community. He asked if he might invite one of his chief assistants to our conference, explaining that he was an old timer, formerly in charge of the Industrial Detail. I, of course, assented and Mr. E.D. Rouls, Deputy Inspector, was called in.

After discussing our program thoroughly both men were, if anything, enthusiastic. They asked a lot of questions and in turn gave a good bit of information. They spoke of the Negro problem in Indianapolis and frankly stated it was quite acute but passed it off with a shrug and a statement that they were gaining ground in their demands and intimated that the situation was not alarming. They said a number of Japanese being accepted in jobs not open to Negroes their their (Japanese) acceptance and admittance to regular Caucasian facilities might stir things up a bit but again "so what". They both frankly stated that a Japanese was not recognizable as such and besides the Negro element might never know they were here. At my suggestion that I might talk to some of the Negro leaders more closely connected with the large Negro population, Rouls immediately advised against it. His attitude was quite similar to that of Mr. Coughran, District Attorney, in that regard. Rouls knew of the Richmond incident only vaguely, having read something about it in the paper and passed it off lightly.

The attitude of both these men was exactly opposite to that of Mr. Lopez, F.B.I. They said "Go ahead and send in a few but do it quietly." Mr. Becker said he felt a definite responsibility to the Federal Government to help make this program successful in view of the effect it will have on our post-war plans.

Robert Lee Brokenburr, Member of State Senate, Local Bar Association, American Bar Association (Negro)

Mr. Brokenburr occupies a unique position in Indianapolis politics in that he is the first man of his race to be elected to the State Legislature. The Negro population represents a sizeable vote which can influence any election and is regarded as such by members of both parties. He is also reputed to have the confidence of the colored people. He knew practically nothing of the WRA Program and listened attentively while it was explained, after which he said that he and all members of his race had a civic duty to make the program a success, especially in view of



Robert Lee Brokenburr, Cont.

the serious effect the mishandling of the Japanese problem might have on our post-war plans and peace negotiations. He said "If our boys are willing to fight and die for Democracy, let's live for it". He offered to do anything in his power to help and his attitude seemed to be that of a sincere civic minded citizen rather than that of a politician. He will be a valuable contact if needed.

Howard J. Baumgartel, Exec.Secy., Church Federation of Indianapolis.

Dr. Baumgartel is intensely interested in the relocation of Japanese and is widely acquainted among the church people of Indianapolis. As he explained it, the love of Christ was the motivating influence behind all of his and his friends' actions in this regard. He had just received a letter from Mr. Robert W. Frase regarding one Alice Miyazawa stating that until Mr. Shirrell approved the case the WRA was reluctant to O.K. indefinite leave for employment in Indianapolis. He seemed rather embarrassed when he informed me that Alice M. was arriving tonight and explained that Mrs. Baumgartel had more information about the matter than he. He asked if I would please talk with her. He advised that the Friends Work Camp (operated thru Flanner House) would be available to Japanese on a temporary basis until they were able to locate suitable housing. Also that the UMCA could be made available.

Mrs. Baumgartel

The most active member of the family, a very pleasant woman, active in church circles, and who has made many contacts about our relocation program.

(The story about Alice M.) Alice wrote the YWCA last fall from Minidoka and said she wanted to relocate here. She attended college in Seattle (2 years) and gave very fine references which were checked and the matter turned over to Mrs. Baumgartel who has been in communication with her. Recently she wired Mrs. Baumgartel that Washington turned down her leave due to the community feeling in Indianapolis and asked that Mrs. Baumgartel appeal. Mr. Baumgartel then wired Washington and they thought that that action resulted in leave clearance. She arrived in Chicago last Friday, 3-19, and stopped at the Friends Hostle. She has a friend (Nesei) at Fort Harrison, 10 miles from Indianapolis, and Mrs. Baumgartel is now worried about the romance. She said that the soldier boy was probably the reason for her trip and that the girl told her she did not care to work as a domestic. Mrs. Baumgartel thinks she might be able to place her at the YWCA.

This situation progressed too far without administrative handling from our office.

Mrs. Baumgartel is an excellent connection and can give our program valuable assistance. However, we must guide her, which she is perfectly willing to accept.

Bill Reath, Assistant Manager, Claypool Hotel

Mr. Reath more nearly represents the average citizen than anyone else interviewed.

He never heard of the Japanese problem as we know it and is a confirmed Hoosier. He hates the Japanese people as a whole and confines his hatred



Bill Reath, Cont.

of the Caucasian Axis partners to Hitler and Mussolini. He employs a Filipino cook in the coffee shop and said he only had 4 or 5 inquiries about him. (I was sure he was either Chinese or Japanese). He would admit Japanese as guests at the hotel and gave as his reason the fact that he could not tell whether they were Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Filipino or Hawaiian and that the public relations policy of the hotel would not permit an inquiry. Just recently he had a Japanese girl registered. She was just passing thru. She took a car from the hotel to the airport and before she got a plane someone had phoned the FBI and she was detained temporarily. He described the people of Indiana as Hoosiers who resent anyone who is not a Caucasian acceptable to the Hoosiers.

F. B. Ransom, Attorney (Negro) (See H.B. Coughran)

Unable to contact Mr. Ransom.

R.L. Gehrt, Sales Manager, Herf Jones Co., Mfg. Jewelers.

Mr. Gehrt wrote Mr. Shirrell re a domestic. The firm he is with does a national business and he is one of the good solid substantial citizens of Indianapolis. Our program was explained in detail to him and he claims that among his acquaintances there is no question of acceptance of Japanese people. His offer of employment was fairly attractive and he was told we would recommend its acceptance.

V.W. Ascher, Member of firm of Herg Jones Co.

Attitude same as Mr. Gehrt's. He knew something about the WRA Program and gave the name of a large cannery operator in South Bend who would employ 5 couples. This was relayed to Mr. Keno in So. Bend.

Mrs. Howard E. Nyhart, 230 Wellington Drive

Mrs. Nyhart wrote a long letter to Chicago office re the many calls she has received asking for Japanese domestic help. She has a girl of Japanese ancestry whom she hired last summer at the request of her former employer in Hollywood, Cal. Mrs. Nyhart lives in a rather fashionable suburb of Indianapolis and, because her girl is so well thought of, she has been besieged with inquiries. Mr. Nyhart is in the insurance business and both he and his wife are quite well informed on the entire Japanese question. Her girl is married to a soldier and she has become quite interested in the Japanese American soldiers (there are several hundred) at both Fort Benjamin Harrison and Camp Atterbury, near Indianapolis. A large number of the soldiers have wives or sweethearts in relocation centers who would like to relocate in this area. Captain Elmer Sherwood is Public Relations Officer at Fort Harrison and is a former paid staff member on the American Legion Magazine. He has arranged for a number of wives to come to the camp where they are employed as domestics. The standard rate of pay seems to be \$5.00 per week with lots of work (not verified) and the girls complain bitterly, not to the officers' wives for whom they work, but to their friends in Indianapolis. They are afraid to say much at the camp for fear of repercussions. It has been intimated they might be returned to a relocation center. Capt. Sherwood is reported to have said that without his permission none of the soldiers' wives can get leave. This story is reported as it was told and no verification was attempted. However, there may be a source of labor here which would be well received in Indianapolis and it should be explored further.



Mrs. Nyhart, Cont.

Mrs. Nyhart has contacted a number of people who would be willing to give a girl, employed elsewhere, a private room and bath and breakfast if she would stay with the children evenings. This would be in homes employing daytime domestics and would help in the housing problem if professional and clerical employees are placed here.

Mr. Nyhart's business connections and Mrs. Nyhart's social acquaintances represent a large number of the better families in Indianapolis. The contact is very good and careful placement of a few couples in domestic service might help a great deal towards easing community feeling. (Friend of Rich Fairbanks, owner of Indianapolis News.)

Mrs. Clem Nafe, 5060 N. Meridian, wife of Clem Nafe, M.D., leading surgeon

Mrs. Nafe is very anxious to employ a couple - \$100, room and board. Permanent. Dr. Nafe will fly to camp to make selection.

Mrs. Allen Wilkinson,

Widow, elderly and very wealthy. Wants a man not subject to draft to act as chauffeur (uniform). She will furnish 4 room apartment, gas, water and light. Man maybring wife who could, without doubt, get employment. Salary \$75.00 month, plus. Permanent.

J.Marshall Vogler, Chairman, Indiana State U.S.D.A. War Board.

Very aptly described by Mr. Waller in his report. Mr. Vogler has become quite set in his conviction that the rural areas would not accept Japanese farmers. He is quite affable and agreeable but could offer no suggestions which would help our program. He is willing to help, but can't. He holds a big job and is under considerable pressure. He said we are doing a fine preparatory job for 1944.

Mr. Shufflebarger, Acting State Dir., U.S. Employment Service.

Mr. Shufflebarger is a rather quiet soft spoken man who is not inclined to snap statements. He was quite familiar with our program and related several stories which he had heard to illustrate his statement that, Japanese would not be acceptable. He told of Defense plant workers who had heard that Japanese were going to work in the plants. They said they would walk out if they came in. Also, the Richmond incident still bothers him. He claims that all of his knowledge comes from social contacts only and that the average Hoosier will say that he had nothing to do with the evacuation of Japanese from the California Coats and want no part of them now. He also said that Indiana did not have a shortage of year round farm labor, that there were seasonal shortages only, and qualified his remark by saying that the recent action of the Selective Service Board had balanced the farm labor problem. He was quite anxious to know if anyone else in the community had been seen and what they said. He was particularly interested in the Governor.

Mr. Shufflebarger promised to broach the subject of Japanese help if he was pressed because of an acute labor shortage in any field and advise us of the response.

A.A.Zinn, Vice-President, The State Life Insurance Co.

Mr. Zinn claims to know the Japanese thru his company's land holdings in California and is quite anxious to employ a domestic. When the



Mr. Zinn, Cont.

subject of a stenographer in his office (they employ about 200 clerks, etc.) was broached he reacted rather strongly. He said he was afraid the other staff members would object, but after some conversation volunteered to sound them out and promised to let us know. If we go ahead in Indianapolis, contacts like this will be helpful.

John J. Lange, Owner, Ros-Lange Carpet Co.

Mr. and Mrs. Lange both interested in program but only in employment of couple for their estate at north edge of town. Tentative order taken.

Major General Robert Tyndall, Mayor of Indianapolis.

General Tyndall is one of the staunch supporters of the Relocation Program in Indianapolis. He feels that it is the patriotic duty of all of the people to help the loyal Japanese, but realizes at the same time that there are differences of opinion and the other fellow's view point must be considered. While I was in his office he received a telephone call from a friend, a local garage man, who was complaining about the Selective Service actions towards his help. The General told him he had a fine mechanic for him of Japanese ancestry and put up one of the best arguments I have heard to convince the man that he should take Japanese help. He finished his conversation by telling his friend to think it over and let him know later. He then called Zionville, Ind., where he has a farm and spoke to the local real estate man, whom he knows well. He asked this man what would happen if he, the Mayor, hired some Japanese farm help and again put up a very fine argument. He asked his friend to talk it over with the cracker box orators in the local grocery store and stress the civic duty angle. I agreed with him that opinions such as the above would be helpful. He said he might also put a few Japanese on the city payroll working in the parks. He mentioned in both of his telephone conversations that the Japanese were no different than the Germans in the last war that we raised so much hell with and are now ashamed of ourselves because they were good loyal citizens.

I told the Mayor that I was going to recommend that we O.K. leave for several couples to work for some of the better families in Indianapolis and he thought it a very good plan to start that way and watch the results.

He is proud of his Police Department and assured me of their cooperation.

L. Roscoe Sincler, Owner, Dr. Pepper Bottling Works

Mr. Sincler is a southerner from Mississippi and has plants in Indianapolis, Muncie and Kokomo, Ind., and Louisville and Lexington, Ky. He is faced with a labor shortage and I believe is motivated more by his business interest than by patriotic duty, but would like to employ a couple, the woman to do domestic work and the man to do factory work in his Indianapolis plant. In fact, before I left, he was quite insistent that we put him in touch with someone and I tentatively took his order. There is a union (A.F. of L.) at the plant which he claims can be taken care of and that if a person pays dues ~~whether~~ <sup>when</sup> he is colored, white or Japanese, all is well. He will take care of union and reassured me on second call that there would be no trouble. We might try this placement as an experiment.



Dr. George N. Buckner, Chairman, Inter-Racial Committee, Church Federation

Dr. Buckner is very well informed regarding our policy and program. He has advised his people to go slow and claims that the principal reason for the one sided group of letters to the papers during the recent publicity was because, after interview with one of the editors, it was decided to let the matter drop. His people wanted to write in to balance the score.

Dr. Buckner is Editor of the World Call (45,000 paid circulation) and is publishing an article in this issue on the Japanese question. He will furnish our office with a copy.

I had been told that some of the colored ministers had protested to his committee but he claimed to have no knowledge of any resentment on the part of the Negroes towards our program. Dr. Buckner is a contact that should be kept alive. He can be quite helpful. He knows quite a bit about Homer Chaiullaux, of the Legion, and his "Red baiting" policy. He claims that Chaiullaux considers everyone who disagrees with him a Communist.

Roland Allen, Personnel Director, L.S.Ayres.

A social liberal of Indianapolis, a legionnaire, and the principal opponent of Chaiullaux. Mr. Allen was out of town during my visit to Indianapolis and should be interviewed later.

E.D.Rouls, Deputy Inspector of Police.

(See Clifford Beeker, Chief.)

Mr. Rouls claims that the C.I.O. is the prime mover in back of the Negro unrest in Indianapolis and that in our program we should use extreme care in dealing with any firms where they are active.



As near as I could determine, a large number of persons in Indianapolis are not only favorable towards the Relocation Program but will work enthusiastically for its success. They represent that group whose thinking would be reflected by Dr. Baumgartel, Dr. Buckner and Msgr. Dugan of the church groups. Many others, who are not church members but who represent a cross section of the wealth families of Indianapolis, are favorable and want to employ domestics but only because of the scarcity of that type of help. They are willing to employ Japanese in their homes, but are not at all definite as to whether or not they could employ them in their factories or offices. There is no question regarding the attitude of the local law enforcing agency. They are favorable and will help to stop rumors if they receive any complaints.

The Negro question is not at all certain. However, the balance of opinion is that this element is to be taken into consideration before any large scale move is decided upon and the entire problem should be explored further.

That part of the report reflecting unfavorably on the program must always be considered and until it is minimized to a negligible quantity it will prevent any intensive work towards relocation in Indianapolis.

In view of the very favorable feeling among certain groups, I recommend that a few carefully selected placements be made of couples with an occasional office placement and that the community reactions be observed. These placements can be handled from the Chicago office as it would be unwise to open an office in Indianapolis, thereby calling too much attention to our program at this time.

Quite a number of persons share my views that a slow infiltration plan will probably do a lot toward ultimate acceptance by the community as a whole of persons of Japanese ancestry and this, coupled with the acute labor shortage, may cause the Relocation Program in this community to be successful.



Roland Allen - L. S. Ayres - Personnel Director

Mr. Allen has a dynamic personality, is quite liberal in his social thinking and extremely interested in the Relocation Program. He is opposed to Homer Chaiullaux, the Americanization head of the Legion and has debated with him openly and very actively opposed him in Indianapolis. Mr. Allen was instrumental in stopping Mr. Chaiullaux request for a commission in the army on the grounds that Mr. Chaiullaux social thinking was so narrow that he did not have the necessary qualifications of an officer. Mr. Allen has in his possession many telegrams from such persons as Wendell Wilkie, Al Smith, a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., a confidential advisor of the President of the U. S., etc., specifically protesting against Homer Chaiullaux' stand on the War Fund Drive because it included Russian War Relief, and all of this material is available to this organization if we wish to use it. Homer Chaiullaux is not an elected officer although he receives a salary of several thousand dollars a year. He is appointed and active steps have been taken towards his removal which can be effected by the National Commander and the Executive Committee. He claims that Mr. Chaiullaux has many friends in the Legion but has been "a thorn in the side" of the organization because of his tendency to speak authoritatively for the organization in direct opposition to the principles for which it stands.

Mr. Allen has interviewed a Japanese girl, Alice M \_\_\_\_\_ and may put her on the payroll of L. S. Ayres tomorrow. L. S. Ayres is probably the leading department store in Indianapolis and such action would be very favorable toward the entire relocation program here. In other words, if L. S. Ayres takes any action it is usually a precedent which is followed by other business people in this locality.

Colonel Martin H. Ray - Security Officer in Charge of 3rd Security- 3-31-43  
District, Room 506 - Chamber of Commerce Bldg., - Lincoln 9679

Colonel Ray is a quiet, reserved individual, a very fine listener, who doesn't express himself freely. He knew quite a bit about the program, and was very much impressed with the President's letter and asked why it had not been given more publicity. He felt that if the President wanted this program to be carried through that, as an officer in the Army, it was his duty to assist. (Colonel Ray had a son killed in the Southern Pacific.) The Colonel made quite a point of the fact that General Fred C. Wallace, in charge 5th Service Command, Fort Hayes, Columbus, Ohio, was his superior officer and he necessarily must follow his instructions.

Colonel Ray is well acquainted with the Legion in Indianapolis and with the Legion's policy. He knows a lot about Mr. Chaiullaux, and has quite a contact at National Headquarters. If the Colonel were to voice his approval of the program opening it would help a great deal in formulating an active cooperative plan with local Legion Posts in sponsoring some phase of our program - probably housing.



Colonel Ray - Cont.

March 31, 1943

Colonel Ray telephoned Captain Sherwood, of Fort Benjamin Harrison, and asked what his experience had been with the Japanese women who were employed by officers' wives at camp. He did not tell me what Captain Sherwood had said, but apparently he must have spoken favorably because the Colonel mentioned one girl in particular who had worked out very well. He also said that there were very few such persons there now.

Contact should be maintained with Colonel Ray as he would be of considerable assistance in moulding local policy. He advised strongly that we should contact the Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Samuels - National Adjutant - American Legion

Mr. Samuels was quite well informed about the Relocation Program and, although he is not personally opposed to our activities, he called attention to Resolution #281 presented at the Kansas City Convention, September 20, 1942. We discussed our problems in detail and Mr. Samuels advised that the Legion was mandated by the resolution, which, according to the regulations, will stand as written unless modified by the Legion in convention or by action of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee which consists of representatives of every State in the Union, the 5 National Vice-Presidents of the Legion, the Commander and past Commanders - about 85 persons - will meet in Indianapolis next May. Any action to be taken towards modification of Resolution #281 might be made at that time.

Mr. Samuels said that the attitude of the National Organization would be passive unless it were necessary to follow the directive of the resolution if it was brought up by any individual Post or Department. He also made it quite clear that at any time action might be taken by the Americanization Department (Homer Chaiullaux). However, he had not heard mention of the question in the past several months and advised that it would be well to discuss the matter with Mr. Chaiullaux. He also understood that Mr. Waring, the National Commander, who is in North Africa at the present time, intends to take over the entire matter with Mr. Meyers. Mr. Waring is expected back the latter part of April. (His presence in North Africa is confidential.)

It is recommended that the procedure with the Legion be handled on the Washington level and that the necessary action be taken to induce the American Legion to so modify its resolution so that it contains some semblance of the principles of democracy which is outlined in the Preamble of its Constitution.

Mr. Shufflebarger, Acting Director, U. S. Employment Service

Mr. Shufflebarger was again contacted to determine the usual wage rate for farm labor. He advised that a single man is usually paid \$55 or \$60 a



March 31, 1943

Mr. Shufflebarger, Cont.

month - board and room included; and that a married man was paid the same rate but was furnished a house in which to live, some chickens, a pig, milk and some garden produce.

He reiterated his former statement that there was no shortage of couples for farm work at the present time.

Rev. Howard Lytle, Director, Goodwill Industries, 625 Fletcher,  
Market 9466

Rev. Lytle is quite interested in the program in connection with the work of the Goodwill Industries. He is planning to operate a small truck farm about 8 miles from Indianapolis (4 acres). The produce is marketed to clients of the Goodwill Industries or unemployables, as far as the general market is concerned. He would like to hire a couple to work the farm for him and I agreed to discuss the details of the place with him later.

Mrs. Howard Nyhart - (See Previous Report)

Mrs. Nyhart recently had Lilly Tojo of Heart Mountain, come to live with her. Lilly is a sister of Edna Miwa, who has been in her employ since about the time of the evacuation. Lilly has been interviewed by a Steel Casting Company of Indianapolis, and has a tentative offer of a job at the plant.

Both Mrs. Nyhart and Edna are quite well acquainted with some of the soldiers at Fort Benjamin Harrison and again brought up the matter of an officer, and the Japanese women domestics working at the Fort. Mrs. Nyhart says that she has heard stories of the harsh treatment afforded the girls at camp and that the standard rate of pay is \$5.00 a week. A former maid of this officer, who has a rather large house, complained bitterly about the treatment she received and the amount of work she had to do for the family.

While I was at Nyhart's home a Private telephoned. He is leaving for a project on April 3rd, at 9 AM and plans to arrive there on April 4th at 6:20 AM. He intends to marry a Japanese girl, and bring her back with him. The reason for his call was to inquire as to whether or not it was necessary for her to work as a domestic at the camp. I talked with him on the telephone and he told me that he had originally arranged with Captain Sherwood to let her work out there for \$20.00 a month and he was wondering if leave would be granted to the girl. I told him that I was quite certain that she could get leave without any difficulty and also that it would probably be all right for her to take employment in Indianapolis if she wished. He asked if I thought that would get him in bad with Captain Sherwood.

Both Edna and Lilly assured me that there were 5 girls now working at camp. One is a secretary to a colonel and is very pleased with her job. The



Mrs. Nyhart, Cont.

March 31, 1943

secretary may be the girl referred to by Captain Sherwood in his telephone call to Colonel Ray. (See report of Colonel Ray.)

Mrs. Henry Steeg, 3855 Washington Blvd., Humboldt 4681

April 1, 1943

Mrs. Steeg formerly employed a Japanese girl who recently married a soldier from Fort Benjamin Harrison and has taken an apartment in town. She is quite desirous of getting someone else, and is perfectly willing to sponsor a girl who wishes to come to this locality. She will furnish a downstairs private room and bath, which is the guest room in the house as quarters, together with means and some clothing and pay from \$18.00 up depending on the ability of the girl. She claims to be the first employer of Japanese help within the city limits of Indianapolis. I told her that we would keep her in mind in the event that anyone wished to come to Indianapolis under that arrangement.

Bill Book, Chamber of Commerce

I was unable to contact Mr. Book on two calls and today he is out of the city. An interview with him at this time is advisable.

Mr. Frank McLaughlin, U. S. Commissioner of Conciliation and Associate of Mr. Owen Summers, Jr.

Mr. McLaughlin is with the U. S. Department of Labor and acts as a conciliator in labor disputes in this area. He is quite familiar and on friendly terms with all of the local union leaders. He was entirely unfamiliar with our program but can now be put down on the favorable side. He is willing to give us any assistance possible if it is decided to actively canvass employers and his knowledge of the combined union and employer picture in Indianapolis will be quite helpful.

Both Mr. McLaughlin and Mr. Summers are interested in employing twin sister of Alice M. who is now with Mrs. Baumgartel. He is going to talk with Alice and he was assured that this office would do everything to expedite leave clearance if Edna and Edith were interested in accepting his and Mr. Summers' offers.

Mr. Becker, Chief of Police, Indianapolis.

Mr. Becker continues to be quite favorably disposed towards our program. He advised me that Mr. Lopez, agent in charge, F.B.I. is leaving tomorrow for Porto Rico and will be replaced. The new man should be contacted.



April 2, 1943

I attended a breakfast meeting called by Dr. Baumgartel, Dr. Buckner and Mr. Palmer. The following people were in attendance: Marian Sanders, A.F.S.C. Work Camp, 1138 Fayette; Pres. I. J. Good, Indiana Central College; Mrs. C. K. Calvert, 17 W. Hampton Drive, First Friends Church; Mrs. Howard E. Nyhart, 290 Wellington Drive; Mrs. Royal McClain, Chairman Indianapolis Race Relocations Committee Council of Church Women; Cleo Blackburn, Planner House; Mrs. H. J. Baumgartel, 127 E. 33rd; Eugene C. Foster, First Baptist Church Indianapolis Foundation; Hugh Mencer, Hume Building; Herbert Hoffman, First Friends Church; Joseph K. Sheppard, 1933 E. Riverside Drive, President Indianapolis C.I.O.; Dr. Baumgartel; Alvin T. Goat, 2451 Broadway, a friend; Dr. Blaine E. Kirkpatrick, 2448 N. Harding Street, Pastor Riverside Park Methodist Church; President Wm. G. Dennis, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana; Dr. Geo. H. Buckner, Chairman Race Relations Committee Church Federation, 222 Downey Ave.; Roland C. Allen, Personnel Director, L. S. Ayres; Dr. G. M. Palmer, Butler University; Mrs. Robert Dean, Board of Missions, Disciples Church; Mrs. Virgil Sly, President, Indianapolis Council of Church Women; Mrs. Lewis Kirkhoff, 815 Campbell Avenue; and Parker Jordan, General Secretary, Y.M.C.A.

William Dennis, President of Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, spoke in detail about the Richmond incident. In leading up to his subject he stressed the fact that the college had the moral and legal right to enroll Japanese American students but admitted that they knew they were fighting against an element which could not be prevailed upon by logic. He pointed out the present hate of the Japanese people in both lowly and high places and illustrated his remarks by telling the difference between merchants of China, who occupy a very high place in the esteem of the Chinese people, and the merchants of Japan, who are probably the exact opposite, being completely ruled by the military element, together with the fact that in our dealings with the Asiatic people we have found that the Chinese merchant is honorable while the Japanese is inclined to trickery and treachery. He mentioned the fact that we had many good legal reasons to go to war with Japan without the Pearl Harbor incident. While the other Axis powers conducted themselves so differently that a preponderance of hate against our enemies is directed towards the Japanese people as a whole, and against Hitler and Mussolini of our Caucasian enemies. He suggested to the group that they first get their people sympathetic with the relocation program. 2nd - To be certain that the political leaders will support the move. 3rd - If possible, get the support of the organizations constitutionally opposed to relocation, such as the American Legion and the D.A.R. 4th - The support of the press and lastly if, after we are able to marshal these forces and there is still opposition, to bring the fight out into the open.

Knowing the opposition which the Earlham College was up against, he very carefully selected the 8 students at Earlham College, after being certain that the student body would accept them. He obtained a certificate of acceptability from the Mayor of Richmond and he credits the entire



Breakfast Meeting, Cont.

April 2, 1943

campaign of protest against student relocation in Richmond to the fact that the whole thing was done about 60 days before election. A whispering campaign was started against the mayor. An organization, called the Junior American Mechanics, which he described as the dregs of the Ku Klux Klan, led by a deposed Republican, called the mass meeting which had such disastrous results. The mayor began to get squeamish and wanted to withdraw his support of the entire relocation movement. Against the advice of the Mayor, Mr. Dennis made a statement to the papers forcibly outlining the moral and civic responsibilities of the people to accept American citizens regardless of race or creed. Regardless of the opposition to the mayor in which the Japanese question came to the forefront, he was re-elected and since that time nothing more has been heard on the question.

Roland Allen, of L. S. Ayres, said that he felt that some business house must make a start and, with the complete backing of the management of his store, he planned to put on one or more Japanese persons.

As near as could be determined, the people attending the meeting were all in sympathy with the program. No opposition whatever was raised. Quite a number of questions were asked about the WRA regulations regarding leave policy which was explained to them. The group was cautioned to proceed as they have been doing and to avoid any publicity at this time. A suggestion was made that someone actively oppose the Legion policy regarding relocation. It was decided rather to do nothing in this regard.

Bill Book, Executive Vice-President Chamber of Commerce.

I was very cordially received by Mr. Book who informed me that he had heard a few favorable comments and nothing unfavorable against the program since Mr. Waller's visit to Indianapolis. He strongly urged that I see Mr. Wainwright, President Diamond Chain Company, Franklin 1311, and thoroughly endorsed the possible employment of a Japanese girl with the National Malleable Casting Company. He told me that if they decided to employ a girl we could be certain that they had very carefully cleared employee relationships, etc. Mr. Book also suggested contact with Horace Abbott, U.S.D.A. War Board, who has a committee on truck farming and Mr. Book explained there is a decided shortage of this type of help, that Mr. Abbott may be able to assist in some placements.

Mr. Book said that he would hire a Japanese girl in his office. He needs a stenographer and is perfectly willing to take one. I arranged to have Mrs. Nyhart bring Lilly Tojo to meet him. She may not have the occupational qualifications for the job, but will make a good impression. If he does not hire her we will get specifications from him which we should try to fill with a hand picked person.



Mrs. Nyhart (See Previous Report)

April 2, 1943

Mrs. Nyhart informed me this morning that when she took Lilly to one of the employment agencies she mentioned that Colonel Brown at Fort Benjamin Harrison had a Japanese secretary who worked out very well. The lady at the employment agency telephoned Colonel Brown who said, "how in the world did a Japanese girl ever get into this locality without Captain Sherwood's O.K.?" This, of course, did not make a favorable impression on the private agency in question, who then raised the question as to whether or not Lilly Tojo had been properly cleared.

I strongly recommend that Colonel Brown and Captain Sherwood be brought up to date on the latest W.R.A. regulations and suggest that it be done through his superiors at the Washington level. (See previous report about Captain Sherwood.)



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CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Hostetter, Agent in Charge, F.B.I.

Mr. Hostetter recently took over the Indianapolis office because of the transfer of Mr. Lopez to Puerto Rico. He suggested that we furnish him with the names, and other information necessary, of each evacuee granted leave to come to Indianapolis area. He reiterated, to some extent, what Mr. Lopez had said about complaints which would come to the office and he said that if he had this information in advance it would make the complete working arrangement between our offices more cooperative. I told him of the present instructions to the projects to furnish Relocation Offices with the names of all persons released for relocation in that particular area and that when this information was received I would supply him with copies.

He was quite courteous and seemed genuinely interested in cooperating.

Lt. Edwards, Officer in Charge, Naval Intelligence

I had several interviews with Lt. Edwards who is quite interested in our program and knows considerable about the number of people of Japanese ancestry who are located in Indiana. He has quite a bit of information about the Japanese farmers in the northern part of the state, particularly the farm operated by the Chicago restaurant owner.

Marie Kitazumi and her husband, Tad Kitazumi, came to Indianapolis on Sunday, May 2nd, and through the cooperation of Mrs. Nyhart were able to rent an apartment at 3209 N. Meridian. It developed, however, that five men employed in the office of Naval Intelligence are also living at that address. I talked the matter over with Lt. Edwards, who thought that it was a good plan to have them live there. He introduced me to all of the five men and assured me that they were gentlemen in every respect and that the arrangement would not at all interfere with their operations in this area. He was quite pleased that I discussed the plan with him before the final arrangements were made by Marie and her husband on the apartment.

American Legion

In a long distance call with Mr. Shirrell I was advised that thru a Mr. Kennedy, of the Washington office, he learned that Gen. Drain, Past National Commander of the Legion, and Watson Miller, Legion Adjutant, would attend the National Executive Meeting this month. He advised that Gen. Drain was particularly sold on our program and that both of these gentlemen would take care of our interests at the meeting. He suggested that, if possible, I contact them before the meeting.



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## KOKOMO, INDIANA

Chief of Police - A. C. Underwood

An old resident of this city, Mr. Underwood knows the community well. There are very few persons here who have any foreign characteristics. There is one Chinese family, well liked, a few Mexicans who were brought in by the tomato growers and who settled here and are accepted, and a small negro population. The Chief pointed out that the negroes were born and raised here, and many own their homes and are proportionately less trouble than the whites.

Mr. Underwood was interested in the WRA Program and thinks a few Japanese could be brought in without causing too much comment. However, he stated "I will get twenty or more calls the first time they walk down the main street". He also stated that he has noticed several empty houses near Kokomo, which were farm houses, whose occupants have left for more lucrative fields.

Captain of Police - Otto Bergman

He agreed with the Chief and does not anticipate trouble. Both of these persons should be notified of any action taken. Mr. Bergman, however, is not too favorable personally.

U.S.E.S. - Miss Robertson, Assistant Manager

Miss Robertson stated that this area has not been declared critical, although practically all physically sound employables are working. Many persons have left this area for Indianapolis, Gary, etc. for defense plant employment. She is not a resident here and was not very helpful on how evacuees may be received. She said she did not believe that any organized opposition would be encountered.

F.B.I. - Brent Crowley, Agent in Charge

Mr. Crowley works in Kokomo, Marion, Lafayette, Logansport and Peru, and lives at the Martin Hotel in Kokomo. He was quite interested in our survey of public sentiment, but being new to the territory he could contribute but little. He is not at all unfavorable.



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## KOKOMO, INDIANA

Mayor of Kokomo - Chas. B. Orr

Mr. Orr is a very meticulous, precise individual, quite gracious and easy to talk with. He is also the most unfavorably inclined person toward relocation that I have interviewed. He said he could not say a great deal about how Japanese would be received in the community as the question has never been discussed, but he himself is unalterably opposed to settlement in Kokomo of any foreign group. He has a brother, a farmer, who is in need of help, and who learned that it was intended to import Mexican labor. The brother does not want them. He made such statements as:

"Some people are so rich and so selfish that they would hire Japanese as domestics".

"What are we going to do when the war is over, and men must compete for jobs. The Japs would underbid and get them".

"This community is not the kind for relocation of Japanese, and we don't want them".

"I don't know what I could do to block the program, probably nothing. I don't know whether I would block it if I could".

"They can contribute nothing culturally nor economically to this community".

"This would be a good subject for discussion at our Civic Club".

He ended by saying "Maybe I'm wrong", and invited me to come and see him again. I'm quite sure he will discuss the program.

Kokomo Tribune - Morris Tull, Night Editor

Tull, who is a Past Commander of the local American Legion Post (#6), occupies the position of Associate Editor on the only paper in Kokomo. He is very objective and quite favor towards our program in general. He is the best friend we have in this community. He understands that we don't want any publicity now, and I believe can influence the Managing Editor, to whom he introduced me, to go along. Tull, along with several other persons interviewed, said the Legion was powerful in influence in Kokomo, and offered to arrange a meeting of as many of the Executive Committee for that night as he could get together and suggested that I talk with them. He pointed out that with the Legion on our side we could operate practically unopposed.



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CONFIDENTIALKOKOMO, INDIANAAmerican Legion, Executive Committee - Pete Frye, Post Commander

I had a very interesting talk with the boys. Frye is a power in the Post, elected by the rank and file, and certainly freely expressed himself against the Japanese as a race, elaborating at length on Corrigedor, Wake Island, Pearl Harbor, etc. We, myself and several members of the Committee, could not get him to divorce in his tirades, the Japanese as an enemy and evacuees that we are concerned with. I told him and others who were opposed, to think carefully when they next recited the Preamble to the Legion Constitution (which is recited at the beginning of each formal meeting), and decide if they could live up to the high ideals it expresses, and at the same time refuse to sponsor a group of citizens, who only want to earn a decent living in their community, because they were not Caucasians.

There was nothing personal in our long conference. It lasted several hours, and I was treated very fine by the members. I was invited to make their club house my headquarters whenever I was in Kokomo and was urged to return for another talk. The meeting was about equally divided pro and con, and I don't know, frankly, whether they will oppose relocation or not.

Chamber of Commerce - Mr. Bookser, Executive Secretary

Mr. Bookser occupies a position similar to Bill Book of Indianapolis. He runs the Chamber of Commerce and has a good grasp of local sentiment, etc. He is objective in his approach to the subject of relocation and felt that certain labor shortages might be met by our program. He was meeting that night with a representative group of farmers and the county agent, Mr. Strangland, to discuss labor shortages. He invited me to attend, but I could not due to a prior engagement with the American Legion. He furnished me with a list of business industries in the locality, and in all was quite helpful. I talked with him further the following A. M., and he told me that after quite a discussion at the meeting the previous evening it was unanimously decided that it would be dangerous to public unity to accept offers of Japanese help.

Kokomo Sanitary Pottery Co. - Mr. Zeamans, General Council  
Mr. Williams, General Manager

This plant, which covers about one square block, was almost completely destroyed by fire last Christmas Eve and is being rebuilt. It normally employs about 350 persons and will resume operations by June 15, 1943.



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## KOKOMO, INDIANA

## (Kokomo Sanitary Pottery Co. - Continued)

They are willing to employ evacuees at different jobs in the shops at wages varying from \$30.00 to \$75.00 per week. There is no union involved, and although housing is a problem, I believe the management could work out some plan that would be agreeable to us. They claim that any evacuees they took on would not displace either white or colored former employees, and that without imported help they will be in difficulty. They were told we would contact them later.

Kokomo - General - Recommendations

The city has a population of about 34,000 with some 100% war industries. It is in the center of a very good tomato growing section and has several canning factories. The town has practically no first generation foreign population (referred to locally as foreigners). There are a few people of Italian extraction, originally brought in by the glass industries, and a few Mexicans, imported as tomato pickers who "took root". Otherwise, the community is proudly referred to as 100% American. The negro population is small and well thought of, and is employed generally throughout business and industries with some working in service jobs and as domestics. I was told several times that the Klan originated here.

I feel that if we accept any orders at this time we will be a source of disturbance to community life, and on the basis of this survey recommend that the Kokomo area be marked as closed for relocation at the present.



CONFIDENTIAL

## KOKOMO, INDIANA

Shell American Petroleum Co. - Mr. Durham, Vice President

Mr. Durham learned that I had been in town and telephoned me long distance at Indianapolis. He wants to hire a couple, the woman to do cooking and house work, and the man to work around the yard, and is willing to pay \$125.00 to \$150.00 per month, and furnish 2 bedrooms with private bath besides meals.

I discussed with him the general situation in Kokomo, and suggested that he talk with Pete Frye, Commander of the local Legion Post, whom he knows quite well, and with Chas. B. Orr, the mayor. He readily agreed to do this, and told me after he had spoken with them that he would write me.

ETC:KF