hunted in Chicago by slave catchers. The pro-Democratic *Times* claimed the slavers hoped to nab the fugitives and collect reward money. Police arrested some of the slave hunters and took them before a police tribunal attended by angry blacks. The *Times'* hateful description of the African Americans involved and the account of their behavior illustrated the depths to which the political debate over slavery had descended:

"The room was darkened by a cloud of Africans, black, brown and molasses colored, with every possible degree of thickness in the lip, flatness in the nose, kink in the wool [hair], and projection in the muzzle. A platoon of policemen was stationed to keep these voracious blacks from swallowing the prisoners at a mouthful."[20]

The *Sentinel's* editor frequently printed jokes in the newspaper's "Wit and Wisdom" column that disparaged ethnic groups. Blacks took the heaviest hits. These satiric stories were written in what passed for the dialect of uneducated, child-like slaves and included base stereotyping. Such attempts at humor could be found in many American newspapers of the time. The repeated use of this kind of material certainly did nothing to enhance the reputation of African Americans among rural and small town Northern people who rarely, if ever, encountered blacks.

Reading a sampling from the *Sentinel's* "Wit and Wisdom," seen from a 21st century perspective, is uncomfortable and disturbing.

> "Say Pomp, you nigga, wha' you get dat new hat?"
> "Why, at de shop, ob course."
> "What am de prize of such an article as dat?"
> "I don't know nigga, I don't know, de shop keeper wasn't dar."[21]

Condescension towards blacks is evident in this comment:

> "A darkey's instructions for putting on a coat were: 'Fust de right arm, den de lef, and den gib one gentle conwulshun."[22]

This jab takes on a political overtone:

> Some men are standing near a Massachusetts voting station. A German wants to vote and is asked by an official, "How long have you been in the state?" The German answers, "About seven years." The official replies, "You can't vote." Nearby, two Negroes are talking. "Hello Sam. Is you gwine fer to vote today?" Sam replies, "I don't know, chile, I's only been heah free days." The other Negro responds, "Dat doesn't make a difa-bitterence, heah, just go right up and vote."[23]

"Say Pomp, you nigga, wha' you get dat new hat?"
"Why, at de shop, ob course."
"What am de prize of such an article as dat?"
"I don't know nigga, I don't know, de shop keeper wasn't dar."
—From the "Wit and Wisdom" column in *Sentinel* (Red Wing) July 23, 1859

Lucius Hubbard, editor of the Goodhure County *Republican* and future Minnesota governor

It is significant that jokes derogatory to African Americans and spoken in a white-developed black dialect persisted in American culture for at least a century. Such humor became a staple of the popular minstrel shows that toured the nation. Minstrels were white actors made up in "blackface" to portray African Americans. When on stage, they would tell jokes, sing and dance. Such shows continued to tour the nation's theaters, including stops in Red Wing, until the turn of the twentieth century. The advent of radio in the 1920s and 1930s brought the hit show "Amos and Andy" to listeners across the country. White comedians portrayed Amos and Andy, two doltish, laughable blacks. A 1950s television version of the still-popular show featured African American entertainers in the title roles.

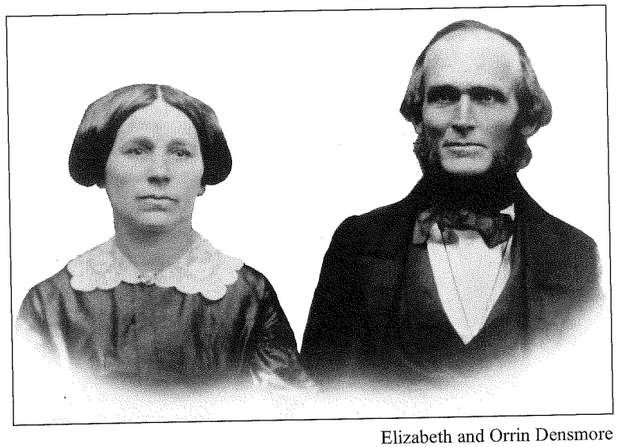
The powerful American film industry did little for the image of African Americans during the first half of the twentieth century. Some of the nation's most influential films continued the nineteenth century negative stereotyping of blacks. The country's first major film epic, D. W. Griffith's 1915 *The Birth of a Nation*, was a racist film that glorified the Ku Klux Klan and portrayed black Northern soldiers as rapacious thugs. The first sound motion picture, 1929's "talkie" *The Jazz Singer*, featured popular white entertainer Al Jolson wearing blackface and singing "Mammy." The enormously popular *Gone With the Wind* (1939) showed slaves as a comfortable lot, loyally working for their plantation owners.

✧

Lucius Hubbard used his Goodhue County *Republican* to attack Colvill and the Democratic Party's anti-Negro stance. In one example, Hubbard condemned a Red Wing speech by Democrat James Cavanaugh. The editor charged Cavanaugh with saying Republicans "had created a temple in which it had placed a nigger, to be worshipped as the god of all followers of…Republicans." Hubbard also poked fun at his rival's temper, noting that Colvill wanted to fight Rev. Matthew Sorin after that talented orator "unmercifully flayed" Colvill during a debate in Featherstone.[24]

In that same issue of the *Republican*, Hubbard charged Colvill with bragging to other Democrats at their state convention in St. Paul that "one thousand dollars" would carry Goodhue County for the Democrats in the upcoming election. He also accused Colvill of saying that the votes of immigrant

At first Elizabeth Densmore thought "unfavorably" about the idea of black domestic help, but her resolve then weakened. She agreed "to try one if you can find one you think suitable – a single woman, tidy and honest, accustomed to house work." In St. Louis, Daniel worked "to get the servant for the folks at home," but he wanted quality help and was being careful.[49]



Elizabeth and Orrin Densmore

"Mrs. Dr. Jones" became part of the Red Wing market for freed slaves in March 1864, offering to take a woman "if good." Mr. Hastings still hoped for a black couple: the woman as kitchen help, the man for work in the barn. Mrs. Smith was still waiting for her contraband. Orrin Sr., the Densmores' father, thought getting more blacks in Red Wing would make their transition to the North easier.[50]

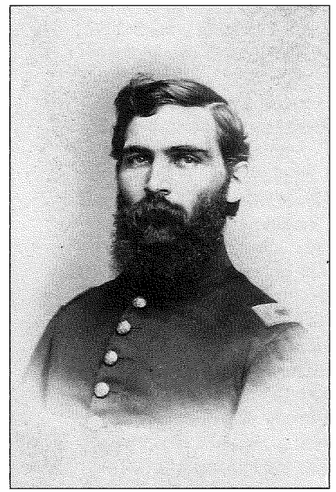
A friend of Daniel just missed catching a possible candidate for work in Red Wing. The slave's owner ran "the wench out of the county" the night before Densmore's associate was to bring her to St. Louis. Daniel's friend had a lead on another "selection" and would ship her from Hannibal.[51]

Meanwhile back in Red Wing, the Densmore family had hired a local Swedish woman for domestic duty. The Swede didn't like the possibility of having a former slave as a colleague and worried local people would see her and the African American as equals. The Swede did not want to be "set aside for the ebony article [a black servant]."[52]

Finally Daniel came through. On August 16, 1864, former slave Mary Prist arrived in Red Wing to begin work. The Densmores needed help since their Swedish servant had quit work the month before, taking a more lucrative field worker job. Prist, meanwhile, expressed disappointment that "so few colored people" lived in the city.[53]

Mary Prist understood the benefits of her new freedom. The Densmores offered to pay her $1.50 per day, but she held out for $2. They settled the dispute, and Orrin reported to Daniel, "Our contraband is doing well and seems contented to stay…She may prove coarse but fully meets our expectation and we hope will meet our wants."[54]

For the Densmore brothers, securing former slaves to work in Red Wing was just a sideline. They busily tried to train their



Daniel Densmore

new recruits in military methods. Federal army leadership, however, distrusted the fighting value of African Americans and often assigned these units construction duty. The Densmores reported that their regiments got second rate equipment. Ben's men received weapons badly in need of repair. Heavy labor and poor tents led to disease among Daniel's infantry. He wrote, "for a nigger, sickness is death." He also complained that officers too often served as supervisors of blacks on work details and became "nigger drivers."[55]

Both men came to admire the discipline of black soldiers and their potential for combat. In a letter to his father in Red Wing, Daniel praised the men of his unit. "I have not seen a more able-bodied regiment either white or black. They behave themselves very nicely too, and take to soldiering with a will. But I shall be very anxious to have them get a smell of blank cartridges before we see any secesh" [Southern secessionists].[56]

The Confederate government, angry that the North would employ African American soldiers, maintained that men in United States Colored units did not qualify for protection under the rules of war. Southern officials said that captured black troops *and* their white officers might possibly be executed. Such threats worried the Densmore family back in Red Wing. Both their sons could face execution if captured.[57]

On April 12, 1864, Confederate cavalrymen struck Ft. Pillow, a bluff-top position near Memphis manned by 557 soldiers, about half African Americans. The Southern force easily captured the fort and shot down a number of black and white soldiers who tried to surrender. Forty percent of the garrison (221) died. The losses outraged observers in the North who called the incident a massacre. Upon hearing of the disaster, Ben Densmore's 4th U.S.C. Heavy Artillery hurriedly strengthened their positions at Ft. Halleck, Kentucky. The men in Daniel's outfit adopted a new motto, "Remember Fort Pillow."[58]

The opportunity for the men of the 68th U.S.C. to prove themselves came on Palm Sunday, April 9, 1865, during the last battle of the Civil War. Blacks and whites from the 68th fought bravely in the assault on Ft. Blakely near Mobile, Alabama, taking losses of 12 killed and 88 wounded. Lt. Col. Daniel Densmore assumed leadership of the unit after the wounding of its commander.

The newspaper's editor clearly understood the significance of one visit by "the colored gentleman." The old soldier "full of patriotism" came to donate to the community Memorial Day activities. Taylor said he couldn't afford to give much and left ten cents with the newspaperman. Respecting Taylor's poverty, the editor wrote, "Nick Taylor has given more for the observance of Memorial day than many a man in Red Wing."[26]

That sensitive tribute to Taylor also included a special accolade, one that would not be given lightly by the editor. "The old man," he wrote, was "dark in color but white in purpose."

The *Republican* announced the death of Taylor in January 1907. Charles Carter Rollit conducted funeral ceremonies at Christ Episcopal Church and later gave special consideration to the life of this humble black man. Rollit's poetic eulogy declared that, in death, Nick Taylor achieved status equal to any man.

"...we [slaves] used to go to church and the minister would get up and say, 'Don't steal your mistress' turkeys or chickens. Always be good and you will never get into trouble.' Now do you think that is a good religion? He would never preach to us about the Bible... Of course I believe in God and I think that a 'nigger' can get into heaven just as soon as anyone else, don't you boss?"
—Nick Taylor, Burnside resident, and former slave on the religious teachings he received in Mississippi. Red Wing *Daily Republican*, April 4, 1901

"Nigger Nick"

He had fought with the noblest and best,
And his comrades they laid him to rest
With the flag that he loved on his breast.

And no soldier whate'er his degree,
Could receive greater honor than he,
Resting under the flag of the free.

When his soul to its Maker had fled,
O'er his dust was the ritual read,
The same as a king had lain dead.

Thus I mused, as I stood by the grave,
Of the man who had once been a slave.
This new land of ours – how it gave

This man a place – tho' the world's underling,
While the church did his requiem sing,
As the equal of chieftain or king.[27]

✧

"Sharecropping" in the South evolved into a system that materially assisted in the control of former slaves who became farmers. Without the resources to buy their own land, many blacks, and poor whites as well, became sharecroppers who, in reality, labored for wages. Landowners would provide the land, watch over the farming and sell the crops produced. The property owner then paid the sharecropper what he was owed per earlier agreement.

The growing fury among whites in the South toward Northern-enforced Reconstruction and its elevation of blacks to equal status with whites empowered hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan to flourish. An excerpt from a venomous newspaper editorial captures the passion:
[It is] a hell-born policy which has trampled the fairest and noblest of states of our great sisterhood beneath the unholy hoofs of African savages and shoulder-strapped [U.S. military officers] brigands — the policy which has given up millions of our free-born, high-souled brothers and sisters...to the rule of gibbering, louse-eaten, devil worshipping barbarians, from the jungles of Dahomey, and peripatetic buccaneers from Cape Cod..., Hell and Boston."
—Fairfield (So. Carolina) *Herald*, Nov. 29, 1872, in Andrist (ed.), *The Confident Years*, 66

"Attention Ku Klux—The members of Ku Klux Klan that intends (sic) to parade on the 4th of July are requested to meet at the Fireman's Hall, on Friday evening, July 2d. (sic)"
—Notice in the Goodhue County (Red Wing) *Republican*, July 1, 1869

Failures of the cotton crop in 1866 and 1867 brought near ruin to Southern planters, disaster to black sharecroppers and results such as those described below:
"Thousands of blacks were evicted from the plantations without pay as soon as crops had been harvested. Decades later, a freedwoman Ella Wilson would recall how her employer drove her family from a Louisiana plantation: 'We didn't get no half. We didn't git nothin'...We hadn't done nothin' to him. He just wanted all the crop for hisself, and he run us off. That's all."
—Eric Foner, *Reconstruction*, 142

The power in a sharecropping arrangement rested largely with the landowner. In many cases the poor, often illiterate sharecropper was at the mercy of a squire who could use all manner of duplicity to keep the worker in poverty. And when disputes arose, the sharecropper stood little chance against the landlord.

Segregation grew to become a way of life in the South. Blacks, unable to break through the color barrier, began building their own institutions, churches, social orders, and fraternal societies. Those attempting to change the culture of separation could expect to face repercussions, sometimes violent.

To enforce segregationist policies, vigilante groups, particularly the Ku Klux Klan—a secret society originally organized by ex-Confederates in 1866—relied upon intimidation, including murder, to terrorize blacks and their white sympathizers. Government officials trying to carry out Reconstruction policies also came under attack. The racist terror organizations also worked to suppress and eventually eliminate the right of blacks to vote. The 1868 Louisiana election alone resulted in the murder of between 800 and 1,000 people, blacks and whites—political opponents of the South's post-war order.[28]

Klan members saw themselves as perpetuating their notions of white supremacy in the post-Civil War South. Confederate Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest helped convert the Kluxers into a fighting force targeting blacks and white Republicans. Forrest had led the assault on Ft. Pillow (see Chapter 1) during which Federal black prisoners had been murdered. Red Wing's Goodhue County *Republican* called him "Ft. Pillow Forrest."[29]

Although Southern in origin, the Ku Klux Klan attracted some adherents in Minnesota, including Red Wing. An 1869 newspaper item "Attention Ku Klux" called local Klan members to meet at the Fireman's Hall to practice for their march in the city's Fourth of July parade. The paper reported in 1873 "the Ku Klux, under command of their celebrated chief fire-eater [unnamed] will exhibit their horsemanship..." in a city demonstration.[30]

Republican Party-leaning newspapers, including Red Wing's, worked to link their Democratic opponents with the Klan. Indeed, Southern Democrats saw the Civil War and the odious Reconstruction that followed as unjust aggression instigated by Northern "Black Republicans." Thus it came as no surprise the partisan Goodhue County *Republican* carried a story, "The Ku Klux," that told of Klan outrages in South Carolina and

contemporary of the manager said, "...had he thought of the electorate in Minnesota he [Daugherty] would have added Swedish and Norwegian strains to Harding's lineage..." Despite the last-minute racial furor, Americans made Warren G. Harding their 29th president.[3]

While falsely being branded a Negro presented problems to whites, actually being black in post-Great War America meant living with a very real fear. America's race riots in 1919 brought terror to African Americans in some 25 of the nation's cities (Chapter Five). Lynching increased, with 76 blacks killed, including one soldier who was executed because he wore his uniform in public. Minnesotans got a taste of vigilante justice in July 1920 when a Duluth mob forcibly took three black circus workers from jail and hanged them.[4]

A leading African American poet composed a telling indictment of the American judicial system with these words:
That justice is a blind goddess
Is a thing to which we blacks are wise.
Her bandage hides two festering sores
That once perhaps were eyes.
—Langston Hughes, 1923

African Americans had hoped that the peace brought by the end of world war in 1918 might translate to better times for them at home. The nation's black populace had enthusiastically joined the war effort by enlisting in the American military and working in defense plants. But their status had changed little, as the frightful events of 1919 proved.

Blacks would continue to face racial discrimination and violence in the 1920s, yet the nation's intolerance would make a significant change in their focus. Americans found more people to hate.

✧

America, despite establishing a place as an international economic and military power during the Great War, looked nervously at war-ravaged Europe in 1919 and 1920. War greatly weakened the United States' principal allies, Great Britain and France. Communists had taken power in Russia, and the "Reds" contrived to spread their vision of a new world order around the globe. Meanwhile, potential immigrants looked hopefully at the United States, longing for the chance to move there.

Foreigners arriving in America did not always find a welcoming nation. Many newcomers came from eastern and southern Europe and were Catholic, a group that had historically suffered from discrimination in the United States. Jews, particularly from Russia and Poland, came in large numbers and met with suspicion. Americans also presumed that political radicals and communists were among the new arrivals.

Federal and local authorities conducted a massive roundup of alien radicals—socialists, communists and other perceived

extremist groups—during the "Red Scare" of 1919-20. Some radicals, along with a smaller number of American citizens caught in the raids, were imprisoned and later deported. Congress, fearing the arrival of more unwanted foreigners, passed the Quota Law of 1921. Later, the National Origin Act of 1924 reduced further migration to America. In addition to limiting the immigration of unwanted Europeans, the 1924 law excluded all east Asians.[5] Chinese had already been barred.

To the mind of the American nativist, communists, socialists, Jews and Catholics threatened to overrun the United States, a country made great by adhering to the principles of its founding Northern European Protestant and Puritan fathers. Making matters worse in the view of Northern nativists, the Great Migration of African Americans during the Great War and its aftermath brought blacks surging into the cities of the North and Midwest. For decades these African Americans had lived in the rural South, largely out of the Northern view. Now blacks joined with European immigrants in flooding the nation's great urban centers and their traditional white job markets.

Periodically in the American past, fears of ethnic and religious minorities had produced nativist hate groups. Catholic immigration in the 1830s and 1840s resulted in secret societies such as the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, dedicated to resist the newcomers. In 1845, Philadelphia street battles among Protestants and Catholics left 30 dead. The American Party, nicknamed the "Know-Nothings," worked to ban Catholics from holding political office, and, for a short time in the 1850s, became America's second largest political organization. Later, the economic depression of 1890 helped build the anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant American Protective League. In the 1920s, the Immigration Restriction League worked to establish a quota system based on the emigrant's national origin, including those countries with Catholic religious traditions.[6]

"Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion."
During the 1884 presidential campaign, Republicans came up with a memorable American political slogan. With just four words, they painted Democratic nominee Grover Cleveland and his party as supporters of alcohol use [Rum], friends to Catholics [Romanism] and sympathizers with the Southern cause during the Civil War [Rebellion].

Anti-Semitism also remained rooted in American culture. Such anti-Jewish feeling mushroomed during the 1920s and was manifested by the nation's attempt to limit their immigration. Some believed Jews, particularly those from Russia, held subversive tendencies.

Rallying to lead the fight against the threat of alien cultures was a revived Ku Klux Klan, the nation's best-known nativist organization. Reborn in 1915, the new Klan continued to be fundamentally racist and anti-black, but also gave renewed emphasis to opposing Jews, Catholics and immigrants in general. Unlike its earlier more violent incarnation, the

twentieth century Klan—particularly outside the South—relied more upon muscle-flexing parades and rallies to exert power and intimidate its target audience. The KKK attracted religious fundamentalists and the lower-middle-class as members. Hiram W. Evans, who became the organization's Imperial Wizard in 1922, said the Klan was "mostly composed of poor people."[7]

"…[S]hould our Nordic freedom be destroyed and our Nordic spirit be corrupted—as the alien hordes in America are now trying to destroy and corrupt them—Protestantism itself will wither and die. It is only through the maintenance in America of native, white supremacy, it is only through patriotism which will maintain the America of our fathers, that Protestantism itself can be saved."
—H. W. Evans, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan in The *Kourier*, Nov. 1925

Evans proclaimed the KKK's mission during an Ohio speech. "It is only through the maintenance in America of native, white supremacy, it is only through patriotism which will maintain the America of our fathers, that Protestantism itself can be saved."[8]

The new KKK found the Midwest fertile ground for membership campaigns and had success in Minnesota, including the Red Wing area. African American newspapers in the Twin Cities sounded the alarm in the summer and fall of 1922. The *Northwestern Bulletin* (St. Paul-Minneapolis) carried a front page photo of robed and hooded Klansmen. That same issue printed a report about a threatening letter in a package sent to black leader A. Phillip Randolph. The letter, signed "K.K.K.," carried a severed hand, "evidently that of a Negro."[9]

Meanwhile in Minneapolis, city officials banned the Klan from using the municipal auditorium, so a spokesman addressed a crowd of 3,000 next to the building. In response, a *Northwestern Bulletin* editorial advised, "Now that the K.K.K's are among us we must organize, Negroes, Jews and Catholics, to oust these outlaws."[10]

"Now be careful how you publish this letter in your magazine or we may have to send your hand to some one else."
—From a letter to black leader A. Phillip Randolph, signed "K.K.K." found inside a box that "held a human hand, evidently that of a Negro." *Northwestern Bulletin* (St. Paul—Minneapolis) Sept. 16, 1922

A mysterious burning cross placed at the highest point on Barn Bluff loomed over downtown Red Wing on the night of April 6, 1923, commandeering the attention of the city. The large structure, 16 by 20 feet, had been stuffed with gasoline-saturated rags and set ablaze. One report claimed that 67 Ku Klux Klan members erected the cross. The fire was ignited at 8:30 and burned until around ten o'clock.[11]

Rumors of Klan activity swept the town. Young Julia Wiech heard a terrifying report during recess at Red Wing's Washington School. Schoolmates claimed the Ku Klux would burn the Catholic Church that very evening. Wiech understood the Klan's anti-Catholic reputation and had seen the earlier cross burning on Barn Bluff. The original St. Joseph's Catholic stood directly across Sixth Street from her school. The next morning the young schoolgirl found, to her relief, that St. Joseph's was still standing.[12]

Ku Klux Klan activity was not totally new to Red Wing. Some citizens joined the original Klan in 1869 and were active in the

city. It's likely the Ku Klux operated more as a political club than a terrorist unit. Local newspapers carried only fragmentary information on their activities.[13]

A small home-grown vigilante group known as the "White Caps" operated near Red Wing and caused concern during three months in late 1891. White Caps raided the Nels Hendrickson farm in Bay City, Wisconsin, shooting through windows, burning the barn and chasing him away. The raiders claimed Hendrickson had committed some indiscretions they would not name. Other incidents occurred, including lynching scares, arson and posted threats, but no injuries were reported. Most probably the White Caps consisted of a handful of self-appointed vigilantes taking the law into their own hands for personal reasons.[14]

In early July 1923, circulars placed around Red Wing announced a lecture "on the history, aims and principles of the Ku Klux Klan" would be held at the public square (Central Park). On July 3, Red Wing's *Daily Eagle* helpfully corrected an error in the handbill, saying the meeting would be held at 9 o'clock. In its follow-up story of the Klan gathering, the *Eagle* noted that 32 "candidates" for membership were initiated. Many of the new members "were from surrounding county points." The *Eagle* did not report how it learned of the change. Its rival, the *Daily Republican*, did not cover the event.[15]

As Northerners' criticism of the original Ku Klux Klan mounted in 1871, the Memphis Ledger *published an angry screed pointed at citizens of Massachusetts, the heart of antebellum abolitionism.*
"Had hordes of freed slaves and human vampires been turned loose on Massachusetts in 1865, as they were upon the South, her Puritan blood would have boiled over, and her Puritan hands would have been stained with murder. She would have organized a Ku Klux…"
—Reprinted in Goodhue County *Republican* (Red Wing), July 6, 1871

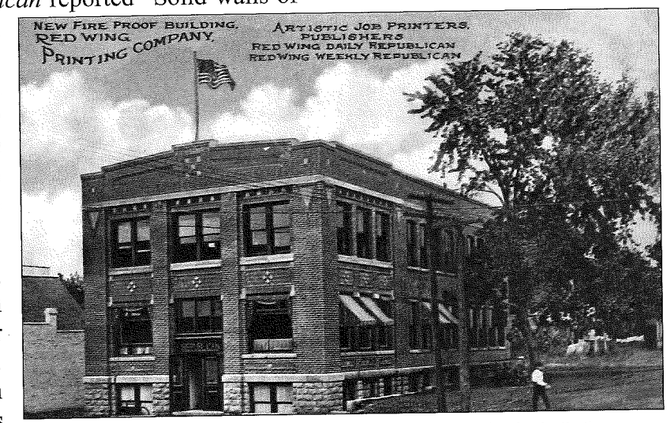
N. P. Olson's family-run *Daily Eagle* took a sympathetic view of Ku Klux activities both locally and nationally. That policy continued during the Klan's years of activity in the Red Wing area. A week after the July meeting in Red Wing, an *Eagle* editorial defended the KKK from claims that it was involved with "whipping parties so popular in Oklahoma."[16]

In a more revealing September editorial the Olsons asserted the South didn't need the Klan after its years "of keeping the negro scared," and likewise, did not require a night-riding organization "that declares war on Jews, Catholics, and the foreign born." Conversely, the *Eagle* claimed, a "large element in the North and West [presumably] does see such needs, for the Klan grows…in those sections." The writer added, "they (the Klan) seem to thrive" despite protests against them.[17]

Staff of the Red Wing *Eagle* appeared to believe the Ku Klux might actually be helpful in dealing with lawlessness. The newspaper editorialized about citizens from different sections of the country who were dragged from their homes and flogged, "though the Ku Klux Klan does not appear to be directly involved." The Olsons were not surprised that the

ranks of the Klan were growing since the Ku Klux "boasts its aspiration to regulate the country in many ways more effectively than is now done by the courts and the governing bodies elected by the people."[18]

On September 21, 1923 the Ku Klux Klan paid a memorable visit to Red Wing. Klan members from the Twin Cities, Albert Lea, Mankato, Austin and other locales gathered on Trenton Island across the Mississippi where they prepared for their demonstration. The *Daily Republican* reported "Solid walls of humanity," including Klan members and the curious, crowding the streets and expectantly awaiting the 8:30 KKK parade. The *Republican* estimated the audience between 7,500 and 10,000; the *Eagle* settled for "thousands."[19]



The offices of Red Wing's *Daily Republican* were on Third Street, just a short walk from the headquarters of its rival, the *Daily Eagle*. The two newspapers, bitter rivals for decades, eventually merged into the *Daily Republican Eagle* in 1940.

The Klan procession moved out, led by three Ku Klux officials on horseback followed by color bearers and Klansmen on foot. They marched across the high bridge and into Red Wing's downtown business district. About 100 gowned and hooded KKK members silently tramped through the city, trailed by others riding in cars. The column paraded nearly a mile to the fairgrounds on south Bush Street.

In apparent obedience to anti-Klan legislation passed by the Minnesota legislature in April, the demonstrators did not cover their faces. The new law prohibited the wearing of masks or other means of concealment, except for amusement, in public places. The legislation received almost unanimous support with a 96-2 vote in the House and a just one "no" vote in the Senate.[20]

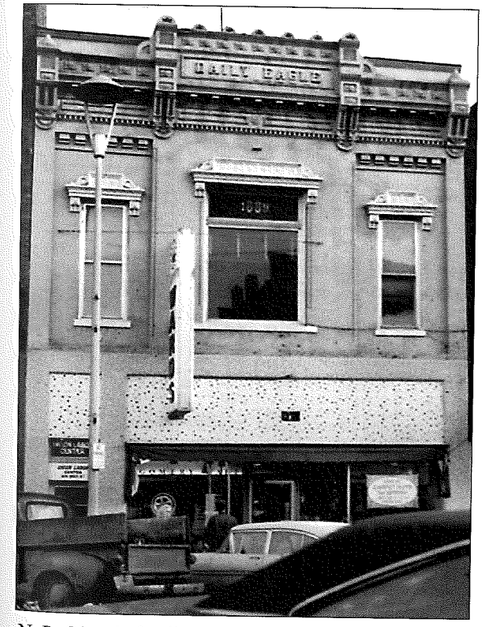
Klan ceremonies then got underway as some 5,000 remained in the gathering darkness to observe. Minnesota's Grand Dragon Clark and C. J. Orin, editor of the organization's newspaper, spoke. Orin shouted that the Ku Klux Klan stood for patriotism, Americanism and "above all the Christian religion." Officers then publicly administered the supposedly secret Klan oath to "a large class of new members." A *Republican* reporter observed that many spectators with "no intention of becoming members" repeated the pledge along with the new initiates.[21]

Celebrations followed. Fireworks burst in the night sky and three crosses placed on the side of Sorin's Bluff were burned.

The audience saw "Klansmen in robes flitting like ghosts and spirits through the trees." According to the *Republican*, no local KKK adherents "wore garb," since it was "not their purpose to disclose their membership" in the group. There were no reports indicating opposition to the Klan and its activities.

Editor D.C. Pierce of the Goodhue *Enterprise* reported that "quite a number" of Goodhue area people went to the Klan rally in Red Wing. Pierce subscribed to the KKK theme that promised protection of American values. He wrote, "It seems that there are quite a number of pretty good men in Red Wing who think that something must be done to enforce the laws the world now has else we might as well not have any…"[22]

By the mid-1920s the now politically active Klan helped elect members to office and dominated government in Indiana, Oklahoma, Colorado, Oregon and Alabama. Arguments over an "anti-Klan" plank in its party's political platform divided the 1924 Democratic national convention. Al Smith, New York's governor and a Catholic, failed to become the Democrat's nominee for president. Four years later he would win nomination, but within a week 10 million anti-Catholic leaflets and posters, many developed by the Klan, engulfed his campaign.[23]



N. P. Olson's family ran the *Daily Eagle* from this building on Red Wing's Third Street. The *Eagle* showed sympathy to some goals of the Ku Klux Klan during the powerful reemergence of the Klan in the early 1920s.

Red Wing voters picked up some personal experience with racial politics during the 1924 Minnesota senatorial campaign. Thomas D. Schall, running against incumbent Sen. Magnus Johnson, charged, during a Red Wing speech, that Johnson had invited "colored people of Washington [D.C.] to immigrate to this state…"[24]

The injured Johnson labeled Schall's claim as "too foolish" to answer. The senator then explained that he had addressed meetings of colored people in the nation's capital, but he never asked any to move to Minnesota. Johnson said he would not want to flood the local labor market with more workers. Schall defeated Johnson in November.

Meanwhile in Indiana, the election of a Ku Klux Klan-dominated government brought support from the Red Wing *Daily Eagle*. The newspaper saw the political victory as proof the Klan in Indiana had "discarded Kluxism" and become an "open and above board political party…similar to other parties." The words "open and above board" had rarely, if ever, been attached to the Ku Klux Klan, but in May 1924 the *Eagle* willingly bestowed them.[25]

The Klan in Red Wing and Goodhue County kicked off its 1924 demonstration season in White Rock where W. S. Harper addressed a crowd of 500 on July 21. The following evening 2,000 gathered at Cannon Falls, with another meeting set for Kenyon.[26]

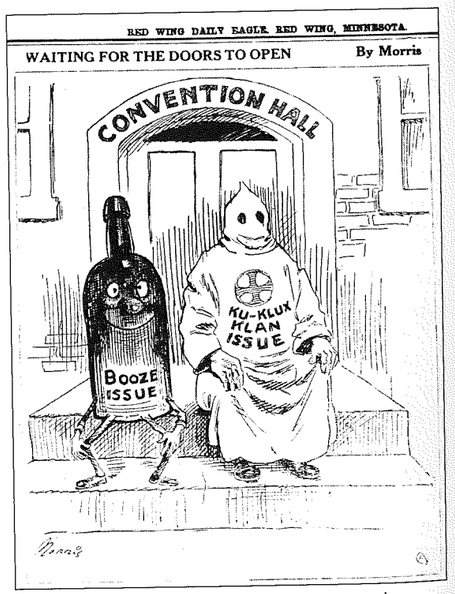
Red Wing's Central Park, called the "public square" in Ku Klux Klan handbills, was used by the Klan for a July 1923 meeting. The photo shown is not of a Klan rally but a gathering to support America's First World War efforts. The crowd faces the park's balustrade, which often served as a speaker's stand.

On July 23 a large Red Wing audience attended an 8:30 p.m. Central Park lecture by Harper, dressed in full Klan regalia for the occasion. The *Eagle* identified him as a local doctor. Harper's announced topic was "Putting the Bible Back Into Schools."[27]

The KKK scheduled two Red Wing demonstrations in October, a barbecue followed by a parade on the 4th and a meeting of Southern Minnesota Klans on the 5th. A Klan convention such as this gave promise of another wave of Ku Klux members and their followers cascading into Red Wing.[28]

On the 4th, Klan conventioneers gathered for the barbecue at the south Bush Street parade grounds and marched in double file toward the business district. The line of marchers, with several autos following, stretched for almost a mile. White robed, with faces "set and determined," the Klan members proceeded silently with arms folded across their chests. Their feet, "keeping perfect time on the pavement," made the only sound.

Following the parade, Klansmen from all sections of the state gathered at the circus grounds to initiate new members. In front of a "crowd running into the thousands," the local Klan orchestra played several numbers and state KKK leaders gave brief speeches. Eight flaming crosses helped illuminate the field. To add some levity to the evening, Klansmen posing as a Negro preacher and a Jewish comedian entertained. In the view of the *Republican*, the Ku Klux put on an "impressive" show for Red Wing.



The Klan and prohibition were major political issues nationally and in Red Wing throughout the 1920s.

Klan members wanted to project an image of unity and power through use of an intimidating and ominous presence. They achieved their aim. The audience greeted the robed procession with silence, whether out of respect or fear, reporters did not speculate. To Red Wing's tiny African American and equally small Jewish communities, as well as its more sizeable Catholic population,

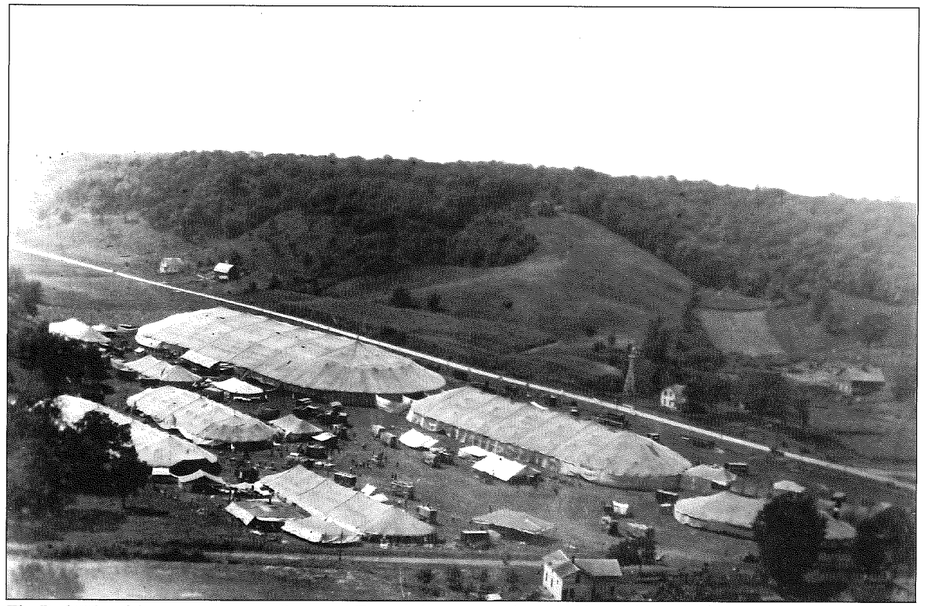
> The [Ku Klux Klan] marchers made an impressive sight. Their faces were set and determined, as though chiseled out of marble, and their arms were folded across their breasts. There was no music and the only sound was that of marching feet, keeping perfect time on the pavement. At the rear of the procession a drum beat a tatoo.
> —Red Wing *Daily Republican*, Oct. 6, 1924, 1, reporting on a Klan march through the city

the KKK demonstrations had to be disheartening. For a second consecutive year, a hate group flaunted its power in the city and no one publicly raised a finger or voice against it.

The Ku Klux Klan did not always find such passive communities. A 1925 parade through Hastings featuring robed Klansmen from Red Wing, St. Paul, Northfield, as well as Hastings ended in confrontation. Some in the crowd of onlookers directed "sneers and idiotic laughs" toward the marchers, irritating them. Then, more serious problems began.[29]

Klan members tried to erect a cross with the intent of setting it on fire. The mayor informed the KKK, numbering some 200, that such a fire could not be started within city limits. The Red Wing *Republican* reported that citizens of Hastings put to rout the Klan members. A number of Klansmen had been attacked and three "quite badly injured" during the fracas.[30]

Republican readers also got to read the account of Floyd Spencer, a Red Wing Klan sympathizer. Spencer claimed about "300 Knights and 100 Klanswomen" were in Hastings and they marched quietly with "visors up and arms folded." He said that when the mayor and some policemen appeared at the site of the scheduled cross burning, Klan members shoved them off the grounds.



The Red Wing fairgrounds at south Bush and Twentieth streets is shown with a visiting circus occupying the grounds. The Ku Klux Klan used this area for its evening gatherings in the 1920s. Klan initiations were held there and crosses were burned on the Sorin's Bluff hillside while thousands watched.

To the angry Spencer, the inhospitable people of Hastings would suffer embarrassment from the affair and the "unenviable advertisement of intolerance given to the city."

In Pine Island, Mayor Arthur Parkin angered Klan members by forbidding a speaker to make an address following a 1925 march through the village. Parkin later said he only asked the KKK not use the city bandstand as a rostrum. The speaker eventually climbed onto an automobile parked on North Main and spoke from that platform.[31]

Ku Klux Klan activities returned to Red Wing and Goodhue County in 1925. Its "Minnesota-Wisconsin Day" program drew 400 Klan members and two parade floats. A St. Paul wagon held Klanswomen and children dressed in full regalia, as well as an illuminated cross. Red Wing police arrested John F. Kearney after he tore down a Klan banner. He later paid a $10 fine.[32]

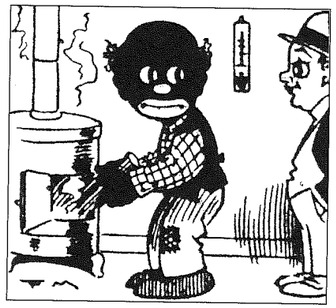
The *Beacon* carried the Klan boast that Cannon Falls would be the October 1925 site of "one of the largest gatherings of the white-robed order ever held in Southern Minnesota." State Klan officials were to attend. Rain held down attendance, although 175 men and women marched. The year before, a Ku Klux Klan speaker addressed a large crowd near Citizen's State Bank.[33]

Klan speakers lectured Zumbrota area audiences in 1923 and 1924. A quiet 70-person Ku Klux parade marched through the village in July 1925. The *News* reported Klan members came from Red Wing and Cannon Falls, and that they had also marched in Pine Island.[34]

Scandals and internal disputes began to weaken the Ku Klux Klan in 1925. Indiana Grand Dragon D. C. Stevenson's conviction in a sickening case involving his rape and manslaughter of a young white woman stained the organization pledged to protect women. The Klan also split over political issues and embezzlement of KKK funds. The badly-wounded Ku Klux virtually disappeared from the Midwest and North but would live on in isolated pockets, particularly in the South.[35]

The Klan vanished from Red Wing almost as quickly as it had appeared—no more speeches in Central Park, no parades before thousands and no crosses burning on Barn and Sorin's Bluffs. The Klan years, people seemed to agree, were best forgotten. There are no known photographs of Klan activity in Red Wing or surviving Klan regalia or costumes. To many of those who witnessed the Klan on the march, it seemed as if the processions of those silent ghostly figures had been part of some bizarre dream.

"One symptom, [of America's problems] but not the only one, has been the futility and confusion of our Government. Another has been the weakness and failure of our public schools."
—H. W. Evans, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan in *The Kourier*, Nov. 1925



It was still common for newspapers in the 1920s to print cartoons and stories that contained negative images of black people. This one was printed in the Red Wing Daily Eagle.

Visitor—I see you have a new thermometer, Uncle Mose, so you can regulate the heat.

Uncle Mose—Yes, sah; but dat thurmom'ter doan reg'late nothin'! Ef we doan keep pilin' wood on dat fire we doan git no heat a-tall.
—Red Wing *Daily Eagle*, June 30, 1924

Perhaps some citizens came to be embarrassed that a self-professed racist, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant group once marched without challenge through the streets of Red Wing. It is also plausible that the Ku Klux Klan's well-known history of violence, along with its formidable numbers, intimidated the citizenry. Then there are the possibilities that Red Wing residents sympathized with the Klan's ideas, acquiesced to them, or took no interest at all in their activities.

In retrospect, Ku Klux members inhabiting the Red Wing area appeared more interested in demonstrating and socializing rather than in night riding. When confronted by some Hastings citizens, the Klan backed down. Pine Island's mayor simply and effectively asked a Klan speaker that he not use the city bandstand. Although local KKK members attempted to use threats and intimidation against potential adversaries, no evidence of violence by the Ku Klux in the Red Wing area has yet been uncovered.

The Klan era marked the end, for decades to come, of African American families living in Red Wing and Goodhue County. Nearly 50 years passed before another black family put down roots there. The last members of the Jeremiah and Verna Patterson family, their sons Joel and Howard and daughter Nina, left the city sometime between 1923 and 1924. There is no family history indicating the Ku Klux figured in their decision to leave, but the young men did wish to get married and start a family. They didn't see Red Wing, with its near absence of other black people, as the place to begin. The fact that the Ku Klux Klan was so active in the city and surrounding area also had to figure in the decision.[36]

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The 1930 federal census listed 30 Negro residents in Goodhue County. Included were 17 young men serving sentences at the State Training School, and also 10 Negroes living in Florence Township. Arthur Staehli's black wife Lillian, their daughter and niece, six Negro relatives of Jennie Faulkner and a black boarder also lived in Florence. No black people lived in Red Wing at the time of the census.[37]

The success of the Ku Klux Klan outside the borders of the old Confederacy shocked black leaders. Instead of seeing their campaign for civil rights gaining momentum after the Great War, African Americans now found themselves in a defensive battle against the forces of racism in the North and Midwest. But of the many serious issues menacing the black community, the most dangerous and immediate threat was residential

segregation—the "ghettoization" of African Americans in the nation's urban centers.

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In 1917 the NAACP had begun fighting the trend in southern cities to prohibit blacks from living anywhere other than "colored" neighborhoods. Lawyers working for the NAACP challenged Louisville, Kentucky's, residential segregation policy in the United States Supreme Court and won. Nevertheless, racially restrictive housing covenants continued to be found in cities throughout the nation.[38]

In Minnesota, the St. Paul NAACP contested housing restrictions for African Americans wherever they found them. From around 1915 and through the 1930s, St. Paul blacks faced restrictive covenants that kept them from buying homes in certain neighborhoods. Earlier in their histories, St. Paul and other American cities with small numbers of black citizens had few restrictions on where African Americans might live. Black homeowners lived in several St. Paul wards as late as 1920. Meanwhile, St. Paul's Rondo neighborhood, north and west of downtown, was becoming the city's black residential center. The Rondo area was 47.8 percent black by 1930.[39]

"I will not allow one prejudiced person or one million or one hundred million to blight my life. I will not let prejudice or any of its attendant humiliations and injustices bear me down to spiritual defeat. My inner life is mine, and I will defend and maintain its integrity against the forces of hell."
—James Weldon Johnson, newspaper publisher, lawyer, composer, U.S. diplomat and, in the 1920's, the first black man to head the NAACP

Whites showing a willingness to allow blacks into St. Paul neighborhoods could face daunting retribution. In a 1926 case, a white man agreed to rent the upstairs of his Charles Street home to "colored tenants." He faced threats, protest meetings and petitions from his neighbors. More importantly, his employers at Consumer's Milk Company fired him.[40]

Consumer's Milk officials first said their employee simply left the company. A week later Consumer's admitted to dismissing him, but for reasons—including neighborhood unrest—other than his decision to rent to blacks. It appears likely that the milk company faced considerable pressure to discharge the white man.[41]

Minnesota's African Americans, like those in most Northern states, had become overwhelmingly urban. Blacks living in the state's rural areas tended to migrate to the Twin Cities, as did those newly arriving in Minnesota. Leaving Red Wing for the big city in the mid-1920s were the descendents of Jeremiah and Verna Patterson. After a presence of more than 40 years in the Red Wing area, the longest time of residence of any black family in Goodhue County history, the last three Patterson children in the city, now adults, moved to Chicago.

Despite their victories in the courts, the NAACP could not overcome the intricate web of deception designed to keep

The collapse of a 1925 restrictive housing agreement allowed African Americans into New York City's Harlem. Some black businessmen bought apartment blocks in the area and opened them to blacks, causing a stampede.
White home owners "became panic-stricken and began fleeing as from a plague…House after house and block after block were deserted. It was a great demonstration of human beings running amuck."
—James Weldon Johnson quoted in Boyle, *Arc of Justice*, 202

blacks out of white neighborhoods. Home owner agreements not to sell homes to blacks, unspoken pacts among realtors, and coercive neighborhood improvement associations were among them. Whites feared a decline in the value of their property if the wall against blacks was breached.

Immigrants from Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean rim, disdained and detested by the Ku Klux Klan, should have been natural allies of African Americans. But those newcomers, for the most part, failed to help. In frustration, W. E. B. Du Bois condemned this immigrant class as "new white people" who turned against blacks once they became acculturated. To Du Bois the new whites were "Irish and German, Russian Jew, Slave and 'dago'" who are trained "to [the] despising of 'niggers' from the day of their landing."[42]

Despite laws against them, housing restrictions generally remained effective, creating *de facto* segregation in the North and Midwest. A Minnesota Poll in 1946 surveyed white attitudes about housing and asked, among other questions, "Should a Negro be allowed to move into any residential neighborhood where there is a vacancy?" Sixty percent of those polled said Negroes should *not* have that right; 30 percent said they should.[43]

Findings of the Governor's Interracial Commission in the mid-1940s confirmed that black Minnesotans did not get a fair shake when it came to choosing where to live. Housing choice for an "overwhelming number" of blacks remained limited to neighborhoods to which whites "expect Negroes to be restricted."[44]

Minnesotans were asked, "Should a Negro be allowed to move into any residential neighborhood where there is a vacancy?" Sixty percent of those polled answered no.
—The *Minnesota Poll 1946*

The "ghettoization" of urban black communities across the nation became commonplace as the twentieth century moved forward. In 1948 the United States Supreme Court ruled as illegal, racially-based real estate agreements. But the power of anti-black traditions prevailed over the might of the country's highest court. Most urban blacks continued to live in racial isolation.[45]

To their maddeningly long list of civil rights denied, African Americans added the freedom to choose where one may live.

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African American advocacy groups, notably the NAACP along with black-owned newspapers and community leaders, fought a little-known battle for civil rights throughout the forty-year period following World War I. It was not an easy time to be campaigning for equality in the United States.

During the 1930s the nation suffered through the most disastrous economic depression in its history, followed by the horror of another world war in the 1940s. Americans had little time to enjoy their World War II triumphs. A frustrating, costly and acutely dangerous Cold War with international communism followed almost immediately.

Even in the best of times, African Americans found it next to impossible to get the attention of their fellow countrymen. The concerns of the black minority, most living and working quietly in the distant margins of American life, seemed comparatively unimportant to the majority. In Minnesota, where statistics showed less than one percent of the population as African American, blacks opposed discrimination and bigotry on many fronts.

Minnesota's black newspapers warred on those who practiced discrimination against blacks. When they found individuals or media outlets using epithets, including "nigger" and "pickaninies," newspapers such as *Appeal* (St. Paul-Minneapolis), St. Paul *Echo* and Minneapolis *Messenger* took them on. A 1926 *Echo* editorial called on whites to stop using the hateful term "nigger," and also reminded blacks not to use it.[46]

High profile cases of discrimination in sports caught the attention of both blacks and whites. Fans loyal to perennial football power, the University of Minnesota Golden Gophers, protested when black players on the team met with discrimination in 1933, 1934, 1935 and 1940. With four national championship seasons during that time period, Gopher fans took such treatment of players seriously.[47]

Among other Twin City targets of African American protest were recurrent episodes of discrimination in department stores, hotels and restaurants. Some skirmishes in this war for racial equality received little notoriety. Others captured the interest of the general public.

Red Wing newspapers covered African American issues with growing sympathy during the World War II years. The months of April and May 1944 provide a sampling. In April the *Daily Republican Eagle* praised the wartime film *The Negro Soldier* and its tale of black troops in the U.S. military throughout history. The news story quoted a government official who said, "Prejudice and distrust will not stop when the film is released, but it is a step toward crushing the element of disunity.[48]

A month later the *Daily Republican Eagle* challenged Southern senators and their efforts to defend "State's Rights"—the prerogative of a state to handle its own affairs, particularly the

The Golden Rule department store in Minneapolis drew criticism from the Twin Cities black community with its window display promoting National Cotton Week. The window dresser used demeaning characterizations of black women and showed them picking cotton. —Minneapolis *Spokesman*, July 19, 1940

traditions of Jim Crow. The newspaper asserted the nation's vexing racial problems would not be settled until more "statesmen" were elected to Congress. Five days later the Red Wing newspaper reported on Alabama Senator John Bankhead as he fought laws to preserve Southern anti-black tax policies. Bankhead warned that "Ku Klux Klan days" would return if the reform legislation passed.[49]

The Red Wing newspaper reported on a particularly disturbing racial incident that occurred near Mobile, Alabama. Just as they had during the First World War, American blacks served in units segregated by race throughout World War II. Clashes resulted. A midnight gun battle in May 1944 broke out between white and black U.S. army units, marring the image of a racially unified war effort. The incident began when a white civilian claimed a black soldier robbed him. The civilian convinced white military police to escort him to a segregated black barracks and help find his alleged assailant. A firefight broke out and continued for two hours.[50]

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Minnesota blacks chafed under the indignities of uncounted insulting incidents of segregation in their state, but for them, the banning of black soldiers from the white Minnesota Defense Force proved particularly galling. Col. F. G. Stutz, Minnesota's Adjutant General, summarized the fundamental problem in a letter to the St. Paul NAACP in December 1940, "…there is no provision for Negroes in the Minnesota Defense Force."[51]

During World War I Minnesota segregated its Home Guard into white and black units, and the tradition of separation continued within the state National Guard as fear of a new war grew. When the federal government began to activate National Guard units in 1940, it gave permission to states to form Defense Forces.

Under heavy pressure from the NAACP to take action on segregation, Gov. Harold Stassen responded by forming a committee. He assigned two African Americans, fellow Republicans, to advise him on the issue. Blacks dismissed the committee concept as a political stall and, on March 8, 1941, authorized a lawsuit against Stassen.

In matters of racism and racial segregation, the NAACP leadership was hard to surprise, but the Minnesota Defense Force provided such a jolt in September 1942. World War II now raged, and a Filipino non-citizen living in the state asked permission to join the MDF. Officials of the force approved the

request on condition the alien declare an intention to become a U.S. citizen.

It thus came to pass that the Minnesota Defense Force enlisted a non-white, non-U S. citizen, while blacks, most with roots in America dating to the nineteenth century or earlier, continued their unsuccessful efforts to be admitted.

Stassen, the 'boy governor" who took office in 1939 at age 31, was considering enlisting in the armed forces and did so in April 1943. Stassen's move and the focus on the national war effort put the issue of blacks in the state military units into the background. Gov. Luther Youngdahl opened the National Guard to blacks after World War II.[52]

Another indignity directed at African Americans, segregation of the University of Minnesota's student dormitories, created a stir in the 1930s. The issue first arose in 1934 when the son of a black Washington, D.C. insurance executive registered by mail for an on-campus dormitory room. After the black student spent one night in the dorm, his belongings were moved to a basement storeroom. He was then told he could not stay in the building.[53]

The fact that the state's best known and most respected institution of higher education engaged in segregation brought more disillusioning evidence of Minnesota racism into public view. On two occasions in February 1937, students challenged Lotus D. Coffman, the university's president, regarding the school's partitioned dormitories. The president of the Negro Student Council claimed the university could not segregate dorms built by public funds. A white student alleged Coffman cut off the questions of a "courteous Negro student" who had started to ask him about the housing issue, and also asserted that two Negro women were refused admittance to a Minnesota residence hall in 1936.

Members of the university's Student Council then began formulating plans to break down existing prejudice at the University of Minnesota.

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The advent of the Second World War ended the Great Depression that had crippled the American economy for more than ten years. The nation girded for war, shifting its industrial might into wartime gear. America's major enemies, Germany and Japan, more than doubled their economic output between 1940 and 1943, but United States manufacturing productivity mushroomed 25 times during that period. Blacks and women found war work in American industry, although Henry Ford

barred them from work at his Willow Run bomber plant. By August 1944, American women made up 40 percent of the country's workforce and the numbers of African Americans employed in the war effort was growing. Pay rates for whites, however, nearly doubled those of blacks.[54]

World war did not end racial unrest in America. Race riots flared in 47 cities, with the worst being a June 21–22, 1943 riot in Detroit. At least 25 blacks and nine whites died during the mayhem and 17 more people were shot by police. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) spoke out for racial integration in the workplace, yet many unions continued to discriminate against black workers. Whites and their black counterparts warily eyed each other. When three blacks at the Packard automobile plant received promotions, 3,000 white workers walked off the job.[55]

Race relations teetered toward disaster as war blazed around the globe, but Americans managed to keep their focus on victory. The nation's armed forces and those of its allies, wielding a devastating arsenal generated by America's industrial might, delivered a series of mighty blows that defeated their opponents and ended the most destructive war in world history.

Endnotes

[1] Sullivan, *Our Times*, 609–611.
[2] Red Wing *Daily Eagle*, Nov. 2, 1920, 1. Sullivan, *Our Times*, 609–611.
[3] Mark Sullivan, a respected journalist and author of the six-volume *Our Times* [written between 1926 and 1933] made the reference to Minnesota. See *Our Times*, 611.
[4] Foner and Garraty (eds.) *Reader's Companion to American History*, 685. Boyle, *Arc of Justice*, 95. For an overview of the Duluth lynchings see William D. Green, "The Trial of the Duluth Lynchers." *Minnesota History*, Spring 2004, 59/1, 22–35.
[5] Evans, *The American Century*, 176. Boyer, *Oxford Companion to American History*, 251, 365, 789. The National Origins Act of 1924 banned all East Asian immigration and slowed movement of "less desired" Europeans by limiting their immigration to two percent of their fellow nationals living in the United States. See Malcomson, *One Drop of Blood*, 378.
[6] Boyer, *Oxford Companion to American History*, 423, 543. The Declaration of Independence had one Catholic signer, Charles Carroll of Maryland. The wealthy Carroll could not vote or hold office because of his religion. Andrist (ed.) *The Confident Years*, 342.
[7] Geoffrey Perrett, *America in the Twenties—A History* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982), 72–76. H. W. Evans, "The Klan's Mission—Americanism," *Kourier Magazine* 1, Nov. 1925, 5.
[8] Evans, "The Klan's Mission," Nov. 1925, 5.
[9] *Northwestern Bulletin* (St. Paul-Minneapolis) Sept. 16, 1922, 1.
[10] *Northwestern Bulletin* (St. Paul-Minneapolis) Sept. 30, 1922, 1, 2.
[11] Red Wing *Daily Eagle*, Apr. 6, 1923, 1. Red Wing *Daily Republican*, Apr. 6, 1923, 1.
[12] Julia Wiech Lief, "Gone Are the Sinister Years," Red Wing *Daily Republican Eagle*, May 22, 1981.
[13] Two issues of the Goodhue County *Republican*, July 1, 1869, 1 and Jan. 16, 1873, 1 carry some information on the Red Wing Klan.
[14] Red Wing *Daily Republican*, Oct. 20, 1891, 3; Nov. 24, 1891, 3; Jan. 8, 1892, 3. During post-Civil War Reconstruction there had been a terrorist group in the South known as "Whitecappers."
[15] Red Wing *Daily Eagle*, July 3, 1923, 8 and July 5, 1923, 8.
[16] Red Wing *Daily Eagle*, July 9, 1923, 4. Olson started his newspaper in 1911 and got the daily out with the help of his three sons and daughter. Also in July the *Eagle* reported that more Negroes in South Carolina were moving north. Males went first and now women and children were joining them; July 6, 1923, 2.
[17] Red Wing *Daily Eagle*, Sept. 12, 1923, 4. The *Eagle* kept tabs on Klan activity and noted, on Sept. 14, 1923, the Ku Klux had established a new chapter in the unlikely location of Mexico City.
[18] Red Wing *Daily Eagle*, Aug. 29, 1923, 4.
[19] Here and below, Red Wing *Daily Republican* Sept. 21, 4 and Sept. 24, 1. Red Wing *Daily Eagle*, Sept. 24, 1923, 1, 4. Newspaper estimates of crowd size appear questionable. The St. Paul *Pioneer Press* figured the number watching the KKK parade was approximately 35,000. Red Wing's population in 1920 was 8,637.
[20] *Northwestern Bulletin* (St. Paul-Minneapolis) Mar. 24, 1 and Apr. 21, 1, 1923.
[21] Here and below, Red Wing *Daily Republican*, Sept. 24, 1923.
[22] Goodhue *Enterprise*, Sept. 27, 1923, 1.
[23] Evans, *The American Century*, 214–15, Boyer, *Oxford Companion to American History*, 425.
[24] Red Wing *Daily Eagle*, Oct. 6, 1924, 4, see Sen. Johnson's letter to the editor. Schall, a Republican, defeated the Farmer-Labor candidate Johnson by 7848 votes; White, *Minnesota Votes*, 38–39.
[25] Red Wing *Daily Eagle*, May 9, 1924, 4.
[26] Red Wing *Daily Eagle*, July 23, 1924, 8.
[27] Red Wing *Daily Eagle*, July 25, 1924, 5.
[28] Here and below, Red Wing *Daily Republican*, Oct. 4, 1 and Oct. 6, 1, 1924.
[29] Red Wing *Daily Republican*, Aug. 24, 1925, 1–3.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Pine Island *Record*, July 23, 1925.
[32] Johnson, *Goodhue County, Minnesota*, 230. Red Wing *Daily Republican,* Sept. 24, 26, 28, 1925.
[33] Cannon Falls *Beacon*, Oct. 2, 1 and Oct. 9, 5, 1925. As for the 1924 gathering near Citizen's State Bank, *Beacon* editor S. S. Lewis, sounding bored with the crowd size issue, reported "some say 400 and others 2,000." Cannon Falls *Beacon*, July 25, 1924, 5.
[34] Zumbrota *News*, July 24, 1925, 6. Johnson, *Goodhue County, Minnesota*, 230.
[35] Boyer, *Oxford Companion to American History*, 425.

[36] Patterson family correspondence, Sept. 3, 2004.
[37] *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Minnesota, Goodhue County.*
[38] Here and below, Weber, "The House That Bullard Built," 68. Boyle, *Arc of Justice*, 200–206. The state's three largest cities, Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth, held 88 percent of the state's still-small African American population (8,809) in 1920.
[39] Weber, "The House That Bullard Built," 68. Taylor, "The Blacks," in Holmquist (ed.) *They Chose Minnesota*, 77. Map 4.1 on page 77 shows St. Paul black neighborhoods, 1860–1980.
[40] St. Paul *Echo*, Aug. 7, 1926, 1.
[41] St. Paul *Echo*, Aug. 14, 1926, 1.
[42] Boyle, *Arc of Justice*, 204.
[43] Spangler, *The Negro in Minnesota*, 132.
[44] Taylor, "The Blacks," in Holmquist (ed.) *They Chose Minnesota*, 84.
[45] Red Wing's *Daily Republican Eagle*, May 3, 1948, 1, reported on the Supreme Court's ruling.
[46] *Appeal* (St. Paul) challenged the *Pioneer Press* for using "pickaninnies" in a headline, July 6, 1918. St. Paul *Echo*, Jan. 9, 1926, 2 and Oct. 23, 1926, 2 dealt with the use of pickaninnies and niggers, Minneapolis *Spokesman* Nov. 7, 1940, 4, and Dec. 26, 1941, 1. In 1936 the *Spokesman* accused WCCO radio announcer Byrum Saam of using the word "nigger." The radio station defended Saam; Minneapolis *Spokesman* June 19, 1936, 1 and July 3, 1936, 2. Minneapolis *Messenger* Oct. 27, 1923, 6, reported on the NAACP syrup boycott of Log Cabin company's "Little Coon Brand Molasses."
[47] Twin City *Herald*, Oct. 28, 1933, 4. Jan. 13, 1934, 1. Minneapolis *Spokesman*, Aug. 17, 1934, 5; Oct. 4, 1935, 2; and Oct. 25, 1940, 2.
[48] Red Wing *Daily Republican Eagle*, Apr. 14, 1944, 8.
[49] Red Wing *Daily Republican Eagle*, May 9, 1944, 8 and May 11, 1944, 8.
[50] Red Wing *Daily Republican Eagle*, May 25, 1944, 1.
[51] Here and below, Minneapolis *Spokesman*, Sept. 4, 1942, 1–2. See also *Spokesman*, Dec. 5, 1941, 1.
[52] Theodore C. Blegen, *Minnesota: A History of the State* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1975, 2nd ed.) 553.
[53] Here and below, Minneapolis *Spokesman*, Feb. 12, 1937, 1 and Feb. 19, 1937, 1.
[54] Evans, *The American Century*, 314, 346, 353.
[55] Ibid. 353–53.

In 1961, Freedom riders, sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)—a group believing in direct action to combat segregation—headed south on buses attempting to integrate lunch counters, public toilets, bus stations and more. In other civil rights sectors, activists mounted campaigns to register black voters and attempted to integrate colleges and universities. Of Americans polled about non-violent protests, some 63 percent said they opposed such actions.[20]

White supremacist groups fought back, employing violence at a lethal level, especially in the Deep South. Murders of civil rights leaders and workers revealed the depth of resistance. Television networks broadcast Birmingham, Alabama, police using attack dogs and fire hoses against demonstrators during a massive 1963 integration effort. The bombing of an African American church in that city killed four black children, bringing condemnation from alienated moderates, both South and North.

The passage of the landmark 1964 Civil Rights Act wounded but did not kill Jim Crow. Rights recognized did not mean rights respected. Nonetheless, the pace of the civil rights movement in the United States quickened. African Americans, emboldened by the success of the NAACP in the courts and of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the Jim Crow South, moved to increase their gains.

The new laws had not eliminated racial prejudice and de facto segregation or poverty and despair in urban ghettos. A number of young African Americans, while mindful of King's contributions, no longer felt he was the man to lead them. Black nationalism and racial pride produced a new generation of leaders. Destructive inner-city riots from 1965 through 1968 pushed King's philosophy of non-violence into the background and, on April 4, 1968, a white racist assassin brought an end to his life.

The racial disorders that plagued the nation's large urban centers during the mid-1960s caught the nation by surprise. A decade of substantial victories by civil rights organizations indicated encouraging progress for African Americans. The Kerner Commission investigated the summer rioting and pointed to continued discrimination, poor housing, unemployment, and perceived prejudice in policing. Indeed, in a number of cases, the mainly white police forces that patrolled their neighborhoods became targets of black rioters. As it was, during 1966 America experienced 43 race riots, and in the summer of 1967 Kerner noted that 150 cities reported disorders in Negro and some Puerto Rican neighborhoods.[21]

> "It almost seemed as though every large black community in the United States was in rebellion against society. In Washington, D.C., Negroes rose in April. By May three California cities were embattled. Cleveland erupted in late June, and Omaha, Des Moines, and Chicago two weeks after that…and then in swift succession Brooklyn, Baltimore, Perth Amboy, Providence, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Detroit, Dayton, Atlanta, San Francisco, and St. Louis…"
> —Author William Manchester's partial roll call of cities affected by black rioting in 1966. There were 43 racial disturbances that year. Manchester, *The Glory and the Dream*, 1065

In the midst of civil disorders, a generation of more militant African American leaders stepped forward. Black racists gave speeches that rivaled in hate the oratory of the Ku Klux Klan. Their call for confrontation with the white power structure contradicted the philosophy of King and his supporters who believed in peaceful reform through partnership with a white society enlightened to past racial wrongs.

Alexis de Tocqueville, touring America nearly 140 years before the riots of the mid-1960s, had made a prediction. He wrote that once Negroes "join the ranks of free men, they will be indignant at being deprived of almost all the rights of citizens; and being unable to become the equals of the whites, they will not be slow to show themselves their enemies." The racial situation in the United States in the late 1960s gave credence to de Tocqueville's prophecy.[22]

The violence in American cities accelerated another phenomena in the post-World War II culture. In war's aftermath, the nation needed housing that crowded population centers could not always provide. New suburban communities bloomed on the more inexpensive land that ringed metropolitan areas. Racial unrest in core city neighborhoods made a move to modern suburbia all the more attractive. White flight from the inner city, what one author described as a "bizarre game of 'chase,'" was the result.[23]

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Craig Morris took a long look at Red Wing from the window of his family automobile and immediately began formulating plans. The year was 1967. Craig's father, Elmer, had accepted the job of Goodhue County Engineer, and along with his wife Eunice and their children was moving to the city. Theirs would be Red Wing's only black family, believed to be the first to live there since 1924.[24]

Nevertheless, if he could figure a way out, young Morris would not be staying in Red Wing. The family's eldest child at 13 wanted no part of small town Minnesota. His roots in the state went back to St. Paul's Rondo neighborhood where his grandfather, Creighton University-trained Elmer Morris, Sr., had run a pharmacy. Life outside the metropolitan area held no interest to the teenager from the big city. "I thought my life was coming to an end," recalled Morris about the move to Red Wing. "I was biased against small towns by what my friends had told me and what I'd seen in the media."[25]

The St. Paul teen solemnly viewed Red Wing's Main Street as the family auto passed by. He remembers seeing three stoplights, a few buildings, and only white people. The small river city seemed totally foreign, not to mention frightening. "I