MAPPING WHITENESS: UNCOVERING THE LEGACY OF ALL-WHITE TOWNS IN INDIANA

by

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For my parents and my pupsie

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACS	American Colonization Society
AME	African Methodist Episcopal
ARM	Agriculture, Railroad, Manufacturing
BHP	Black History Project
BHP-VF	Black History Project Vertical Files
CAR	Children of the American Revolution
CoC	Chamber of Commerce
IHS	Indiana Historical Society
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
NHTDA	National Horse Thief Detective Association
PIP	Partners in Progress
URM	Underrepresented Minority

ABSTRACT

Author: Sdunzik, Jennifer. PhD
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Why did black southern migrants during the Great Migration not get off the train along the migratory corridor that connected the points of departure and arrival, i.e. the Jim Crow South and the urban North? How did midwestern small-towns and black America come to be understood as polar opposites? Based on archival and ethnographic research, this project answers these questions by disrupting grand narratives about the Great Migration and the Midwest: 1) it disrupts the predefined destinations of southern black migrants by illustrating that not all wanted to settle in big cities; 2) it disrupts the midwestern whiteness by displaying resilience and resistance of minorities in the same landscape; and 3) it disrupts midwestern friendliness by uncovering the self-perceived understanding of midwestern hospitality of Hoosier communities that stands in stark contrast with the unwelcoming environment as experienced by outsiders. Together, the chapters in this dissertation record the racialized geographies of Indiana and provide a nuanced understanding of identity and belonging in the Midwest. Analysis of the data identifies cultures of exclusion prevalent in midwestern small towns.

INTRODUCTION: WHITENESS IN AMERICA'S HEARTLAND

It is the Spring semester 2018, and I am attending the Social Justice seminar entitled "Addressing Social Justice Issues in Agriculture, Food, and Natural Resources through Education and Outreach" hosted by Purdue's Office of Interdisciplinary Graduate Programs. Little did I know that the presentations and ensuing Q & A on this Thursday afternoon would provide me with the opening of my dissertation on racial dynamics in midwestern small towns. The researchers present their own research foci. One female black graduate student focuses on reaching out to underrepresented minority (URM) parents to educate them about the field of agriculture and the career opportunities it holds. She hopes to ignite the parents' full support of their children's career choice should they decide to pursue it in the field, which comprises a lot more than "just" farming. Her personal experiences partially inspired the research, as she had to educate her parents and other community members on the career opportunities as a URM in the field of agriculture, which in the academic sense has been one of the whitest disciplines. She repeatedly faces the same questions from black Hoosiers, including the older folks at the historically black golf course in Indianapolis where she works part-time: "Why would *you* study agriculture? Why would *black folks* go into farming?" Questions like these imply a mythical absence of black folks from rural spaces in the Midwest. During the Q & A, an older white male professor engages the graduate student on the challenges of her research, as "urban folks" usually don't know much about agriculture. Phrased in a different context, he reinforced the mythical absence of African Americans from rural areas. Labeling them as "urban," he perpetuated one of the grand narratives of American history that this dissertation seeks to disrupt. I was perplexed about the erasure of rural black experiences by black and white Hoosiers alike. It is moments like this January afternoon discussion in small-town Indiana that emphasize the importance of this dissertation.

It is not that black folks have never farmed American soil – rather the contrary. However, the grand narrative in American history is selective and generally reduces black rural experiences to cotton farming and sharecropping in the U.S. South during the slavery and reconstruction eras. Information about northern black rural communities, as they, for example, widely existed in the state of Indiana, is not being taught or publicly remembered. History classrooms do not mention northern black farming communities neither do public institutions like museums. County extension programs seem to lack the knowledge, as well. The Great Migration, which opened the doors for southern blacks to the "Promised Land" of the North, has overwhelmingly, if not exclusively, been regarded as a population shift from the rural South to the urban North, further drowning any northern rural and small-town experiences of minorities.

This research project locates the Midwest as a critical site of inquiry and addresses how space, race, and culture intersect in ways that have historically reinforced civic and geographical borders for racial and ethnic minorities. First, it aims to explain this selective memory and history, detailing how and why northern small-town America and black America came to mainly be understood as polar opposites. Secondly, it explores the consequences and lingering effects of this selectivity. It does so by locating the cultural amnesia in one Indiana community, identifying trends, practices, and attitudes that actively generated and reproduced this culture of denial. This project will ultimately reveal the contours of prevalent cultures of exclusion in midwestern small towns. It will unmask the midwestern hospitality in these communities as *in*hospitable and unwelcoming, and unveil the midwestern normativity as normalized indifference, intolerance and everyday racism.

This dissertation presents a counter narrative to the Great Migration scholarship, which focuses on the points of departure, such as the traditional Jim Crow South, and the points of

destination, the urban North (e.g. Osofsky; Lemann; Grossman; Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora*). Indiana is an important state along the Great Migration corridor because many railroad lines originating in the South traversed through it to midwestern metropolises like Chicago and Detroit. And as Nicholas Lemann writes, "[t]he main transportation routes out of the [Mississippi] Delta led straight north" (15). The expansion of the railroad lines allowed black Southerners spatial mobility beyond southern boundaries by relocating in spaces that offered opportunities for self-determination and socioeconomic improvement in defiance of their southern status quo of societal subordination. Indiana is also a prime agricultural state, offering plenty of fertile soil and opportunities for black Southerners and their kin who had become skilled farmers in bondage to freely build personal livelihoods from the vast arable lands of the rural Midwest and potentially establish themselves as free citizens. Despite the emergence of discernible black communities in cities such as Indianapolis, Gary, and Fort Wayne, migrants largely chose to avoid settling in Indiana towns. This dissertation explains why.

My dissertation unpacks the contradiction of the cultural perception of traditional Indiana communities typical of the rural Midwest as welcoming against nativist and racist ideologies. In this regard, my project also provides a complementary narrative about the Ku Klux Klan. Indiana was the hotbed of the public reemergence of the KKK in the 1920s. It is therefore important to contextualize race relations and the history of exclusion in a state where the marriage of nativist and racist organizations like the KKK sent a message to minority Americans considering relocation in the Midwest.

My project challenges both of these narratives that have contributed to a mythical absence of blacks in Indiana and the small-town Midwest. Both narratives are instrumental in the "common" understanding, often perpetuated through scholarship, that the Midwest is the big white space. This

dissertation seeks to disrupt these narratives. It disrupts the idea of predefined destinations of southern black migrants by illustrating that not all wanted to settle in big cities but intended to own businesses, raise families, or in short, to pursue life and happiness in the small-town Midwest. It disrupts the midwestern whiteness by displaying resilience and resistance of minorities in the same landscape. Ultimately, it disrupts stereotypes of midwestern friendliness by uncovering the self-perceived understanding of midwestern hospitality of Hoosier communities that stands in stark contrast with the unwelcoming environment as experienced by outsiders.

First, my dissertation explores why southern black migrants did not stop in midwestern small-town communities and how the urban-only narrative of the Great Migration came to life. I analyze migrant letters for desires and motivations of black Southerners to complicate the master narrative of the lure of the city. As the letters provide evidence for desires to improve economically and socially (regardless of geographic location), I explore national print media articles to identify living conditions and value systems in the small-town North. I propose that race and geography cannot be dismissed in the context of the Great Migration and we need to question the reasons and motivations behind giving up the dream of land ownership, an aspect identified by various scholars as one of the key components for independence and self-sufficiency (e.g. Painter 68; Grossman 6). Expanding upon existing accounts of the Great Migrations, I draw attention to these in-between spaces along the migratory pathways like Indiana and ask what attitudes, cultural values, and local ordinances made them unattractive to black migrants.

Second, my dissertation illuminates the relationship between spatiality, ideology, identity, and belonging in the in-between spaces in Indiana in order to understand what makes a community feel welcoming or unwelcoming to racial minorities. What is it about a community that invites strangers to feel that they can linger or even settle, or by contrast creates discomfort or even fear?

Furthermore, how is knowledge shared about these communities, and how is it conveyed to outsiders? In other words, how are communities and outsiders made? By answering these questions, I propose that we can begin to understand how such spaces produced unspoken racial assumptions that have proven durable across the twentieth century and into our own time.

Finally, I illustrate how the histories of towns, people, and migration pathways contribute to our contemporary understanding of race in the Midwest. I dissect the historical, economic, and sociocultural foundations of exclusion in one exemplary Indiana county that experienced a dwindling black population throughout the twentieth century and an increasing Latinx population in the twenty-first century. Given that there is historical evidence of a black presence in the community, I explore the mechanisms that rendered some parts of the population invisible and the extent to which they are still relevant today. I develop a unifying theoretical framework of cultures of exclusion based on a combination of Pierre Bourdieu's habitus, Benedict Anderson's imagined communities, and George Lipsitz's white spatial imaginary. I explore participants' perceptions of their small-town communities, values, and attitudes to reveal the larger processes at work, namely exclusionary practices, active and passive forgetting, and structural inequalities. I deploy the framework of the cultures of exclusion to tease out the mechanisms and practices of intolerance, indifference, and inhospitality that characterize the selective memory of participants regarding their imagined white community. Moreover, I complicate the selective memory of long-term white residents who perceive their communities as all-white spaces. I do so by celebrating minority achievements as well as discussing the detrimental effects of the legacy of the cultures of exclusion then and now. Lastly, I warn about the lingering exclusionary practices by contextualizing contemporary national political discourses demarcated by marginalization and *non*belonging.

Theoretical and Scholarly Influences

The Great Migration, the massive relocation of southern blacks from the turn of the twentieth century until 1970, was a sociohistorical phenomenon that shifted American demographics and race relations forever (e.g. Spear; Osofsky; Drake and Cayton; Grossman; Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora*). The migration stream can be divided into two major waves – the first peak wave is generally framed from 1915 until 1930, triggered by and following World War I until the Great Depression; and the second wave, sparked by World War II, from around 1940 to 1970 (Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora* 23–38). Whereas the first wave witnessed a relocation of approximately 1.5 million southern blacks to the North, the second wave experienced up to 5 million (Reich xxi; Grossman 19; Gregory, "The Second Great Migration" 21). This spatial and demographic reorganization of U.S. society has been investigated from various scholarly angles, including history, sociology, economics, and geography. Many twentieth-century studies focusing on the phenomenon explore reasons for leaving the South and/or analyze the reception of the new black arrivals in the urban centers of the North, such as Chicago and New York (e.g. Spear; Osofsky; Grossman; Lemann; Tolnay). Twenty-first-century scholars expanded our understanding by examining the Great Migration of black *and* white Southerners (e.g. Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora*; Dochuk), exploring internal migration patterns of black migrants to southern urban centers, such as Houston, Louisville, or Atlanta (e.g. L. Adams; Pruitt), and investigating the extent to which black migrants reconnected with nature in the North after settling in the cities (e.g. McCammack; Walker and Wilson).[1] Though each angle improved our understanding of who

[1] For an excellent and more comprehensive literature review of Great Migration scholarship and the new emerging trends, see for example Tolnay's "The African American 'Great Migration' and Beyond" and Reich's introduction to *The Great Migration. A Historical Encyclopedia of the American Mosaic*. Tolnay also contextualizes the return migration to the South after 1970 (223–224).

moved where and when (and oftentimes why), the subject seems to be far from having exhausted all perspectives.

This research project provides yet another angle to our understanding of the Great Migration, adding an important caveat to this scholarly conversation. It invites us to reinterpret the Great Migration narrative by challenging the myth that all southern black migrants became urbanites and by exploring mechanisms in small-town America that actively and ultimately contributed to the formation of many black enclaves in the urban North. "The urban America that emerged from the postwar era," Luther Adams writes in *Way up in Louisville*, "was a product of the aspirations and agency of African Americans as much as it was of the action of the state, the vision of urban planners, or *white resistance*" (2; emphasis added). It is the white resistance of small-town midwestern America that is the focus of this dissertation.

Mapping Whiteness: Uncovering the Legacy of All-White Towns in Indiana challenges our historical and socio-geographical understanding of the relocation of southern blacks. The Great Migration transformed not only the places of departure and arrival but affected and altered the spaces along the way, reshaping the social and political geographies of every location migrants passed. Anxiety over an influx of southern blacks, for example, resulted in an increase of sundown policies across the nation and particularly in the Midwest (Loewen 8, 127). The scholarly silence on small-town America's role in shaping internal migration patterns, however, implies relative insignificance of these areas in shaping race relations or America's political future at large. This dissertation demonstrates the central role of small midwestern communities in that regard.

Small towns, if mentioned at all, have negligibly been discussed in Great Migration studies. For example, James Gregory makes a brief reference to the appeal smaller midwestern and western cities, such as Indianapolis, Columbus, Kansas City and Portland, had to black migrants who came

after World War II, and solely mentions in a side note that "in addition there was a certain amount of migration to the towns and rural areas of the North and West." He immediately readjusts his focus to the "the largest and most politically and culturally significant cities" as they absorbed "the main force of the African American diaspora" (*The Southern Diaspora* 117). Though Gregory does not further explore life and circumstances for black migrants in northern small towns, he acknowledges the interdependence between northern cities and small towns. It is not possible to know the exact number of black migrants who left the South, settled in the rural North or the urban cities. The most obvious increase and thus approximate numbers for southern blacks relocating in the North exist for the cities, which explains the scholarly attention. But this is not the whole story. Although the number of southern blacks relocating to the small-town North may be comparatively modest, they should not simply be ignored and forgotten. By setting the minority of migrants to the side means that we refuse to scrutinize the circumstances that curtailed their numbers in these areas in the first place.

Already in 1944, Gunnar Myrdal investigated the mobility and migration of southern blacks, as the first wave of the Great Migration ended around the time of Great Depression. He tried to understand why not more of them left the South. He came to the following conclusion:

> The primary explanation seems to be that in rural areas of the West, white settlers *decided* that there were not to be any Negroes. That seems to have been true in most rural areas of the Northeast and in most smaller towns of the entire North. The closer neighborhood controls in smaller communities seem to have blocked the Negro from moving in when he was no longer protected as a slave. (186–187; emphasis added) [2]

[2] *American Dilemma* was published on the eve of the second migration wave, which relocated more than five million southern blacks to the North and West of the country. His observation however held true, as the time span overlapped and correlated with the spread of sundown policies across the nation (Loewen 127). The late Gunnar Myrdal admitted some errors in his attempt to understand American society, including and most relevant to this study, "underestimat[ing] the degree of bias in the North ("Gunnar Myrdal").

Assigning agency and decision-making powers to the "white settlers," Myrdal hints at the social pressures that northern whites might have imposed on a potential influx of blacks in their towns. These social pressures are worth investigating further, as they help explain the active role of small-town Northerners in contributing to the rise of urban ghettos and creating an imaginary white Midwest. *Mapping Whiteness* seeks to do just that.

Through its focus on Indiana, this dissertation also deepens our understanding of midwestern history and culture. Whereas the U.S. Census Bureau incorporates 13 states in its grouping of the region, I refer to the five states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin when referencing the Midwest. I base this classification on the Northwest Ordinance from 1787, which established a territorial government for the land North and West of the Ohio river which incorporated these later-to-become states (in that sense, they were the first midwestern region before the label Midwest had been coined). Scholars have pursued various approaches to define the region. They have described the Midwest as amorphous and elusive, yet simultaneously have also identified it as the American Heartland, the most American part of America, and the quintessential America (Cayton et al.; Shortridge; Lauck; Hurt). Cultural geographer James R. Shortridge tried to capture the "idea" of the Midwest, identifying pastoralism and nostalgia as important midwestern cultural traits – in the minds of Midwesterners and non-Midwesterners alike. Robert Wuthnow picked up the motif of nostalgia in his *Remaking the Heartland*, identifying it as one of the aspects why the transformation and reinvention of the Midwest, which he details and celebrates in his work, have frequently been negated. Instead, the region is perceived as one in decline, as a place that people leave (Wuthnow, *Remaking the Heartland* x). Wuthnow counters this narrative of decline and concentrates on the economic adaptations and social transformations that contribute to the region's survival and prosperity. In a similar vein, J. L. Anderson's edited

volume on the *Rural Midwest Since World War II* enriches our understanding of the diversity of the region *and* its people; however, foreword writer R. Douglas Hurt notes the persistence of the sentimental and nostalgic views about the Midwest as the agrarian, moral, and ethical ideal in the twenty-first century (ix). Echoes of these sentiments are also captured in this dissertation.

I find myself agreeing with scholars who claim that the Midwest, or small-town America for that matter, are quintessentially American. Yet, unlike most scholars who claim that the region is the epitome of American exceptionalism such as Lauck or Shortridge with attaching patriotic and nationalistic values to it, I argue that the region is quintessentially American because it is a microcosmic community that struggles over questions of belonging characteristic of larger U.S. society. Like the nation, these communities respond to these struggles along racial lines, demarcating boundaries for racial and ethnic minority outsiders. This results, among other things, in actively and passively excluding, marginalizing, and forgetting the other.

In their introduction to *The American Midwest: An Interpretive Encyclopedia*, historian Andrew Cayton and his co-editors note

> Today, the American Midwest is a source of comfort and conformity, a place transformed from a nineteenth-century symbol of progress into a twenty-first century of stability, from the home of pioneers pointing the United States toward the future into the residents of guardians of the nation's traditions. (xxiv)

Whereas I encountered all of these midwestern values during my research and life in the Midwest, I challenge these assumptions about the Midwest and ask: For whom does the Midwest provide "comfort" and "stability" and at what cost?

Several recent works have broken open the "white imaginary" of the Midwest, capturing long-negated and ignored but valuable ethnic and racial diversity in its midst. For example, rural and minority historian Debra Reid writes African Americans into the rural midwestern narrative in "'The Whitest of Occupations'? African Americans in the Rural Midwest, 1940-2010."

American Studies scholar Hana Lee Moore writes Asian Americans into the white imaginary of the Midwest, identifying religious identity among Korean Americans as a key mechanism to cope with the racism they face in the region in "Re-Examining the Heartland." Robert M. Taylor, Jr. and Connie A. McBirney explore Indiana's ethnic and racial diversity in *Peopling Indiana*, capturing in an expansive volume the ethnic and racial histories and experiences in a state whose population was 95 percent native born (and 97 percent white) in 1920. In the introduction to their essay collection *The American Midwest*, Cayton and Gray make an important observation identifying the Great Migration as a catalyst for Midwesterners to imagine themselves and their region as white. They write:

> Nothing was more critical to the flattening of white ethnicity in Midwestern regionality than the mass migration of tens of thousands of African Americans from the South, particularly in the decades after the two world wars. […] African Americans posed a serious challenge to the self-image of white Midwesterners. Unlike other immigrants, they could neither be ignored nor assimilated. The color line made white ethnicity superfluous. For the first time in the history of the Midwest, racial prejudice made European Americans see themselves as one people. The sharing of color trumped all ethnic divisions. Blacks became to whites in the Midwest the epitome of people who failed to realize the potential of the Midwest because they failed to inculcate its central values of self-discipline and industry. This was a false reading of black life, but the power of this image is undeniable. Blaming blacks for their poverty and unemployment affirmed the legitimacy of white Midwesterners' collective self-image. As white ethnics fled the cities for the suburbs, the association of urban areas and blacks became a cliché. (24–25)

Mapping Whiteness corroborates the potency of this self-image as the white Midwest; simultaneously, it shows that the self-perception as a white imaginary long preceded the Great Migration in places like Indiana. In her exploration of blacks in the rural Midwest post-World War II, Debra Reid observes that "Rural race prejudice and white supremacy explain why few blacks considered the rural Midwest a destination" (208). This project shares Reid's finding. I will demonstrate that state policies and communal practices have defined and reinforced perceptions of their locales as white spaces throughout history.

More importantly, *Mapping Whiteness* draws our attention to the detriments of this self-image, which is largely based on decades-long exclusionary practices as well as the negligence and ignorance of diverse experiences in their midst. The lack of formal history and public debate left midwestern small-town America free to reimagine its past and commemorate moments of pride such as being a stop on the Underground Railroad without reflecting upon the politics and attitudes that prevented black Southerners from staying and settling in their towns. Today's struggles in the region to adopt to the demographic changes, in particular, are intricately linked to this white imaginary of the Midwest.

In recent years, scholars have paid much attention to the twenty-first century demographic changes in small-town America noting the cultural clashes and difficulties from the uprooting of their all-white reality. For example, Stephen Bloom explores the clashes between white Christian Iowans and Hasidic Jews after a New York business man purchased a defunct meatpacking plant in Postville, attracting Hasidic Jews and Hispanic migrant workers to the small town in *Postville: A Clash of Cultures in Heartland America*. In *A Midwestern Mosaic*, political scientist Celeste Lay investigates political socialization and rural attitudes in two midwestern towns that have experienced drastic racial and ethnic diversification through immigrant settlement. Similarly, in their ethnographic study *Apple Pie & Enchiladas: Latino Newcomers in the Rural Midwest*, Ann Millard and Jorge Chapa explore the social and economic realities of immigrants in the small-town Midwest, which are marked by negative community perceptions and widespread institutional racism. Likewise, in her ethnographic study *Latino Heartland*, Sujey Vega explores the politics of immigration and belonging in an Indiana community. My research aligns with and will enrich this scholarship, as I am paying attention to the origin of those prevalent attitudes and values in these towns perpetuated by the local white residents in small-town America. These values have a long

history, the culture of exclusion has been in the making for decades if not centuries. This dissertation will show how it came to life and how it matured, incessantly perpetuating an environment of *non*belonging and unwelcome to outsiders, particularly racial and ethnic outsiders. Vega's concept of "denied belonging" (106) will prove useful in this regard.

The issues raised in this dissertation are not local ones. Though mainly located in one Indiana community, chapter two traces the major trends that frame the discussion in the dissertation across Indiana's 92 counties. In some cases, the exclusionary practices shape past and current demographics of the county. In others, it's more evident through the continuation of racist and inhospitable actions, such as church vandalism in Brown County.[3] In yet others, like in Clinton County, it might be displayed through the active and passive forgetting of past events and people. No matter the approach, most if not all cases discussed in this dissertation exude socially-sanctioned measures of exclusion, thereby creating their desired all-white communities at one point in time and maintaining these conditions over decades. To that extent, I am adding to the scholarship of sundown town studies, spearheaded by James Loewen's monograph *Sundown Towns. A Hidden Dimension of American Racism.*

Theoretically, I will deploy Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* to trace the culture of exclusion as it explains the social structure of the world according to people's mind. Bourdieu defines habitus as "a system of *dispositions*, that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, or a system of *long-lasting* (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action" (43; emphasis in original). Hillier and Rooksby summarize the Bourdieusian concept as "a sense of one's (and others') place and role in the world of one's

[3] Three tags – a swastika, "Fag Church" and "Heil Trump" – were painted on the outside of the St. David's Episcopal Church in Bean Blossom, Brown County days after Donald J. Trump was elected as the 45th U.S. President (Brilliant). The incendiary symbolism and language targets minorities across racial, sexual orientation, and religious lines and thus illustrates the potency of the culture of exclusion and its treatments of "outsiders."

lived environment […] habitus is an embodied, as well as, cognitive, sense of place" (21). Capturing this sense of place, *Mapping Whiteness* explores this set of values internalized by small-town residents in Indiana. It delineates how they think, feel, and act to identify "the deep cultural conditioning that reproduces and legitimizes social formations" (Bonilla-Silva et al. 233). It uncovers the consequences of the "white habitus" of Indiana, a concept coined by political sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. Bonilla-Silva expanded Bourdieu's concept to emphasize the racial aspects, defining it as "racialized, uninterrupted socialization process that conditions and creates whites' racial tastes, perceptions, feelings, and emotions and their views on racial matters" (*Racism without Racists* 121). He identifies one of the key consequences of whites' segregated life as the promotion of "a sense of group belonging (a white culture of solidarity) and negative views about nonwhites" (ibid.). The small-town culture in the U.S. Midwest delineated in this project captures the white habitus and its consequences.

The social construction of race, and whiteness in particular, is key to understanding the dynamics in midwestern small-town America. Scholars have connected whiteness to the construction of the American nation and national identity at large (e.g. Gerstle; Omi and Winant) as well as noted the mutually constitutive relationship between race and space (Razack; Lipsitz; Nelson). Whiteness studies pioneer Ruth Frankenberg foregrounded whiteness as a social and spatial location, exploring how white people see race with regards to racial others but not themselves. She argued further that whiteness "generates norms, ways of understanding history, ways of thinking about self and other, and even ways of thinking about the notion of culture itself" (231). Geographer Helga Leitner found local white reactions toward immigrants of color to be informed by locals' understanding of the rural Midwest as a white place and at large of America as a white nation. Leading American Studies scholar George Lipsitz uncovered the racial

assumptions and imperatives of apparently race-neutral spaces in urban America, coining the term "white spatial imaginary." I consolidate these different theoretical findings into a lens, with which to analyze the cultures of exclusion in white small-town America.

Besides habitus, and more specifically white habitus, I found the concepts of "normative whiteness" and "white racial frame" useful for my analysis. Historian Paul Spickard coined the term "normative whiteness" to describe the unmarked assumption that "unless we are informed to the contrary, the people under discussion are White" (27), introducing whiteness as the baseline for everything American. Similarly, sociologist Joe Feagin coined the term "white racial frame" to analyze American society, demonstrating that such an analysis cannot be separated from the racial construction of reality. Noting the breadth and complexity of the frame, Feagin explains,

> Over time white Americans have combined in it a beliefs aspect (racial stereotypes and ideologies), integrating cognitive elements (racial interpretations and narratives), visual and auditory elements (racialized images and language accents), a "feelings" aspect (racialized emotions), and an inclination to action (to discriminate). Moreover, over centuries of operation this dominant white framing has encompassed both a strong positive orientation to whites and whiteness (a pro-white subframe) and a strong negative orientation to racial "others" who are exploited and oppressed (anti-others subframes). (10)

All of these aspects are revealed in this dissertation. Whiteness is unmarked and frequently unnamed in comments by white informants about themselves as well as town events and town people. The normativity of everything white became particularly clear in interview moments when whiteness lost its unmarkedness and white respondents struggled to find language to refer to white Americans. These are moments in which I trace whiteness in Indiana rather than asserting its embeddedness. Negative stereotypes surface in discussions about racial others as well as in local newspaper coverage, manifesting and reinforcing the positive take on the unmarked whiteness and white reality that they believe surrounds them. This project interrupts the invisibility of whiteness, through which it maintains much of its power, and explores it as a set of cultural practices that are

not only unmarked but also exclusive. Like Ruth Frankenberg, I am assigning "*everyone* a place in the relations of racism" (6; emphasis in original) and like George Lipsitz, I am drawing attention to the white spatial imaginary of "seemingly race-neutral" spaces like small-town Indiana, a quality that derives from the unnamed nature of whiteness (13).

Though this dissertation delineates the existence and potency of a white habitus in the Midwest and illustrates how the white racial frame works on a micro-level, it simultaneously disrupts the traditional white imaginary of the Midwest. It redefines the region by paying attention to the lives of marginalized, silenced, and forgotten communities. I complicate the conversation about the region and the "idea" of the Midwest, arguing that by not paying attention to the in-between spaces between places of origin and places of destination, these communities were free to not only imagine themselves as white communities but also actively attempt to cement this reality as a fact of life. I show how whiteness operates in Indiana locales and Hoosier webs of social relations. Framing my argument within the Great Migration context, I also challenge the concepts of citizenship, community, and culture as they pertain to the "white" Midwest.

All three concepts are socially-constructed and abstract in nature but with real-life implications. My conversations about belonging vs. *non*belonging accentuate both how citizenship operates and how cultural practices are reproduced on regional and local levels in an attempt to provide community – a community that turns out to be exclusive and imagined. Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined community will be useful to illustrate that. He is concerned with teasing out solidarity and connectedness to a shared identity, through which it gains its power and meaning, by foregrounding material and institutional conditions that shape community. I look at how individuals situate themselves, their lived experiences, and others in relation to their small-

town image, history, and environment. *Mapping Whiteness* examines how small-town white Midwesterners actively accomplished "their" imagined white communities.

In regards to the concepts of citizenship, community and culture, I view them as dynamic and interactional rather than static. In this dissertation, I illustrate the fluidity and flexibility of these concepts while noting context and restrictions/limitations through structural and collective practices. In other words, this project attempts to foreground how cultural practices and institutional processes intersect with embodied knowledge and behaviors to generate and perpetuate an unwelcoming environment to racial and ethnic minorities. The racialized geographies of Indiana, as discussed in this dissertation, will complicate notions of citizenship and show how it is negotiated, contested, and actively made – not only on a national level but on a town, county, and state level, as well. The racialized geographies of Indiana will reveal discourses and embodied practices of community, further advancing our understanding of community-making and a sense of belonging through a focus on history, memory, as well as active and passive forgetting.

Community is a concept difficult to define, let alone analyze, as it has been widely used to describe cultural belonging, society at large or societal groups, as an actual social phenomenon and as an abstract idea. I am concerned with foregrounding the empirical understanding of the sense of belonging attached with the concept. When I use the term "community," I draw on anthropologist Anthony Cohen's work on the experience of culture and communities in complex industrial societies. Focused on British rural communities, Cohen understands community as an intricate web of relations, structures, and ways of belongings (*Belonging* 5–9). Cohen developed his community model further, emphasizing the symbolic construction of community while maintaining his focus on identity and relationality. My respondents teased out their experiences

and meaning of small-town life in relation to the larger U.S. society and the world while evoking their sense of belonging to their community through shared practices, knowledge, and history.

While both Anderson's and Cohen's understanding of community as embedded in culture as a system of values, norms, and moral codes are valuable to my approach in this dissertation, it is Cohen's juxtaposition of community and boundaries that will be most useful. Cohen expanded on Frederick Barth's theory of ethnic boundaries, and argues that people become aware of their community at the boundary with other entities from which they wish to distinguish themselves, and further that this awareness informs their "attachment to a locality" (*Belonging* 3). I agree with Cohen on this read of community, but am arguing further that people not only become aware of their community/locality at the boundary, but fully appreciate and embrace the sense of belonging to it. I am trying to understand how people attach themselves to *their* locality and community. Much of the boundary-making and boundary-maintaining process I will discuss in this dissertation is concerned with remaining exclusive – exclusively small-town, exclusively Christian, exclusively white.

Cohen discusses this aspect under the concept of community assertiveness when encroaching on community boundaries reifies the sense of belonging, as "members find their identities as individuals through their occupancy of the community's social space: if outsiders trespass in that space, then its occupants' own sense of self is felt to be debased and defaced" (*Symbolic Construction* 109). He continues, "A frequent and glib description of what is feared may be lost is 'way of life'; part of what is meant is the sense of self" (ibid). Many of my community respondents related to their town and fellow white residents through their connectedness to the regional history, economic progress and communal Christian values. While they constructed their sense of belonging and their community through remembering, sharing and reliving these

collective practices, they simultaneously reinforced their community boundaries – often through invisible – yet impenetrable – forms of exclusion, erasure, and forgetting of minority participations and contributions. Racial and ethnic minorities, in the white residents' minds, do not belong in their community but rather on the other side of the community boundary.

Methodology

I opened this introduction with an ethnographic moment that occurred towards the end of my field work (though not in my field site). It conveys thematically and methodologically what this dissertation entails. Thematically, it emphasizes the connection between culture and memory, between midwestern small-town communities and erasure of black Americans. Methodologically, it underlines the importance of historiographic *and* ethnographic research approaches for this project.

In order to answer sociohistorical cultural questions, historians frequently rely on census data, the manuscript census, archival collections, city directories, newspapers, and the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*. I consulted all of these materials. I used census data for all decades from 1850 until 2010 to receive a general overview of the demographic make-up of Indiana communities. I corroborated the census information with available decades of the manuscript census (1870 – 1940). The manuscript census provided various valuable insights. Though at times inaccurate in the race category, it gave me the opportunity to corroborate the census data. It was most useful to me with regards to places of birth to determine the southern black migrants in the community and shed light into other characteristics of the individuals recorded: age, family status, profession/employment. Additionally, it recorded home ownership and value of the home in some decades, which proved useful to consider – especially if a family suddenly dropped out of the manuscript census, i.e. left town. As the census was recorded by the census taker going from door

to door, it also provided an overview of the neighborhoods. In the case of my research site of Frankfort, Indiana, it proves that there was no enforced residential segregation, as individual African American families lived among white neighbors. In only a few instances did black families live next door to other black families. Thus, the census and the manuscript census helped reconstruct the social geography of the communities under investigation. More importantly, the retrieved information addresses two central concerns of this dissertation, as it on the one hand documents that northern small-town America provided opportunities for southern black migrants, and on the other hand, raises questions regarding white residents' erasure and neglect of their black neighbors, which demands an explanation.

City directories and local newspapers proved instrumental in reconstructing events and official attitudes in the community. City directories documented home address and profession of individuals, as well as demarcated black residents and social organizations with an asterisk or a "c"/"colored" next to the names, though inconsistently. These directories prove particularly useful to fill in the gaps between the decennial censuses to trace when a particular individual might have left town. A close analytical reading of the *Frankfort Morning Times*, a newspaper that caters to all of Clinton County, from 1889 to 1970 and 2000 to 2010 provided insights into what and who mattered in the community, but has also revealed incidents of race-and-ethnicity related frictions in the community in an attempt to preserve the (self-perceived) racial homogeneity of the town. The time spans correlate with the prime era of the spread of sundown towns, which according to James Loewen flourished between 1890 and 1970 (9), and the increase in the Hispanic population, respectively. As the self-proclaimed voice of the people, the local newspaper provides us with a more comprehensive understanding of town values and communities' perceptions. For example, in more recent years journalistic accounts as well as readers' opinions disclose attitudes toward

the rather divisive issue of immigration, as Frankfort witnessed an increase in settlement of (im)migrants of color.

Archival materials have proven pivotal in understanding direct legislative actions on a state level as well as personal attitudes from public county officials across the state of Indiana. My dissertation presents the first interpretation of archival materials not yet studied by scholars. Specifically, I drew upon the Black History Project files to challenge the claim that predominantly white small towns transpired coincidentally in the advent of southern black migration through these spaces. I had initially planned to conduct a multi-sited ethnography in Indiana to illustrate the potency of exclusion with examples from across the state. The project morphed into an in-depth study of *one* Indiana community upon discovering the Black History Project and realizing that the active and passive mechanisms of forgetting and exclusion/inhospitality were not unique to Clinton County. Frankfort could have been "Anytown, Indiana" in these years. With the help of the Black History Project, I was able to delineate a pattern of white hostility toward and resentment of blacks in towns and counties across Indiana resulting in all-white or predominantly white environments. The Black History Project, discussed in detail in chapter two, complements my research findings and corroborates that this study could have taken place anywhere in Indiana and most likely the Midwest. I share various incidents that took place across Indiana's 92 counties that exemplify the culture of exclusion through various mechanisms and practices of inhospitality, hostility, and *non*belonging (see also Appendix A for detailed collection description).

I mined the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* from 1900 to 1970 to build a database of Great Migration-Midwest-Small Town America articles published in twentieth-century print outlets with a wide, possibly national, readership. Indexes like the *Readers' Guide* have frequently been criticized for the large omission of African American newspapers and magazines, as they

limited the distribution of "African American perspectives on civil rights issues that did not appear in the mainstream media before the 1960s and thus reinforced the perception of American life that dominant white Anglo-Saxon Protestant cultures defined" (Wiegand and Wiegand 190). Whereas I agree with their criticism of the index, it was less of a limitation for the scope of this research project, as I wanted to understand to what extent small-town America was discussed in the realm of the Great Migration on a national level, i.e. in "mainstream media." I manually scoured the *Readers' Guide* for the following keywords: "Negro," "Migration," "Immigration," "Ku Klux Klan," "Middle West" and "Indiana." The search resulted in a total of 1213 articles for the seven decades (see Appendix A for sampling criteria and analysis).

In a project that investigates the experiences of southern black migrants in northern small-town America, ethnographic research might be a little counter-intuitive for some. But how do you research history that has not been recorded, documented, or remembered publicly? What are the implications and consequences of forgetting one's own history – for the individual, a community, and the nation at large? Ethnographic research methods enabled me to better understand Clinton County's contemporary identity, how the community celebrates and presents itself to the outside world, and created a space for these populations to speak for themselves. I employed semi-structured interviews and participant observation to flesh out the dynamics of what happens on the ground in a small town that has experienced a pronounced growth of its minority population in the twenty-first century. Attending communal events like summer festivals or immigration forums enabled me to observe how a midwestern small-town displays who is (considered) a part of the community (and who is not) and what values are being cherished (and which ones are not). Participating in community-making events like church-catered food banks or Día de los Muertos photo shoots allowed me to engage various communities in Frankfort while observing moments

of identity-making and belonging. Through interviews, I was able to corroborate or counterbalance these observations and at times receive clues as to past non-white contributions that further guided my archival research.

Danish philosopher Svend Brinkmann argues that conversations are "a rich and indispensable source of knowledge about personal and social aspects of our lives" and that "Cultures are constantly produced, reproduced, and revised in dialogues among their members" (3). Thus, in order to explore the social aspects of small-town American life, I conducted my interviews in a semi-structured manner. Whereas I had some key questions to investigate the meaning of small-town life in Clinton County, I wanted to provide enough room for my respondents to share their stories. It was important to me to record their experiences in the area, their understandings of the local history, and their interpretations of changes that their town is undergoing. Residents described places and events, beliefs and values, as well as challenges and innovations. To fully flesh out how the individual maps onto the collective, I rely on history and memories of my residents, which according to historian Susan Curtis "bear an uneasy relationship to each other." She further explains,

> Memory is suspect; history is authoritative. Memory is deeply personal and subjective; it arises spontaneously and takes on different coloration, depending on what prompted it to burst forth from the recesses of the mind. History changes, too, as new perspectives are brought to bear on past events, as new bodies of evidence are examined and deciphered, and as the needs of one generation give way to those of another. (9)

On the pages that unfold, we will find analyses of historical documents, interpretation of antique collectibles, and reflections of interview moments. We will find some deeply personal and subjective memories at times prompted by the topic of conversation. We will come to see that they are less reflective of the individuals who spoke and more reflective of the town mentality at large.

As this research project is more concerned with the town's identity (rather than individual players), retrieving residents' memories regarding critical moments in their town history was an important methodological objective of mine. It allowed me to better trace how residents came to understand their surroundings as an all-white environment and perceived their lives as all-white reality. Memory is not only deeply subjective, as Curtis states, but also highly selective. However, as Gittins notes, "the very process of selection in recollection provides *in itself* important historical data. In other words, *what* someone remembers can be a good indication of what has been most important to that person over time" (92; emphasis in original). Generally, proud historical town moments as well as altruistic moments in their personal experiences of the town community stand out in the interviews. Moments that mattered to the individual (and the town) were remembered. Less proud moments were erased, overlooked, forgotten – or simply withheld because, after all, I remained an outsider to the community.

Feagin also highlights the central role of collective memory in the overarching worldview that defines the white racial frame and normative whiteness, noting

> Most groups have important collective memories, but those with the greatest power, principally white Americans in the U.S. case, typically have the greatest control over society-wide institutional memories, including those recorded by the mainstream media and in most history books, organization histories, laws, textbooks, films, and public monuments.
>
> What the dominant racial framing ignores or suppresses is critical to the continuation of oppression. Collective *forgetting* is as important as collective remembering, especially in regard to the prevailing narratives of the country's developmental history. (17; emphasis in original)

Not only have white residents in small-town Indiana been the dominant group to narrate their town histories in personal interviews, but they also publicly remember their version of history in county histories, public monuments, local papers and Black History Project surveys. I paid as much attention to what was said as I did to was left unsaid in my analysis, retrieving instances of

collective remembering as well as collective forgetting. Doing so, I unearthed many silences and made visible the powers that produce such historical narratives (Trouillot xxiii).

At times, particularly in the latter half of my interviews, national controversies and debates regarding politicians and political agendas in light of the 2016 U.S. presidential election revealed more about the interviewees' value systems than my questionnaire – which avoided overtly political questions. Yet, to state that none of my questions implied political undertones would be false. Questions about demographic diversity and hate-groups, the latter of which arose when participants brought up Indiana's association with the Ku Klux Klan, are always political in nature.

The duration of my interviews depended on the availability of my participants and ranged from one hour to five and half hours. In some instances, the interview took place in two sittings as other commitments prevented the conclusion of the interview in one sitting. Luckily, most of my interviewees were eager to continue our conversation in our follow-up meeting. The interviews were conducted between October 2015 and October 2017 and took place at locations of their choice, including their homes, cafes, restaurants, libraries, and churches. In six cases I interviewed two participants at a time, resulting in an even more organically evolving yet purposeful conversation among spouses, family members, and friends. In three instances involving one individual and two couples who I had interviewed early during my field work, I had extensive follow-up conversations in the later stages of my field work, which proved relevant for the extent to which national political events shifted the topic of conversation toward conservatism. In all cases, the respondents provided a more comprehensive overview of their values and belief systems. Some respondents even went so far as to include their opinions on heated national debates about "Muslim bans," "refugee terrorists," and "migrant caravans."

In total, I engaged 28 individuals from the community in semi-structured interviews, 11 women and 17 men, ranging in age from their early thirties to their late nineties (Table 3 in Appendix A). Although I made a serious attempt to diversify my sample, given the demographic nature of the community under investigation, the majority of my interviewees were white (78.6 %). Occupationally, participants were affiliated with city employment, churches, farms, as well as public institutions, including schools, banks, and community centers. Almost a third of my participants identified themselves as "retired," some by the time of the follow-up interview. However, "being retired" in a small-town setting does not mean a freely available schedule to participate in research endeavors automatically, as all of my "retired" participants were involved to various degrees in community activities and volunteering through their churches, club memberships, and local committees (see Table 11 in Appendix A).

I identified individuals in the community through various strategies. First, I began interviewing residents that I met during community events like town festivals, during which I engaged them in conversation about my research and inquired about their interest in participating in my study. One of my last questions during our interview session inquired about their knowledge about other individuals in the community who might know about the history of the town, which at times resulted in various contacts. Because my aim was to gather a diverse sample from the community, I limited the number of names drawn from any one contact, selecting people based on their town "reputation," political leaning, or professional standing. But this second set of interviewees are comprised of individuals from snowball sampling. Finally, the third set of interviewees were residents that I had to come to know quite well during my personal community engagement and other community-making activities. Because the goal of interviewing was to get

a variety of residential opinions, not to have quantifiable data, this relaxed sampling method was sufficient.

In these interview sessions, I asked a few background questions such as place of birth and years they have lived in the community. The remainder of my questions focused on life in the community and history of the town, encompassing topics such as town history, neighborhoods and school environments, demographic diversity and relationships, community events and engagement, as well as community values and perspectives. When I met my participants for our conversations, I gave and explained to them the consent form, set up my notebook and tape recorder, offering to turn it off any time they asked. Confidentiality was assured; therefore, throughout the dissertation, details about individuals have been altered to protect their identity. I have used pseudonyms for all interview participants to preserve their privacy, as it is not important who exactly said it. Rather, the content of what is said and how is it said reveals a more systematic approach to thinking about life in small-town midwestern America. In a few instances, I have even stayed away from assigning pseudonyms for highly sensitive topics to further ensure confidentiality, but all unreferenced quotations from residents derive from my interviews. Whereas all of the interviews were conducted with residents of Clinton County, I do not disclose names of the individual towns from which the respondents came to further preserve anonymity.

I utilized a grounded theory approach in analyzing the interviews, which I analyzed in NVivo 12 software after transcribing them verbatim, as the "method prompts us to interact with our participants, data, codes, and tentative categories" (Charmaz 361). This approach allows the data to speak for themselves, which is one of my aims, as I am interested in how community members construct themselves in relations to their lived experiences and roles in their communities. The initial coding resulted in broad themes and concepts, loosely based on the questionnaire I used

during the interviews. The second coding focused on the most frequent codes to conceptualize key themes and meanings. Through coding the data, I identified properties of key concepts in this dissertation, such as belonging, linking them to the subjective experiences and teased out how people enacted these concepts. Doing so, I was about to "infuse taken-for-granted concepts with specific meanings" (Charmaz 371); for example, define implicit meanings and specific communal values behind the ubiquitously expressed phrase "typical American small town."

I enriched my interview data with participant observation at local festivals, community and bicentennial celebration events, cultural gatherings, community services and immigration forums. These moments were informative both in terms of framing issues of town identity and change in the community, as well as in gathering names of residents to interview. Local festivities shed light into understanding how towns present, narrate, and celebrate their identities. Participant observation provided me with the distinct opportunity to identify who and what matters in the community and allowed me to witness the demographics of participation in community events, offering a better understanding of interactions between different ethnic and racial groups. I also frequented Hispanic-owned businesses and volunteered at local food banks. In those moments, I corroborated my impressions of interactions between the two dominant ethnic groups in the town, whites and Hispanics, as well as who requires community assistance and knows how to get it.

A critical issue in completing the ethnographic component of my research was gaining the trust of residents in small-town midwestern America. I identified myself as a graduate student from Purdue University, which could have been a potential red flag, perceiving me as the liberal elitist educator. But the status of graduate student from their regional flagship for higher education made me less threatening and granted me more legitimacy as a "seeker of knowledge" among my research participants. I had familiarized myself enough with the town's and county's history to be

able to ask intelligent questions, yet not enough to know all the details. I adopted Rebecca Klatch's strategy of "knowing enough without knowing too much" (17), which she utilizes in *Women of the New Right*, an in-depth study of conservative and right-wing women.

During the interviews, I adopted an active listening and non-argumentative approach (Klatch 17). I would support and empower my participants in sharing their thoughts openly with me, not challenge them on their beliefs. I would ask participants to clarify their remarks and beliefs, but I did not debate them. Neither did I assert my own views or values on the matter (Klatch 17). This strategy however required a lot of emotional labor from my part as a researcher, given the fact that some of the remarks were culturally and racially insensitive, if not outright racist. Arlie Hochschild defines emotional labor as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (7). In some instances, I managed my researcher self by not showing my emotional reactions to the topic under discussion. In other instances, however, not sharing any emotional reactions to what was said could have been perceived as insensitive or indifferent to their shared remarks, resulting in the discontinuation of the respective topics. Especially in moments when my interviewees prefaced the statements they were about to make with "this might not be politically correct" or "this might sound prejudiced, but it's not," I felt the need to assure and empower them to share their points of view displaying empathy as best as I could. After all, I was interested in absorbing and understanding their lived experiences and worldviews.

My interest in studying race relations and racism on a small-town level derives from my personal experiences as an international graduate student in the small-town Midwest and my academic interest in understanding the concept of hatred, more specifically the implications and consequences of hate based on difference. I am committed to producing scholarship that breaks silences, uncovers biases, and makes a difference in the world we inhabit. In my bachelor's and

master's theses, I addressed legacy aspects of U.S. culture that have historically tolerated and condoned acts of violence such as lynching and hate crimes. When I moved to Indiana, I intended to pursue hate crime-specific research. Encounters in and beyond West Lafayette, however, constantly left me with an eerie indescribable – yet unpleasant – feeling. A Howard Zinn Read-In during my second year of graduate school featured James Loewen, a sociologist by training who established himself as a sundown town expert, provided me with language to explain how I felt in the small-town Midwest. Earlier that semester, I had given a talk in the local community on the experiences of the Iranian community in the Greater Lafayette area, deriving from an ethnographic project for a cultural anthropology class. My co-presenter, a U.S. American of color, and I addressed, among other aspects, the local misperceptions of "all Iranians are terrorists" and resulting mistreatments of the Iranian community. Post-presentation conversations with the elderly white audience revealed that they were more comfortable with me – the white presenter – in sharing slightly insensitive and culturally inappropriate remarks about fellow international community members in the area. Though initially befuddled about the interactions, they taught me a critical lesson about my positionality and standing among white small-town Midwesterners.

I am perceived as white in this society. This comes with responsibilities and opportunities. The encounters at this talk early in my graduate career made me realize that my whiteness trumped my citizenship status and language abilities/deficiencies. Whereas these are not my only identities, they are the most prominent ones in the discussion of belonging unfolding in this dissertation. I tested this theory in other instances and noticed a difference in ways I was being treated compared to fellow international community members of color. Historian Paul Spickard explains the "emotional preferences [of] many Americans" for "White immigrants" with "a deep-seated longing for a White republic" based on the assumption that "racial and cultural homogeneity are

necessary to a successful country" (416). Whereas I shy away from making a broad generalized claim, being white first and immigrant second enabled me to conduct this research on racism in the Midwest. In other words, my racial identity provided the key to small-town America.

Though my interviewees never failed to make me aware of my foreigner status, most welcomed me kindly. I attribute this to my phenotypic characteristics. Sociologist Robert Wuthnow discusses newcomers referring to people who relocate to small-town America, noting the difficulties of becoming a part of communities "dominated by a single ethnic or nationality background" (*Small-Town America* 126). This explains the cultural clashes that occurred in my research site in the early twenty-first century when many newcomers of a different "ethnic and nationality background" interrupted the all-white reality of Clinton County. And here I come, the white European immigrant, whom they could envision embracing and assimilating much more easily into their imagined white community.

Whereas most of my interviewees were often-times reserved in the initial stages of the interviews, partially because I am an outsider to the community and in part because they did not really know what kind of questions to expect, the longer the conversation went on, the more my respondents opened up, reflective in the less glorious moments in the town past and present, to which they alluded later in the conversation. Again, I attribute the increased level of comfort and trust to the color of my skin. My accent faded over time and in light of the fact that my participants did most of the talking, but my skin color was a constant and visible indicator that they were talking to *their* kind.

My whiteness also mattered in interactions with racial and ethnic minorities in the field. Some folks that I approached inquiring about their interest in participating in my study, be it through surveys or interviews, brushed my requests off and walked the other way. In interview

moments, my whiteness remained on their minds and was centralized in questions about potential newcomers to the community and hypotheticals like "imagine if I were to move to town …" Independent of my participants' initial response, I attempted to decentralize and resituate my whiteness when adding other hypothetical scenarios, including individuals of different racial, national, sexual orientation, or religious backgrounds.

Regardless of the level of comfort my participants developed in sharing their thoughts and attitudes in the interview, they usually and at times admittingly "policed" their speech when commenting on more controversial aspects about their experiences in the community or avoided these topics altogether. I did not encounter – for the most part – outright, open racists. I encountered some, yet they "policed" their remarks enough to be deemed acceptable to share with a community outsider. As mentioned before, the bright moments of town history and personal experiences outshone the less proud moments in the interviews. The stains on their white vest were maybe overlooked or forgotten, but it is just as likely that they were simply withheld because, after all, I remained an outsider to the community – no matter how comfortable they became during the interview and how much knowledge and experiences they shared with me, the white European researcher.

This speech policing drastically changed when Donald Trump was elected president, turning these post-election interviews into moments in which I faced my biggest challenges as a social scientific researcher engaging human subjects for my research. Significantly less inhibited, my respondents openly shared their opinions on immigration bans, refugee policies, DACA [Deferred Action on Childhood Arrivals], Supreme Court nominations and the like, all highly contentious debates on the national stage at the time. Methodologically speaking, I knew I needed the data to understand the contemporary small-town dynamics and larger patterns of the

inhospitable exclusionary cultures; ethically, though, I felt filthy. Phrases of illegality and immigrants surfaced, becoming a key theme among more socially conservative participants in my data collection. In multiple instances, I felt strongly inclined to provide fact-based information to respondents who blatantly cited "alternative facts;" yet, simultaneously, I did not want to influence the data presented by my informants. I found myself in a methodological ethical dilemma (Vega xxi–xxii). This conundrum made me question my authenticity in the field. Am I being dishonest to my interviewees in letting them share their insensitive and at times racist opinions with me, whom they started to trust, at least somewhat? Should I be adopting their insensitive language in an attempt to gather more evidence that delineates a culture of exclusion and an inhospitable environment full of tirades, stigmas, and stereotypes, frequently associated with racial and ethnic minorities? What role does my whiteness play in these encounters?

I attempted to walk a middle ground. Frequently in post-election interviews, my informants wanted to know more about how events like the refugee crisis and the migrant problem affected Germany given the fact that the humanitarian crisis of Middle Eastern and African refugees had reached unmatched proportions during the time of my field work. If asked, I would state my opinions on the matter and circled back to their community by bringing the topic back into their community. Remarks about current national political agendas and ideologies with regards to the Trump administration exceed the scope of this dissertation project, but do surface in chapter five, in which I demonstrate how the culture of exclusion continues to dominate lived experiences in small-town America in 2019.

Some might argue that I could have written this dissertation without ethnographic components. My non-ethnographic data reveal enough evidence to make a strong argument about the detriments of the legacy of a racist society that never dealt with its racist past. Though my

interviews complicate the narrative, they provide a more compelling and more accurate reflection of the subtle ways in which white supremacist ideologies have corrupted people's worldviews and beliefs and continue to dominate the lived experiences of all residents in this country, black and white, foreign and domestic. The oral memories of contemporary migrants and minority residents complement and reinforce my archival findings, echoing the written memories of the Great Migration migrants. They help situate expressed yet unfulfilled hopes in the northern towns and lived experiences of being unwelcome in small-town America. The memories of local white residents, on the other hand, provide an understanding of what they regard as the most valuable aspects of their community, intentionally and inadvertently disclosing how the "whites only" attitudes from the past have persisted into the present.

This is a public history and an ethnography of one emblematic Indiana community through a social justice lens. It is not intended to scapegoat the residents who openly shared their at times problematic opinions with me, for which I am eternally grateful. It is rather intended to uncover the ubiquitous legacies of systemic racism and endemic nativism – on a local, regional, and national level in U.S. society. Drilling down into one community enabled me to delineate patterns and practices of ethnocultural exclusion perpetrated by white majorities against people and communities of color. In other words, my research encourages honest and active recognition and reflection on personal and community roles in perpetuating legacies of injustice. My work prompts action toward disrupting present-day systemic racism, endemic nativism and white supremacy given that they are symptoms of exclusionary pasts. It invites us to be uncomfortable and tell uncomfortable histories and uncomfortable truths. I retrieved many locally forgotten and unheard stories from Clinton County's past, it is up to all of us to listen to and value lived experiences of

all inhabitants in this nation to work toward a more harmonious co-existence for all of us who live here. It is our responsibility to put an end to the cultural amnesia that opened this introduction.

CHAPTER 1. (IN)VOLUNTARY URBANITES: THE GREAT MIGRATION TO MIDWESTERN SMALL-TOWNS

The "Great Migration and the men and women who shaped it," James Grossman concludes in his introduction to *Land of Hope*, "can teach us much about not only the Afro-American diaspora, but the meaning and *boundaries of American citizenship and opportunity* as well" (9; emphasis added). With his words, Grossman alludes to the fact that southern migrants knocked on the doors to the kingdom of the free, the "Promised Land,"[4] in which liberty, equality and pursuit of happiness can be achieved in practice, through honest hard work as a U.S. American citizen – unlike the U.S. South where sixty years of Reconstruction efforts leading up to the Great Migration had proven that equality was out of reach. Grossman's choice of the word "boundaries," however, implies that this door in many instances was more like an at times insurmountable wall, as the "Promised Land" was not free of racism and discrimination. The invisible boundaries of northern white racial animosity such as exclusionary attitudes or inhospitable practices toward the black newcomers in their towns have been severely understudied.

In general, Great Migration narratives focus on leaving the oppressive sharecropping South in order to achieve full citizenship rights in the North. Allan Spear's exploration of Chicago's black neighborhoods in *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920* and Gilbert Osofsky's investigation of black New York in *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* note the black presence in both cities prior to the Great Migration but acknowledge that their populations were too small to be visible or bring radical political change such as voting rights and political

[4] I place quotation marks around the term to underline the illusion surrounding the term, as southern black migrants frequently regarded the North as the beacon of hope, a land without prejudice and injustice. The quotation marks indicate that the Promised Land was far from being a Promised Land for the new southern arrivals, as their citizenship status and rights continued to be contested.

representation (Spear 7; Osofsky 177). As the numbers of black city dwellers grew, so did discrimination and racism proportionately whenever black newcomers attempted to intersperse with white neighbors. This white animosity confined them quickly to designated neighborhoods (Spear 8, 11, 19). With the skyrocketing numbers of black Southerners arriving during the first wave of the Great Migration, which scholars date around World War I, these black neighborhoods soon underwent a transformation from "the city within a city"[5] to the black ghetto. A classic case study in this regard is St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton's *Black Metropolis*, which portrays the lives and opportunities of the black community in Chicago within the rigid walls of residential segregations as well as the job ceilings which prevented social and economic uplift.

In their zeal to contextualize the migration phenomenon in the urban context of the North, Great Migration scholars seemingly overlooked the fact the North is abundantly more than metropolises like Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York City. Equating the Great Migration with the urban North[6] clouds our desire to ask a seemingly logical question if one expresses the wish to leave one's home: Where to? I started this research because I struggled to accept the "lure of the big city" as the only answer. The switch from the plight on the southern farm to the anticipated better life in the urban industrial North seemed incomplete, if not unlikely. From my point of view, it makes sense to leave a place that deprives you of your basic human and civil rights, including obtaining an education and casting a vote. The lack of an education limits your job opportunities. Yet, you have been able to provide for yourself and your family by doing what you know best: farming. So, this thought process at least begs the question "why not relocate to a rural area with

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[5] I adopted this widely popular phrase from Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis,* in which the authors embed the phrase to describe Chicago's black belt as an "object of pride to Negroes of all social strata. It is *their* city within a city. It is something '*of our own*.' It is concrete evidence of one type of freedom – freedom to erect a community in their own image" (114–115; emphasis in original).

[6] Southern black migrants left the census-defined South and relocated across the nation – the North, the Midwest, and the West. Frequently, migrants and scholars alike refer to the destinations as "north or west." For simplicity, I will use "North" and "northern" to refer to all locations outside of the census-defined South.

fertile lands, an area that allows voting and guarantees an education for your offspring?" Socioeconomic uplift has always been a strong incentive for migration across borders and oceans (e.g. Myrdal 195). The penchant for urban spaces in the Great Migration scholarship, however, leaves unanswered the question of why black Southerners did not stop in communities along the way, many of which bore a strong geographical resemblance to the rural South from which they had come. Assuming the emancipatory desires for northern liberalism exclusively in city environments overlooks how labor and work practices as well as imagined quality of life in the North equally shaped interests to go north.

Notwithstanding, this scholarly predilection for the urban environment makes sense, partially being the result of location and convenience. For one, many migrants, though not necessarily anticipated, ended up in cities and transformed many urban neighborhoods, work sites and community institutions by their presence. For example, Chicago was a major destination for southern migrants. Simultaneously, while Chicago grew in size, it also became a pioneer and major research hub for ethnographic research with the University of Chicago being the frontrunner in the field of sociology. The poster children of the Chicago School, St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, offered a panoramic account of black life in Chicago in the first half of the twentieth century in *Black Metropolis*, a stellar exemplar of what anthropologist Clifford Geertz coined "thick description." Within the broader context of U.S. racism and exclusion, the authors grasped in great detail the life, thoughts, attitudes and customs at the South Side of Chicago. Studying the clusters of migrant groups in the cities that surrounded the university certainly facilitated the establishment of ethnographic research as a major component in sociological scholarship. However, the problem with this approach is the underlying assumption or generalization that *all* migrants went to the cities and that they are representative of *all* migrant experiences. To make

matters even worse, the same strategy of emphasizing the urban migrant experience was applied in writings from the era of the Great Migration, be they academic or journalistic, the cities seemingly were the exclusive destinations for black southern migrants.

However, the question of migration to rural spaces is not unusual and atypical. Anyone familiar with the history of the Exodusters will ask not so much why southern blacks decided to leave the South, but rather where to. In *Exodusters*, Nell Irvin Painter explores the "rural-to-rural migration" of southern African Americans to Kansas (260). This exodus to the "Promised Land" preceded the Great Migration by three decades, culminating between 1879 and 1881. Prior to the exodus to Kansas and ever since emancipation, blacks had frequently moved westward to the frontier South, which already indicated their desire to remain a farming community. The "Kansas Exodus," as it came to be known, was the first major attempt for blacks to relocate outside of the South. Painter's study explicates the desperate and disenfranchising conditions of black Southerners that also became one of the push factors during the Great Migration. Though not analyzed in depth, Painter notes about the letters written by black Southerners around the time of the Kansas Exodus, "Almost without fail, the first question concerned terms under which land could be acquired […] Unequivocally, Black farmers in the South desired above all else to own their own land and to be independent farmers" (68). When it became clear that desires of land ownership and independence were, for the most part, unattainable in the South, black southern farmers looked to the North and West to pursue their desires of land ownership and independence. The focus of the Great Migration scholarship, however, implies that this desire must have changed entirely within one generation, as migrants in the twentieth century allegedly exclusively flocked into the cities.

The goal of this chapter is to enrich the "urban-only narrative" of the Great Migration in the twentieth century. More specifically, this chapter has two purposes. First, it will demonstrate that black southern migrants did have a desire to settle in the promised *land* of the North – *land* meaning literally owning land, farming, and living a small-town life. These voices stand in stark contrast to the print media articles of their time, which presented the relocation of black southern migrants overwhelmingly in urban terms. An analysis of a sample of such articles disseminated in newspapers, magazines and journals will follow. While the majority of migrants during the migration period ended up in big cities, this is not the whole story. However, the lure of the city also caught scholars in their explorations of this migration phenomenon and explains why they then and now have been overlooking, and thus exculpating, the rural and small-town Midwest in the creation and maintenance of all-white communities that surrounded the big cities. This juxtaposition of African Americans' desire for land and small-town life with white attitudes and policies in such rural Midwestern areas that undermined and prevented black settlement amongst them will help us understand why despite rural desires, the majority of black Southerners ended up in the big cities. Consequently, the second goal of this chapter is the teasing out of U.S. American small-town mentality and culture to uncover how exactly such unwelcoming environment has been created and perpetuated in these towns that continue to complicate harmonious co-existence even today when racial and ethnic minorities settle in their midst.

Rural Ambitions or Urban-Only Desires?

How and why exactly did Great Migration scholars display a predilection for urban America when exploring the migration, from reasons for leaving to reception in the new locales? How did the relocation to the northern urban areas become the only narrative about the Great

Migration? Did the migrants themselves display the urban-only desires in their expressed intentions of leaving the South behind?

As the Great Northern Drive[7] happened a century ago, it is nearly impossible to find migrants who participated in the first wave of the Great Migration. I interviewed one participant, William,[8] who was less than a year old at the time of the family's departure from Birmingham, Alabama to Chicago in the summer of 1919. Though he did not have any personal memories of the family's motives of leaving and decision where to settle, he grew up fostering the narrative that he already knew at this young age that the South is not a good place for blacks. In his own words, "The humorous story goes like this: Things were so bad and having the attitude of my father, when I was eight months old, I looked around in Birmingham and saw what was going on, and I said to my mother 'shit, I'm leaving here.' So, I brought my family to Chicago." He caveats his statement, explaining his sarcasm: "Now I tell it that way to humorize it, but also to give the reader and the listeners an idea of how bad the South is" (William).[9]

Due to the scarce amount of oral history data I was able to collect, I decided to focus on existing historical records of migrant accounts instead. More specifically, in search of small-town references I am mining Emmett J. Scott's compilations "Letters of Negro Migrants of 1916-1918" (henceforth "Letters") and "Additional Letters of Negro Migrants of 1916-1918" (henceforth "Additional Letters"), which he published four months apart in the summer and fall of 1919. As a

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[7] I am adopting the term from the *Chicago Defender* coverage of the Great Migration in 1917. For the first five months in 1917, while reporting on the migration of southern blacks to the North, the *Chicago Defender* kept announcing May 15, 1917 as the specific date for the "Great Northern Drive," during which thousands and thousands more blacks are departing their southern homes (e.g. "Northern Drive to Start." *Chicago Defender*, 10 Feb. 1917, p. 3).

[8] I use pseudonyms for all my participants to protect their confidentiality regardless of having been given permission by some of my participants to use their real names. This interview was conducted in the fall of 2015.

[9] Great projects that include interviews on migrants' experiences in the urban North include Goin' North, a digital archive that captures the migration experience to Philadelphia resulting from two university courses taught by Janneken Smucker and Charles Hardy, and Timuel D. Black, Jr.'s two-volume compilation, *Bridges of Memory*, that account migrant experiences establishing a new life in Chicago.

Special Assistant for Negro Affairs to the Secretary of War in the Woodrow Wilson administration, Scott looked into all matters affecting life and interests of black soldiers and citizens during the war. The Great Migration was one major on-going event that affected the black population during his tenure in the Department of War. His compilations of migrant letters capture how. These written memories of the Great Migration migrants help situate expressed (yet unfulfilled) hopes for the North and elucidate what migrants anticipated they would find in the North, the "Promised Land." By analyzing the letters, I am centering the voices of the migrants themselves. I hope to answer questions about the southern black migrants' motivations behind relocating and settling outside of the South and find indications for which economic, political, and cultural factors shaped their decisions. Although the majority of black migrants ended up in big cities, the letters demonstrate that many of them did not necessarily anticipate that to be their destiny.

Tracing Migrant Desires in "Letters of Negro Migrants of 1916 – 1918" and "Additional Letters of Negro Migrants of 1916 – 1918"

In total, these two publications entail 310 letters, which provides an adequate sample size to flesh out migrant desires in this chapter. Among other aspects, these letters provide insight into motives and aspirations of the southern migrants. All but ten letters are dated in 1917 (seven are dated in 1916, three in 1918). Whereas the letters indicate the major city and state from which they were sent, none of authors signed their letter. On the contrary, some writers specifically asked for it not to be published, fearing potential repercussions once their desires to leave the South came to be known. Scott honored their requests and compiled letters anonymously. In his introduction to "Letters of Negro Migrants of 1916-1918," Scott explains that his compilation of migrant letters serves to provide "information concerning the Negroes in the North … where the Negroes settled, what they engaged in, and how they have readjusted themselves in the new situation" ("Letters"

290). I believe this statement is slightly exaggerated, as only the last 14 letters in "Additional Letters" were written by migrants who had relocated in the North by the time they sent the letter. However, I would like to rephrase Scott's claim regarding blacks in the North. Whereas the letters do not reveal where the prospective southern migrants settled or if they left the South at all, one can retrieve from the letters where they *anticipated* or *desired* to settle. With that in mind, I am reading these letters with the specific purpose of demonstrating that black Southerners had the desire to and eventually left their southern homeland, but not exclusively to relocate to the urban industrial centers as the dominant Great Migration narrative wants us to believe. Instead, as the next section will demonstrate, migrants expressed specific desires to settle in smaller towns and more rural areas which resembled more the environment they would leave behind.

"Anywhere Up North"[10]

First of all, it is important to note that of the 296 letters,[11] 116 or 39.2 percent do not indicate any references to desired locations. In most cases, the writers described their work experiences and skills for various jobs in which they could envision themselves. At times, they included their physical descriptions, their family status and a request for transportation for themselves and others (e.g. "Letters" 315). In other instances, the letters simply expressed the utmost desire to leave the southern soil behind (e.g. "Deridder, LA, April 18, 1917," "Letters"

[10] I coded the letters based on geographic indication – "north," "city" and "small town." References to "north" include "north," "eny where above the Mason Dixon line," "northern part of this country" and "up there" when the context clarified that the writer of the letter was referring to the dichotomy between South and North. Any city names, such as Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Philadelphia, qualified as "city" references as well as phrases like "in your city." "Small cities near Chicago," small size town," "small town" and recurring farming references or offers to work on northern farms were marked as "small town." At times, letters expressed references in more than one category, in which case they were coded accordingly.
Many of the letter contain grammatical errors and lack punctuation. I will quote directly from Scott's compilations without indicating "[sic]" after every mistake to foster readability.

[11] As my focus is on the *anticipated* final destinations of the letter writers, I am excluding the last 14 letters of "Additional Letters" from the analysis, as they were written by migrants who had already relocated – nine in cities, five in smaller towns in the Northeast and Midwest.

330). Reading the letters confirms the agency of the migrants, “They were chooser, makers, and doers” (x), as historian Florette Henri already aptly noted. Historian James N. Gregory echoes Henri’s classification, describing the migrants as “agents of change who used the opportunities of geography to alter the cultural and political landscape of the nation and all its regions” (*The Southern Diaspora* 7).

Regardless of the explicit nature of their potential destination, reading all the letters in one sitting invokes the sense of urgency that the letter writers must have felt. Requests to respond immediately and offers to be there within a few days establish a feeling of desperation among their readership. Frequently, one also comes across the pledge that they are “no loafer” or “tramp” (e.g. “Rome, GA., 5/16/17,” “Letters” 299; “Houston, Tex., April 29, 1917,” “Additional Letters” 428). This is noteworthy because it might be reflective of the publicly perpetuated stereotypes about (black) migrants at the time that could have presented potential hurdles in acquiring a position in a new environment for black Southerners, so that the prospective migrants felt the need to underline that they are honest people and highlight their industriousness. It particularly stands out when they plead to the editors or potential employers to send transportation and offer to repay them with their first paychecks.

With regards to geographical references, 121 letters, or 40.9 percent of all letters, expressed the desire to simply go “North.” This is important because it voices the desire to leave the South behind – at least the oppressive structures of the South that also come with uncertain and insecure economic incomes and unsatisfactory civic, social and educational conditions. Yet, the fact that the “North” is always synonymous with “urban” seems to be an academic interpretation of the Great Migration. For example, James Grossman defines the Great Migration as “the first mass movement of black southerners to northern cities, during and immediately after World War I” (3).

Early works on the Great Migration agreed that most migrants were sharecroppers with little experience in urban life (e.g. Frazier; Drake and Cayton), yet rarely would scholars inquire why the city is the only destination. Instead, scholars shifted their stance on "prior" urban experiences in the South before coming North. In his *Landscapes of Hope*, just published in 2017, Brian McCammack provides probably the most recent example in the Great Migration canon. He writes, "Although data is frustratingly sparse, it seems that these trends meant that many if not most migrants had significant urban experience before moving North, undertaking a step migration from the rural South to the urban South before making the leap to cities in the North" (4). Yet other scholars such as Luther Adams in *Way Up in Louisville* (2011) and Bernadette Pruitt in *The Other Great Migration* (2013) complemented and thus reinterpreted the Great Migration narrative by emphasizing that actually not all black southern migrants left the region but chose to remain in the South by relocating to southern urban centers such as Louisville and Houston, respectively. Whereas I agree with McCammack's view on the step migration process, I would like to propose another step prior to the leap to the city that might have taken place, instead of or in addition to the urban South experience, adding the rural North experience. Here are two potential alternative scenarios:

1) Rural South → Urban South → Rural North → Urban North
2) Rural South → Rural North → Urban North.

The data is too sparse to know for sure, but both of these scenarios seem possible when we return our attention to the migrant letters. My analysis revealed that slightly more than one fifth of the letters (20.9%) contain explicit city references. In other words, 62 letter writers openly expressed the desire to relocate to a northern urban environment. Meanwhile, a little less than one fifth (17.9%) of the letters contained small-town references. That is to say, 53 southern pen pals

indicated preferences for a small town, a more rural environment. Of all the letters that contained a reference to the North, almost one fourth of them also contained a reference to small towns (29 letters = 24.0%). The combination of North and city is a lot less common, as only 18 letters (14.9%) include city references when talking about desires to "go North." Six of all 296 letters contain references to all three categories – "It does not matter where, that is; as to city, country, town or state since you secure the positions" ("Atlanta, GA., April 30, 1917," Additional Letters" 430). Thus, analyzing the migrant letters for geographical preferences does not support the all-too-familiar "urban-only narrative" of the Great Migration. To let the migrants speak for themselves and illustrate the percentage of small-town references further, I proceed with a content analysis below.

Heading North – In Their Own Words

The push towards the big cities is noticeable in some of the letters. Whereas the majority of the letters address "sirs" generally, or specific editors in particular, one letter stands out in its opening by addressing their request "To the Urban Committy [sic]." However, it quickly becomes clear that this prospective migrant had desires to the leave the South, but with no specific destination in mind and that he held "no objection to work in other small towns" ("Atlanta, GA.," "Letters" 301). Like many other letters, the writer emphasizes that he was not tied to one particular destination. In another letter, the list of "no objections" where employment can be found was extended, "no objection to living in a small town, suburb or country" ("Vicksburg, Miss., May 7, 1917," "Letters" 319).

A prospective migrant from Pensacola, Florida, writes, "*Dear Sir*: I seen in the Chicago Defender where men was wanted in small towns near Chicago at fair wages" ("Letters" 292; emphasis in original). A fellow Pensacolan would like to be put "in touch with a firm in a small

size town, where it would send [him] a transportation" ("Additional Letters" 429). Another Floridian from St. Petersburg is "coming north and [wants] to know of a good town to stop in" ("Letters" 293). Yet another Floridian, this time from Sanford, wants even more specific information "about conditions in some small town near Chicago" ("Letters" 294). These four letters from Florida illustrate an important point. Regardless of the size of their location of origin (if we were to assume that the writers resided in or close to the post offices from which they mailed the letters), they all inquired about relocating to a small town in the North. Whereas the desires for a small-town environment of the individuals from St. Petersburg and Sanford make sense with both of these cities being small towns themselves (the populations for 1910 according to the U.S. Census Bureau were 4,127 and 3,570, respectively), Pensacola residents were more accustomed to a somewhat urban environment, as it already had 22,982 residents in 1910. One could hypothesize that an adjustment to at least a medium-sized city environment for the Pensacola residents were easier; yet, all of these prospective migrants expressed interest in relocating to a northern small town.

Frequently, migrants express their small-town desires through metonymy. Some letters do not specify their desired locations of destination or the type of locale they prefer, but simply express the desire to leave the South and go "up there" (e.g. "Greenwood, Miss., Apr. 22nd, 17," "Letters" 311–312). However, their small-town desires at times shine through indirectly when migrants describe themselves as a "good farmer" and a "Curch member" with a "niCe famely" ("Winina, Miss., Mar the 19 1917," "Letters" 312), or "a christians" ("Houston, Tex., April 29, 1917," "Additional Letters" 428), maybe in an attempt to appeal to northern small-town residents. As chapter three of this dissertation will reveal, family and church constitute important values in a "typical small town" in the Midwest. In a similar vein, a carpenter from Anniston, Alabama plans

to come "north" and inquires if "you mite no of som good town in that secson" ("Letters" 295). Here, instead of describing themselves as a "good" person, the migrant is in search of a "good" town, another preferred metonymy for a "typical small town."

Oftentimes, migrants are more outspoken in their letters and map out their anticipated new life in the North. Another Alabamian does not shy away from expressing his explicit desire about relocating to and pursuing business opportunities in a small town in the North:

> *Gentlemen*: Gentlemens desious of Settling in some Small Northern Town With a modrate Population & also Where a Colored man may open a business Also where one may receive fairly good wedges for a While ontill well enough azainted with Place to do a buiseness in other words Wonts to locate in Some Coming town Were agoodly no, of colard People is. ("Letters" 303)

Whereas not everyone is explicit in describing their anticipated business plans, many migrants are explicit in their desire for a small-town environment when relocating to the North: one Memphian desires a "job in a small town some where in the north" ("Letters" 337), while one New Orleanian requests advice on "a good place where I can get a good job out in some of the small places from Chicago about 50 or 60 miles" ("Letters" 331). Indicating the distance from Chicago, he makes clear that he would like to relocate in the North, but is not attracted to the metropolis. Neither is this preacher from Starkville, Mississippi: "I dont care for the large city life I rather live in a town of 15 or 20 thousand" ("Additional Letters" 436). These letters express socio-economic uplift as well as explicit desires for a small-town life style.

At times, Chicago serves as reference point for the prospective migrants. Chicago is most likely the only place they could name, as the reputation of many small towns usually does not cross state borders. Thus, migrants hook themselves onto the familiar and express their small-town desires in relation to Chicago like the New Orleanian above inquiring about "small places from Chicago about 50 or 60 miles." Likewise, a fellow New Orleanian writes as follows: "… I beg to

state to you that if your could secure me a position in or around Chicago or any northern section with fairly good wages & good living conditions for myself and family" ("New Orleans, LA., April 23, 1917," "Letters" 294). He repeats the same sentiment a little later. Similarly flexible in his destination – in relation to (not in) the metropolis – is another fellow from Cedar Grove, Louisiana, asking about firms "of your city & your near by surrounding towns of Chicago" ("Letters" 294). The inquiries frequently encompass phrases like "in or around Chicago" (e.g. "New Orleans, LA., 5-5-17," "Letters" 295) and "factory work in or out of the city will do" (e.g. "Pensacola, Fla., May 7, 1917," "Additional Letters" 431), but also come in the form of employment "with living wages, on tobacco farm or factory" (Hamlet, N. C., May 29, 1917," "Letters" 310). Others indicate that they "are making preparation to come north and are not particular about coming to Chicago" ("New Orleans, LA., 5/5x17," "Additional Letters" 433). Some letter writers include their conversations with recent returnees to the South to express their desire to go North, but "would rather be in some place. other then Chicago. or near Chicago" ("New Orleans, April 22, 1917," "Letters" 307). Though Chicago is referenced in most of the examples, the desire for socioeconomic uplift is palpable. Thus, the letters also show livelihood and occupational desires, reflective of different practices of citizenship (Grossmann 8).

Chicago is not the only reference point of the prospective migrants. Some writers communicate their desires to relocate northward by extending the list of potential destinations to the entire Midwest and "North," as the following examples demonstrate:

> … I will go to pennsylvania or n y state or N J or Ill. Or any wheare that I can surport my wife … ("Jacksonville, Fla., April 4, 1917," "Additional Letters" 412)

> we are not choice about locating in the city as we will be satisfied with a small town as well as any part of the north. ("Savannah, GA., 4/21/17," "Additional Letters" 441)

> I am thinking of leaving for Some good place in the North or West one I dont Know just which I learn that Nebraska was a very good climate for people of the South. I wont you to give me some ideas on it, Or Some good farming country. I have been public working for 10 year. I am tired of that, And want to get out on a good farm. ("Ellisville, Miss., 5/1/17," "Letters" 305)

The last example expresses small-town desires through its recurring references to the countryside via "farm" and "farming."

"Why should they not seek homes in the rural parts of the North?" is a question G. S. Dickerman posed in his 1917 editorial published in the *Crisis*, the national organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) (217). Dickerman wrote his editorial in response to a recent survey that identified most migrants stemming from the rural South. He answers his own question, stating

> They are needed there. All good tillers of the soil are needed on northern farm lands as they never have been needed before in the history of the country. They are needed to help raise food crops, not only for this country, but for half a dozen other great countries on the brink of starvation. (ibid.)

Dickerman uses World War I to emphasize and explain the "need," a word he chooses four times in the above quote to illustrate the northern rural vacancies and underline his point that migrants should consider the rural North when leaving the South behind.

Dickerman's plea was heard if one considers other migrant letters. The idea of "Some of us like farm work" is expressed throughout the letters (e.g. "Pensacola, Fla., 4-21-17," "Letters" 331; "Mobile, Ala., May 15, 1917," "Letters" 328), underlining the fact that not all southern black migrants were attracted to the big city and were planning to sacrifice their occupational histories. The fact that they wrote the letters demonstrates their interest in leaving the South behind – regionally/geographically but not environmentally/occupationally – as the references to farming indicate. After all, "this are farming people they were raised on the farm and are good farm hands" ("Sherman, GA., Nov. 28, 1916," "Letters" 338–339). Writing on behalf of "15 or 20 familys," an

Alabamian explains that "the greater part are farmers & good worker & honest people" in his letter that details the plight for blacks in the South. He reinforces the desire for farm labor later in his letter again, "We want to imigrate to the farmers who *need* our labor" ("Additional Letters" 451–452; emphasis added). Though written five months earlier, the letter reads like a response to Dickerman's plea. Another one writes, "I am expecting to come with my family to your town, or some smaller town near you, in the near future. Would like to farm near Chicago or some small town near Chicago where my children can have good educational advantages" ("Deo Volente, Miss., April 30, 1917," "Additional Letters" 435–436). Chicago here again only serves as a reference point for the general desire to relocate North of the Mason-Dixon line; the emphasis is on small-town farm lifestyle.

Some writers even address the fact that they are waiting to finish the harvesting season in the South before wanting to come up North – another way to stress their close ties to farming that they would like to continue outside of the geographical South:

> *Sir:* I am looking for a place to locate this fall as a farmer. Do you think you could place me on a farm to work on shares. I am a poor farmer and have not the money to buy but would be glad to work a mans farm for him […] I will be ready to leave here this fall after the harvest is layed by. I am planting cotton. ("Crescent, Okla., April 30, 1917," "Additional Letters" 434–435)

The letter attests to the fact that regardless of work, black migrants desired to leave the South – and some indeed preferred maintaining their connection to the land. This humble request does not even anticipate land ownership in the North, but strongly identifies the man's desire to stay in the farming occupation. Dickerman also entertains the idea of land ownership in his editorial. After indicating that "Here on the farms, too, are the finest prospects for accumulating property and becoming independent landowners," he recognizes that "Of course, it will be the best way to begin as a hired farm hand, for this is the path to acquaintance with the methods of northern farming and

the friendly relations with the neighborhood where one is at work" (218). Circling back to his argument for land ownership opportunities, he continues, "But one should not rest satisfied with being a mere farm hand. He should make up his mind at the start to buy some land as soon as he has the money to pay for it, and this should be kept steadily in view, till he has a farm and a home of his own" (ibid.).

And again, one can find evidence of a similar thought process in the migrant letters. A prospective migrant from Pascagoula, Mississippi, implies the desire to buy land when writing "We will work in any small town in Illinois. All of these men are property owners and have large families. We'll *leave* families 'till later on" ("Letters" 309; emphasis in original). The information snippets of "property owner," "large families," and "'till later on" express these men's desire to achieve the same status as property owners in the North to offer to and provide for their "large families" once they reunite in the "Promised Land."

Whereas the majority of the letters in Scott's compilations were sent from the geographical South, one letter was sent from the Midwest. The gentleman from Topeka, Kansas, is in search of bettering his position himself. He notes the difficulties blacks have in the Midwest: "To the Majority of the Middle western race people it seem quite improbable that oppertunities for good wage earning positions such as factory work and too a chance for advancement would be given to the workers of our race. Such conditions in this part of the country to my knowledge is rare" ("Letters" 297–298). Not condemning the entire Midwest, he then proceeds to express some optimism when reflecting upon a recent *Chicago Defender* issue that reported that "some appearantly well organized league found openings for negro workmen in some parts of Wis. and Ill. that could not be filled" ("Letters" 298). Said reporting from the *Chicago Defender* may have encouraged him to consider relocation within the Midwest, though that is speculation. However,

Wisconsin and Illinois are the only specific geographical references in his letter. The letter was sent from Topeka, Kansas, which by 1910 already had a population of 43,684; 4,538 or 10.4 percent of them black residents.[12] Was Kansas the "Promised Land" three decades prior, the situation for black Kansans certainly deteriorated over time. Calls for school segregation became louder and more frequent since the beginning of the twentieth century and discrimination became more prominent and widespread, including denial of services in restaurants and hotels.[13] The expansion of discrimination in industry then undermined black economic uplift and security even more drastically (Cox 166–71). Thus, the deteriorated race relations that the letter writer laments might have been based on his inability to acquire a position in industry as a black man, which was certainly true for many midwestern cities at that time.

Kansas was not unique in implementing segregation and discrimination in many areas of public life. In particular prior to World War I, jobs in northern industry were difficult to obtain for blacks, as employers and unions openly discriminated. Blacks at this point were mainly hired as strikebreakers, which fueled northern white hostility further (Grossman 128). With the rise of the black population in the North, housing and school segregation became a wide-spread strategy to relocate blacks to the margins of society. The stop to immigration and the World War I deployment, however, widely opened the industrial gates for blacks – including in midwestern states. The letter is also important because it exemplifies that migrants that ended up in the industrial centers did

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[12] Topeka, Kansas, was one of the major destinations during the Kansas Exodus, resulting in a 400 percent increase in its black population, making up 23.6 percent of its 1880 total population. In the next three decades, Topeka's total population almost tripled whereas the black population only grew by 20 percent. The proportional drop in population might have resulted in a loss of social and economic capital among the black populace and could explain increased tensions between blacks and whites, the latter of which was expressed in the letter.

[13] Rampant racism and segregation caused blacks to build parallel institutions, such as clubs and unions (Cox 167). Concerted efforts defeated the extension of school segregation from elementary to high school in the early years of the twentieth century, and the expansion of segregated schooling options from cities over 15,000 to cities over 2,000 in 1917. However, many Kansan schools remained segregated until the 1950s. In *Blacks in Topeka, Kansas, 1865-1915*, Thomas Cox indicates that a wave of discrimination swept across Kansas at the beginning of the twentieth century (167).

not exclusively come from the South and speaks to one of the introduced alternative step migration scenarios discussed above that included the rural North.[14]

Weighing their options, migrants might have still considered the Midwest the better option. This notion as well as the desperation of leaving the South seems to be the only constant, e.g. "too glad to come north east or west, any where but the south" ("Port Arthur, Texas, 5/5th/17," "Letters" 327), "Anywhere north will do us and I suppose the worst place there is better than the best place here" ("New Orleans, LA., 5/20/17," "Additional Letters" 442), and "it makes little or no difference as to what state they can go to just so they cross the Mason and Dixie line" ("Mobile, Ala., Jan. 8, 1917," "Additional Letters" 444). In his second compilation, Scott sorted the letters according to the main themes expressed in the letters; employment and educational opportunities as well as the terror experienced in the South dominated the canon. No matter which reasons the migrants listed, the desperation is palpable across the letters.

Whereas Scott's compilations of letters are by far the most famous reflection of migrant voices, their experiences were also cited by other journalists at that time. George Edmund Haynes, for example, quoted migrant letters to underline the hope for the "Promised Land" expressed by the migrants. None of the letters he used in "Migration of Negroes into Northern Cities" and "Negroes Move North. I. Their Departure from the South" express explicit desires for a life in the city, but all of them emphasize the image of the liberating North.

Another important journalistic voice in fleshing out post-World War I migrant experiences was Lester Walton who dedicated various articles to the exodus from the South in 1922 and 1923. By 1922, Walton had established himself as a special writer for the *New York World*, a liberal

[14] Topeka's black population actually dropped between 1910 and 1920, for the second decade in a row, which could serve as further indication of exacerbating race relations at the time and that many black residents, like the letter writer, decided to relocate to another, slightly more promising environment within the Midwest.

vanguard newspaper of its time. Through his articles, he was able to share with the paper's readership why and how black migrants left the South. What makes Walton's migration series stand out is the fact that he gave a voice to the migrants from the second peak within the first wave of the Great Migration. Through his portrayal, we come to see many similarities between the migrants from 1922-23 and the migrants from 1879-80 participating in the exodus to Kansas. For example, Walton writes in 1923:

> These artless travelers possess an imagination elastic as that of a child of six indulging in fanciful reveries about the visit of Santa Claus. Crossing the Mason and Dixon Line to them is akin to entering another world. With sparkling eyes and faces wreathed in smiles they tell you with a display of animation what is nearest to their minds and hearts – *of a longing to live in a land where lynching is not a favorite pastime and where race discrimination in its various forms is not so pronounced*. ("Negroes in Terror" M-4; emphasis added)

Walton couches his main point of why the migrants leave with light-hearted language of how a child sees the world to starkly contrast the violence southern blacks were escaping. Walton's articles already echo the plight of Kansas Exodusters when looking at his headlines in 1923: "Negroes in Terror Fleeing the South; Whites Alarmed," "Cotton Fields Lie Weed Choked as Negro Stampedes," and "Negro Migrants Say Southerners Force Them Out." Phrases like "in terror," "stampedes" and "force them out" illustrate the ad hoc and desperate departure of southern blacks because of unbearable living conditions while simultaneously causing a sigh of relief and understanding among the readership. Generally, the threat of violence and lynchings was proportionately more emphasized in Walton's provided migrant testimonies than in Scott's compilation of migrant letters from 1916-18. The aura of internal refugees that late nineteenth century black migrants carried with them to Kansas resurfaced among the migrants leaving the South in the early 1920s.

The Topeka, Kansas, letter writer – like many others – notes recent *Chicago Defender* coverage pertaining to the southern outmigration to the North. Some letters specifically reference job advertisements outside of the big city that they encountered in the *Defender,* as the following examples demonstrate:

> … concerning of labor as I was reading and advertisement of yours in the Chicago Defender stateing that those who wish to locate in smaller towns with fairly good wages to bring their children up with the best of education will kindly get in touch with you. ("New Orleans, LA., April 22, 1917," "Letters" 330–331)

> *Sirs:* I was reading in the defender that theare was good openings for Men in Smalle towns near Chicago would like to know if they are seeking loborers or mechanics I am going to come north in a few days […] I am not particular about locateing in the city all I desire is a good position … ("Brook Haven, Miss., 4/24/1917," "Letters" 300)

The above examples attest to the fact that the *Chicago Defender* did not only feature employment opportunities and job advertisement in northern cities but also in the smaller locales. The *Defender* had become a major proponent for the relocation of blacks during World War I, advertising the Great Northern Drive in 1917, printing migrant letters, and advertising job opportunities in the North. Thus, before focusing on general newspaper coverage of the Great Migration, a cursory examination of the *Chicago Defender* small-town coverage seems relevant here to see if these two letters are the exception. It is possible that the first peak of the first wave (1916-1918) also attracted small-town employers to advertise in the *Defender*, but that the number of people expressing interests in small towns and cities declined throughout the 1920s and thus carried fewer small-town employment opportunities.

The *Chicago Defender* – An Advocate for Northern Small-Town Opportunities?

Scholars often note the instrumental role of the *Chicago Defender*, a black weekly with national readership, in stimulating the exodus from the South (e.g. Henri 62–66, Grossman 82–88,

Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora* 126). From its announcement of the Great Northern Drive in 1917 to the publication of various migrant letters and job advertisements in the North, its contribution to the mass movement is undeniable. However, it also advertised rural and small-town areas, a fact generally overlooked or neglected by Great Migration scholars.

The *Defender* regularly published columns with news from various midwestern states – the Buckeye State (i.e. Ohio), the Prairie State (i.e. Illinois), and the Hoosier State (i.e. Indiana) to name but a few. In these columns, state correspondents summarized happenings, visits, and achievements by black residents of those featured towns. It is in one of these columns for the Hoosier State from 1917 where I came across a note that Indiana towns were quite aware of the on-going Great Migration. The Civic League of Terre Haute announced an upcoming roundtable "discussion on the recent exodus of the Negro from the South" and plans to make the organization "a local branch of the National Urban League" (7). The Civic League was a local political non-partisan black organization concerned with civic pride and community involvement that entertained the Terre Haute community with Emancipation celebrations as well as lectures on city and neighborhood improvement.[15] The roundtable announcement from February 17, 1917, is important because it shows that this part of Indiana had either already witnessed an increase in its black population or at least anticipated such an increase.[16] A week later, the *Defender* reported on

[15] Not much has been written about the Terre Haute Civic League, but the *Indianapolis Recorder*, Indiana's most prominent black newspaper, regularly reported on its activities, including speaker and meeting announcements. Dr. Dennis Anderson Bethea, himself a southern migrant from South Carolina to Terre Haute, presided over the league for many years. Upon arrival in Terre Haute in 1907, Bethea opened a medical practice, serving a "large clientel [sic] of white as well as colored patients" ("A Sketch of Dr D. A. Bethea's Life of Terre Haute," *Indianapolis Recorder*, 22 May 1909, p. 2). Prior to coming to Terre Haute, Bethea studied medicine in Chicago. While pursuing his medical degree, he found time to compile and publish *Colored People's Blue Book and Business Directory*, which celebrated achievements of black Chicagoans. For further references on the Civic League, see also the *Indianapolis Recorder* news columns "News from Round About - Terre Haute," 16 Oct. 1915, p. 6; 23 Oct. 1915, p. 6; and 29 Apr. 1916, p. 6; William H. Wiggins Jr.'s chapter 5 "The Politics of Protest" of his book *O Freedom!: African American Emancipation Celebration*, particularly page 111 where he writes about the Civic League.

[16] Further Indiana accounts on the Great Migration will be discussed in chapter 2. However, it shall be noted that articles on Indiana generally neither provide a Great Migration context nor discuss black experiences in the state. Instead, the emphasis is on the agricultural nature of and prospering economy in the state. The Ku Klux Klan as well

the outcome of the event. Black Methodist church leader Rev. L. M. Hagood gave a speech on "The Migration of the Negroes from the South," which resulted in the creation of a local committee to "look into the best means of helping those who arrive."

These state news columns also reported on recent travels or returns of their local black residents. This way, it confirms the settlement of southern migrants in Indiana small towns, who previously called Henderson, Kentucky, or Memphis, Tennessee, home.[17]

In 1924, the *Chicago Defender* reports on "The Farming Situation" during the second peak of the first wave of the Great Migration, which took place from around 1922 to 1924. The article notes that prospective migrants from the South "are seeking to buy small tracts of land in Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Iowa" (11). It also contrasts this migratory phase with the 1916-1918 peak, as the current one would include "a goodly portion [that] will settle on farms as owners, share-workers or help" – a step that the *Defender* describes as "pav[ing] the way for land owning on a large and profitable scale by our people" (ibid.), echoing Dickerman's 1917 plea for migrants to consider the rural North. It also appears as if the article directly speaks to the prospective southern migrants when noting that "We also realize that we have within our group a large percentage of men and women better fitted for this line of work than for any other" and when concluding that "It is a hopeful sign when our farmers of the South, weighted down with unbearable living conditions, do not abandon their calling for the bright lights of the city, but seek more congenial environments where they may continue to till the soil and live in every sense of the world [sic]" (ibid.).

Similarly, a few years later in "Farm in the North," the *Defender* reports on the "back-to-the-farm movement" which can have "happy results, but in the North only, not in the South."[18]

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as the National Horse Thief Detective Association are also more readily discussed than the increasing black population among Hoosiers.

[17] "The Hoosier State," *Chicago Defender*, 24 Feb. 1917, p. 9.

[18] "Farm in the North." *Chicago Defender*, 2 Apr. 1932, p. 14.

The article, written in 1932 – the prime time of the Great Depression during which the latest newcomers to the North were the "last hired and first fired," reminds those nascent city-dwellers of the life they left behind and notes that "To those who are seeking to return to the soil no better opportunities can be found than in Iowa, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin. Everything to the advantage of the farmers is available, from the buying of grain to the sale of his product after it has been developed." Farming in the small-town Midwest here seems to be a suitable alternative to the job insecurity in the city triggered most recently by the Great Depression.

Besides making it into the job advertisements as letter writers above indicated, small towns received further coverage, making it into the headlines of some articles. In 1925, "Small Towns in Illinois Are Growing Fast" advocates life in midwestern small towns by contrasting the advantages of small-town life with the "congested centers of population." It notes the demographically diversifying impact of the Great Migration as follows:

> Recent conditions have brought about a considerable change in the homogenous character of the population of the Prairie state and these conditions of migration and settlement of thousands of our people from the southern country have largely affected the present status of the state of Illinois, it is reported. The experience of these migrants in farm labor and other work of the small cities and town districts has wielded considerable influence in stabilizing the present high standard of living conditions in the smaller towns of Illinois.[19]

The article then notes the recent unrests that had taken place in southern Illinois due to the migration but ends on the positive note that "conditions have improved and though still far from ideal, they present a more favorable impact (?) than before the great influx. All these factors have entered into the plan of making Illinois the industrial opportunity of the immediate future and in converting its formerly small drowsy (?) towns to live, thriving communities." This article resonates with the Topeka, Kansas, letter (discussed above), as it acknowledges the hurdles black

[19] "Small Towns in Illinois Are Growing Fast." *Chicago Defender*, 27 June 1925, p. A1.

newcomers might have faced in the Midwest by mentioning the difficulties small-town residents in Illinois had in adjusting to the newcomers.

Much more positive is the article "Fine Chance to Rise in Small Towns," which reports on the employment opportunities for the black professional class (doctors, dentists, lawyers) in small towns across the Midwest. About the white residents of such towns, the article notes that "Whites are liberal in recognizing professional ability in small communities, and in many towns throughout Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota, Race physicians and dentists tally a long list of such patients.[20]" As will be discussed in chapter four, Frankfort also had its own black physician, Dr. Clarence Hill, who was enjoying the trust of local black and white patients alike.

"Former Show Folks Settle in Small Town" brings a specific example of blacks moving to Fairmont, Minnesota, in 1922, i.e. during the Great Migration. They constitute "the only people of their race in this town" and now belong to "the most respected and prosperous citizens, contributing a valuable part to the city's progress."[21] Fairmount had a total population of 4,630 in 1920 and 5, 521 in 1930 and in this regard constitutes the epitome of a midwestern small town.

Kelly Miller's contribution "The Race Out West," though overall lamenting the overwhelming absence of black people "in the trans-Mississippi Midwest," provides another pitch for the farms, when he argues that "The farm is the wide open opportunity for the Negro. Here he has some chance, even in the West. The Negro farmers not only become self-employed, but afford employment for others of their Race."[22] Small towns and farming opportunities, though not always front-page news, were covered in the *Defender* throughout the first wave of the Great Migration.

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[20] "Fine Chance to Rise in Small Towns." *Chicago Defender*, 31 July 1926, p. 8.
[21] "Former Show Folks Settle in Small Town." *Chicago Defender*, 24 Aug. 1929, p. 7.
[22] Miller, Kelly. "The Race Out West." *Chicago Defender*, 10 Sept. 1927, p. A1.

Having considered migrant letters and *Chicago Defender* coverage, it remains unclear how the "urban-only narrative" became the exclusive narrative of the Great Migration thus far. The difference between explicit city versus small town references is three percent (20.9 % vs. 17.9 %) or nine letters, as the coding of 296 migrant letters revealed. Most letters simply expressed a geographical relocation outside of the South. The *Chicago Defender*, the organ for past and prospective migrants as well as employers across the North, included coverage and ads for smaller areas, as my little excursion above illustrates. Nevertheless, voices of small-town experiences are missing in the Great Migration conversations. A consultation of national press coverage of the migration phenomenon may explain the preponderance of urban experiences in the academic literature. An analysis of the press coverage of national newspapers, magazines and journals that reported on the phenomenon while it was going on will elucidate how the phenomenon came to be understood exclusively as an urban movement. An analysis and highlighted summary of 159 such articles will follow below.

The Great Migration – According to Contemporary National Press Coverage

The Great Migration mattered in the national press. The fact that I was able to locate more than 1,200 articles in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* attests to it. The *Readers' Guide* is known to index the mainstream periodicals in the country, "300 of the most popular and important periodicals published in the United States and Canada," according to its publisher ("Readers' Guide"). Yet, it is also known to largely overlook the black canon of newspapers and periodicals in its indexing practices. But it is precisely this fact of having been selective in its inclusion criteria that renders my analysis of the national coverage of the Great Migration valuable. This is how the mainstream media covered and interpreted the historical phenomenon over seven decades. I sampled 159 articles from a plethora of national newspapers and journals from 1900 until 1970,

including *Survey*, *Literary Digest*, and *U.S. News and World Report* (see Appendix A for sampling criteria). When mining the articles for migration, city, and small-town references per decade, it becomes clear that small towns and rural areas were neglected in the national periodical coverage of the migration phenomenon (Table 1):

Table 1 Distribution of Articles Based on Migration, City, and Small-Town References per Decade

All Sampled Articles				
Decade	**Number of Articles**	**Migration Referenced**	**City Referenced**	**Small Town Referenced**
1900s	10	5	5	3
1910s	50	42	31	8
1920s	50	47	35	13
1930s	10	4	5	1
1940s	10	7	10	1
1950s	10	3	6	1
1960s + 1970	19	10	14	11
Grand Total	**159**	**118**	**106**	**38**

Only 23.8 percent, or 38 of the 159 articles, include small-town references to some degree in contrast to two thirds of the articles including city references. Herein lies the most obvious difference to the migration letters compiled by Scott. Roughly one fifth of all letters had city and/or small-town references. City references slightly outweighed small-town references with a three percent difference. The national media coverage, however, weighs heavily in favor of city references, which to some extent can explain how the "urban-only narrative" became *the* grand narrative of the Great Migration.

Almost three-fourths of all sampled articles include explicit migration references (118 articles). More specifically, these articles overwhelmingly tackled causes and consequences of the migration. Identified causes for the relocation included economic freedom and educational opportunities. Violence through the KKK and lynching as well as voting and the boll weevil were also listed as reasons for leaving the South. The national press mainly discussed the consequences

of the migration as city problems, ranging from job and housing discrimination to health and sanitation issues in the segregated, depleted areas as well as an increase in violence (i.e. riots) and crime. World War I was frequently identified as the catalyst of the migration stream, as it resulted in a halt of European immigration and a demand for labor across the country. Small towns in this canon, however, were barely touched upon. A closer look at articles that explicitly reference migration illustrates this more explicitly (Table 2):

Table 2 Distribution of City and Small-Town References in Migration-Related Articles per Decade

Articles That Reference Migration			
Decade	**Migration Referenced**	**City Referenced**	**Small Town Referenced**
1900s	5	3	1
1910s	42	26	8
1920s	47	34	12
1930s	4	4	0
1940s	7	7	1
1950s	3	2	0
1960s + 1970	10	9	6
Grand Total	**118**	**85**	**28**

Within the specific context of migration, city references occurred three times more frequently than small town references. As small-town references only appeared in 23.7 percent of the migration-related articles, let's have a closer look at these 28 articles next.

When Small Towns Are Mentioned in the National Press …

How does the national media treat small towns in their coverage? In what context do the authors discuss small towns? Who discusses them? The phenomenon of the Great Migration concerned various writers. The national press provided social commentary written by academics, ministers, writers, statisticians, and black spokespeople to name but a few.

I purposely started with "When Small Town Are Mentioned" in passive voice. It emphasizes the object. In the context of the Great Migration coverage, they are, in most instances, a side note, a small note, a point of reference. The 28 articles that consider small towns in their discussion (Table 2) do so in various respects. A closer look at the data disappoints, as my generous coding of small-town references reveals a mainly superficial treatment of small towns by the writers. Only a few authors provide an extensive discussion about northern small towns as a viable option for southern black relocation. The articles can be divided into various clusters (Figure 1). I have identified four such groups, an overview of which will follow below.

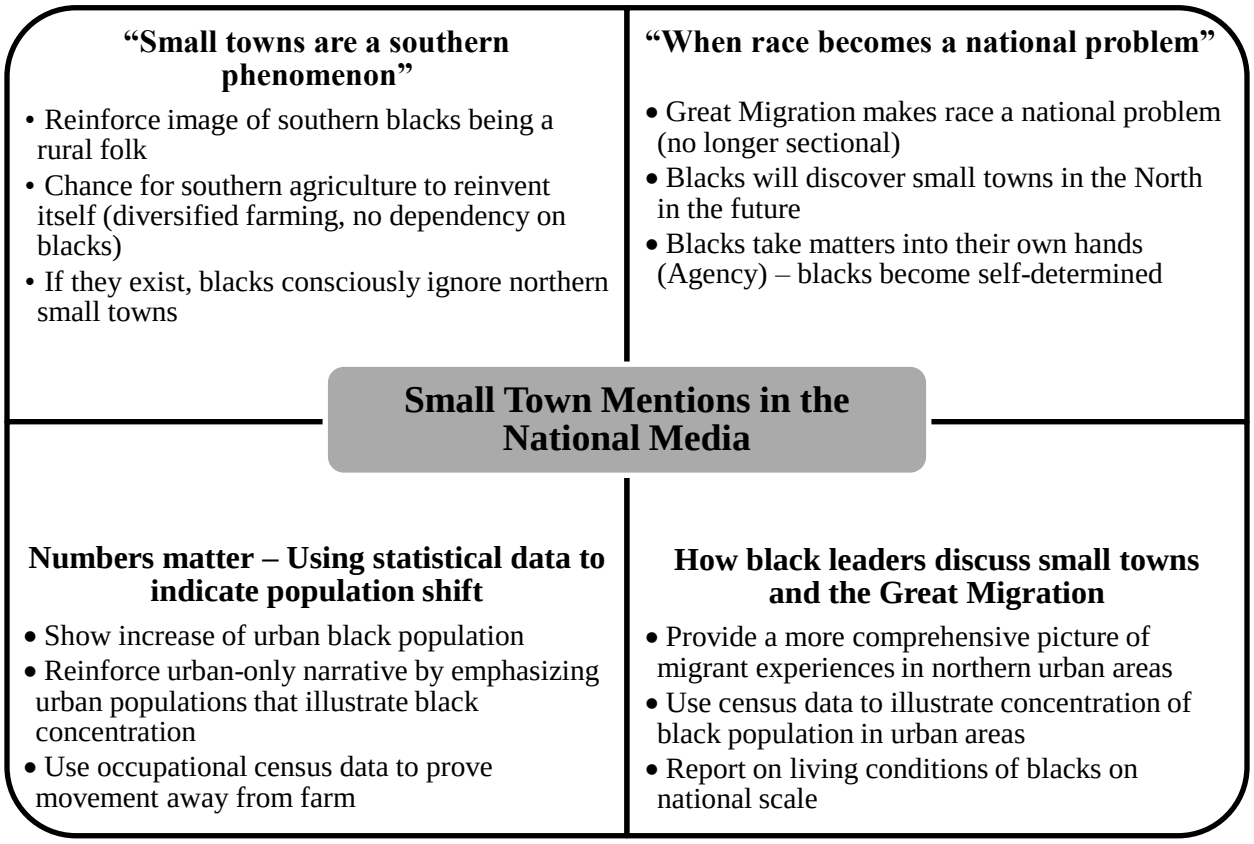

Figure 1 Four clusters identified in national press coverage of small towns

Cluster 1: “Small Towns Are a Southern Phenomenon”

Articles in this cluster exclusively associate small towns and rural areas with the South. Some authors contextualize the mistreatment and exploitation of blacks within the southern system as incentives for leaving, others present the economic argument of the boll weevil and failure to survive on cotton farming as reasons blacks turned their backs on the rural areas of the South. Oftentimes, authors introduce the reinvention of southern agriculture in these articles, discussing technological changes to the agricultural systems as a response to the black exodus. Regardless of the approach, the authors discuss small towns, farming and blacks only in the southern realm.

For example, in “From Cotton, Cane, and Rice Fields,” Eric Walrond pursues the strategy of implying small-town life by painting a bucolic southern countryside and a dusky violent northern landscape. He juxtaposes the two as follows: “Up from peaceful tilling of the soil to the hectic life of mill and shop” (260) and later “All in all, the shift from the simple rural life of the South to the roaring mechanized civilization of the North has resulted in some 371,229 Negroes entering industry” (261). In the remainder of his article, he is concerned with describing the reception in northern industry. Walrond conceptualizes the North as urban industrialized centers. Walrond, himself an immigrant from Guyana who came to New York City to establish himself as a writer and journalist at the closing of the first World War, focused in his writings on the urban experience of Caribbean-born immigrants and addressed topics of racism, immigration, and discrimination in his stories, hereby extending the scope of the Great Migration beyond U.S. borders. I was unable to find any visits or stays of Walrond in the U.S. South, which leads me to believe that the description of the South as bucolic and peaceful is part of his literary imagination and depiction. Since the article focuses more on the correction of misconception about southern migrants and their work ethics, the negligence of northern small-town America can be understood.

In “Why Jim Crow is Flying North,” William O. Saunders solely refers to southern “rural towns [in which] whole blocks of negro cabins [were] deserted” (15). The northward movement of the black migrants is exclusively described in urban terms. Saunders was a southern journalist critical of the South and known on a national level for calling out racism, corruption, and injustices of various kinds in his editorials. Though the title of the article might suggest otherwise, he investigated the reasons for blacks to leave the South and thus was less concerned with living conditions in the North. The article is also illustrated with two photographs, one of which depicts a black family in the South and carries the caption “Compared with the two-room negro cabin of the plantation, a squalid brick tenement in the North is a mansion” (16). Tenement housing here again underlines multi-family urban housing arrangements. Despite his complete awareness of the rural living environment of southern blacks, the author does not seem to wonder about northern small-town reception of black migrants but takes the stream into the cities for granted. However, he concludes his article predicting racial upheaval and riots in northern cities if the “race problem” is not addressed quickly.

Similarly, in “The Negro Exodus and Southern Agriculture,” Posey O. Davis limits small towns and rural existence of blacks solely to the South. Northern small-town America is not commented upon at all, which may not be surprising as the author, though an advocate for farming, was in charge of the Alabaman Extension Service for decades and as such, he was more concerned with state-wide community development and economic prosperity. The article contains eight photographs, six of which visualize southern black farmers. He notes that black land-owners are not leaving the South (404). In the remainder of the article, the author extrapolates on the advantages of the exodus of “Negro farmers who have lived in cabins, gone half-clad and poorly fed, to raise cotton [as they] make room for farmers of more intelligence who will not quit cotton

but who will grow more grain crops, legumes, fruits, vegetables, and live-stock" (407). This diversification of crops is the beginning of a new phase of southern agriculture, an era in which the South may be able to do without the "negro."[23]

Writer, editor, and *Survey* contributor Martha Bensley Bruère also conceptualizes blacks as a rural southern folk, but does not entirely abandon northern small towns in her article "The Black Folks are Coming On." She also picks up the idea of diversified farming. She argues that "the great mass of the Negroes have not been trained for general farming and do not like it. They are notoriously unsuccessful at raising corn" (432), indicating the black farmer's preference for cotton crops. She then explains that the agricultural revolution would have resulted in at least 30 percent unemployment among black farmers, which she reads as another incentive to migrate. She traces the northward movement as a step migration process, from the rural South to the "urban" South, to the North. The first step was based on economic disparity with the boll weevil ravaging the southern soil. The second step was further incentivized by the social conditions with Jim Crow and violence looming everywhere in the South. The author also labels "going North" a "habit," "a thing no longer new and strange but what their friends and neighbors had done and succeeded at" (434), potentially implying relocation in close proximity to those successful relatives in the urban areas. The rural North appears to be in the author's periphery, appearing toward the end of her article when she poses the question about blacks' relationship with organized labor. She answers her own question as follows: "While he was an agricultural worker this question did not come up.

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[23] Prior to 1930, the word "negro" was not frequently capitalized in the national press. In the 1920s, W. E. B. Du Bois started a campaign demanding for the printed press to capitalize the word to confer respect in print. In *Darkwater*, he attributes the refusal to capitalize the word with the ongoing efforts to demean black people. He writes,

> One cannot ignore the extraordinary fact that a world campaign beginning with the slave-trade and ending with the refusal to capitalize the word 'Negro,' leading through a passionate defense of slavery by attributing every bestiality to blacks and finally culminating in the evident modern profit which lies in degrading blacks,—all this has unconsciously trained millions of honest, modern men into the belief that black folk are sub-human. (72–73)

If he had gone to the northern farms instead of to the cities it could have waited a long time for a solution, or if he had remained an independent craftsman in a small place, or in any of those occupations listed by the census as 'domestic and personal service'" (435). The third conditional in her word choice emphasizes the unreal past that did not happen – blacks did not settle in the small towns of the North to continue working on the farms or to start their own businesses.

Finally, in his study of the Great Migration, Georgian sociologist Thomas J. Woofter assigns agency to the black southern migrant who decided to ignore small towns in the North. He writes, "Abnormal concentration in large cities and neglect of the smaller cities is more characteristic of the North than of the South, because each city in the South is immediately surrounded by a rural Negro population which can be drawn in as trade and industry expand." He then bases the decision to migrate to the northern metropolitan areas on the fact that they know others "who have moved to that city" successfully (647), similar to Bruère's speculation above. Again, small towns are only presented as a viable living environment in the South.

Cluster 2: "When Race Becomes a National Problem"

The second cluster of articles in the national press discusses small towns within the consequences of the Great Migration. It is here where small towns in the North are becoming an option for black relocation – in the future. Authors note the transformation of the "race problem" from a sectional, i.e. southern, to a national problem. Through this approach, they contextualize blacks in northern small towns as it is then when northern whites would have to take a stance on their position to race in real life not just in theoretical abstract terms.

For example, in his paper "The Negro Migration and its Consequences," Guy B. Johnson categorizes the northward migration as "part of the great process of urbanization" (404), hereby echoing the national canon of black relocation to the cities. Johnson received his master's degree

in sociology from the University of Chicago in 1922, bearing witness to the increase of the black population during the first wave of the Great Migration. He later became a pioneer white southern advocate for racial equality and a scholar of black folk culture in the rural South. Thus, he contextualizes rural areas in the South when he discusses the causes of the migration as push and pull factors. Black Southerners grew more frustrated over the difficulties with the "acquisition of agricultural lands," which, according to Johnson, became one of the reasons the South "pushes" black folks to the North (405). He fails to continue his thought of black desires for land ownership and their potential to move the desires with them across the Mason-Dixon line. However, he introduces the ideas of blacks in northern small towns when speculating about the (long-term) consequences of the Great Migration. He posits,

> We must not think of the negro in the North as being permanently a mere industrial factor. Sooner or later he will enter commercial, business, and professional pursuits and shall live in the smaller cities and towns of the North as well as in the industrial centers. It is then – when the negro is distributed fairly evenly throughout the North – that the real test of present racial attitudes shall come. (407)

His choice of language indicates that currently – that is as of 1924 – blacks do not reside in northern small towns, but eventually will. He then follows up his claims with describing the living conditions of blacks in Delaware, Ohio, "a typical small town of the North" with a black population of 2.9 percent (ibid.). Here Johnson contradicts himself, documenting that black folks had already discovered northern small towns as living locales by 1924. Framing the discussion about race on a national scale, he uses the Delaware example to speculate about a black population increase to 15 percent of the total population, which would reveal "that the attitude of the masses of the whites is more likely to become less tolerant" (ibid.).

Liberal congregational minister Rollin Lynde Hartt published "When the Negro Comes North," a three-part series of articles on the migration mainly dedicated to the causes and impact

of the Great Migration in the *World's Work* in 1924. He contextualizes the rural North in the last part of the series, "Future Results of the Migration," with the help of *Chicago Defender* coverage from the previous year. Referring to the second peak in the first migration wave, Hartt notes, "The great bulk" of southern black farmers that are getting ready to come northward "are seeking to buy small tracts of land in Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Iowa," becoming northern land owners ("When the Negro" 323).[24] The rural North helps Hartt to assign agency to black migrants. Already three years prior to this migration series, Hartt wrote about the "New Negro" and attributed his evolution to the onset of the Great Migration. He noted:

> That huge, leaderless exodus […] meant that for the first time in history the negro had taken his affairs into his own hands. Until then, things had been done to the negro, with the negro, and for the negro, but never by the negro. At last, he showed initiative and self-reliance. ("The New Negro" 60)

The idea of the Great Migration being a "leaderless" mass movement was frequently expressed, mainly among spokespeople such as W. E. B. Du Bois and Charles S. Johnson; here it comes from a white minister who emphasizes self-determination as a crucial discovery during the Great Migration.

In both articles, Hartt notes that – as a consequence of the Great Migration – the race 'problem' has become a "national problem," a thought frequently expressed in social commentary at this time. For example, Robert T. Lansdale noted that "Northern whites had many pretty theories on the race question until they were faced with the reality of a race problem of their own" (44–45), underlining the fact that race was mainly an abstract concept for the North due to the lack of quotidian interactions with black Americans. Bruère, whose article was discussed above, also lifted the "difficult race problem" from a sectional to a "national question" (435). Framing race as a theory for the North goes along with a commonly expressed belief in the migration-related articles,

[24] The article "The Farming Situation" was discussed above.

that "the Northerner is a great friend of *the* negro but not of *a* negro, while the Southerner is a great friend of *a* negro but not of *the* negro" (e.g. "The South Calling Negroes Back" 1914; emphasis in original).

In contrast to the first cluster of articles, which confined the discussion of small towns and the existence of blacks in them to the South, the second cluster of migration-related articles presented northern smalls towns with a black population as a hypothesis in the future. To some extent, one could argue, northern small towns are implied when authors present the race question as a nation-wide phenomenon.

Cluster 3: Numbers Matter – Using Statistical Data to Indicate Population Shift

Authors in this cluster considered northern small towns by presenting census data and statistics in their discussion of the Great Migration. The data usually serve as corroboration of the shifting demographics and more frequently than not highlight the immense increase of the non-white population in urban areas. However, simultaneously, they provide ground for further exploration of the migration phenomenon in small-town areas, as the numbers indicate that not 100 percent went to the urban areas. That aspect, however, usually remains unexplored by the authors.

For example, Joseph A. Hill provides a powerful argument for northern dispersed settlement of blacks in his "Recent Northward Migration of the Negro," published in 1924. As a chief statistician at the United States Census Bureau, he utilizes census data from since the end of the Civil War to describe the demographic shift of the black population in the country. With the help of decennial population data, Hill not only demonstrates that blacks moved northward ever since the end of the Civil War but also shows the numerical impact of the Great Migration with

the increase of southern-born blacks in the North between 1910 and 1920. Based on the 1920 census data, he later notes that

> Out of a total of 1,272 northern counties there are, in fact, only 83 in which there are no negroes. But there are 671 other northern counties in which the number of negroes is less than 100, making 754 counties – about 60 percent of the total number – in which there are either no negroes or fewer than 100 negroes. (481)

After this observation, Hill quickly re-centers his attention to the urban areas, concluding his paragraph with "urban-only" desires, "They go to the large cities, mostly, and remain there" (ibid.). Hill's presentation of the 1920 county data, however, is important. Stating that 60 percent of all northern counties have no or fewer than 100 blacks simultaneously means that about 40 percent of the northern counties have a small but not negligible black population. Whereas some of the remaining 518 counties house the metropolises Hill references, not all of them do. In the remainder of his article, he presents population data for various northern cities underlining the unevenly distributed black population in the North. He posits whether a more evenly distributed black population would prevent the "racial antagonism" that arose in the cities with concentrated northern black population (482). In the last section, Hill presents occupational data to reinforce that blacks have gone to the northern cities, as only 5.7 percent of black males engaged in agricultural work (484). As a statistician, he fails to analyze in greater detail either of the two avenues in northern small towns.

Similarly, southern white agricultural statistician F. W. Gist regards the Great Migration as a "movement away from the farm on the part of the negro" (78). He frames the reasons for the Great Migration solely in economic terms, providing numbers in crop production, labor efficiency, and net immigration and emigration. He dismisses social conditions as reasons for leaving, calling them "the merest sensational literary fakes" (79) and arguing that these conditions have been dissatisfactory but part of black life since emancipation (78). He argues that an interpretation of

the statistical data would clarify that this migration is economically driven, which is what he demonstrates in the article. He uses the boll weevil as the prime instigator for blacks to migrate, as "Industrial pursuits, indeed, have always offered much higher returns for labor than has the farm, and yet the negro was not attracted by them in extreme numbers until abnormally low yields of cotton began to prevent him, even at high prices, from making enough to pay his rent and his store bills" (78). Though he clearly describes black folks' close ties to the soil, a relocation to a northern farm did not occur to the author when discussing the migration.

Articles in this cluster presented numbers to the readers to illustrate that the migration is one to the cities. The interpretation and presentation of statistical data, however, is subjective as they support the arguments the authors intend to make. At times, presented numbers invite further exploration of the percentage of the black population that did not live in urban areas; yet, authors did not pursue this route as it is counterintuitive to the "urban-only narrative" that the Great Migration shaped out to be in the national press.

Cluster 4: How Black Leaders Discuss Small Towns and the Great Migration

The fourth and final cluster to be discussed here is the group of famous black leaders who expressed their thoughts on the migration. These leaders include W. E. B. Du Bois, George Edmund Haynes, Charles S. Johnson, Eugene Kinckle Jones, Walter White to name but a few. Those leaders expressed their hopes and concerns about the shifting demographics to the northern cities, and presented statistics as well as outlooks regarding the phenomenon, thus combining many of the strategies discussed in the first three clusters. The Great Migration provided a platform for black writers and spokespeople to inform a general, national, white readership about the phenomenon, as already illustrated with Lester Walton's migration series above.

For example, in his 1922 article "Negroes, North and South – A Contrast," Eugene Kinckle Jones talks about the conditions of "the Negro North and the Negro South" (479) in very generic terms. He focuses on progress in terms of race relations on a national scale, contextualizing intraracial discrepancies, segregated schooling debates and integrated workplace opportunities in the North. Whereas he classifies northern African Americans as urban people, he inserts the small-town Midwest to acknowledge the existence of black farmers, who remain a "rarity" (479). Jones, by then Executive Secretary of the National Urban League, was an advocate for black migrants and assisted many new arrivals with adjusting to life in the big city, which might explain his focus on the urban environment. He juxtaposes small towns once more when emphasizing that the concentration of blacks in the urban area "instead of spreading out over the smaller communities" increased black "business opportunities" (ibid.). Unfortunately, the author missed the opportunity to elaborate further on what exactly prevented the dispersion into the smaller communities, most likely because he was already wearing many hats with the attempt to integrate social work, mitigate residential segregation in the North, and assisting migrants across the nation to adjust to the urban environment. Already three years earlier, he had lamented the poor housing conditions to which new black city arrivals were exposed in his article "Housing and Race Friction," published in *The American Architect*. Due to the deplorable conditions of black neighborhoods, he approved the risk of threats and violence blacks took when moving into white neighborhoods.

In Charles S. Johnson's exploration "How Much is the Migration a Flight from Persecution," small town and rural references solely serve statistical purposes to illustrate the increase of the black population rurally and urbanely between 1890 and 1920. He also notes the increase of blacks in southern cities leaving "the monotony and uncertainty of agricultural life" behind (273). Johnson, like Jones, represented southern migrant needs through the National Urban League. In

an attempt to give a voice and platform to black culture, both founded the intellectual magazine *Opportunity*, in which Johnson's article appeared in 1923. In this article, Johnson also jumps upon the chance to contextualize the ongoing migration in the greater migration experiences of southern blacks, noting the previous migration streams to Kansas in 1879 and to Arkansas in 1889. His main argument is the fact that blacks have moved for a long time, but they moved westward (west of the Mississippi but still the South) staying true to their connection with the southern soil but striving for better soil and land ownership. For Johnson the main cause for leaving the southern soil lay in the fact that southern agriculture was a replica of feudalism, in which land ownership and tenant farming became more and more a struggle. He fails to explore the obstacles in agriculture north of the Mason-Dixon line.

Johnson expanded on his argument in the first half of a similar article three years later, "How the Negro Fits in Northern Industries." He presents county statistics from the 1920 census to demonstrate that the contemporary migration was a relocation mainly to a select few northern cities. He notes, "Eight cities – Chicago, Detroit, New York, Newark, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Cleveland – had, in 1920, a combined Negro population of 526,145, or 34 per cent of the entire Negro population of the North and West" (399–400). However, since "Historically, the southern Negro is a rural type" and his "*metier* is agriculture," Johnson deems an exploration of the phenomenon necessary (400). He references the 1879 migration to corroborate "the restlessness of the Negro population" (401), but fails to acknowledge that the exodus to Kansas was predominantly a rural-to-rural migration (Painter 260). He also explains the growing agitation among southern blacks with the feudalistic agricultural system which led them to seek "newer fields for many years before hope dawned for them in the industries of the North" (402). Here, land in the North seems to have been an alternative not considered by Johnson despite

his stance on southern blacks as rural people. However, he returned to the penchant for agriculture of southern blacks when remembering a 1915 "experiment" when southern blacks were desired and "imported" to work on Connecticut tobacco fields[25] – a practice "quietly discontinued on the protest of southern Congressmen who disapproved drawing off the South's labor supply" (404). In the second half of the article, Johnson analyzes the strides blacks had made in northern industries despite the various obstacles presented to them. He also addresses housing issues and notes the white hostility presented to black newcomers who dared to move into their white neighborhood, in a similar fashion to Jones's strategy in his articles.

The longer the mass movement continued, the more Johnson's understanding of the black race shifted. By 1942, he concluded – based on the most recent census data from 1940 – that the "Negro population is no longer predominantly a rural population" corroborating his statement with the "published figures for nonwhites [which indicated] that 47.9 per cent are urban, 35.2 per cent rural farm, and 16.8 per cent rural non-farm" ("The Negro Minority" 12). Did he already rarely consider northern small towns in the 1920s in his interpretation of the Great Migration phenomenon, by 1942 they had even less attractivity for blacks, according to Johnson. As the 1942 article provided a general national overview of how blacks have been faring in society, small-town experiences were too few and too marginal to wager further consideration.

The most outspoken black leader interpreting the migration phenomenon in my sampled data base was George Edmund Haynes, the author of six articles. As the co-founder and the first executive director of the National Urban League, the oldest civil rights organization advocating

[25] In his 1917 article "The Negro Goes North," Ray Stannard Baker also quotes the Connecticut tobacco planting experiment as one of the success stories of "importing" southern blacks to northern farms. He then, however, contrasts this positive example with a failed attempt of the Pennsylvania Railroad company, which also "imported" southern blacks (317–319). Baker was a known muckraker of its time, famous for addressing issues of racism and poverty. He is most famous for his book *Following the Color Line*, in which he tackled political leadership and Jim Crow laws as well as lynching and poverty.

against racial discrimination, he used his sociology degree to address and tackle urban problems of African Americans. As early as 1913, he discusses the national trend among blacks and whites alike to move to the cities. However, he is keen to point out the resulting segregation and health and sanitation problems within the dilapidated segregated neighborhoods. With articles like "Conditions Among Negroes in the Cities," Haynes challenged racist notions about urban blacks and eliminated arguments such as natural inferiority as causes for urban poverty. Between 1917 and 1919, Haynes publicly discussed the topic of the Great Migration five times – at conferences and through articles published in the *Survey*, one of the national organs on social and political issues in the early and mid-twentieth century. At times, he simply states the reasons for the migration as bettering one's living conditions, in other instances he expands on the causes and effects of the migration north and south alike. He consistently underlines that the migrants were coming to stay, that the migration to the cities and the North is permanent not temporary as many contemporary voices suspected. All three articles from 1919 – "Negroes Move North: II. Their Arrival in the North," "The Negro and National Reconstruction," and "Race Riots in Relation to Democracy" – attack the housing crisis in northern communities that resulted from the migration, calling it one of the "outstanding evils" that impacts "every American community" ("Negro and Reconstruction" 132).

Authors in this cluster provided a more comprehensive and nuanced interpretation of the Great Migration. Like their white counterparts, they used statistical data to illustrate the mass movement into northern cities (Cluster 3). At times, they noted the close connection that blacks had to the soil, defining them as rural folks. They did not limit the existence of small towns to the South like authors in the first cluster, but like their white counterparts, they only considered northern small towns in their periphery.

Above I presented four different clusters, into which most if not all articles written during the time of the Great Migration and commenting on small towns can be sorted. As this little excursion has proven, small-town America seemed not to matter much, existing only in marginal imaginaries. The rural and small-town nature was mainly attributed to the South. Only Rollin Lynde Hartt sufficiently described the existence of blacks in the northern small-town environments. Instead, the concept of race more frequently became a point of discussion on the national stage. The discussion above also illuminates how and why the focus was on the urban areas – after all, it was in these urban centers where information was disseminated more easily; it was in the cities where social activities were enjoyed and political influence was inspired.

However, this predilection in the national press coverage and by spokespeople created a blind spot. This way, governmental and northern small-town acts of open discrimination have remained hidden for a long time. As early as 1925, the *New York Age*, another influential black weekly with national readership, reported on government discrimination in the allocation of farm loans:

> At a recent conference held in Washington, the subject of rural credits was discussed. Men from Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan stated that colored farmers in these states were not being fairly treated in the allotment of loans through the Federal Farm Loans system. ("Relief Needed" 4)

Though "the question of a more liberal extension of loans to this class of farmers was taken up with President Coolidge" early in 1925 (ibid.), nothing changed for more than four decades. In 1968, Emmett Peter, Jr. reported on the ongoing discrimination in the country against and grim prospects for blacks, bluntly noting that "The Extension services of many states are practicing a pervasive, arrogant – and easily demonstrable – discrimination against blacks" (15). He lamented the hiring practices and hierarchy that excluded blacks as well as practices of these statesmen,

noting that no one ever lost their job over these practices (16). Most of his explicit examples, though, were based in the South.[26]

While the national press did not consider small-town America a viable option for southern black migrant relocation during the Great Migration, a closer look at articles with small-town references discloses another sad reality. Northern small-town white Americans displayed a blatant animosity towards the black newcomers, which explains why these locales may not have been considered worthwhile among black migrants. Such maltreatment is generally associated with the traditional South, but these attitudes were present in white individuals across the nation and across time. A little overview of newspaper coverage of attitudes and policies in such rural northern areas follows below. Thus, the remainder of this chapter will elucidate some of the reasons for the maldistribution of African Americans across the North – difficulties traveling, love of the race but hatred of individual blacks, black codes and sundown laws, and expulsions were among the obstacles discussed by the national press.

Black Newcomers Meet White Midwestern Hostility: White Supremacy by Home Address

The last section of this chapter provides an overview of articles in the national press coverage that specifically address prevalent white attitudes in small-town America. Though the general coverage was sparse, the reported hostile encounters of black newcomers in northern small towns across the twentieth century demonstrate prejudicial attitudes and white supremacist ideologies. This small-town mentality and culture produced an unwelcoming environment for any community outsider – particularly black newcomers on their search for the "Promised Land." The

[26] Discriminatory practices by the USDA seems to be a constant. The *Frankfort Times*, the local paper for the county under investigation in chapters three through five reported in October 2000 that the government agency just settled a lawsuit with black farmers, that a lawsuit on behalf of Native Americans was pending, and that Hispanic farmers became the latest minority group to sue the department. Insufficient or delayed loans were among the list of complaints ("Hispanic Farmers Allege Discrimination." *Frankfort Times*, 14 Oct. 2000, p. 11).

ensuing discussion will illustrate that apparent race-neutral spaces like the small-town North/Midwest were not race-neutral, but conceptualized and operated under Lipsitz's "white spatial imaginary," revealing that a landscape considered congenial and hospitable by white Americans is no longer friendly and welcoming once "breached" by non-white Americans. It is then when these white locales became marked and visible.[27]

In "A Question to Democracy," Faith Adams describes the hostility and troubles a black intellectual middle-class family encountered when moving into a small suburban northern community. White neighbors hurled expletives at the African American family, viewing them as an "intruder" to the "white community," in which they sought to settle (524–525). Adams was a graduate student who had settled in a northern New England small town at the time of the writing in 1920. The author poignantly juxtaposes the paradox of the black family having sacrificed their son in World War I and fighting a lawsuit to settle in the small northern white community. Practicing citizenship by joining the country's military (civic duty) did not extend to practicing citizenship through property ownership (civic rights). In short, African American citizenship continued to be contested, if not denied, even above the Mason-Dixon line.

However, the phenomenon of black resettlement to a location outside of the southern boundaries was discussed in national newspapers as early as the turn of the century. In 1901, *The Nation* noted that the black population in the North Central region, which includes the states I define as Midwest for the purpose of this dissertation, were controlled by "black codes." These black codes, implemented in most midwestern states throughout the early nineteenth century, prohibited settlements of black newcomers in the state, imposing fines on such violations and others, for example, on employers who would hire such newcomers. Despite these official policies

[27] Loewen describes sundown towns as *invisible* "until a black wayfarer appears and the townspeople do something about it" (193). Sundown towns will be further discussed in the next chapter.

in place, blacks settled in the midwestern states in small numbers. Talking about population changes between blacks and whites in the country at large, no noticeable change was noted in the last two decades of the nineteenth century according to *The Nation*; however, "there seems to have been a very large negro emigration from other States into Illinois and Indiana" ("Black and White Ratios" 391–392). Listing Indiana next to Illinois is important here, as it corroborates my argument that not all black southern emigrants felt the immediate desire to resettle in the big industrious city, as Indiana is a state that prides itself in not having an actual metropolis.

In a series of Letters to the Editor in the *Harper's Weekly* in 1904, readers are discussing various townships in the South where allegedly no blacks live or may not be permitted to live in response to a correspondence published by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart in an earlier volume. E. C. Huffaker of Eagle, West Virginia, acknowledges the existence of all-white spaces with the explanation that "it is of his own volition that he keeps away. The negro is gregarious in his instincts, and invariably drifts into the towns or on to the railroads or into the mining districts, if the means of support are to be found there" (102). By pounding on stereotypes, he exonerates the all-white southern spaces from being exclusive as blacks voluntarily segregate. In his attempt to illustrate the cordial relationship between southern blacks and whites, Huffaker feeds off additional stereotypes and visualizes the division between the two groups in an us-versus-them paradigm: "The negro does our heavy work, digs our coal, builds our railroads, sweeps our houses, does our washing, and is glad of the opportunity; and for all these things he is paid" (ibid.). I read the pronoun "our" as exclusively white ownership of the list Huffaker provides. He also selectively chooses to not include any farming references in the list, maybe because the argument about reimbursing blacks for their labor would have become diluted and arisen questions about land ownership. At a different point in his letter, Huffaker addresses the return migration from the North

to the South in a way that establishes the dominant narrative of many midwestern towns. He explains the return to the South in the following way:

> Whether the Northern climate is too cold, or *their reception not what they had expected*, or that they find that they are regarded as negroes wherever they go, and begin to long for their old homes, they unquestionably come back in such numbers that their exodus has no appreciable effect on the population. (102; emphasis added)

Huffaker here makes an important point, hinting at the various forms of discrimination and racism black migrants experienced upon arrival in northern locales even before the Great Migration was underway.

Interestingly, as the respondents' intent was the correction and thus protection of the southern image, none of the letters addresses the concluding remark made by Albert Bushnell Hart, the instigator to the letters. Foreshadowing the Great Migration, he concludes his letter anticipating a disruption of the national discourses and racialized geographies through southern black outmigration: "The Southern people are stirred up because they are losing that part of the negro population that would be most useful if it stayed; and the North will sooner or later wake up to the fact that it is soon going to experience the pleasure of trying to keep two races content within its own limits" (1950). Residential covenants, sundown laws, and outbreaks of violence attest to the fact that northern locales indeed struggled with achieving harmony smoothly and easily once the Great Migration resulted in an increased black presence in the North.

Once the Great Migration was underway, coverage of blacks struggling to exercise their citizenship rights and practices in the North was a daily concern to the *Chicago Defender*. In its column "And This is Civilization" the paper notes the paradoxes of American society – blacks risking their own lives to save whites in precarious situations but left to die when the situation is reversed, and a black person requires saving.[28] In 1929, the same column stands out in particular

[28]"And This Is Civilization." *Chicago Defender*, 1 Aug. 1925, p. 22.

as it reflects midwestern discrimination at its worst. "[T]hree respectable ladies, not white, of Chicago were refused the use of the comfort station" at a gas station between Michigan state line and Michigan City, Indiana.[29] As the ladies relieved themselves in the nearby bushes, "the man keeper was objecting to even the car standing there for the very few urgent moments and threatened to charge for parking." The risk of travelling while black becomes more obvious in the third paragraph, which reads: "This station and succeeding ones in Indiana read, 'We cater to white trade only.' This will spread into Michigan and Illinois." The article ends with a thought-provoking question: "Can the U.S. commerce body or other proper authority act to force equal safety and comfort service to travelers by highway traders?"[30] Although the development of the automobile and expansion of highways improved blacks' spatial mobility, racist attitudes and verbal threats curbed it. For decades throughout the twentieth century, transit through and settlement in midwestern small towns came with a great risk for black migrants.

At times, the national press fomented racial animosity simply through the choice of language in race-related incidents. Headlines like "The 'Decline and Fall' of the White Race," an article that ran in the *Literary Digest* in 1928, of course, did not help ameliorate the animosity northern whites felt towards the southern black newcomers and black neighbors in general. The *Literary Digest* had a circulation of 1.5 million readers by 1925, having created "a reputation for impartiality by balancing each controversial topic with sources from opposing and independent viewpoints" (Sumner 91). Consequently, its readership may not have enjoyed reading about the

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[29] "And This Is Civilization." *Chicago Defender*, 7 Sept. 1929, p. A2.

[30] They did not – at least not in the near future. However, such coverage may have led people like Victor Hugo Green to compile and distribute the *Negro Motorist Green Book*, commonly known as the *Green Book*. Started in 1936, this publication listed establishments, including gas stations, that catered to black customers for three decades to facilitate road travel for blacks in the continental U.S. Marcus Anthony Hunter and Zandria F. Robinson fittingly describe the *Green Book* as a "crowd-sourced account of safe places to eat, sleep, and picnic during Jim Crow, evidences that we are now learning more about the process and strategy it took to make a life, to make a place to be free, in an anti-Black country" (79).

"decline and fall" of their own race. This is one example to illustrate the importance of words, especially when titling articles in socially tumultuous times.

In a similar vein, coverage surrounding the various race massacres in the wake of the Great Migration and the end of World War I, which resulted in a more confident black citizen demanding equal rights, fostered anti-black feelings. As had become the norm, black crime has been reported in a sensationalized manner, and readers were frequently reminded during such violent outbreaks. Race riots constitute the only well-known example, in which northern white violence became visible (though the discussion usually centers around the urban black neighborhoods).[31] As a detailed discussion of the race riots of the early twentieth century is beyond the scope of this chapter and dissertation, one example shall suffice. In the wake of the East St. Louis riot, local white residents organized various anti-black meetings in 1917. During one of the early ones, agitated whites circulated the idea that the city "must remain a white man's town" (Leonard and Washington 332). By 1917, East St. Louis had a population of more than 60,000.

Outbreaks of racial violence took place in big cities and small towns alike. Frequently, in smaller locales these racial outbreaks resulted in "requests" by white residents for blacks to leave town. Rollin Lynde Hartt discusses four of such "outbreaks of race animosity" in "When the Negro Comes North," which was already briefly discussed above (Cluster 2). The incident in South Bend, Indiana resulted in letters being "sent to Negroes ordering them to leave town," and in an Ohio township "'vigilantes' tried to drive out the Negroes" (322). In Johnstown, Pennsylvania, the mayor himself expelled 1,200 blacks (323). Those expulsions actually became newsworthy on the national stage at times. For example, in 1923 the *New York Times* reported "All Negroes Driven

[31] In her conclusion to *Lynching and Spectacle*, Amy Wood notes violence as a national phenomenon although the racial conflict in the North "has been called the 'hidden violence' of the postwar era," defining the phrase as "violence that never garnered the popular attention that lynching drew before the war" (264).

From Indiana Town" with the subheading "White Miners at Blanford Act After an Assault on a Young Girl" (S5). Besides revealing that white Midwesterners actively contributed to making their communities all white, articles reporting on these expulsions are also a testament to the existence of black residents in small-town midwestern America.

Segregation was a reality for blacks in the North as much as it was in the South. Despite assumptions that the longer the Great Migration was ongoing, the more northern whites will get used to the idea of a black neighbor, the situation did not improve much for black newcomers in the Midwest over time. In 1944, Edwin R. Embree calls upon northern residents to actively end discrimination in "Negro and the North," five years later George S. Schuyler publishes his article "Jim Crow in the North." Embree "was a writer of consequence, publishing dozens of articles in journals and magazine, numerous essays calling for the fair treatment of all Americans, and several books introducing the nation's majority to their fellow citizens of color," writes biographer Alfred Perkins in his preface (x). In "Negro and the North," Embree reasoned his plea to end discrimination in northern and western cities with the demographic shift as well as political power, as blacks – now in numbers – were discovering the power of the ballot. Though I personally applaud Embree for his courage to conclude his article with "most of us know in our inner hearts that the heyday of the mastery of the earth by the 'white man of Northern Europe and North America' is gone" (717), he might have gambled away some supportive midwestern voices in the way he prophesied the end of white supremacy here. And unfortunately, we are still far away from achieving Embree's prediction today.

Schuyler, on the other hand, was a self-proclaimed black conservative, who politically ventured from the socialist to the extreme conservative side throughout his life. But his politics aside, he remained a keen observer of black life in the North. The article was published in the

aftermath of World War II and the Double V campaign, which inspired more and more African Americans to push for recognition and an end to racism at home. "Sett[ing] the record straight," Schuyler accorded that blacks were still second-class citizens across the nation and encountered discrimination across the North, "more subtle, not sanctified by state law, but nevertheless almost inescapable" (663). He acknowledged that discrimination was a reality in urban and rural areas, affecting work, housing, and leisure. He condemned the schooling situation in the North as "appalling" correcting the popular misconception by mentioning that "there are plenty of racially segregated public schools" (666). He echoed reasons that underline the necessity of the *Green Book*, as "In about half the cities of the North, Negroes are never accepted. In the others they are accepted but made to feel that they are unwelcome" when he discussed the obstacles blacks needed to overcome in an attempt to find a hotel or a restaurant in the North (667). He drove his point home by noting that 16 of the 29 states with an anti-miscegenation law are located outside of the South, uncovering that the "most savage penalties, as a matter of fact, are in the North" (669). Hospital and cemetery segregation (including dog cemeteries) built the culmination of his argument that Jim Crow ruled the North just like it did the South.

Housing and the consequent breach into white neighborhoods dominate the news in the 1950s and build an ideal lens into the minds of white Northerners. South African author, anti-Apartheid activist and contributor to *Collier's* Alan Paton identifies restrictive covenants as the "great weapon of the segregator" in 1954 (70). *Look* staff writer George B. Leonard, Jr. quotes southern migrants in the North upon their realization that people "talk integration [but] act segregation" in the North – housing discrimination serves as one of his examples in the article (82). "Race Trouble in the North: When a Negro Family Moved into a White Community" describes the race troubles in Levittown, Pennsylvania, in 1957, the year when the first black family moved

into town. The article abstract describes Levittown as a "normally peaceful Northern community" – a common description for many midwestern small towns. Peaceful – until their livelihoods seemingly have been threatened by black newcomers. But it was not the black newcomers who threw stones and assaulted police, but those very "peaceful" residents of the town. The article is full of resident quotations echoing a broad range of prejudice, biases, and stereotypes that do not reflect well on the white residents. The pinnacle of the hypocritical situation in Levittown presented itself at the end of the article. Even though the Myers were the first black family moving into town in 1957, all five swimming pools of the town already barred black folks from using them. One wonders how such policy could have already been in place even prior to the first attempt of blacks to settle there. Unless they were not the first.

Another paradox is frequently echoed in the articles during the second wave of the Great Migration – the fact that the North loves the race but hates the individual black person whereas the South hates the race but loves the individual black person. The sentiment shines through when authors discuss the opposition that blacks faced in their attempts to move into a small northern – all-white – community. It is this paradox that explains that the South is seemingly more integrated than the North. The article "South in the North" juxtaposes the level of prejudice in the North and South via two small-town communities: "There are several ironies in this tale of two cities – one being that Clinton, in the South, with most of its citizens admitting they do not believe in or want integration, is nevertheless partially integrated, while Deerfield, in the North, with the majority of its citizens assuring the world they believe in integration, is nevertheless totally segregated" (85). Rooting the basis for discrimination and prejudice in the belief that whites are superior to blacks, the author identifies housing discrimination as a "key to northern segregation" (ibid.) and as one of the crucial mechanisms to prove white superiority, noting "Symbols of that superiority differ.

In the South they include separate school and lunch counters. In the North, the symbols of status are houses, the pecking order of suburban communities. Superiority here may be established by a man's address" (ibid.).[32]

Similarly, Stewart Alsop and Oliver Quayle published their findings in "What Northerners Really Think of Negroes" in 1963. The authors conducted more than 500 interviews across the East, West, and Midwest, which led them to conclude that the "white North is no more ready to accept genuine integration and real racial equality than the deep South" (17). The issue of housing, once again, builds one of the key points in which the "real attitude" of northern whites shines through, as "more than three out of four, believed that a white man should have the right to refuse to sell his house to a Negro on the basis of race" (19). Providing examples of white northern attitudes in a wide array of social and cultural equality, the authors concluded their study with an important observation: "The danger lies less in violent Negro action than in violent white reaction" (21).

One of such "violent white reactions" was witnessed a few years later. In light of Richard Nixon's victory of the U.S. presidential election in 1968, various post-election articles on the "forgotten" white middle class are featured in my database. After years of societal upheavals in the fight for racial equality during the Civil Rights Movement, U.S. society seemed to be shifting rightward in the late 1960s. In the immediate aftermath of the election, articles featuring voices of the "little guy, the average white citizen who has been dubbed 'the Middle American'" sprung up everywhere" ("Troubled American" 29). The article conveys the emotions and feelings of those "forgotten" Americans – who felt like the real victims in society, opining that blacks demand too

[32] This point inspired my sub-heading for this section "White Supremacy by Home Address."

much too quickly, that moral values are lost, and that crime in the inner cities is bad (29–31; 45).[33] The authors also found is that "All around the country – especially among blue-collar workers – whites feel increasingly free to voice their prejudices and their hostility" (29). Living in Donald Trump's America in 2019, I am inclined to share this observation for the current times, as well.

As this section illustrated, black migrants faced white hostility – open and outward as well as subtle and hidden – in their chosen new environments. While such white hostility did not prevent them from migrating, it might explain the less dispersed settlement of blacks across the Midwest. Small-town attitudes and policies might have simply overridden their desire for land ownership. How many blacks attempted initial settlements in the smaller towns of the Midwest during the seven decades of the Great Migration, we might never know. Regardless, it is important to note the overwhelming obstacles and animosity blacks faced when doing so. The sole narrative of the Great Migration and the exclusive settlement of blacks in the urban North needs to be interrupted. For far too long have these formerly all-white communities across the Midwest and the North been excused and exculpated for their active contribution in the creation of the urban "ghettos." For far too long have white small-town Midwesterners been acquitted of playing any role in the below-standard accommodations in the segregated areas and the violent unrests erupting in urban spaces for equal rights and equal treatment of blacks.

This chapter attempted to correct the narrative. First, the chapter proves that many migrants expressed interest in small-town America in the North. We know from Scott's compilations of migrant letters that many migrants were eager to relocate in the North, and envisioned the small-town North as a viable relocation option. It was in these small towns where the migrants would see themselves easily adjusted and practice different aspects of citizenship, including access to a

[33] It appears as if U.S. society has reached the same low-point – more than three decades and lightyears of societal and global progress later – with the election of Donald J. Trump as the 45th President in 2016.

living wage, quality education and the ballot box. It was in these small towns where the migrants would envision themselves to make a living with the trades they have known all their lives – farming and agricultural labor.

Secondly, the chapter uncovers the missing voices of small-town America in the discussion of the Great Migration. Since the national press coverage barely touched upon the lived experiences of minorities in these northern landscapes, this chapter unearthed the hidden legacy of exclusionary policies and attitudes of the American Midwest that kept the region overwhelmingly white for decades during a time when the nation experienced a major demographic shift. In this regard, it contributes greatly to our understanding of the Great Migration as a socially-engineered urban phenomenon. However, it also leaves us with a desire to explore further what it is exactly about these small-town values and social relationships that makes it so difficult for minorities to become a part of that very community. In particular the last section of this chapter leaves us wondering about this inhospitable culture that characterized the small-town environment that migrants idealized in their letters. The remainder of this dissertation is concerned exactly with that.

By investigating Indiana as a sample midwestern state with a plethora of small towns, I hope to uncover some of the elements of the small-town mentality that created an unwelcoming environment for anyone different than the dominant white population. Ever since it became a state in 1816, Indiana displayed through its laws, policies, and attitudes that it is meant for the white man. Consequently, it lends itself well to a discussion about the larger processes behind the culture of exclusion. The remainder of this dissertation explores the racialized geographies of Indiana to illustrate the durability of this inhospitable and exclusionary small-town mentality to fully understand the legacy of that unwelcoming environment. Doing so, I will uncover how belonging

and citizenship function on a town, county, and state level, as local policies and exclusionary practices collectively signal *non*belonging and *non*citizenship to *non*white individuals.

CHAPTER 2. WHO WOULD WANT TO LIVE HERE? – THE CULTURES OF EXCLUSION IN INDIANA

> I love the agrar business, farm mentality here in Indiana. People are very, you know, I compare to Indiana, I say that Indiana is the Texas of the North because Texas is very confident but yet they're very humble. They're conservative people, but they're very … open and they're kind and I mean I really enjoyed, I mean my two brothers live in Texas. Texas is kind of a state, they're gonna set standards. You know? And I think Indiana does a lot of that. Indiana sets a lot of standards. I don't think Indiana is worried about what California's doing or what New York is doing or what maybe another state is doing. I think Indiana is pretty concerned about what Indiana is doing and try to be a better Indiana. And I appreciated that.
> ...
> So, I had a lot of options in my world at that time. I think because of all the things I've said and mentioned, Indiana made a case for me that, you know, this is a friendly place. They're hospitable. This is not a perfect place by any stretch of the imagination. Do we have racism? Yeah, there's racism. Do you have people that are idiots? Yeah. But you have those everywhere. You have people everywhere that are idiots. I mean I can walk outside the door and find three, and I can go to New York and find three more. I mean I can go anywhere in the country and find people that are either negative or just not interested in growth and certainly have no compassion. But I chose Indiana because I found and I believe that there are a lot more good people and a lot more positive people, a lot more people that want to see change and want to see growth and want to see good economic development. And that's really why I chose to stay. (Brad, 2017)

Brad was born in the Jim Crow South. He recalled segregated bathrooms and water fountains and an encounter of his father with the third Ku Klux Klan in our conversation. He moved to the West as a teenager. As an adult, he became a Midwesterner and has called Indiana home for more than three decades. In the epigraph, Brad raises some interesting points about the state of Indiana and Indianans. For him, Indiana is "the Texas of the North" and a state that "sets a lot of standards." And Hoosiers, as Indianans are regionally known as, are confident, humble, conservative, hospitable farmers.

Brad's upbringing might explain his analogy of Indiana and Texas. It might also explain why his first example of Indiana as "not a perfect place" references racism. To ensure that no one

classifies racism as inherent to Indiana, he immediately dilutes his statement by calling racists simply "idiots" and accentuating the fact that you have them "everywhere." This attitude of watering down racism in the state might be inherently Indianan after all, as this chapter will illustrate.

Indiana has a troubled history when it comes to race relations. It is known neither as a role model nor a fighter for human and civil rights. Its troubled race history far exceeds the reign of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, though it is probably the best (or only) known example. Indiana historian James H. Madison's main argument about change in Indiana is that it has always "been evolutionary rather than revolutionary" (*The Indiana Way* xiii). I propose that Madison's observation applies to positive change because Indiana has been at the forefront when it comes to encroaching on upon civil and human rights of minorities. Indiana's 200-year history is a testament to the struggle and resilience of minorities: for example, Native Americans and African Americans – if not driven out successfully – were merely tolerated, and Mexican Americans as well as other immigrant groups of color up to contemporary times have been exploited for their labor.

As a frontrunner of agriculture, the Midwest has been considered the breadbasket of the nation. With the onset of industrialization, it emerged as a manufacturing stronghold at the beginning of the twentieth century. Though home to various big cities, the common perception of the Midwest pertains to small towns, which in the public mind often symbolize the "true" essence of Americanness (e.g. Hurt xi; Shortridge 1). As the "Crossroads of America," Indiana shares many of the attributes generally associated with the larger region – economically and traditionally, and to a lesser degree ideologically and demographically. From a historical perspective, Indiana was the state in the Union most tolerant of slavery, reflecting the large southern-born population in the state (Madison, *Hoosiers* 144). The white supremacist ideology displayed itself in law and

attitudes, making the state one of the most racially white homogeneous in the region for many decades (Madison, *The Indiana Way* 168–69).

Indiana lends itself to for further investigating rural white spaces and their impacts on minorities now and then for three reasons. First, as a state with only one metropolis, Indianapolis, Indiana is ideally suited for exploring migration to places other than the big cities, as the state is dotted with hundreds of towns that provided jobs and land to arriving migrants – black and white alike. I illustrated in the previous chapter that many southern black migrants expressed interest in settling in northern small towns. Indiana experienced a seven-fold increase in its African American population from 45,668 black Hoosiers in 1890 to 357,464 in 1970. However, migrants largely chose to avoid settling in Indiana towns. This chapter explains why.

Secondly, although Indiana remained loyal to the Union during the Civil War, it is also a border state, and the influence of southern cultural traditions and ideologies through early white southern arrivals is noticeable. As discriminatory practices spread and hardened across the North throughout the twentieth century, de facto segregation also deepened in Indiana, most likely increasing proportionally with the number of black Hoosiers (Madison, *Hoosiers* 192). It crossed all spheres of life – housing, education, public establishments, and social organizations.

Lastly, and maybe partially a result of the previous point, it exemplifies the mutually constitutive nature of institutional and individual racism. Indiana was instrumental in the reemergence of the KKK in the 1920s, and home to discriminatory organizations like the White Caps and the National Horse Thief Detective Association (NHTDA) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As strong advocates for white supremacy, these organizations were deeply invested in protecting and preserving white privilege. Yet, it would be a mistake to only blame these organizations for a surge in discrimination and prejudice after World War I, given that the

Indiana's second constitution of 1851 had already clearly defined whiteness as a prerequisite for citizenship in the state. White Hoosiers embraced de facto segregation, actively turning their towns into all-white communities by driving racial minorities out or preventing their settlement. The result were sundown towns, "purposely all-white communities that undermined ethnic and racial minority settlement and integration through socially sanctioned measures, ranging from threats to violence" (Sdunzik 294).[34] Sundown towns poignantly illustrate the interplay between and intersections of institutional and individual racism.

Thus, this chapter focuses on exploring the history of Indiana as a state and its respective counties regarding minorities. The juxtaposition of Indiana state laws and county-enforced initiatives illustrates the anti-black nature of the state. A close in-depth analysis of Indiana's sociopolitical, legal, and cultural history with regards to how its policies, laws, and attitudes affected racial and ethnic minorities will unearth the ingredients of an unwelcoming small-town environment prevalent across the Midwest. To this extent, it will set up the remainder of my dissertation, which hones in on one county located in central Indiana. Using primary sources from the Black History Project, an unprocessed collection at the Indiana Historical Society, the chapter will share some of the collective memories that dominate white Hoosier minds regarding black experiences in their midst. The subsequent pages will delineate a pattern of white Hoosier hostility toward and resentment of blacks in towns and counties across the state. Thus, Indiana serves as an example to illustrate how state and people surreptitiously work together, creating, fostering and reproducing cultures of exclusion over decades.

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[34] Other common names to describe such all-white communities include after-dark towns and sunset-towns. The all-white nature of Indiana towns and counties has been noted as early as the mid-twentieth century (Thornbrough in 1957 and Leibowitz in 1964), but not until 2005 did the first comprehensive volume on the issue appear with James Loewen's *Sundown Towns*. Loewen identifies the prime era of sundown policies between 1890 and 1970, but also notes that these policies continue to persist even today, though in extensively smaller numbers (9, 16).

When Indiana Territory (In)Gloriously Became a State

In 1816, Indiana became the nineteenth state of the Union and thus recently concluded its bicentennial celebrations. The 200-year history of the state resulted in many publications dedicated to state achievements and famous Hoosiers, such as the Bicentennial Commission's *Indiana at 200* and Gugin and Clair's *Indiana's 200: The People Who Shaped the Hoosier State*, both published in 2015. The moment of inward reflection in these works of how the state became what it has become, however, was missed. After all, it is a moment to celebrate – selectively – the glorious things of Hoosier life and history and ignore the less pleasant, or inglorious, parts. Despite its extensive and frequently violent encounters with Native Americans (after all Indiana means the Land of Indians), *Indiana at 200* offers no reflections on this part of its history. One sidebar in the 248-page volume features a member of the Lenape (Delaware), Michael Pace, who since his retirement educates fellow Hoosiers about past and ongoing contributions of his People to the state (COR 43). Besides that, the reader encounters a rather vague statement regarding the birth of the state in the Foreword, written by then-Governor and current Vice-President Mike Pence. Pence heralds Indiana for becoming the first state to join the Union after the War of 1812, proclaiming "Our forebears [who] were builders and farmers – people of fortitude and courage, men and women who chose to brave harsh weather and hardship to build both their futures and a new state in an untamed land" (COR 7). Pence describes Indiana land before statehood as "untamed" territory, which suggests that he does not consider Native Americans as "true" ancestors of the state, even though archeological records trace Paleo-Indian settlement and cultivation of Indiana land back to circa 9,500-8,000 B.C. (Glenn and Rafert, "Native Americans" 392).[35] His cursory reference to

[35] In this regard, Pence follows in the footsteps of former governors. When Indiana celebrated its sesquicentennial, then-Governor Roger Branigan also dismissed the ancestors of the state "calling on Hoosier to honor 'those brave and restless men' who settled in the wilderness that was to become Indiana" ("Indiana 150 Years Old: The Celebration Begins." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 17 Apr. 1966, p. 2).

the War of 1812 would also demand more attention than he (or the volume at large) was willing to provide, as many of the battles were fought on what was then Indiana Territory. Pence neither contextualizes the Battle of Tippecanoe, which is often described as the catalyst of the War of 1812, nor acknowledges that the ensuing 33-month conflict destroyed at least twenty-five Native American villages and towns in Indiana (Glenn and Rafert, "Native Americans" 400). In short, Pence pursues the strategy of erasure or active forgetting, which Feagin identifies as emblematic of the white racial frame, "especially in regard to the prevailing narratives of the country's [here state's] developmental history" (17).

Whereas it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to explore Indiana's treatment of, negotiations with, and policies against Native Americans, suffice it to say that white Hoosiers pushed for the removal of local tribal nations as early as the state was founded, and particularly after the Indian Removal Act was passed on a national level in 1830. The white man's conquest of Indiana lands, which belonged amongst others to Miami, Potawatomi, Kickapoo/Mascouten, Delaware, Wyandot and Shawnee Peoples, culminated in the forced removal of Potawatomi from Indiana to present-day Kansas in 1838, known as the Trail of Death.[36] As of 2018, Indiana does not have any federally recognized Tribal Nations in their midst, though at least sixteen different Peoples are residing in the state, with the Cherokee being the most common Tribal Nation. Native Americans comprise 0.3 percent of the total state population.

[36] Scholars treating Native American resilience and experiences in Indiana include Rafert's 1996 work *The Miami Indians of Indiana*, Hicks et al.'s *Native American Cultures in Indiana*, and Glenn and Rafert's 2009 monograph *The Native Americans*.

Indiana: White by Law and Institutions

Indiana was founded as a white state. Residents and politicians alike perceived it that way, believed in it, and acted accordingly. "In the decades before the Civil War," Indiana historian and native Hoosier Emma Lou Thornbrough writes, "the assertion that the United States, especially the state of Indiana, was a 'white man's country' became a well-worn cliché in the mouths of a certain brand of politicians" (*The Negro in Indiana* 55). For example, in his 1857 speech George Washington Julian, an Indiana abolitionist, proclaimed that "The sad truth is, that Indiana is the most pro-slavery of all our Northern States […] Our people hate the negro with a perfect, if not supreme hatred, and their anti-slavery, making an average estimate, is a superficial and sickly sentiment, rather than a deep-rooted robust conviction" (127–28). Many of Indiana's early white settlers came from the South, a fact that has shaped Indiana's culture, attitude, and politics, or in the words of Ruth Andersen, "Those who came to Indiana brought with them the strong feelings of superiority of the Caucasian race and the prejudices against the Negro people that had been predominant in their home states" (5). However, I would be remiss if I did not mention the hand-written remarks in the LaGrange County file of the Black History Project, in which the writer points out that the northern part, unlike the southern part of the state, was settled by people from Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania and the New England states which "Indiana historians, usually from I.U., fail to note" (LaGrange County, as of February 4, 1988).

The LaGrange resident was not the first and only one to note this fact. In 1950, William E. Wilson, author and a native of Indiana, contributed a 15-page panoramic portrait about the Hoosier state to the journal *Holiday*. In it, he references the U.S. highway 40, the Old National Road, as the dividing line of the different settlement patterns. Wilson describes the northern part of the state as having been populated by "descendants of Yankees, New York Staters and immigrants from foreign lands," which made the region "more vigorous," "more progressive and aggressive, and

the more prosperous half of the state" (29). In contrast, he classifies the southern part of the state as having "been inhabited by descendants of Southerners, with a strong infusion of German and Irish in their blood" and "a more storied past and more varied scenery." Southern Indianans, according to Wilson, are "more leisurely and more gracious," and "more loquacious" (29). Wilson fails to comment on black Hoosiers in his article or how his classification of northern and southern Indiana results in different attitudes toward black Hoosiers. He attributes the divided support of the state during the Civil War to the fact that Abraham Lincoln left Indiana for Illinois (102). The author seems almost aloof to the race question in his portrait, as he explains Hoosier pride in its southern heritage as having "a strong sense of family loyalty as well as devotion to friends" (ibid.). The author grew up in Evansville, which was one of the earliest towns to grow a black population. Evansville experienced its fair share of racial unrest from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century; yet, the author did not acknowledge the existence of blacks in Indiana, reference race-related incidents or connect the pride in its Southern heritage to anti-black ideologies.

From its earliest conception as a territory and later state, Indiana was anti-black. "While there was some difference of opinion among the residents as to the enormity of slavery," John W. Lyda writes in his 1953 study *The Negro in the History of Indiana*, "there was scarcely any as to the Negro and mulatto coming into the state under any circumstances; they simply were not wanted by a majority of citizens" (14–15). Lyda was a black Hoosier who taught in one of Terre Haute's segregated schools during the early to mid-1900s and his book was one of the first seminal histories of the black experience in the state. According to Lyda, the reason citizens did not want African Americans in the state was they believed the common perceptions of the time, which included "lazy, shiftless, unable to support themselves […] so criminally inclined that they committed an

undue proportion of crimes, and that their coming tended to keep out the more to-be-desired white settlers that could be readily absorbed as part of the population while the Negro could not" (15).

Historians of the state agree with Lyda's interpretation. Pioneer historian of African Americans in Indiana Emma Lou Thornbrough describes the prevailing attitude in Indiana "as neither proslavery nor antislavery but as anti-Negro," attributing it to the competition in the labor market and the overall antipathy towards blacks (*Indiana in the Civil War Era* 13–14). In his most recent account on Indiana, James H. Madison notes, "Overshadowing the feeble antislavery sentiment was strong race prejudice" (*Hoosiers* 109). Darlene Clark Hine notes "White Hoosiers resented the new black arrivals. They steadfastly believed this to be a white man's country and fought to preserve Indiana as a white man's state" (10). A look at Indiana's laws and legislature illustrates the severity of this mission. As part of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Indiana prohibited slavery and indentured servitude upon becoming a state.[37] Simultaneously, however, white Hoosiers made their racial antipathies known and cemented them in their first (and later second) constitution. Article VI and Article VII of the 1816 constitution granted the right to vote and to serve in the militia exclusively to white male citizens, respectively.[38] Two years later, intermarriage between blacks and whites,[39] jury duty and testimony in court involving a white party were outlawed on Indiana soil (Thornbrough, *Since Emancipation* 2).[40] As I have argued

[37] Though outlawed, Thornbrough notes that illegal indentures existed in the state, as the constitutional ban on involuntary servitude did not encompass indentures (*The Negro in Indiana* 25–30).

[38] Indiana was the second territory from the Northwest Ordinance to gain statehood. Ohio became a state in 1803 and did not limit voting or militia rights to white male citizens in its first constitution.

[39] However, Thornbrough notes elsewhere that it did not become official law of the land until 1840 when an interracial couple breached the law causing uproar among the citizens and public officials in Indianapolis, resulting in cementing and harshening the law (*The Negro in Indiana* 125–126). Other scholars do not echo Thornbrough's interpretation that the 1818 was not officially enforced until 1840, but cite the same 1840 incident as the catalyst to pass "a more stringent law declaring all Negro-white marriages to be null and void (illegitimating children, incidentally) and defining the offense as a felony," including fines and imprisonment (Monahan 633).

[40] Black males were given the right to vote only in 1881 – despite the fifteenth amendment – and not until 1936 were blacks allowed to serve in the state's militia. Jury duty and court testimony were granted in 1885 (Robbins, *African Heritage* 9).

elsewhere, "White Hoosiers continued to restrict rights and movement of blacks in the state and excluded them from white society over the next three decades – with the formation of the Indiana Colonization Society in 1829, the passing of the so-called Black Codes in 1831, and the official designation of public schools to white children in 1843" (292).

Demands for the colonization of blacks in Indiana go back to the state's foundational days. Already in 1817 did the Indiana General Assembly introduce a resolution "to colonize blacks in the Far West" (Crenshaw 13). The same year, the American Colonization Society (ACS) was formed. Soon calls for state auxiliaries followed. Indiana started organizing as early as 1820 and resolutions in favor of ACS were passed in the Indiana General Assembly throughout the 1820s. Officially formed as an auxiliary of the American Colonization Society in 1829, the Indiana Colonization Society anticipated to "repatriate" black Hoosiers to Africa, specifically to Liberia. Hoosiers supported these efforts for a variety of reasons. As Ruth Andersen explains,

> The removal of the colored people was sought eagerly by some because they felt that complete separation of the races was the only answer to the controversial issue. Some Hoosiers felt that colonization would better the condition of the Negro since he could never hope to be the equal of the white citizen in the country. Religious groups looked upon colonization as a springboard toward the spreading of Christian civilization in Africa. Those who sympathized with the slave owners of the South favored colonization because they felt that free Negroes were a threat to the economic stability of the plantation system. (8)

Whatever the rationale, for many white Hoosiers colonization became the solution to their "Negro problem."

Like other states in the Midwest, Indiana passed its own Black Codes in 1831. Black newcomers to the state had to register with a clerk in their county of residence and place surety bonds of $500 guaranteeing not to disturb the peace or become a public charge (Madison, *The Indiana Way* 107). By 1840, Indiana legislators toughened the anti-miscegenation law by

increasing the fines and jail time for anyone in violation of the law and including punishment for anyone performing such marriage ceremonies (Lyda 17).

With the passing of its second constitution in 1851, Indiana made it abundantly clear that blacks were not welcome in the state. Article XIII, reinforcing the exclusion and colonization efforts from the last decades, *explicitly* banned African Americans from settling in Indiana and imposed fines on anyone employing or helping blacks to settle in the state. Another section of the article guaranteed money for a state agent to encourage blacks to emigrate to Africa. The so-called Negro Exclusion Article, being subject to an independent vote, was more popular among white Hoosiers than the rest of the constitution (Lyda 33). One year later, Indiana legislators passed another law requiring all black residents to register in their county of residence.[41] Negro registers are further discussed below (see Trend 7).

The impacts of the latest wave of stringent anti-black laws were severe: for instance, the official ban of black migration into the state resulted in a net increase of 166 persons in Indiana's black population between 1850 and 1860. It also caused almost 90 percent of the 83 identified black emigrants from Indiana to Africa to leave between 1850 and 1854 in the immediate wake of the passing of the constitution (Anthrop 9, 11).

Intents to keep Indiana white extended into the civil war era. In a debate over emancipation in the District of Columbia in 1862, former governor and then Senator Joseph A. Wright proclaimed,

> … as one of the central States, we do not intend to allow our region of [the] country to be overrun by the black race. Such is the prejudice, such is the settled conviction of our people, that the wall which we have erected is to stand. We intend to have in our State, as far as possible, a white population, and we do not intend to have our jails and penitentiaries filled with the free blacks. (1468)

[41] Since Indiana still governs under the 1851 Constitution, though amended over the years, it is important to note that Article XIII was declared invalid by the state Supreme Court in 1866.

Wright here admits the wide-spread and strong prejudice among white Hoosiers as well as their firm belief in negative stereotypes about blacks as he correlates "free blacks" with criminality. In light of the fact that Indiana's black population had never exceeded one percent of the total population before 1870 (Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era* 14), the fact alone that Indiana enacted a plethora of laws that infringed upon the civil and human rights of African Americans is simply astonishing. Indiana was determined to maintain its whiteness.[42]

On a legal plane, Indiana displays anti-blackness. Its constitutions declared whiteness as a prerogative for citizenship rights and duties, and openly banned black settlement within state borders. Additional laws annulled marriages, encouraged "repatriation" to Africa, imposed Black Codes and fines for violators, and introduced Negro registers. Yet, black folks continued to settle, intermarriages between blacks and whites happened, and not all counties kept a Negro register. In other words, it is the people in the communities that respect, interpret, and enforce the law in their hometowns and counties.

Laws enact their power through the people they govern. And vice versa, people act and display their powers through the laws. Midwest scholar Richard C. Longworth classifies the Midwest outside the cities as "largely a social system based on everybody looking and acting like everybody else" and as a "social system based on respect for the law" (103). The very presence of southern black migrants then and immigrants of color now mocks the social system and their laws, even though the newcomers might act "like everybody else" and respect the law. A closer look at Indiana's 92 counties will illustrate how Hoosiers interpreted and enacted the state laws in their

[42] In *Free But Not Equal*, V. Jacque Voegeli establishes the fact that Indiana was not alone among the midwestern states to subscribe to the doctrines of white supremacy and desires to keep their states "free from Negroes" (5). He traces the increase in racial antipathy in the Midwest [his definition includes Iowa and Minnesota besides the five states I noted in my definition] to the outbreak of the Civil War, but also notes that "Prior to war [sic], state exclusion laws, federal fugitive slave acts, [and] an unfriendly white populace" actively contributed to keeping the number of blacks to an absolute minimum in the midwestern states (ibid.). Voegeli found that besides Illinois, Indiana committed most fiercely and blatantly to anti-negro sentiments in the Midwest (e.g. 89).

county communities. What becomes clear is that it is the people that (re)produce the cultures of exclusion. To illustrate this, I will utilize the Black History Project, as it sheds light into the laws, policies, *as well as* values and attitudes in all 92 counties. Values and attitudes, though the most difficult to obtain without onsite research, are important to uncover, as they pinpoint at what creates an unwelcoming environment.

I will reveal the collective memories of Indiana counties as they pertain to the black experience with the help of the Black History Project. Feagin reminds us of the fact that the most powerful groups in society (white Hoosiers) control "society-wide institutional memories," and thus determine who and what becomes part of the collective memory of Indianans (17). Black History Project respondents display that collective memory is also "a process of interaction between narrative and history, the interplay of stories and events" (J. Walton 301). Narratives are socially constructed; Indiana residents transformed these stories into facts and the resulting myth became part of their heritage, for example the claim to the Underground Railroad that many county residents listed when contextualizing black history in their respective counties.

Black History Project: A Treasure for the Ugly

The Black History Project (BHP) was designed as an in-house project of the Indiana Historical Society (IHS). The Black History Program Archivist of the Indiana Historical Society contacted all county historians and staff at County Historical Societies and Libraries in September 1987, in an attempt to gather information concerning blacks in the state of Indiana at a county level. For that purpose, the counties received a survey and a referral sheet seeking additional resource contacts regarding black history information for the county. Divided into four sections – general information; sites, organizations, and institutions; sources; and additional information – the survey consists of 13 content-related and three administrative questions (see Appendix B). Considered

"experimental" for that time, IHS staff members did not have an ultimate goal for the project in mind but rather wanted to see "where it was going."[43] Over the years, staff members decided to make the files available to researchers who might be interested in the information found in the folders. IHS staff is planning to process the material as a collection and add it to the Online Catalog. Currently, unless one specifically inquires about information regarding black history in the state, one does not know about the treasure trove that lies hidden in the Historical Society's archives.

The counties were given two months to respond to the survey. The Jasper County historian was the first to return the survey after less than a week of being contacted. By February 1988, 48 counties had responded. Three months later, the number was up to 73 counties that had responded to the survey request. The unresponsive 19 counties were contacted again, as were the individuals listed on the referral sheets as potential county resources. A shorter version of the original survey resulted in several more responses from those contacts. By May 1989, the time the letter update was sent to respective county representatives, those remaining 19 counties were contacted yet again, resulting in survey responses from five of them and letter responses from four others. Thus, the Black History Program Archivist created a list of the "Ten Most Wanted States [sic]," including Steuben, Newton, Wells, Jay, Madison, Putnam, Switzerland, Lawrence, and Martin Counties. The list and map erroneously identified Tipton as the tenth county, which returned a sparsely filled survey in September 1989, and failed to identify Delaware, which according to the Black History Project files remains unresponsive to this day, as no sort of communication is included in the Delaware folder. On the first look, the project seemed successful after two years of gathering information on blacks in Indiana with a response rate of 89 percent (Figure 2).

[43] Indiana Historical Society staff member, personal conversation with author, October 14, 2017.

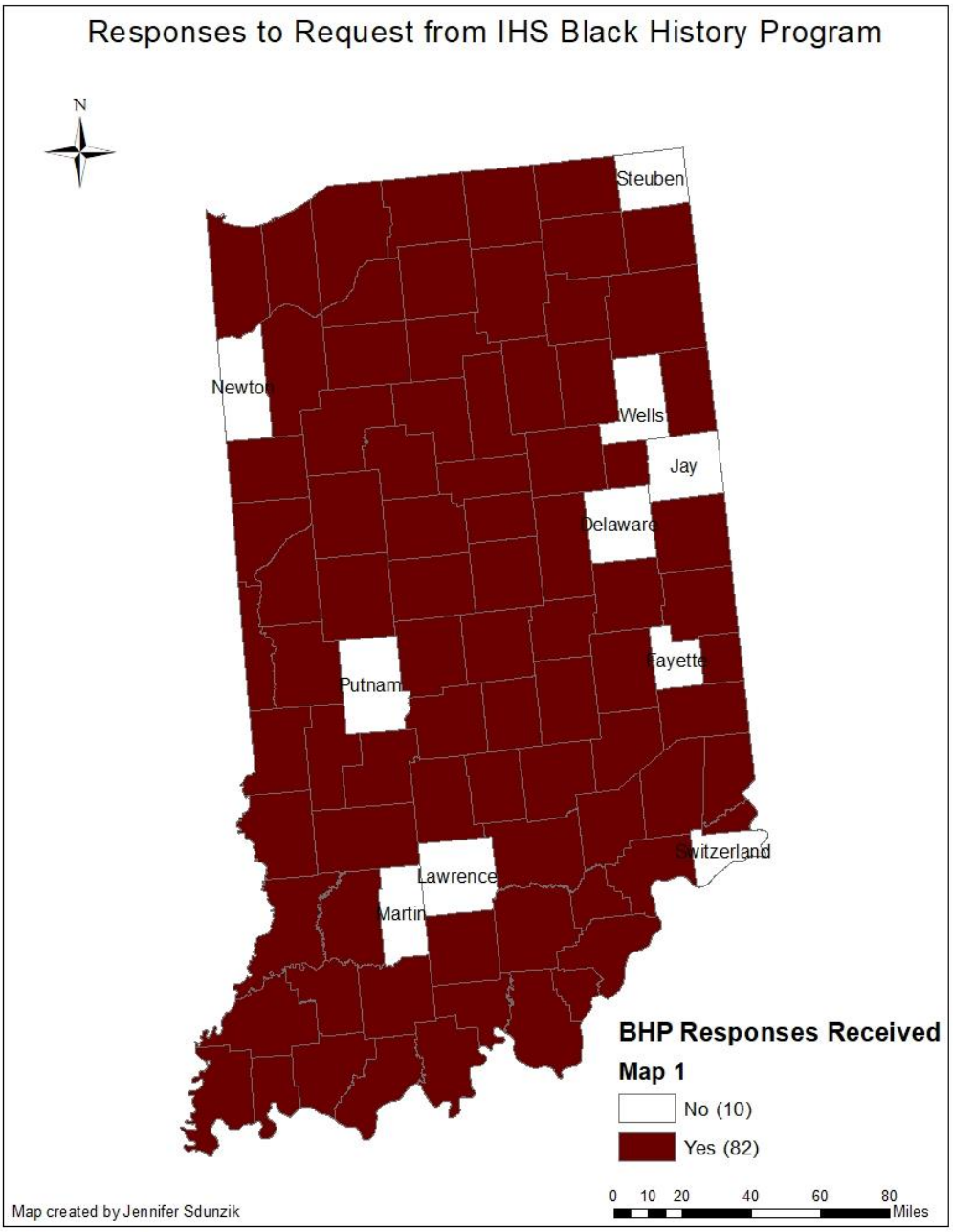

Figure 2 Map displaying responses received to Black History Project request. The counties in white are the unresponsive "Top Ten" counties.

However, a closer look at the project files paints a different picture. First, only roughly two-thirds of the files from the responding counties contain an actual survey response, curbing one's enthusiasm about the treasure trove by thirty percent (Figure 3). Some counties responded

in forms of letters; others sent documents pertaining to what the survey was inquiring. Still others solely sent a referral sheet.

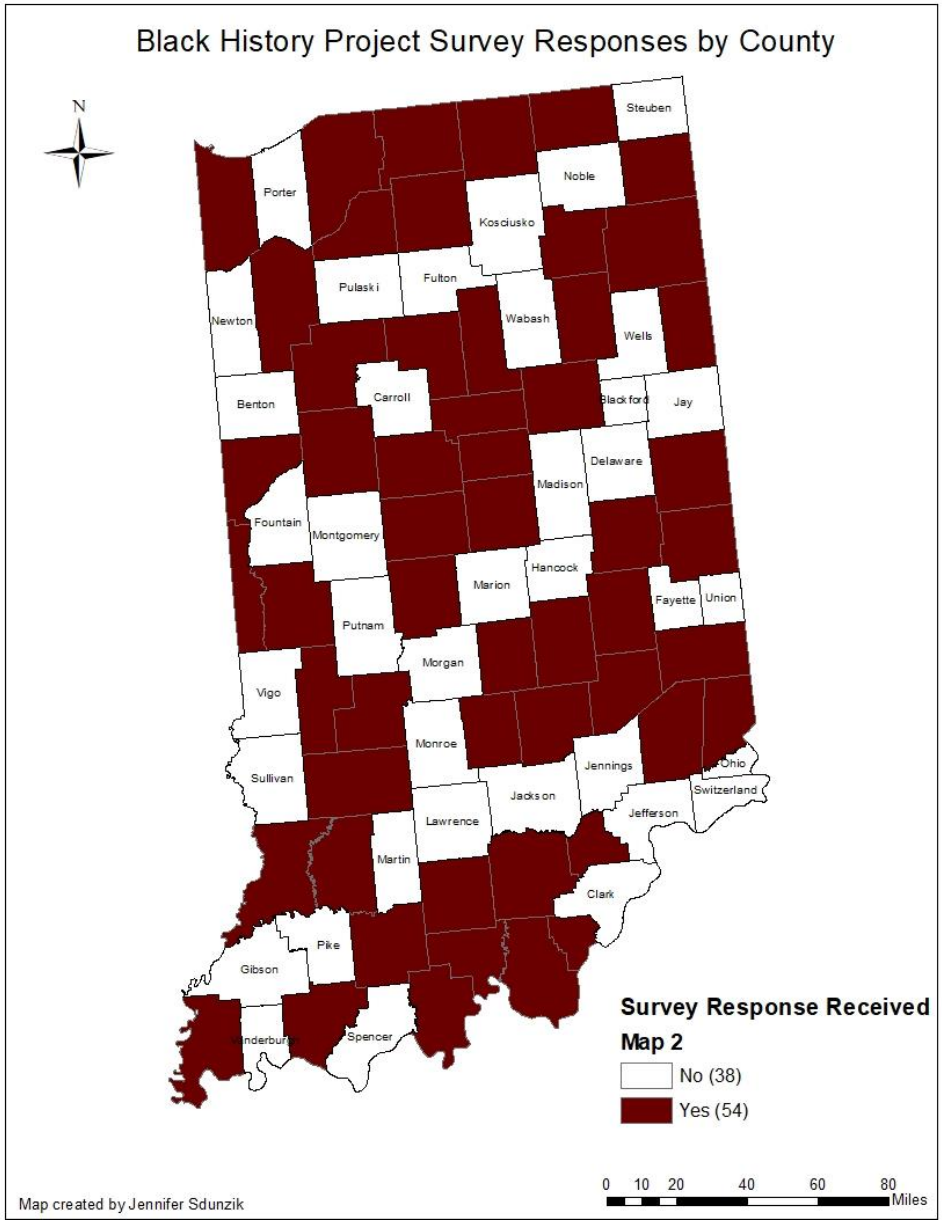

Figure 3 Map displaying actual survey responses by county. The counties that did not send a survey response are identified by name.

Secondly, of the 54 actual survey responses, 19 were sparsely filled out. That is to say, oftentimes only one or two questions on the survey were attempted or the empty spaces in-between

the questions, designed for the respective responses, were used to write a quick note about not having much knowledge about the topic. The survey response from White County serves as a good example here. Question 1a) *To your knowledge, what is the earliest occurrence of Blacks in your county and where were they located*, was the only question attempted to be answered as follows: "Checking with the census records of White County also voting registration records there have never been Blacks located in White County" (White County, as of October 7, 1987). The statement actually is at least partially inaccurate. Even though the writer does not specify which census records they have consulted, the 1970 census lists four black individuals in the county and the 1980 census lists 10. However, a statement like that quickly responds to the survey and may eschew any further interrogation into the county's history concerning the issue.

The statement might also serve as an example of how personal memories and collective memories are constructed, transmitting selective knowledge about their county past. The respondent may not have encountered a black individual in their county during their lifetime; yet, we do not know enough about the survey taker regarding age, place of origin, and other identities. We do know, however, that the individual is non-black, most likely white, who has the knowledge of consulting census and voting records to answer historical population questions and who has authority to speak on behalf of the county. "Inherent in the transmission of historical memory, therefore, is the active labor of selecting, structuring, and imposing meaning on the past rather than the mere reproduction of inherent historical truths," writes W. Fitzhugh Brundage in his edited volume *Where These Memories Grow* (5). We know that this statement is inaccurate as proven with the 1970 and 1980 censuses. Brundage uses the concept of collective memory to get at the heart of the southern identity. Declaring memory as an "essential component of their social identity," Brundage argues that

> Remembering consequently becomes implicated in a range of activities that have as such to do with identity, power, authority, cultural norms, and social interaction with the simple act of conserving and recalling information. Groups invariably fashion their own image of the world and their place in it by establishing an accepted version of the past, a sort of genealogy of identity. (4)

As the county spokesperson in terms of the survey inquiry by the IHS, the respondent displayed their authority and shared White County's "accepted version of the past;" a version that according to Feagin is consistent with the lens of the "white racial frame." I will return to the discussion of sparsely completed surveys later in this chapter.

Figure 3 might also cause eyebrow raising in at least two instances: Vanderburgh and Monroe Counties. Vanderburgh, home of Evansville is well known for having had a long history of blacks in the county, culminating in such infamous instances as the 1865 and 1903 race riots/massacres. Monroe County, on the other hand, is home to Bloomington, Indiana and has been one of the more liberal bastions in the state as it houses Indiana University Bloomington. The most recent example of the common understanding of Monroe as a liberal bastion would be the 2016 presidential election, in which it was one of four counties in the state that voted blue (for the Democratic Party). In both cases, no survey responses were received. Instead, typed and hand-written notes were sent, referring to recently and then forthcoming monographs devoted to the history of blacks in their respective counties, France V. Halsell Gilliam's *A Time to Speak: A Brief History of the Afro Americans of Bloomington, Indiana, 1865-1965* (1985) and Darrel E. Bigham's *We Ask Only A Fair Trial: A History of the Black Community of Evansville, Indiana* (1987). Whereas I applaud the fact that these two authors dedicated extensive studies to these two communities, I lament the fact that the survey respondents consequently ignored the survey, which asked for specific details in a succinct manner. Some respondents indicated keywords with

reference to specific chapters or page numbers in books they consulted, which would have been a great solution here.

Thus, after the first look at the Black History Project Files conveyed the impression of a successful inquiry into the black experience in Indiana counties, the second look reveals a more accurate representation of the available materials. 35 counties, or 38 percent, completed the survey in detail (Figure 4). These 35 surveys that contained detailed information concerning blacks in Indiana paint a dire picture of the African American experience for the most part, as do the various monographs centered on blacks in their respective counties. Segregated life, as indicated through Negro registers, black cemeteries, separate schools or neighborhoods was the norm for black citizens in the *northern* state of Indiana.

Empty county folders and sparsely completed surveys[44] in the Black History Project reveal more about the county's attitude towards than the history of minorities. The empty folders of the "Top 10" counties, for example, may not necessarily mean that these counties do not have a trace of black life in their history. Yet, frequent follow-up forms over the course of two years in an effort to gauge information about the black experience in their counties were ignored. Suffice it to say that the lack of any response at least implies a very low priority of the black experience locally, as none of the county entities – local historical societies, county historians, and public libraries – managed to respond, not even in a manner that acknowledged receipt of the request nor in a quick and superficial way indicative of the sparsely completed surveys.

[44] During a follow-up visit in March 2019, an IHS staff member qualified such responses as "pathetic," as the negligence clearly reflected that survey takers didn't care to "give much attention because they don't look like them." She also speculated about how the survey would be received nowadays and to what extent the provided information would change.

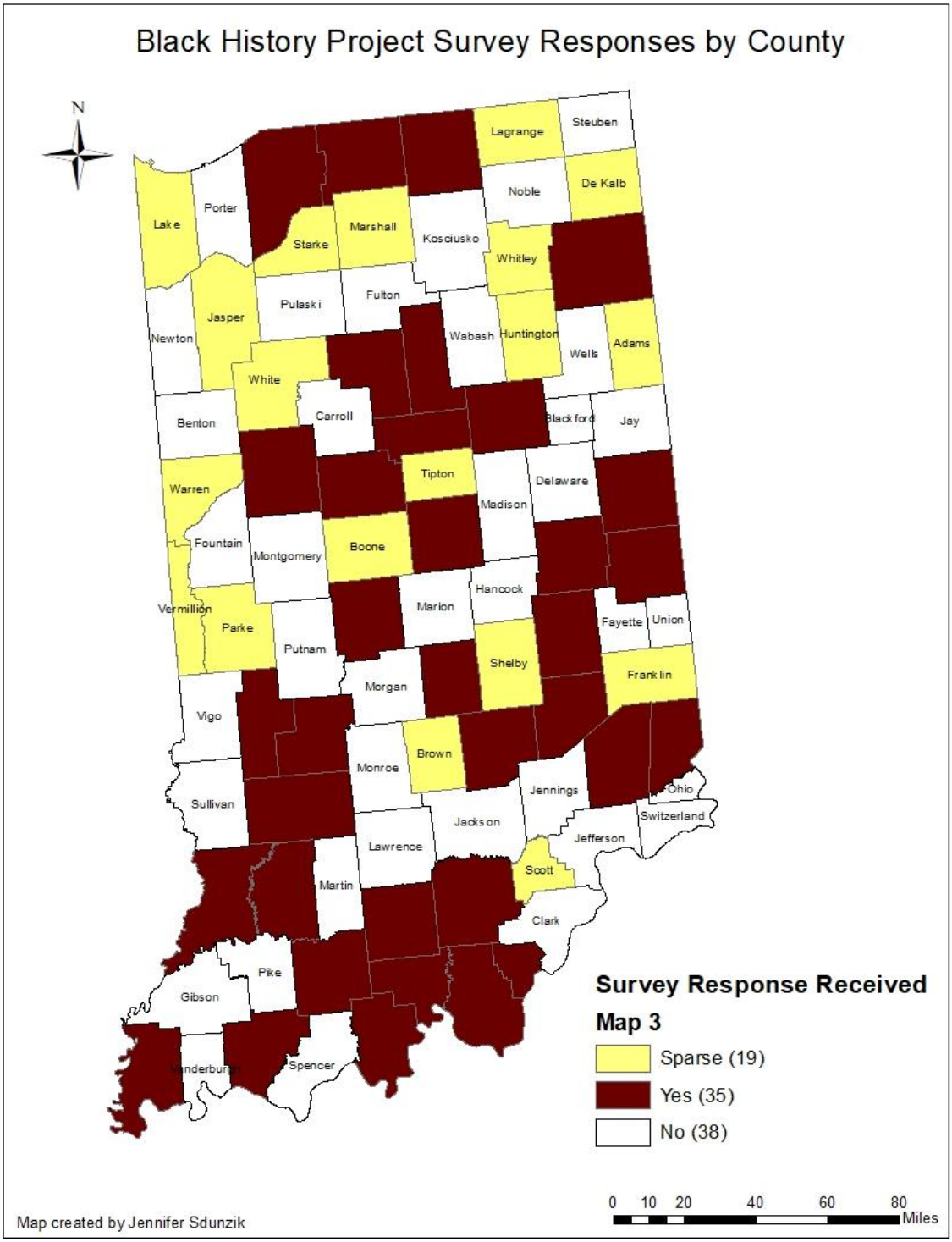

Figure 4 Map displaying county survey responses for the Black History Project. The different shades capture the extent to which the surveys were completed. The map provides a more accurate visual of the success of the BHP request, as only 35 counties completed the survey in more detail.

The sparsely completed surveys frequently attest to the cultures of exclusion prevalent in Indiana. Responses to the majority of the questions ranged from "no" to "none" to "not to my knowledge." Again, there is a chance that black people have resided in those counties, yet if they did, there was no priority in capturing their life experiences, for example in local newspaper coverage, biographical county histories or church histories. The one comment under one of the survey questions or on the survey cover sheet, however, does reveal part of Indiana's all-white and whitewashed history in their counties, as the following examples demonstrate:

> "This survey about Blacks does not apply to this County as there has been only about one dozen Black Families that have lived in this County from the start of the County. This is according to the vital Records." (Carroll County, as of March 9, 1988)
>
> "Noble County has had little or no black inhabitants during its 150-year plus history, hence there is no documentation of the type you are seeking." (Noble County, as of January 22, 1988)
>
> "We have never had over 5 black families living in Ohio Co. Sorry I have no knowledge of any Black History available." (Ohio County, as of February 1, 1988)

All three responses actually acknowledge that black people at one point in their county's history resided among them; yet, the number was deemed too small to provide more detailed information on the residents themselves, or where and when they lived in their counties. Having applied the "white racial frame" to the survey, they successfully whitewashed the county's history and maintained its white image publicly. This negation of the black experience in Carroll, Noble, and Ohio Counties exemplify Lipsitz's "white spatial imaginary."

Sparse survey responses inspired the Black History Program Archivist to follow up with the respondents in person, most likely via telephone. A personal follow-up with the Noble County historian in early 1988, resulted in her noting that he "Does not plan to complete the survey due to the fact 'there is no documentation of the type you are seeking.'" Other follow-up attempts resulted

in "does not plan to complete survey – no information available," as was the case for Porter and Pulaski Counties (Folder 3.1, pp. 8–9).

In another sparsely completed survey response, this time from Brown County, Indiana, the respondent indicated that a sixteen-year-old "Waiter" in a household in Nashville, its county seat, constituted the only black resident of the county historical society's records (according to 1860 Census) until about 25 years ago, which would be in the early 1960s when a black family moved in.[45] The other remark on the survey refers to the situation in Brown County in 1987: "Today there are only 5 black children in the entire County school system" (Brown County, as of November 6, 1987). In other words, Brown County successfully maintained its whiteness for more than a century.

The sparsely filled out surveys and the absence of survey responses exemplify how "the histories are missing," an observation Eliot Jaspin made in his book *Buried in the Bitter Waters* (7). The Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist studied the phenomenon of countywide expulsions across the nation.[46] "Faced with an inconvenient history, the first defense is silence," Jaspin notes (9). A community's need "to either deny or shade its history" may partially be "a way to protect the memories of their fathers and grandfathers who took part in these expulsions," Jaspin explains further. Shading serves the purpose of "protecting [and continuing] the legacy of the cleansings" while denial allows townspeople to "claim that their racially 'pure' world is a coincidence" (10–11). Jaspin's interpretation explains the omission of expulsion incidents and overall sparse nature of black county experiences in some of the BHP survey responses.

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[45] As was the case with White County earlier in this chapter, this statement is partially inaccurate, as census records do indicate a minuscule number of residents, e.g. 7 in 1890, which may constitute one black family. The Historical Society, however, may not have held all census records available.

[46] Two of the twelve case studies Jaspin discusses in his book are Indiana counties. I will return to Jaspin's analysis when discussing both of these "racial cleansings" in Indiana below.

If not driven out successfully, blacks seem to have been merely tolerated in various Indiana counties. The sparsely completed surveys in the BHP attest to the marginalized and low priority status of blacks in the respective counties. Their small numbers seemingly justified the denial of having a black history in their county altogether. Then, what about the counties that did include surveys and the ones that did not? Do they confirm the marginalized status or erasure of the black experiences? I will contextualize completed surveys and other materials from the Black History Project into a larger Indiana narrative next.

Doing so, I will first trace Indiana's black history from the state's inception throughout the nineteenth century with the help of the Black History Project files, complementing and supplementing the survey responses with materials from the Black History Project Vertical Files and secondary sources whenever necessary. Though I attempt to focus on the black experience, what is revealed is a blanket of white hostility and animosity towards black Hoosiers. On a county level, white Hoosiers successfully send the message that this is white territory and white property, where blacks simply are out of place. What follows is the visualization of how Indiana counties invoked whiteness in every sphere of life.

Black Experiences in Nineteenth-Century Indiana: Settlement, Expulsion, Segregation

Many counties in Indiana have been home to black residents from the earliest days of settlement of the region by non-indigenous persons. Many were brought as slaves. Complying with the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Indiana prohibited slavery in its 1816 constitution (Article XI). However, the Article did not concern owners of slaves before the state was founded. Those slaves remained in bondage. Of the 1,420 black individuals listed in the 1820 census, 190 (13.4 %) were listed as slaves. Almost two-thirds of them were located in Knox County. Consequently, in the BHP, the Knox County file is unique in that it contains what seems to be a "slave register," listing

the owner's name, slave name and years recorded when they came to the county. The 1850 census is the first census that no longer lists slaves in the state of Indiana, though indentured servitude might have continued beyond that point.[47]

Scholars focusing on early white settlements in the state frequently point to the prominence of Quaker settlements. Gregory Rose notes that by 1850, Indiana had the fourth highest Quaker population in the nation, after Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio, all states that had more than double the total population of Indiana (36). Due to the Quakers' well-known humanitarian and anti-slavery stance, many of the early black arrivals settled in close proximity to Quaker locales, as they could expect help in form of land rentals or purchase, work or housing from their Quaker neighbors (Rose 42; Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana* 47–50). The 1860 census records registered a black presence in all but six Indiana counties.[48] However, besides settling in or near Quaker communities, several rural communities entirely made up of black Hoosiers surfaced across the state. African Americans sometimes founded their own communities to escape hostile treatment from white Hoosiers, especially when no Quakers were in the area. Despite all legal and societal obstacles that restricted black settlement during Indiana's pioneer period, black Hoosiers successfully had established at least 61 such rural farming settlements in the state by 1870 (W. L. Moore 25). These black farming communities were spread across 43 counties, half of the counties that registered black residents among the county citizenry. These numbers corroborate the trend

[47] I make this assertion based on accounts, such as John Lyda's *The Negro in the History of Indiana*, in which he replicated strategies on how slave masters deluded their slaves into signing what they believed to be emancipation papers but turned out to be new indentures, often with a life-long agreement or a period of 35 years, which would expand beyond the 1850 census (12).

[48] The 1860 census is the first census recording data for all 92 Indiana counties, which is why it serves as a point of reference here, in addition to the fact that the numerical increase of the black population only comprised 166, mainly due to the prohibition of blacks entering and settling in the state, manifested in the 1851 constitution. The six counties without any black residents were Benton, Blackford, Brown, Crawford, Newton and Pulaski Counties. The Early Black Settlement Research Project, conducted by the Indiana Historical Society during the summer of 2014, identified one unnamed of its 61 early black settlements in Newton, Indiana's youngest county (boundaries finalized in 1859).

noticeable in the Black History Project surveys – the focus is on nineteenth-century black life in Indiana. One of the oldest and largest black farming communities was Lyles Station in Gibson County in southern Indiana.[49] Other well-known black rural settlements include Pinkston Settlement in Dubois County and Roberts Settlement in Hamilton County.[50]

The ratification of the 1851 constitution opened yet another official and legal lane to discriminate, shun, and exclude non-white individuals from Indianan life and society. While blacks continued to migrate to the state – despite the legal ban of settlement of Article XIII, we also see countywide expulsions in various counties. Maybe these counties felt emboldened by the new law of the land or interpreted the new constitution in a way that gave them the right to claim Hoosier territory as their own – white – land. In "Black Rural Settlements in Indiana before 1860," Xenia Cord notes in passing what she describes as a "curious" situation in Franklin County at that time. She notes about Franklin County that "only 28 of the more than 150 blacks living there in the early 1850s had registered by July 1853." By 1860, however, Cord notes that "only 14 blacks still lived there, the rest having scattered to communities farther north" and acknowledges that "what caused the exodus is not clear" (104). Eliot Jaspin studied this phenomenon with the aim of offering an explanation – namely, that the reason for the drastically plunging numbers of residents of color can be seen as "racial cleansing."

In *Buried in the Bitter Waters*, Jaspin dedicates an entire chapter to the countywide expulsion, or racial cleansing, in Washington County,[51] Indiana. Though each racial cleansing

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[49] As the only black rural community of the 61 identified in Indiana that still houses an active farming community, the National Museum of African American History in Washington, D.C. cherishes its ongoing legacy. For more information, see my chapter "Indiana" in *A State-by-State History of Race and Racism in the United States* (283–299).
[50] Interesting scholarly treatment of black farming communities in Indiana include Steven A. Vincent's *Southern Seed, Northern Soil: African-American Farm Communities in the Midwest, 1765–1900* (1999) and Gary Alan Fine's "The Pinkston Settlement: An Historical and Social Psychological Investigation of the Contact Hypothesis" (1979).
[51] Emma Lou Thornbrough appears to have been the first scholar to have noted the racial cleansing in Washington County. In her 1957-published *The Negro in Indiana before 1900*, she called it "an exodus of nearly all of the colored residents" as the result of growing intolerance toward and intimidation and acts of murder" (225).

discussed in Jaspin's book is unique in its own way, the common denominators to define an incident as a racial cleansing include the intent of ridding the town/county of its black population and a lower number of black residents today than before the cleansing (6). The racial cleansing in Washington County in 1864 took place amidst the Civil War,[52] out of fear that "blacks one day might become voters and, by extension, members of the community" (29). Jaspin notes that in 1860 there were "187 blacks living in Washington County. A decade later only eighteen remained" (16).[53] Martina Nichols Kunnecke also acknowledges the growing anti-black hostility in the county at that time, "With threats, violence and aggressive 'colonization' campaigns, the 1850s ushered in tremendous pressures on Washington County's African Americans." Writing for the Early Black Settlements in Indiana project administered by the Indiana Historical Society, Kunnecke explains further:

> The successful crusade to drive African Americans away was followed by decades of erasing away any sign they had ever been there. What had made the settlement communities – its properties, institutions and cemeteries – were consumed, looted or otherwise destroyed. ("Washington County")

Kunnecke here identifies erasure as part of a Hoosier identity. Along the same lines, Jaspin notes about numerous counties in which racial cleansings took place, "while the fear remains, the histories are missing" (7). These authors help us understand how and why research in this regard is so challenging. Not only did residents in various counties spend decades ridding their county of minorities, but then they dedicated their time erasing traces of their existence while maintaining their areas all white for many decades to come. To that extent, Washington County illustrates how white residents *actively* forget about their minority residents. They exercise their power as the

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[52] Frankfort, Clinton County, also experienced city-wide expulsion during this time. The incident will be discussed further in the section on County Histories.

[53] With only 64 black residents in 2010 (0.2%), Washington County fulfills Jaspin's criteria of a "successful" racial cleansing.

dominant group in society to produce history according to their worldview. As Trouillot remarks in his *Silencing the Past*,

> The play of power in the production of alternative narratives begins with the joint creation of facts and sources for at least two reasons. First, facts are never meaningless: indeed, they become facts only because they matter in some sense, however minimal. Second, facts are not created equal: the production of traces is always also the creation of silences. (29)

The survey respondent acknowledged the drastic drop of African Americans after the Civil War (fact created) but failed to elaborate and contextualize beyond that note (silence created).

In spite of the harsh and restrictive laws that marked the northern state of Indiana, southern black folks continued to leave the South, culminating in the first black out-migration to the Midwest in 1879. Whereas Kansas was the prime destination for the Exodusters, Indiana also became an attractive alternative because of promoters promising work as farm laborers.

One of such promoters advocating for the exodus to Kansas was Benjamin "Pap" Singleton, a separatist leader who promised land to the migrants in his personally-founded colonies. In Reverend John H. Clay, Indiana had its own "Pap" Singleton. Like Singleton, Clay was a former slave and fugitive to Indiana who encouraged early southern migrants to settle in Indiana. More specifically, in a letter that Clay wrote to southern blacks, he describes Indiana as "a rich State of fertile lands" ideally suited for black workers, and elaborates,

> Those of our race who come from the South and locate here have greatly improved their condition, especially those who have engaged in farming. Thousands of good farm hands and house servants can readily find employment at remunerative wages, and when you have earned your money the law will compel payment, should it be refused, which is not likely to be the case. What we want is honest, industrious men, who know how and are willing to work on farms, and the same class of women to do housework. Loafers are not wanted. (*Report and Testimony* 166)

Clay reiterates black folks' connection to the soil, urging farmers to come here and make a living. His letter also serves as a testament that as early as 1880, many southern blacks knew about the

farm land prospects in Indiana. Clay also affirms that Jim Crow does not rule Indiana by emphasizing that the law will guarantee adequate payment for labor, which was not always the case in the South. He also specifically excludes "loafers," a term frequently used in the migrant letters thirty years later, corroborating the strength of negative stereotypes black migrants had to overcome. Unfortunately, not every community in Indiana and the larger Midwest had such outspoken community leaders like Clay and Singleton. And neither Clay nor Singleton anticipated that Jim Crow, though never the law of the (midwestern) land, came to openly rule midwestern minds and actions a few years later.

Regardless of active recruiting efforts, one can find evidence that some counties witnessed an increase in its black population around the 1880s, as was the case in Owen County. The arrival of 21 blacks sparked a big headline in the newspaper on January 8, 1880. The group came from Edgecombe, North Carolina, and anticipated permanent settlement. Within two days, each of the new arrivals had found employment, as farmers in the area welcomed them with open arms. Simultaneously, "while these men were being engaged to labor, something else was going on," cautioned the article. "The fact that a few of these people had arrived, had stunned the hot-headed portion of Democracy. Their contempt for these 'thriftless' men was boundless. Mob was talked" (*The People*, January 8, 1880; Owen County Vertical File). While no extralegal violence was reported upon, local Democrats demanded a meeting immediately. In the meeting residents determined that this was an "'importation of negroes,' not an immigration," and since they "were being over run [sic] with negroes[,] White men would lose their places, and bread could not be had for their children." It quickly becomes clear that the Democrats of Owen County lamented the arrival because it was at the dawn of an important presidential election. Since the article was published in an openly Republican newspaper, we get to enjoy the testimony of a black preacher

and fellow attendee of the meeting who took it upon himself to correct some of the remarks: “He said the Negroes were not paupers. That all they wanted was a fair chance. That each of them had paid their way from the south, and had money when they arrived here. That all they wanted was work” (ibid). The preacher’s remarks are important, as they like Clay’s remarks above illustrate the omnipresence and power of negative stereotypes that black newcomers had to overcome. This explains why migrants during the Great Migration included the information about “not being a loafer” in their letters, as discussed in the previous chapter.

In response to the white animosity and hostility in thought and deed, black communities across the state of Indiana formed their own institutions to meet their social, economic, and spiritual needs, as recorded in various scholarly articles and monographs as well as in the survey responses from the 35 counties. In their responses, various counties recorded black businesses, masonic lodges and black churches (African Methodist Episcopal church most prominently) in their midst. In the case of Dubois County, the segregated school building also served as a church. Actually, various county respondents noted the existence of separate schools for black children for a number of decades.

The second half of the nineteenth century for blacks in Indiana demonstrates resiliency of a people who was not welcomed in the state. For white Indiana, it demonstrates the continued efforts to send the “Not welcome” message to their black neighbors. The tone of the hostile attitude was set with the ratification of the second constitution in 1851. But it was reinforced by the common people in their Hoosier communities in subsequent decades – revealed in the community acceptance and support of vigilante organizations, county-wide expulsions of black Hoosiers, as well as the establishment of segregated schools, clubs and churches.

The survey responses overwhelmingly focus on early arrivals of blacks in their respective counties. Yes, the survey's first question set does inquire about early and earliest black arrivals (Appendix B), however the remaining questions attempt to investigate black experiences *since* the first arrival until present, which in this case means 1987. Frequently, one is able to trace life of black residents in Indiana until the late nineteenth century. Yet, one wonders how life continued throughout the twentieth century. That is not to say that black folks did not continue to live in these counties, but rather that more research needs to be done to uncover the various experiences of African Americans across the state. This dissertation attempts to narrow this gap, in an attempt to better grasp what happened to blacks in Indiana throughout the twentieth century.

Why then did many of the county respondents stop recording black experiences around the turn of the century? At the height of the nadir of race relations nationwide,[54] Indiana adopted an anti-lynching legislation in 1899. Indiana's history of lynching has not been well recorded. Lynching as an extralegal measure was used against black and white people in the state.[55] Though not researched extensively, I have been able to trace 17 incidents between 1845 and 1930 that resulted in the deaths of 26 black individuals (Figure 5).

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[54] Historian Rayford W. Logan coined the phrase "nadir of race relations" to describe the deteriorating race relations in the period after Reconstruction, in which white America implemented a series of laws and practices disenfranchising black America publicly, educationally, civically, and economically. In his *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901*, he argued that "the last decade of the nineteenth century and the opening of the twentieth century marked the nadir of the Negro's status in American society," meaning nation-wide acceptance had been at its lowest point, and racism at its highest (52).

[55] In his dissertation "Constitution Whiteness," Erik Wade notes that the very fact that whites were lynched in the state resulted in the strong push for an anti-lynching legislation: "…stricter laws against lynching was not about protecting black lives; it was a response to defend whites from lynch mobs" (158).

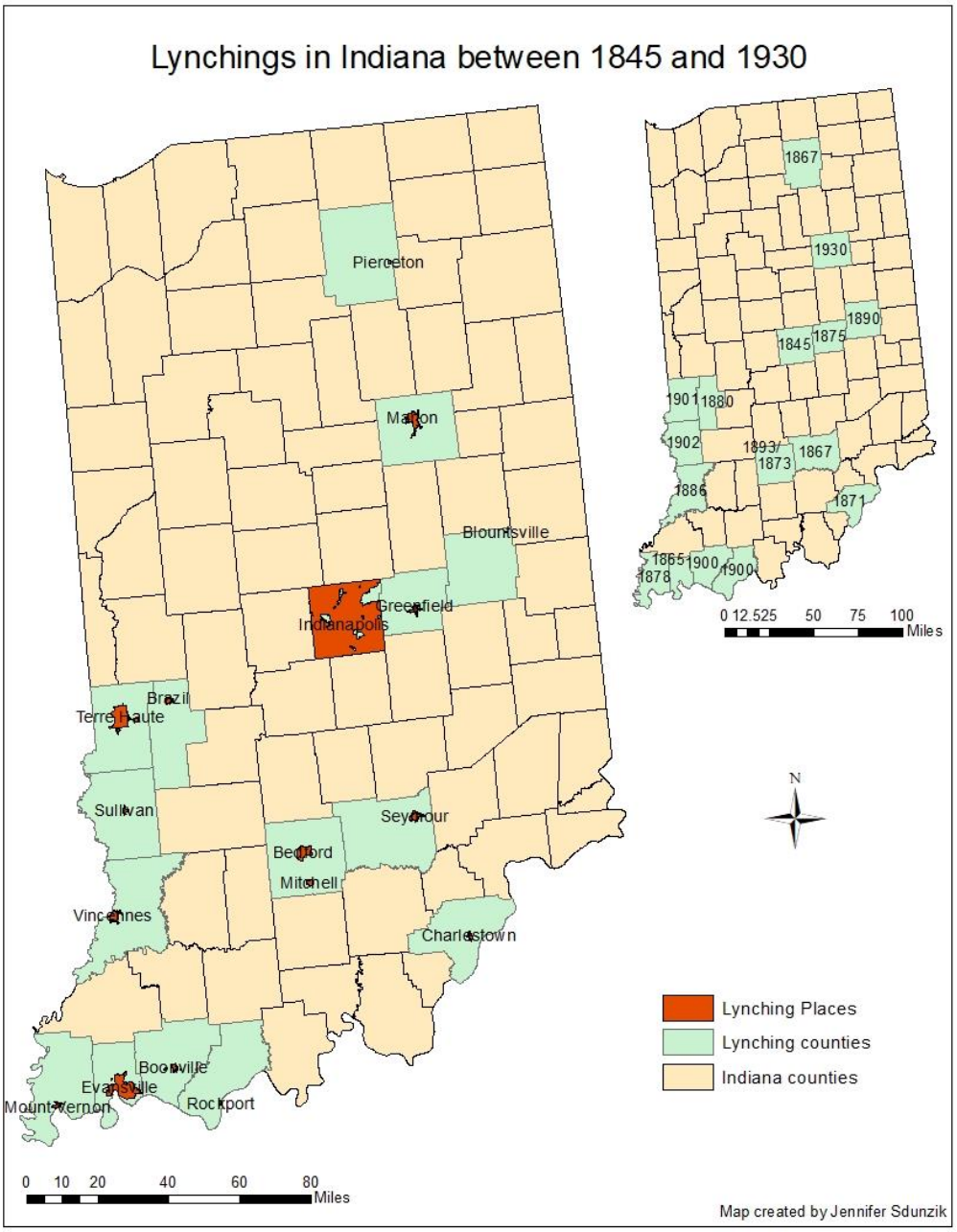

Figure 5 Map displaying locales and years in which Indianans lynched blacks.

Two of those incidents, one in 1890 in Blountsville, Henry County, and another in 1893 in Bedford, Lawrence County, coincided with the heyday of the lynching era in the United States.[56]

[56] The 1890s witnessed an intensification of racial tensions and lynching became an even more popular means to dissuade blacks from voting and enjoying other benefits of citizenship. With her 1892 *Southern Horrors* and 1895 *The Red Record*, Ida. B. Wells-Barnett became the pioneer in recording the atrocities that black folks experienced in

Before 1921, the first major attempt to pass anti-lynching legislation on a federal stage, many states, including Ohio (1896), Indiana, and Michigan (1899), passed their statewide version of such anti-lynching law. Whereas the passing of such legislation is commendable, it is worth very little if not enforced and acted upon.[57] The turn of century did not bring any improvements of race relations to the state. On the contrary, one could argue that the turn of the century indicates the heyday of lynching for Indiana, as six black men fell victim to such extralegal measures in four different incidents across the state between 1900 and 1902 (23 percent of identified victims in 23.5 percent of identified incidents in two percent of the identified time frame of 85 years).

More broadly, one could argue that the turn of the century also reflects the nadir of race relations for Indiana. Indiana reinforced its whiteness through different means – legally and extralegally, violently and culturally. The National Horse Thief Detective Association (NHTDA) began to spread successfully throughout the state, having had 149 companies patrolling 30 counties, mainly in central Indiana, in 1894 (Wade 23). By 1897, one of their own became the Governor of Indiana. James A. Mount was the NHTDA Grand President as well as the governor of state from 1897 to 1901 (Wade 156). Furthermore, the White Caps – another white supremacist and vigilante organization – spread across the state. Both organizations, the NHTDA and the White Caps,

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the South at that time, uncovering lynching as a means of terror and economic repression. However, whereas the majority of lynchings indeed took place on southern soil, scholars have explored such incidents nationwide, publishing state studies and regional (non-southern) analyses, such as George C. Wright's *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865–1940* (1990), Philip Dray's *At the Hands of Persons Unknown* (2002) and Michael J. Pfeifer's *Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1878–1946* (2004).

[57] In *An Undergrowth of Folly*, Brian Butler goes even further, calling the legislation a failure when he discusses the Rockport lynching that took place in December 1900, where two black men were lynched by a mob: "The mob riddled the two bodies with more than one hundred shots as the crowd cheered. Spencer County sheriffs took the third man to Boonville for his protection. But the next day a number of the mob followed and seized their third victim, hanging him, as well. The anti-lynching law seemed a failure, as no one was tried for these crimes" (169). I qualify the passing of the state law as "commendable" as the federal government failed to ever pass an anti-lynching legislation, for which the U.S. Senate officially and publicly apologized in 2005.

formed in Indiana years before the Civil War; yet, not until the late nineteenth century did they become a "public nuisance."[58]

Besides condoning extralegal vigilante efforts, Indiana's culture also reflected whiteness around the turn of the century. A good example is provided by one of the state-funded university yearbooks. Purdue's 1902 *Debris* features the "Southern Club." Membership was exclusive and based on the following criteria: one "must be WHITE, must live south of the *Ohio River*, must have witnessed at least *one* Lynching, and must understand the various mechanisms of the so-called '*Blind Tiger*'" (265; emphasis in original). That year, the club had at least twenty-one members. "Committee on Lynching," "Leader of the Whitecaps" and "Official Nigger Lyncher" were among the officer positions in the club (ibid.). Although it appears to have been a prank club, it reflects attitudes held at the university and in Indiana society.

Indiana had at least two incidents of city- and county-wide expulsions around the turn of the century. Though not included in the survey responses, such incidents could help explain why the survey results emphasized black experiences in the nineteenth century. Newspaper coverage of the time, however, sheds some light into some of the expulsions that took place across the state. For example, on September 17, 1904 the *Frankfort Morning Times* touted "Carlisle the Scene of a Fierce Race Riot." Carlisle is a small town with less than 1,000 inhabitants, located in Sullivan County. Since it is a brief paragraph-article, the entirety of the article follows:

> Carlisle, Ind. September 13 – Jasper Hammond, colored, while resisting arrest Monday afternoon, was shot and seriously wounded by Constable T. E. Johnson. Hammond was trying to renew a quarrel with other negroes. Last night a mob gathered and drove all non-resident negroes out of town. Race feeling is intense and it is feared that negroes having homes here will be compelled to leave. Hammond was taken to the Sullivan jail for safe keeping when threats of lynching were made. The mob last night visited the home of every negro family. Every house,

[58] The *Frankfort Morning Times* reported regularly in the Condensed State News section about activities of the White Caps across the state, including Morgan, Crawford, Perry, Harrison, and Hendricks Counties in 1889 and 1890, occasionally describing them as a "public nuisance." I will elaborate on the organizations further in chapter 4.

> except one occupied by an old family, was deserted. These people were not molested, but doors and windows in the other houses were demolished. *No further trouble is expected unless the negro laborers make an effort to return to Carlisle.* (10; emphasis added)[59]

Though disturbing, the article discloses four points relevant to the larger argument of my dissertation. First, blacks settled in Indiana small towns and villages. Secondly, even small towns like Carlisle, of which Indiana has plenty, drove out their minuscule minority population, reestablishing the all-white nature of their communities. Thirdly, white Hoosiers displayed the same mob mentality as is often exclusively attributed to the South. Hence, these sentiments are part of the cultures of exclusion characteristic of midwestern small towns. And lastly, Carlisle residents allegedly spared one black family while demolishing all other black property. That particular family might have acquired the "token black" status in the community (see Trend 3 below). Sullivan County did not return the survey. Instead, the folder contained a succinct letter from a resident who had researched black history in the county as a "personal project," which at that time was not in "transmissible form," and thus was not shared with the program archivist. Having said that, the article attests to the "intense race feelings" in Indiana communities in the early twentieth century that resulted in the expulsion of black families in southern Indiana.

The northern part of the state, however, shared those feelings of resentment, as other examples of expulsion document. For example, in the summer of 1902, the *Freeman*, a black weekly run out of Indianapolis, reported twice that blacks were driven out of town within a single month. Decatur, Adams County "is suffering from a bad attack of 'Negrophobia'," wrote the *Freeman* on June 14, 1902 explaining that on "June 8th about fifty white men came together to drive all the Negroes out of the city" resulting in four of the six blacks leaving immediately "and the remaining two, it is said, has [sic] since left" (4). What caused the violent outbreak was unclear,

[59] "Carlisle the Scene of a Fierce Race Riot." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 17 Sept. 1904, p. 2.

but the author speculated that "it is possible to act in such a way as to be offensive to the unwritten laws of communities as it concerns the races, and which constitute the race question of to-day" (ibid.). The following week the *Freeman* noted yet another expulsion, "Two weeks ago it was Decatur, now we have trouble at French Lick, [Orange County,] Ind. The colored people have been warned to leave that place."[60] In the meantime, a black individual moved back to recently declared "negro-free" city of Decatur, much to the displeasure of the white residents. Insulted, mocked, and threatened with violence, he left within three weeks. This renewed display of anti-black feelings made national and state headlines, with the *New York Times*, the *Indianapolis Recorder*, and the *Indianapolis News* reporting on the individual leaving after being warned by Decatur's newly formed "anti-negro society." The *Indianapolis News* contextualized the incident in a larger state-wide discussion on blacks. It preceded the coverage of the Decatur incident with "From several sections of the State there have come stories of the maltreatment of negroes" and followed it with "It is hard to believe that there could be such a condition of things in Indiana."[61] Pondering further about the Indiana experience, the author noted that although Indiana "had little to no persecution of men because of their race," there was "no doubt that the negro is thought less well of than he was a few years ago [as] Some of his best friends have turned against him and lost patience with him" (4). The *Indianapolis Recorder*, on the other hand, concluded its Decatur coverage with the following remarks: "The anti-negroites in the city declare that, as the city is now cleared of negroes, they will keep it so, and the importation of any more will undoubtedly result in serious trouble."[62] Such information, however, is missing from the Adams County survey response, which was sparsely completed. Yet, it is articles like these that help us understand how Indiana communities

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[60] *The Freeman* [Indianapolis], 21 June 1902, p. 4, col. 4.
[61] "The Negro in Indiana." *Indianapolis News*, 16 July 1902, p. 4.
[62] "Last Negro Leaves." *Indianapolis Recorder*, 19 July, 1902, p. 1.

(re-)established the all-white nature of their towns and how the residents committed to maintaining their whiteness.

Despite the absence of official Jim Crow laws in Indiana, calls for segregated schooling became louder, especially after the turn of the twentieth century. Public schools were already designated for the education of white children as early as 1843; no language on the education of black children was included in the *Revised Laws of Indiana, 1843*. Yet, this oversight was corrected in 1869. State legislators passed a law requiring communities to construct black schools for black children if there are enough; however, if there are not enough black children, the law clarified that they may attend the same public school as white children.[63] Some locales, e.g. Lafayette in Tippecanoe County, immediately seized the opportunity to segregate classrooms, others educated children of both races together. However, with the increasing black population in the state, white residents soon presented the many "advantages" that segregated schooling entailed, as this Wayne County example illustrates. On July 3, 1907, a Richmond newspaper ran an article entitled "Segregation is Advocated," featuring the county's superintendent in favor of segregated schooling – all to the benefit of the "colored children," as there is evidence that "colored children who have had the public school and college education provided for them in institutions where the races do not intermingle are said to be superior in intelligence to those who have not had this training" (Exhibit I, Wayne County file). However, the article reaffirms the continued presence of hostile white Hoosier attitudes towards blacks at the beginning of the twentieth century. The author asserted that a "colored school" would allow "colored teachers" to return to the county for employment because, after all, they had the mandatory qualifications to teach in the school system but tended to avoid Wayne County for teaching opportunities. The reason is simple: "They have

[63] Chapter XVI, Approved 13 May, 1869. (*Laws of the State* 41)

shown the requisite ability but there is no township trustee who would consider favorably a proposition to place a colored teacher in charge of white children" (ibid.). Thus, preventing qualified black teachers from pursuing career aspirations in their midst became one strategy of maintaining their schools and counties as white as possible.

Other historical events around the turn of the century include urban outbreaks of violence, the 1903 riot in Evansville ranks probably among the most infamous. Though these violent encounters in Evansville and Greensburg (1907) may have resulted in the (in)voluntary resettlement of black residents, with both of these riot locations losing 15.4 percent and 33.1 percent of their black population, respectively, between 1900 and 1910, blacks continued to migrate to and live in Indiana. Yet, the survey answers fail to reflect that reality. The incomplete knowledge about African Americans in Indiana and the weak responses by county respondents to the survey on the black experience are of a piece. They represent two ways that whiteness has been silently instantiated in Indiana.

The turn of the century in Indiana brought lynchings, race riots, Southern Club call-outs and school segregation, invoking that nonbelonging and marginalization remained a reality for black Hoosiers in the twentieth century. Exploring black experiences in Indiana throughout the twentieth century, I will supplement the scarcity of survey insights with other sources. Jaspin's account of the racial cleansing in Vermillion County in the 1920s is helpful here, as are Thornbrough's publications. Some newspapers, most prominently African American publications such as *Indianapolis Recorder* also shed light into the circumstances. I will also draw on Indiana-related articles from the national media, the Indiana Historical Society's newsletter *Black History News and Notes*, county histories and newspaper clippings. The analysis will reveal how white

Hoosiers excluded black Hoosiers from life in Indiana, hereby revealing overt collective practices as well as invisible forms of erasure, exclusion, and marginalization.

Black Experiences in Twentieth-Century Indiana: Segregation, Violence, Murder

County respondents pursued different strategies in sharing their county's black history with the Indiana Historical Society. Only 54 county respondents returned the actual survey. Though encouraged, newspaper accounts about the black experience in the county were rarely included in the responses. Yet, if clippings were included, or sometimes gathered elsewhere and are part of the Black History Project Vertical Files (BHP-VF),[64] one can learn a great deal. For example, Counties like Hamilton, Harrison, Parke, and Knox had weekly "Colored News" columns indicating a black presence in their communities.

One learns about black Hoosier resilience. Though Jim Crow laws were not the law of the land, segregated life had become the norm of twentieth-century Indiana society. Forced by custom and convention or inspired by other black folks living in Indiana communities both large and small, African Americans took it upon themselves to build parallel, albeit segregated, institutions to meet their needs. One such need would be a vacationing spot in nature. Since African Americans were banned from vacationing at white resorts, black resorts formed. One such example is Fox Lake, where most of the "property owners, cottage renters, and visitors are black." The resort developed during the 1930s, as "In those days, the surrounding lakes were populated entirely by whites, and there was an *unspoken rule* that "coloreds" – as they were called then – weren't welcome."[65]

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[64] The Black History Project Vertical Files is a collection of newspaper clippings assembled by Indiana Historical Society staff members. Subscriptions to different county newspapers enabled the collection of black-related coverage over three decades. At times, dedicated survey respondents continued to send clippings long after they responded to the initial survey request. BHP-VF contain materials for 45 Indiana counties.

[65] *Journal-Gazette* [Fort Wayne], 27 June, 1982, p. 1LE; Steuben County BHP-VF; emphasis added.

Unspoken and/or unwritten rules frequently appear in publications that describe black experiences in twentieth-century Indiana. They applied to the housing and real estate markets across the state as Thornbrough notes, "In Indianapolis there was said to be an *unwritten* rule among members of the Real Estate Board that no member would sell a house to a Negro unless there were already two Negro families in the block involved" (*Since Emancipation* 25; emphasis added). It is this tacit understanding that allows a Century 21 broker to demonstrate blissful ignorance in 1982: "For some reason, black have really congregated at Fox Lake."[66] The silence, denial, and ignorance compel research into the ways Northerners achieved Jim Crow segregation while putting on an otherwise hospitable face to the world. I will elaborate on this idea further below (see Trend 5).

Vanderburgh and Monroe Counties' BHP files proved invaluable despite the lack of a completed survey. They are two example counties that dedicated entire monographs to the history of blacks in their counties. These works provide a selective recollection of black experiences in their communities, referencing their Underground Railroad history, segregated schooling and worship opportunities. The monographs establish the fact that white Hoosiers resented black Hoosiers across the state across time. In *A Time to Speak*, Frances Gilliam boldly claims: "The story of the Afro-American population of Bloomington, Indiana is of necessity the story of Indiana, the story of Bloomington, and the story of any 'small town U.S.A.' Only the names are different" (xi). In other words, Frankfort and Clinton County, the focus of the remainder of this dissertation, are no aberrations, but yet another testament to the cloak of white supremacy that covers Indiana.

The lack of diversity oftentimes served as a point of pride for white Hoosier communities. For example, a Clinton County newspaper ran various advertisements in the summer of 1925,

[66] *Journal-Gazette* [Fort Wayne], 27 June, 1982, p. 4LE; Steuben County BHP-VF.

praising the fact that "Frankfort has the smallest foreign population of any town its size in the United States." This lack of foreigners, according to those ads, "prevents various social evils, such as extremes of poverty and wealth, labor troubles, and race riots."[67] Similarly, a story run in an Adams County newspaper proclaimed that "Monroe Township has one Indian child of school age. Not a Negro in the county. No other county in the state can say as much" (Heller 78; Adams County file).

Like Vanderburgh and Monroe Counties, Vigo County representatives did not provide survey responses. Yet, reading the county's BHP file alongside its Vertical File reveals crucial insights into the black experiences in the county. For example, the BHP file contains information about at least five cemeteries "of color," two of which were apparently still in use when the cemetery data was compiled in 1978, as they contained recent burial dates. The Vertical File holds a clipping of a 2002 article, published in the *Tribune Star*, the county's daily newspaper. In "Passage of Time Brings Positive Change to Race Relations, Although Some Aren't Experiencing It," Patricia L. Pastore sprinkles the "positive change" in her cover story, which spans two pages. She starts her article with a young student who was shell-shocked and in tears for having been threatened and called the n-word on her way to school. Her mother, a biracial woman, recalls similar racial epithets for having been mistaken as a white woman when she was in town with her black husband. Positive references to a particular employer in town, who treated blacks far better than some residents who hired domestic help, are constantly overshadowed with accounts of on-going housing discrimination, residential segregation, the powerlessness of seeking (legal) justice due to monetary inefficiencies, and remarks that the Klan is still alive. This article was published in 2002 and is one of the most sobering reads in the entire Black History Project. Lastly, the

[67] "Every Day in Every Way." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 7 June 1925, p. 5.

Vertical File holds a 1988 peer-reviewed journal article on lynching, entitled "Ritualized Violence and Local Journalism in the Development of a Lynching Legend." As probably one of the earlier publications to scrutinize lynching from a folklore historical angle, and definitely one of the first articles addressing lynching in Indiana,[68] Ronald L. Baker analyses newspaper coverage and folkloric accounts pertaining to the 1901 Terre Haute lynching of George Ward, a black man alleged to have murdered a young white woman. In sum, these materials provide a picture into the black experience and race relations in the county. Segregated spaces, lynchings, and the Klan represent some of the collective practices of exclusion.

The Adams County file – just like Vigo County – does not contain a survey, yet provides invaluable information regarding the black experience. Merely filling out the blank space under the first question, the Adams County Historical Society representative refers to a county history, published in 1979. In my experience, county histories tend to paint a perfect picture about their county's history, its residents and cities as well as townships, oftentimes omitting the less pleasant events. Every fifty years, so it seems, Indiana counties decide to capture their progress since the inception of the state of Indiana and their respective counties. The first batch of county history publications can be dated around 1880, the second one between the 1910s and 1920s, and the latest one between 1970 and 1980.[69] The county histories published in the twentieth century either expand on the first achievements of their counties captured in the 1880 volumes or focus on the

[68] Lynching received little scholarly attention prior to the 1950s in general (a few social scientific approaches to understanding the phenomenon). The field of lynching studies emerged in the 1990s. For further information, see Michael J. Pfeifer's "At the Hands of Parties Unknown? The State of the Field of Lynching Scholarship" (2014) or W. Fitzhugh Brundage's "Conclusion: Reflections on Lynching Scholarship" (2005).

[69] The Indiana State Library probably holds the most extensive collection in this regard. According to their web entry, the Indiana Collection contains hundreds of county histories in various formats, including microfiche, microfilm, print ("ISL"). *The History of Hancock County, Indiana* (1882) and *The History of Delaware County, Indiana* (1881) seem to be rarities in the first wave of county histories. The former includes two men of color in its "Biographies and Sketches" section (Hancock County Vertical File), one originally from the South, another from Boone County, Indiana; the latter discusses its first black residents within its chapter on the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Helm 157). The information provided is sparse, but it is there.

county's relevance in the twentieth century. A brief discussion of county histories is warranted here to further illuminate the marginalized, ostracized, and excluded position African Americans occupied in Indiana's racialized landscape.

County histories from the early twentieth century rarely comment on black experiences in their county. If they do, the evidence does not throw a favorite light on the white residents in the area. Joseph Claybaugh's 1913 *History of Clinton County, Indiana* serves as an example here. His historical sketches of "Representative Citizens" do not include black residents of the county, neither do his genealogical records of the "Old Families."[70] Though not in any detail, he includes the "African M. E. church" in his church descriptions, listing location, current membership and pastor. In his historical tracing of the county, however, he reveals profound insights in the attitudes of white Clinton County residents. He first clarifies that "Clinton county's record in the Civil war was not due to any especial devotion to the negro" (178). Then he references "two lines of 'the Underground Railroad'" near but none in Clinton County. He elaborates on the Civil War further, noting that it brought "quite a settlement" of "negro refugees" to Thorntown, "from where they gradually spread out to neighboring territory, a number locating at Frankfort" (178–79). He does not offer specific numbers but they seem to have been sufficient to stir some fracas in town. Claybaugh writes:

> Towards the close of the war Frankfort became much excited over a scandal involving a negro and a white woman, and a crowd collected to "clean out the niggers." For a while there was danger of a riot, if not a lynching, but a few cooler heads prevailed, and as a compromise it was agreed to "pack them up, and take them back to Thorntown where they belonged." Wagons were secured, farmers from near the town giving assistances, and the colored colony was simply loaded up, hauled to Thorntown, and dumped there. The only negro allowed to remain was an old barber, who was accorded this privilege on the demand of Henry Y. Morrison, and for a number of years he and his family were the only ones in the place. But

[70] Admittedly, Clinton County's black population was small, comprising 0.4 percent and 0.3 percent of the total county population in 1900 and 1910, respectively. But the first arrival of blacks in Clinton County preceded the Civil War and thus could have been included in the earlier accounts of county families.

> gradually the feeling abated, and others moved in, the negroes themselves exercising a supervision of the character of colored immigrants; and the colored population of Clinton county is now a very orderly and reputable factor of the community. (179)

This passage seems to be a pivotal historical moment that reshaped the history of Clinton County and the black experience within its borders. Like Washington County, Clinton County rid itself of its black population during the Civil War. Unlike in Washington County, where white residents were concerned about the potential of black residents becoming full-fledged citizens through the ballot box, the cause in Clinton County seems to have been a violation of the 1843 anti-miscegenation law. They uprooted their black residents from their homes and transported them not outside of Indiana but to the county south of Clinton County. The first part of the passage, in particular, clearly demarcates blacks as not belonging to the community, robbing them of their humanity and citizenship. Claybaugh does not identify the "old barber"[71] by name but rather his Samaritan. Judge Henry Y. Morrison, originally from Ohio, is one of the leading and "representative citizens" of the community. By naming the white individual while referring to the black one as the "only negro," Claybaugh illustrates Spickard's concept of "normative whiteness." He shows who mattered in the community and thus reaffirms that this is "white man's land." And although the black community allegedly constituted an "orderly and reputable" part of the county by the time of his writing, none of them were "reputable" enough to make it into the list of "representative citizens."

[71] The barber was most likely "Uncle Joe Parker." When he died in 1919, the county newspaper traced his life in the county. He had been in Frankfort for at least fifty years, made his living as a barber, and used to be the "only colored man in the city for decades" ("Oldest Colored Man Here, Dead." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 16 Aug. 1919, p. 1). This would also mean that Parker was still alive and in the community by the time Claybaugh's county history appeared. Unfortunately, we do not get to hear his side of the expulsion that took place in Frankfort during the Civil War. Clinton County's contested relationship with its minority residents will be further discussed in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

Another example of a county history from the early twentieth century is Frank M. Gilbert's *History of the City of Evansville and Vanderburg* [sic]*County Indiana*, published in 1910. The most recent violent racial outbreak preceded the publication by seven years, thus the writing even less. Being located in the most southern part of the state, Evansville experienced a rapid increase in its black population even since the Civil War, too fast for many Hoosiers as it experienced its first race riot in 1865. Gilbert was an established newspaper owner and editor in Evansville praised for his wit. In his county history, he reflects upon the black community in the city as follows:

> One of the greatest evils with which we are confronted at the present, is the horde of little negroes who are growing up. They seem to have reverted and are lazy, idle, expert thieves and natural born liars. I have seen hundreds and hundreds of cases where it seemed impossible for them to tell the truth about anything. They refuse to go to school, wear clothes that ought to put them back in the forests of Africa, prowl through alleys committing all sorts of evils and when they are caught, immediately proceed to shed tears and draw on their well-worn stock of ready lies. The average police man does not believe one story one of these little fellows tells and in this he is right. Just how to combat this evil I do not know, but this city would be a great deal better off if quite a number of these youthful savages were set outside of its limits forever. They are not the children of respectful and self-respecting parents. They are the offspring of the worthless niggers. (179)

As a newspaper man, Gilbert was most likely well aware of the concerns and attitudes in the local white community, which makes the above statement more representative of the town. The language is dehumanizing, and invokes disturbing imageries and existing stereotypes of blacks prevalent in Indiana at the time. The passage affirms once more the inhospitable and racist environment that black migrants to the state faced.

The History of Hendricks County 1914-1976, *A Biographical History of Madison County, Indiana*, *The History of Wells County*, *The Sesquicentennial Historical Record Commemorating the 150th Anniversary of Union County, Indiana* and *The 1979 History of Adams County, Indiana* are five examples published in the latest wave of county histories. Two of the five histories –

Adams and Union Counties – deserve further exploration here, as they indicate a strongly diverging approach toward black history in their counties.

The Sesquicentennial Historical Record Commemorating the 150th Anniversary of Union County, Indiana contains a chapter on the "Early 'Colored' Settlers of Union County," written by Elizabeth H. Rile Kelley. In her opening, Rile Kelley acknowledges the difficulties of tracing early black arrivals to the area and their acceptance, explicitly noting the missing history as "The true and accurate fact of how they were accepted at first are either not recorded or they are lost." Here is another example where some parts of the county's history where recorded and others were not, another "creation of silences" (Trouillot 29). Notwithstanding Rile Kelley asserts without evidence: "But, suffice it to write, now, that many of them found helpful, trusting, encouraging and lasting friends among their Caucasian neighbors" (15). It remains unclear how she arrived at the conclusion if records were not kept. The "now" might also refer to the time of her writing, 1971; however, in that case it is a rather bold claim, as the 1970 census only lists 30 blacks in the county out of a population of 6,582 (0.5%). Despite her acknowledged lack of available resources, Rile Kelley simply states that African Americans "soon adjusted to the tolerant environment and perhaps for the first time in their lives these 'coloreds' began to experience partial dignity and develop the self-respect of a human being, a whole person, and to enjoy the unity of an unbroken family." Rile Kelley continues her entry with a tone that resembles entries in the Negro registers that were once in place in Indiana, and maybe Union County, stating that "newcomers to Union County came in various shades and hues of tan and brown coloring. Rarely were they generally or truly pure black" (15). She uses this description to transition into accounts of two black men in Union County who have been among the early arrivals, one a free black man and one a run-away slave. It is in this passage that she identifies herself as a descendant of the two men (ibid).

For being written in the early 1970s, Rile Kelley's remarks raise some troubling questions for various reasons. First, as a reader one questions why the author has to qualify the county, as a "tolerant environment." What exactly sparked the qualifier, who questioned the level of minority acceptance, what kind of incidents occurred that would make people think otherwise, or does the author know more than she is sharing, are some of the questions that could arise. Secondly, one questions further, what led the author to describe black living experiences in Union County as developing feelings of "dignity," self-worth, "a whole person" and "unbroken family"? These descriptors recall the imagery of slavery, no question, but should one apply that the same stigmatization of blacks held true outside of the South and more than a century after slavery was abolished? Her family has been native to Union County more than a century, so how does this analogy position her family? And how true does it ring for the time of her writing? Thirdly, what is the intent of whitening the newcomers by emphasizing that most of them actually were not "truly pure black"? Does the whitening help acceptance in the community? Reading Rile Kelley's entry closely, I felt there were a lot of things unsaid. With much being unsaid, Rile Kelley's descriptions of early black arrivals in Union County resemble Gilbert's reflection on blacks in Evansville in 1910 (discussed above) to some extent. Though sixty years apart, both authors degrade African Americans and imply white superiority. The fact that Rile Kelley herself is a racial minority underlines the power of the "white spatial imaginary" and the "white habitus" even further. As a native of Union County, she was socialized into and thus reflected what residents thought and felt about racial minorities. She might have simply adopted the tone and tenor of her environment.

Yet, not all county histories fall into the category. Unlike the aforementioned examples, *The 1979 History of Adams County, Indiana*, distinguishes itself for a very simple reason – it does not shy away from the county's and the state's dark historical moments. Unlike Rile Kelley, editor

Dick Heller, Jr. did not leave things unsaid about Adams County and Indiana. Heller was a native of the county and was the publisher of the *Decatur Daily Democrat* for almost three decades. Thus, like Gilbert, he might have had a good idea about the attitudes concerning race in the local community.

Listed in the Table of Contents as "Other County History," a section that spans 28 oversized pages, the county history covers prohibition, murders and murderers as well as various "taboo" topics, such as lynching, blacks in the county, the Ku Klux Klan and the Horse Thief Detective Association. The entry about "Blacks in Adams County" establishes the cloak of white supremacy and illustrates the invisibility and normalcy of Indiana's white culture of exclusion. The opening paragraph reads as follows:

> Adams County's record toward Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, and other "foreign" races has been generally that of rural, white America – terrible. While Mexican-Americans have been tolerated as laborers, first in the sugar beets and later in the tomato fields and factories, and even Jamaican blacks have been permitted to pick tomatoes, the race record here has been a bad one. (Heller 77)

In simple, plain language, Heller sets the tone of the entry while stating an unpleasant yet real aspect of Indiana history. The simple, matter-of-fact tone continues when he describes the *white* residents of Adams County in the next paragraph: "The average resident believes there are no Negroes here, never have been, and probably never will be. This is not at all true, but it is the sentiment and feeling of the overwhelming majority of the people here" (ibid.). Here, Heller teases out how black folks are erased in residents' self-perceived, imagined white community. They did not exist in the "white habitus" of Adams County residents.

As an editor of one of the county's daily himself, Heller takes it upon himself to berate past Adams County print media coverage, stating that "the Adams County newspapers that we have seen, without exception, were violently anti-Negro, from 1857 until the early 1900's – using

language that is totally unacceptable today" (78). To illustrate his point, Heller lets the newspapers speak for themselves, providing plenty of evidence that Adams County did not spare any efforts to paint blacks in a negative light and excluded blacks whenever possible. Descriptions like "black demon" and "burly nigger" accompany an 1891 controversy, in which a black individual allegedly performed an abortion on a white woman that resulted in her death. Consequently, "The people of Willshire are raising up in their might against the colored population which has infested the region for some time past, and it seems from the present indications that there will be a Negro exodus take place within a short time" (78; 79). Even speculations about potential lynchings were circulated in print around that time, resulting in absurd headlines like "A BIG SCARE one of the funniest 'lynch' stories ever read" and "Are they going to lynch tonight?" (79; emphasis in original). Another attempt to rid the town of Decatur of black folks was made in 1902 after a black man allegedly made "insulting remarks to a young lady" (ibid.). This is the same incident mentioned above that caught the attention of the *Freeman*, the *Indianapolis Star* and the *New York Times*. With this account, we get to know the reason. The absence of a racial identifier suggests that the young lady allegedly approached by the black man was white. The incident resulted in threats of violence to every black person not leaving the town by a set deadline. Eventually "the disturbance had the desired effect, and not a member of the dark race may now be found within the limits of the city, and it seems they will never be able to have very comfortable headquarters here" (Heller 80). Subsequent newspaper reports in 1903 and 1905 confirm the discouragement of black settlement.

Heller's article distinguishes itself from any other document in the Black History Project, as he uncovers the county's sundown past labeling these all-white communities as "sundown" towns (77). The entry also stands out because Heller acknowledges that in the early 1960s,

"Indiana law still [forbade] miscegenation, or intermarriage of races" when describing an interracial couple's attempt to settle in Decatur (80). Thus, Heller's account documents how exclusion became one strategy to maintain the white spatial imaginary and white citizenship.

As a county history, Heller's descriptions of racial antipathy as an unpleasant reality stated in a matter-of-fact way is unique. Yet, other county officials reported on race relations in a similar tone in the Black History Project. For example, the Fountain County historian writes:

> There have been few negroes in Fountain County, however one incident is worthy of historical note. In the 1870's coal mining was big business around Stringtown in Wabash Twp [Township], just south of Covington. One day the miners struck for higher wages and the coal company brought in colored miners to break the strike. The strife resulted in the death of 5 negroes and the destruction of much property. Order was restored when the Governor sent in the Guard and forced the negroes out of town. (as of October 8, 1987)

The quote clearly reflects the historian's distance from the incident itself as well as black folks, referring to them as "negroes" and "colored." The fact that he wrote the remarks in 1987 suggests sparse to no interaction with minorities. The fact that there "have been few negroes in Fountain County" is just that – a fact, no further explanation necessary unless the reader is to assume that the described historical incident laid the foundation for the lack of minorities in the county. The county historian continues the letter in a fashion commonly reflected in the surveys: mentioning the involvement in the Underground Railroad and a "token Black" of the community to neglect any appearance or charges of racism despite the lack of diversity in their midst (trends further discussed below).

Surveying the various county histories published in Indiana over time allowed me to illustrate the consistent and continuous nature of white Hoosier hostility towards African Americans. At times, the writers explicitly conveyed the attitudes and opinions of the county people. In other instances, they adopted the prevalent tone to reflect on black experiences, leaving

many things unsaid. Regardless of the extent of openness, the tone and demeanor of the writing, or whether or not the shared opinions are reflective of the writers' personal attitudes, we learn from the county histories how preconceived notions and degrading stereotypes were nourished in Indiana, perpetuated over time and contributed greatly to the creation of an unwelcoming environment for minorities. The county narratives are but one example of the blanket culture of exclusion that covers the state of Indiana. The impact, for example, can be seen in the language with which the county representatives completed the survey. The Fountain County historian adopted the simple, plain matter-of-fact attitude. Others were apologetic about their inability of providing further information. Still others provided a wealth of explanations for the absence of blacks in their county. Thus, a closer look at the apologies and justifications follows next.

Explaining the Black Away: Justifying the "Normative Whiteness" of their Communities

Receiving a survey from a state institution that inquires specifically about a group of people that never mattered in the county sparked varied responses across Indiana. Some county personnel blissfully ignored the inquiry for the entire time that the Black History Program Archivist dedicated to collecting information. Others sent a one-liner explaining that this survey did not apply to their county. Yet, others responded differently to the IHS request. Pursuing various strategies, these responses ranged from apologies and different priorities to bestseller synopses without full stories and official state boogeymen. However, regardless of their approach, the county respondents affirmed the overwhelmingly white nature of their respective communities while simultaneously absolving them from any involvement in the creation of such homogeneously white environment.

A member of the Greene County Historical Society reached out to the former county historian in an attempt to provide more information for the survey. However, the attempt yielded

not much as the former county historian did not recall ever having encountered a black person in the library. The county historian then reached out to the "only black still in the county," also unsuccessfully, as the individual who was in her late seventies had different priorities, "I talked to her and she reiterated that she is not interested in 'the kind of thing' which you explained to her, for she is too busy." Case closed.[72]

Some of the survey respondents apologized in their written notes; either for not being able to provide more information on the topic or the fact that there have been few to no blacks living here. Yet, they simultaneously found a way to absolve their counties in having anything to do with the status quo, as the Starke County example demonstrates: "I have asked old timers, I have requested readers to respond to your request in the local publications … all to no avail. No blacks ever stayed around here, say the citizens in Starke County. We have every nation in the world – except blacks. So sorry" (Starke County, as of September 13, 1989). The county historian seems to have asked for information in the local press, recorded the responses of the local residents, and used hyperbole to represent Starke County as a welcoming environment.

Some survey comments provided "creative" explanations for the fact that the survey has been sparsely filled out. The survey from LaGrange county stands out, as it not only distracts from the black experience by including information about the Amish but it also introduces a boogeyman. The question inquiring about separate schools for black children resulted in "Amish don't attend High School. There are 40 Amish one or two room schools in the county today. Grades one thru eight." Ignoring the black experience altogether indicates the low (or no) priority of blacks in the

[72] The Black History Program Archivist also reached out to the individual in the county but was met with reluctance. This is rather surprising as a newspaper article featured her and the history of the land, which has been owned by her family for the past 115 years (as of December 2, 1987; article included in Greene County file).

community. The question about various county documents such as deed books, tax records, or Negro registers, generated the following response:

> About 5 years ago a man supposedly from the State Historical Society came to the Court House and threw out 6 highway truck loads of old books + records which were hauled to the dump. Copies of our early census he took as well as other papers. Our county was the 35th one he did this to. (LaGrange County, as of February 4, 1988)

The county historian is again evading the question. We still do not know whether or not a Negro register existed in LaGrange County, but the respondent made sure to indicate that it is through no fault of the residents. The survey was already sparsely completed, a closer look discloses that the answers reveal little about the black experience in the county.

Nativity, or the absence thereof, also provided a way to dismiss the survey or justify the lack of information the respondents could provide. Clark County Historical Society respondents did not feel "qualified to complete" the survey because they were not natives of the town (as of July 13, 1989). Ironically, county historical societies are meant to preserve, collect and interpret county heritage and history, yet here we have a case that only an insider, a native resident, can complete the survey. Unlike other counties, Clark County has already been discussed in scholarship. Emma Lou Thornbrough notes that Clark County had one of the larger black populations in Indiana throughout the nineteenth century, given its southern location. But she also notes places like Utica which did not allow blacks within its city limits as well as a lynching of three blacks in 1871 (*The Negro in Indiana* 45–46, 226, 277–78). Thus, nativity obviously does not need to be a requirement to present black experiences in the county; yet, it is an easy way out to research and discuss less pleasant or low-priority topics.

Such responses frequently reveal individual accountability as well as structural conditions of the cultures of exclusion, regardless of the effort undertaken to conduct research for the survey.

For example, the Posey County historian stated, "I get the impression that many people either are still afraid to talk about their history or simply don't know." He continued, "Black History in Posey Co. could be emphasized in several directions. Some of it could be turned into a bloody, gruesome 'Best Seller' Historical Novel" (as of February 18, 1988; emphasis in original). At a different point, he indicated that he is "full of stories of the past," but did not bother to elaborate further. However, the fact that the county's history of the black experience provides sufficient – yet "gruesome" – information leaves one wondering which incidents were not shared with the materials returned for the survey request.

One such gruesome incident took place 150 miles north of Posey County and is included in Elliot Jaspin's *Buried in the Bitter Waters.* Out of the twelve "successful" racial cleansings Jaspin discusses, he uncovered a second of such incidents in Indiana (the other case in Washington County was discussed above). This one took place in Vermillion County in 1923, amidst the first wave of the Great Migration. Jaspin clarifies that the county was a "Klan stronghold," enlisting "thirty percent of Vermillion's native-born, white males" (193).[73] The cleansing was the consequence of a report by a white girl of her alleged molestation by a black man, resulting in an ultimatum for all black residents to leave town and county immediately. The *New York Times* ran the story under the headline "All Negroes Driven From Indiana Town" (S5). Vermillion's black population dropped from 235 in the 1920 census to 69 in 1930 (Jaspin 195).

Jaspin's account about Vermillion County is particularly relevant if one looks at the correspondence included in the Black History Project file. A note informs the reader that the county

[73] Not only was Vermillion a stronghold of the KKK but it also had four chapters of the National Horse Thief Detective Association by the time the cleansing occurred. Since the state government was entrenched with Klan members and granted the NHTDA "the same powers as the police" (Jaspin 193), there were enough intimidating powers at play that led to the enforced black departure. In "Constituting Whiteness," Purdue University American Studies graduate Erik Wade discusses in detail the alliance between the Indiana KKK and NHTDA, see pp. 197–261.

historian "can find no record of blacks in county. In my memory, I can name about 3 black families in [the] entire county for past 50 years" (Vermillion County, as of February 8, 1988). A follow-up letter by the BHP Program Archivist entailing some 1870 census information for the county and expressing curiosity about the county's history due to its "shape" resulted in a survey response later the same month, yet it was sparsely filled out. One learns from the survey that there were allegedly no black property owners until sometime in the 1980s when one family moved there, that they used to have a stop on the Underground Railroad "according to legend but unproven," as well as the fact that the county is "strictly farm area [which is not] conducive to blacks" and that the "coal mines were dominated by immigrant labor" (Vermillion County, as of February 24, 1988). Twenty years later, Elliot Jaspin fills in many of the missing pieces.

Jaspin documented a dozen of racial cleansings across eight states. He had a list of 260 "suspect" counties, all of which "lost" more than half of their black population (5). He reduced the number of cases by creating stringent criteria, e.g. that the black population shall be lower today than it was before the expulsion, which at least two Indiana counties fulfilled. The Black History Project reveals more, as the next section will briefly illustrate.

More Racial Cleansings in Indiana? Elliot Jaspin and the Black History Project Intersect

Interestingly, Elliot Jaspin appears in the Black History Project. He started researching the phenomenon of county-wide racial cleansings in the late 1990s. Besides documenting Vermillion and Washington Counties' exclusions, he also considered Morgan County for potential inclusion in his monograph as one comes to find out when studying the BHP files. The Black History Program Archivist referred Jaspin to Coy D. Robbins, who has written extensively on the history of African Americans in various counties across the state, including a 1991 monograph on Morgan County. A photocopy of the email exchange between Jaspin and Robbins in 2002 is included in

the Morgan County Vertical File. Jaspin inquired about the "sudden drop in the black population in Morgan County," as the county lost 92.5 percent of its black population over the course of three decades and the census only listed eight black individuals in 1930. Though he negated Jaspin's assumption of a racial cleansing in Morgan County in the early twentieth century,[74] Robbins elaborated on the exclusionary nature towards blacks in the state, "White citizens here – as in most other Indiana counties – supported the long standing U.S. practices of their racial superiority and the segregation of non-whites until very recent years. Throughout much of its history, Indiana created successfully a social, economic and political atmosphere that discouraged the emigration [sic] of non-white residents." Here, Robbins asserts the culture of exclusion as an fundamental characteristic of Indiana, noting the structural, institutional, and discursive barriers that pushed racial and ethnic minorities to the margins of Hoosier society.

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[74] Robbins explains the drop in the black population with the lack of employment opportunities, "In my genealogy study of selected families of color from Morgan County I found that many of their youths had migrated to nearby Indianapolis and/or other growing industrial cities [Terre Haute, Anderson, Richmond, Kokomo and the Calumet region] seeking better employment opportunities and the security of living among a larger number of people socially and culturally like themselves" (Email response to Elliot Jaspin, August 25, 2002). A newsletter from the Morgan County History Society, dated February 14-20, 1998, dedicated to the black heritage in Morgan County answers Jaspin's question slightly more directly, "Morgan County's black pioneers came here to find peace and prosperity. By the 1920s the climate in this, as in most other rural Indiana counties, was hostile and fearful, and our black communities left to find happiness elsewhere" (15). To no surprise, it does not mention the "invisible empire" of the Ku Klux Klan as one of the potential reasons in the 1920s, but at least acknowledges the anti-black animosity experienced in the early twentieth century rather than solely pursuing better job opportunities elsewhere (Morgan County file).

On a related note, the myth that black people left the towns and counties for better employment opportunity emerged in only three other counties. In a follow-up response, the Spencer County historian writes "The black community is small because they have left the area for better positions in cities" (as of September 18, 1989). The Harrison County historian discloses that "Over the years, many of the Harrison County blacks have migrated to seek employment – many have gone to New Albany, Indianapolis, Anderson, Indiana and some went to Louisville, Kentucky" (as of October 14, 1987). Lastly, in 1994 the *Daily Greensburg News* ran a series on the Greensburg riot, in an attempt to correct the many inaccuracies that had surrounded the violent outbreak that took place in 1907 in Decatur County (and was central in Ray Stannard Baker's 1908 publication *Following the Color Line*). Columnist Pat Smith concludes the series by correcting the myth that all black folks were driven out of town and explains that not only did African Americans continue to live in Greensburg after the riot, but that the "younger ones left for the same reason that so many young white people left back then. There were no jobs here then except those that paid little" (5; Decatur County BHP-VF). All these statements absolve the white communities in having contributed to the absence of blacks in the counties; the agency was with the black residents themselves, as they decided to and eventually turned their backs on these small towns, according to the presented data in the surveys.

In contrast to said outspokenness, Robbins later attributed the negative reputation of Martinsville and Morgan County solely to the KKK, thereby exonerating the ordinary citizens:

> Martinsville, from a racial standpoint, has achieved its negative image nation-wide, particularly since the 1920s when "The Invisible Empire" invaded Indiana. The KKK is said to have gained strong support among white Hoosiers. Two racial incidents are believed by many to have involved some Klan members and their local supporters: [1] August 1943 mob disturbances to prevent the employment of about 20 Jamaicans who were agricultural workers and British citizens of African ancestry sorely needed due to the shortage of men during WII [sic] to pick ripe fruit in Morgan County. The downtown mob finally dispersed when the Indiana State Police moved these visitors out of town "for their own safety." [2] The street murder in September 1968 of Carol Jenkins, a 21-year old door-to-door encyclopedia salesperson of color from Rushville, Indiana. After 34 years, an elderly white male murder suspect from Indianapolis was arrested and jailed in Martinsville this summer.[75] (Email response to Elliot Jaspin, August 25, 2002)

Whereas I am not negating the connection between these two incidents and the Ku Klux Klan, one should remember that the racist attitudes and prejudices preceded Indiana's Klan era and lingered many years thereafter, in parts up until today. Both of Robbins' examples corroborate this point, as they took place long after the KKK heydays of the 1920s. It is also striking that Robbins chose not to mention the two KKK rallies that took place in Martinsville in 1967 and 1968. Maybe it would have weakened his argument that the KKK that "invaded Indiana" was responsible for those hateful incidents in 1943 and 1968, respectively, and not the ordinary Hoosier. Maybe it would have alluded too strikingly to attitudes in the area that seem to condone displays of hatred towards non-whites.

The Carol Jenkins murder put Martinsville on a national stage in terms of being a small, white, midwestern, racist town. Newspaper coverage, partially included in the Morgan County file,

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[75] Jenkins' murderer died before being tried in court, but confessed to the murder on his deathbed. Whereas he lived in a nursing home in Indianapolis by the time of his arrest, he lived in neighboring Hendricks County in 1968 when he passed through Martinsville and committed the murder. Whereas Martinsville residents were relieved that it was none of "their own" who committed the atrocity, accounts from locals confirm that it could have easily been. According to historian James Madison there is no concrete evidence that "Martinsville is a dangerous place for blacks;" however, "What matters, he said, 'is that people think it is'" (Rimer).

from three different decades proves this point: 1) newspaper clippings from 1989, when the city started to fight its "racist reputation," which had been left untouched for decades, 2) accounts from 2002 after Jenkins' murderer was arrested, and 3) as recent as November 2017, when the mayor of the town dedicated a memorial stone to the victim of the incident, Carol Jenkins, at city hall. All newspaper articles quote town leaders and long-term residents in their firm beliefs that Martinsville "is no more racist or bigoted than any other place," sometimes with the caveat of any other "almost totally white town in south-central Indiana" (Higgins; Van der Dussen A7). Yes, that might be true, but that does not absolve Martinsville from the legacy of its racist past. The similitude between residents admitting in 1989 "sure we have some bigots and rednecks" and in 2017 "we have idiots. But everywhere you have idiots" indicates that the mindset of residents has not overwhelmingly changed. On the contrary, the description "idiot" obscures or cutifies the nature of the issue and perpetuates the denial of real or apparent intergenerational bigotry and racism. The remarks are also strikingly similar to Brad's remarks in the epigraph where he also argues that "you have people everywhere that are idiots." That said, the 2017 article highlights various other racist incidents in the last two decades, at times involving town officials like the assistant police chief, that corroborate the image of Martinsville as a place intolerant of and hostile towards non-whites (Higgins).

However, in 2017, town leadership presented a formal apology and a memorial stone to the Jenkins – almost five decades after the crime. Martinsville had become the scapegoat for racist Indiana attitudes ever since 1968. And even though it did not face its ugly history for many years, it did so now – unlike all the other small, formerly all-white towns across the state that did not have any incidents that catapulted them onto the national stage as examples of intolerance. Yet, as this dissertation and particularly this chapter illustrates, Martinsville is not alone with those deeply-

held supremacist beliefs and racist attitudes in Indiana. The next few chapters will investigate Clinton County and its county seat Frankfort in closer detail to present yet another example of inhospitable Indiana locales. Before I do that, I will summarize my findings in the Black History Project discussing various trends that evolved through my analysis. The chapter so far has documented past hateful actions/incidents and prevalent intolerant white Hoosier attitudes in 31 of Indiana's 92 counties. A presentation of seven trends that evolved out of reading the Black History Project material in depth allows me to cover many more of the counties and their actions and inactions that created an inhospitable and intolerant blanket or web for racial and ethnic minorities in Indiana, emblematic of the cultures of exclusion.

Seven Ways to Talk about Black and White Indiana

Having gone through the Black History Project files in detail, I noticed a few noteworthy trends that warrant further critical examination, as they also reflect my experiences with the state of Indiana on a public stage, through personal interviews, as well as exhibit and event attendances. Some of the enumerated trends already came to light in the above discussions, other are newly introduced. The seven trends are:

1) "Us vs. Them" – Blacks Are Still Not a Part of the County and Its History
2) "We Are Not Racists" – Claiming Underground Railroad History for Themselves
3) "We Are Not Racists" – Presenting a Token Black Resident
4) Whitewashing the KKK
5) Whitewashing the History of the County
6) Perception vs. Numbers – Cherry-Picking Historical Documents
7) … Except for Documents from a By-Gone Era: Negro Registers in Indiana

Below, I elaborate on how each trend displayed itself in the Black History Project, how it reveals aspects of the black experience in Indiana counties, and how it perpetuates not only the denial of their racist past but also the unwelcoming environment once actively created by white residents. Unlike the common Hoosier belief that racism was contained in Martinsville, it will demonstrate that the sins of racism reach far and wide in Hoosierland.

Trend 1: "Us vs. Them" – Blacks Are Still Not a Part of the County and Its History

A close look at the language used by county personnel often reveals the widening of the chasm between black and white Hoosiers. The way they reflect on the black experience often discloses that the writers are white individuals who did not concern themselves much (if at all) with the black community in their counties. These exclusionary attitudes, reflecting an us-versus-them mentality, can be seen throughout the survey responses, for example in the following remarks:

> We have tried for 5 years to do a history on the Elkhart (city) blacks but have gotten little or no help from them. <u>They</u> tell us there is nothing good in this history so why talk about it. (Elkhart City Historian, Elkhart County, as of February 10, 1988; emphasis in original)

> I suggest that you contact Mrs. Bentha Ballow. She is the oldest colored lady in the community. She is a descendent of the Ballow slaves. Her mind is very clean and knows a lot of her people's history. (Daviess County, as of October 19, 1987)

In both cases, the survey takers establish a clear boundary between their own community – and the other community, echoing Anthony Cohen's community and identity awareness that takes place at the boundary as well as his concept of community assertiveness (*Belonging* 3; *Symbolic Construction* 109). The second example is particularly striking not only because of the segregated possessive pronoun "her" in "her people," but also because the resident was described as "colored" in 1987. The same descriptor is used by the respondent from Pike County who has "talked to a lot of people and seems no one knows if we have colored people living in Pike County now" (as of November 13, 1987). A similarly anachronistic description can be found in the Floyd County file,

where in late 1987 the survey respondent refers to black families as "Negro families." Such antiquated language as well as the demarcating use of possessive pronouns illustrate the boundary-making process when the survey respondents realized their white identity and their white community.

Some county respondents achieved the exclusionary effect of these invisible boundaries by adopting the matter-of-fact tone displayed by Heller (discussed above). The Huntington County respondent simply states "As of 1985 there were only 6 families of Blacks in Huntington Co," accompanied by a handwritten note that attests to the county being known "for not having blacks." Though based on hearsay, the plain language states it as a fact of life; this is the collective memory of Huntington County. In a similar fashion ring the survey responses of Warren, Whitley, and Scott Counties:

> We have never had any blacks as residents of Warren Co. (Warren County, as of October 2, 1987)
>
> Only blacks in County at the time are a few adopted Children by White families. (Whitley County, as of November 12, 1987)
>
> "Scott County Ind has never had a family of blacks make this County their home. (Scott County, as of October 26, 1987)

However, the handwritten note sent along with the Scott County survey tries to explain that despite the lack of blacks in their county, they are treated equally: "Blacks work in our town of Scottsburg when they work on construction for firms which are located in Jeffersonville or Louisville. They eat in restaurants and treated same as other customers. But never have they come here to live" (Scott County, as of October 26, 1987). The respondent diffuses the structural racism of the county by highlighting the access to public accommodations that echo bygone Jim Crow circumstances.

These three remarks prove more or less accurate for the twentieth century when consulting the U.S. Census. Between 1900 and 1980, Warren had one black resident listed in 1930, Whitley

had two (one in 1950 and one in 1970), and Scott County had one in 1960. In the late nineteenth century, all three counties registered double-digit numbers of blacks in their midst. In 1880, Warren had 19, Whitley had 108 and Scott had 10 African American residents. Scott County, however, is the only one of the three that caught scholarly attention with its prohibition of black settlement (Madison, *The Indiana Way* 170–71; Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana* 226). The other two counties and the history of how they "lost" their black populations have yet to be told.

Examining the words in the surveys further reveals strong divisions between blacks and whites in the counties. The respondents' reflections recall various public spaces whose names reveal white attitudes and signal where exactly blacks in the county belong. Responding to the third question on the survey, which inquires about the historical landmarks that are associated with the presence of blacks, Howard County's respondent from the county museum lists, among other sites, "Colored or Nigger Pike (now called Smith road)" and explains further that it referred to the "road that ran through the colored settlements" (Howard County file, as of November 12, 1987).[76] Similarly, Perry County had a road in their county records called "Nigger Hollow" for decades, sending a message of "You better know your place here" and what attitudes to expect to any black person attempting to settle in the area. The Perry County Commissioners approved a name change of the road to "Bell Hollow" in 1989, in honor of "a black family that lived on the road for many years" (*The News*, 14 Aug. 1989; Perry County file). It does not only prove the low priority of black sentiments in the state, but also attests to attitudes across the state of Indiana that it was

[76] It is unclear if the derogatory name was ever cemented in the county books; however, it was a widely common and popular term used in the community, as county-related materials still incorporate the name, e.g. photo descriptions on *Ancestry.com* "West County Road 400 North and about 750 West Nigger Pike (Colored Pike) Kokomo Indiana" (with search terms "Evelyn Merrell" or "Orman Benjiman Merrell"); a cemetery location description "it is on north side of road formerly popularly known as 'Nigger Pike' and in a farming-area formerly inhabited by numerous Negro families" (Henderson) and in testimonies of long-term white residents of the county as recorded in local newspaper coverage from the 1990s, "'Nigger' didn't mean much in those days,' he said, recalling the northwestern Howard County road that was once widely called Nigger Pike. 'I called it that. Everyone just called it that. Now, 'nigger' is terrible'" (Turner 1).

acceptable to display their hostility and animosity openly and publicly with such derogatory language.

Ironically, the name attests to the fact that there were once black folks residing in Perry county, 253 in 1890, apparently enough to "dedicate" a neighborhood to them signaling via public landmark where blacks belonged. However, keeping the name of the road until 1989 might be one reason why the 1980 Census only registered 12 blacks in the county. Who would want to live in a neighborhood or town where attitudes of white Hoosiers towards minorities are reflected so publicly?

Animosity towards blacks in the past has been acknowledged but it has been barely – if ever – questioned and researched any further, as the example from the Crawford County historian illustrates:

> Crawford County has a long history of anti-black sentiment, the basis of this sentiment is unknown to me. My mother says that during packet boat days on the Ohio river, the negro deckhands were almost too afraid to come to the top of the river bank to collect livestock impounded for shipment to Louisville from Leavenworth. (as of July 3, 1989)

The mother's recollection is accurate. As early as 1957 did Emma Lou Thornbrough uncover the "established [yet unwritten] policy that no member of the race was allowed to come in, even temporarily," and further noted that "Leavenworth, the principal town [of Crawford County], had a reputation for being one of the most anti-Negro towns on the Ohio River. River captains were said to discipline colored new crew members by threatening to put them ashore there" (*The Negro in Indiana* 226).

Not only was the animosity towards blacks not further investigated, but some respondents assumed this animosity to be common knowledge, as this Hendricks County example illustrates: "As you may already know, Hendricks County has not welcomed Black People with open arms!

Brownsburg is probably the worst. There are no black children in the schools of BCSC [Brownsburg Community School Corporation]" (as of June 7, 1989). This example combines the matter-of-fact tone with hearsay knowledge to share the collective memory of Hendricks County.

If not understood as common knowledge, respondents present the contemporary and decade-long absence of African Americans in their midst as a plain fact of life: "No black family has lived in Thorntown for years until a year ago when the United Methodist Church hired a black minister, Ivan Jenkins, and he is still here" ("Black History of Thorntown," Boone County file). The insertion "for years" indicates that this has not always been the case. We know that Thorntown once had a black population if we recall Claybaugh's county history side note of blacks being driven out of Frankfort at the end of the Civil War. The white residents actually "relocated" their black neighbors to Thorntown. We do not know what happened to Thorntown's black community between the end of the Civil War and late 1980s and the survey response does not indicate interest in finding out the circumstances surrounding the black population loss.

Some reference desk staff members in the Indiana Historical Society also attested to the exclusionary and hostile nature of Indiana towns. When I was working on the folder for Madison County, which did not contain much information in general and was lacking a survey response, the staff member, native of the state, simply noted that she was not "surprised because the KKK was active in Madison County." She continued the thought expressing her surprise that the Tipton County folder was not empty, as it was another "KKK hotspot" and a place that "even after the Civil Rights movement, if you saw a person of color, you would definitely not see them after

dark." [77] She made these remarks for Clinton, Madison, and Tipton Counties (Personal Conversation with author, October 6, 2017).

Some survey respondents preferred to emphasize the difficulties of entering any Indiana community – as a stranger or outsider regardless of color.[78] While acknowledging and empathizing with the Program Archivist in the opening paragraph of his letter, "I understand that you felt a little uncomfortable when you visited our county last month," he immediately clarified that it happens to all outsiders sharing his experience when he moved into community, "When I first came to Jennings County, I remember the people at the parts stores treated me like an outsider." Expanding on the assertion, he follows the statement with a few examples, culminating in

> I remember looking for parts from old machinery to build a tree planter soon after arriving in Jennings County. […] I entered an old building and seven men were sitting around an old pot belly stove talking. Suddenly there was silence and fourteen eyes were staring at me. I thought I was in a strange country. (Jennings County file, as of May 28, 1997)

This story resembles experiences that many minorities have had entering stores, restaurants and other establishments in predominantly white areas. For a moment, I thought the writer was black. However, the next paragraph clarified the racial identity of the writer when he shared that his "daughter's high school class had two black girl students" and "The fact that the class had around 400 students and only two were black and they were so popular and successful gives me a lot of pride in my community" (ibid.). The remarks infer that this community is not (or no longer) racist despite the fact that the number of black residents is minuscule. How else would we explain the

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[77] Her remark invokes sundown town laws, which were unwritten and unspoken but commonly known rules that people of color should be out of town by the time the sun sets, hence "sundown" towns. They will be further discussed in Trend 4.

[78] Sociologist Robert Wuthnow discusses the difficulties of newcomers in becoming a member of the small-town community (*Small-Town America* 126–28). My interviewees also referenced the obstacles newcomers face and the time it takes to become an "insider" to the community. In that regard, the strategy is not unusual.

feeling of pride? In that regard, the statement indicates that black students seem to be less popular and successful in what appears to be a predominantly white area.

The first trend that emerged in the survey responses perpetuates the perceived or actual reality of blacks not being a part of the community. Examples in this section attested that some counties never or barely had a black population, reasons for which were rarely explored. Instead, empathy was sought through an emphasis on difficulties any newcomer in Indiana communities will face. Though respondents expressed surprise when black members of the community excel, e.g. in high school, they uphold the image of living in a non-racist community. The same image appears in the next trend, in which survey respondents claimed their county's contributions to a successful Underground Railroad station and experience for African Americans in their midst.

Trend 2: "We Are Not Racist" – Claiming Underground Railroad History for Themselves

Indiana has had its fair share in the Underground Railroad. Levi Coffin probably rings most famously among pre-Civil War historians. Scholarship in this regard has become even more expansive in recent decades, including historical evidence, narratives, and landmarks in counties such as Allen, Floyd, Harrison, Washington, Lake, Porter, La Porte, St. Joseph, Wabash, Huntington, Grant, Elkhart, Hendricks, and Monroe. The earliest scholarly explorations include Julie S. Conklin's "The Underground Railroad in Indiana" from 1910 and Richard R. Wright, Jr.'s "Negro Rural Communities in Indiana" from 1908. Wright actually draws the connection between early black settlements in the counties and their respective involvement in the Underground Railroad network, as "Every one [of the black settlements] was a station and did valiant work in

helping the slaves to find Canada" (168).[79] This connection becomes significant when juxtaposed with the overall attitudes of white Hoosiers in the pre-Civil War era. Conklin reminds us,

> In fact, the sentiment of a large portion of the settlers was strongly against them. Even among those who disapproved of the slave system were many who opposed the methods used by those engaged in the work of the Underground Railroad, and looked upon them as no better than thieves; for, they maintained, it was worse to steal a negro than to steal a horse, for the reason that a negro was worth more than a horse. (64–65)

In the rarest cases, however, did survey respondents provide proof (references, diaries, documents) regarding the extent of their Underground Railroad involvement. As one survey question specifically inquires about Underground Railroad sites, county representatives were very eager to emphasize the county's *potential* involvement in Underground Railroad activities. The fact that they based their knowledge on rumors did not matter, as the following examples demonstrate:

> Many, many rumors but have not documented actual existence and buildings involved. (Owen County Historian, as of March 22, 1988)

> Yes. I've read this someplace but I've searched the five history books of Co. – nil. Neither can I locate it in newspaper clippings. Sorry. (Warrick County, as of October 5, 1987)

> supposedly three Underground Railroad stations (Tipton County, as of September 29, 1989)

> according to legend but unproven (Vermillion County, as of February 24, 1988)

The Tipton response here was the only question attempted to be answered in the survey, again corroborating my point that the "bright spot" of Indiana black history deserves mention.

[79] Though beyond the scope of this chapter, it would be interesting to map counties that have evidence of early black settlements with counties that have scholarly provided evidence of Underground Railroad activity. I assume that there is much overlap. If there is no evidence for a black settlement in a county that was active in the Underground Railroad, I would assume that the county was heavily inhabited by Quakers.

A logical explanation might be that despite the lack of a sizable minority population in their midst, county residents are not racist thinking along the lines of "Despite a sizable minority population, we did help them in the past." However, I need to make an important point here. The fact that a community was involved in Underground Railroad activities, not matter how extensive, does not prevent it to turn its back on its African American neighbors later in history, as Washington County demonstrates. Helping run-away slaves prior to the Civil War, it drove out its black population during the war (racial cleansing discussed above). Similar arguments could be made for various other counties that excluded black residents in subsequent decades.

Thus, by noting the county's connection to the Underground Railroad, regardless if fact or fiction, county representatives tried to absolve its residents from any racist past. At times, it was the only question answered in the survey. It allowed them to share black experiences in their counties without revealing any of its ugly truths surrounding those years. The Underground Railroad reference allowed survey respondents to assert "yes, we have a black history." Similarly, the next trend reveals another assertion found in the surveys, "yes, we have (had) a black population."

Trend 3: "We Are Not Racist" – Presenting a "Token" Black Resident

One way to counter assertions that their counties are and have been an all-white community is remembering at least one black resident in their midst. This trend can be noted beyond survey responses, as county histories and local newspaper followed the same strategy. If counties had a "famous" black resident, and may they be their only one in the county for decades, they emphasized the very existence of their "token" black resident. Here I am not referring to the famous black sons and daughters that were born in those towns, e.g. Hazel Harrison, renowned black pianist born in La Porte County, but rather the community "tokens." Mrs. Elizabeth Smith

from Michigan City, La Porte County, for example, was only known in the community as "nigger Liz" (Survey Response for City of La Porte, as of December 17, 1987). "Black Ben" in Cass County is another example. The 1913 county history, *History of Cass County, Indiana*, features Benjamin Talbot as probably the first black in the county, who was "familiarly known as 'Black Ben'" (Powell 320). Henrietta Surgh, an herb doctor in Ripley County, is described in the survey as "Aunt Nettie." She was reprimanded by the "Ripley Circuit Court for practicing medicine without license" (Ripley County, as of October 21, 1987).

Clinton County also highlighted their "token blacks" in the local newspaper.[80] Two examples will briefly illustrate the trend. First, in 1919 the *Frankfort Morning Times* featured an article on the front page about "Uncle Joe" Parker under the headline "Oldest Colored Man Here, Dead" (1). He appears to be the same gentleman that Claybaugh noted in his 1913-published county history. Secondly, in an interview with a native farmer of the county, he recalled "Dr. Hill" as the black resident he saw while growing up in the community in the 1920s and 1930s. Not only did he recall his name, but he also recalled the fact that "he had a white wife." His recollection understandingly struck me, given that Indiana had its anti-miscegenation law in the books until it was finally repealed in 1965. Further research indeed indicates that a physician named Clarence Hill once lived in Frankfort, who in various city directories is identified as "colored."[81]

Sporadically throughout the twentieth century, county newspapers ran frontrunner newspaper stories on their first or most famous black residents. George Parker, resident of Harrison County, was congratulated in 1937 for his one-hundredth birthday and also made the county-wide news again four years later when he passed (Harrison County file). Morgan County publicly

[80] The information is drawn from my in-depth research, as the Clinton County file in the BHP rather disappoints. It contains one clipping from 1974 featuring the history of the locale Bethel A.M.E. church.
[81] I will discuss "Uncle Joe" and Dr. Clarence Hill in more detail in chapter 4.

mourned the death of Albert Merritt, founder of the Boys Club in the county in 1958 (Morgan County Vertical File). Clinton County's "Uncle Joe," Harrison County's George Parker and Morgan County's Albert Merritt share a common thread, though their news coverage lies almost forty years apart – the emphasis on the immediate connection to slavery. The former two were already identified in the respective sub-heading as former slaves; and Albert Merritt was "the son of former slaves," reads the first paragraph of the article. Black females were more frequently featured toward the end of the twentieth century. Frances Phillips, black native of Owen County, was nominated for the Older Hoosier of the Year in 1987 (Owen County file). Worth noting is also the occurrence of southern blacks who migrated up north to Indiana, as was the case with Mary Turner from Georgia who settled in Gary in the 1920s and died in 1996 at the age of 105 (Lake County file).

Overall, the "token" black resident again serves the purpose of building and preserving the county's image as a non-racist community that embraced their minorities from the day they set foot in their counties. Reflections, however, on why they can recall the name of one particular person or the nickname the community has "fondly" given them are missing. I did not encounter any afterthoughts such as "How come not more of them came – to the extent that I can no longer recall everyone's name?" The lack of reflection and acknowledgment becomes even more palpable in the subsequent trend that touches upon yet another highly sensitive, if not taboo, topic in Indiana: the Ku Klux Klan.

Trend 4: Whitewashing KKK History

The fourth major trend concerns another ugly part of Indiana history. There is an overwhelming absence of Ku Klux Klan references in the survey responses. The fact that there is little reflection and acknowledgement of the heydays of the Ku Klux Klan in the counties is

surprising given that it could have been a simple reason to explain the absence of blacks in theirs. This thought is based in my personal experience that as soon as I presented my research publicly, people inquired about the role of the Ku Klux Klan, directly or indirectly drawing the conclusion that Indiana's KKK past is the cause of all racism and explains the absence of minorities in Indiana. As established earlier in this chapter, this is far from being an accurate or comprehensive representation of Indiana's racist attitudes, as those preceded the forming of KKK chapters across the state and persisted way beyond their heyday.

The sample of national media articles regarding my keyword "Indiana" reflect more efforts to contextualize the notorious Klan connection in the state. Generally, the sampled 17 articles on Indiana, published between 1908 and 1968, were accolades about the state, praising the Hoosier economy, farming, land, culture, and people. The KKK and the NHTDA offered more of a discussion point for the authors than African American Hoosiers. The authors, including native Hoosiers, rarely mentioned black Hoosiers nor discussed the Great Migration. When native authors tackled the Ku Klux Klan, their approaches ranged from defending and absolving Hoosiers who have been victimized by the Klan (Jackson), to calling the 1920s a "tragedy" and a "holiday from conscience" (Wilson), to admitting the continuous presence of the KKK mindset (Riis and Waldron). In the 1920s, articles that already drew attention to the Klan in their headlines, usually tried to explore the reasons why the KKK was so successful in the state, which included that Hoosiers had a "follower" or "joiner" mentality (S. T. Moore; Merritt) and that it was not about hate but Americanism and political power (Frost; S. T. Moore). Other authors declared the state as the true poster child of the KKK (G. W. Johnson) and labeled the state as "a hotbed of hatred and suspicion" (E. Davis 615).

The level of outspokenness demonstrated in the national press during and after the "reign of terror" was not reflected in the survey responses although the heyday of the Invisible Empire was more than six decades earlier. If KKK history is mentioned at all in the surveys, which was the case for the counties of Boone, Clay, Daviess, Johnson, and Morgan (9% of survey responses), it is addressed in passing. The Clay County historian's attempt to shed more light onto the history of blacks in the county (question 12 on survey) illustrates this well: "I don't think there has ever been much conflict between blacks and whites. Maybe in the late 1920's when KKK law was riding high there were minor incidents – but nothing of major note. Mostly we all get along peacefully" (Clay County, as of October 8, 1987). Boone County's historian successfully creates some distance to its Klan history when he writes "I have been told stories about the KKK both ways – they would cause trouble but according to the tape this does not seem to be true" (as of November 2, 1987). A volunteer at the public library conducted some oral histories (on tape) with several senior citizens in the area, which seemingly contested the accusation that the Klan stirred up trouble in the county. However, no further reference is provided. These examples prove that the collective memory in the counties is not only sparse but that active forgetting is part of it.

Sometimes, despite the lack of reflecting upon the white supremacist history and mentioning the existence of the KKK in their county, certain county representatives accidently revealed that dark stain on their white west. Hamilton County will serve as an example here. Through the survey one learns about various black businesses in the city of Noblesville. The county's newspaper, the *Noblesville Daily Ledger* ran a weekly "Colored News" section from at least the 1920s through the 1940s. A 1924 newspaper clipping from the *Ledger* was enclosed with the survey return. Due to the poor quality of the copy, it is unclear if the article on the death of "colored" Edward Armstrong was part of the "Colored Section." However, two columns to the

right on the same page, a Klan announcement was printed: "Klan meeting is said to be invitational" with the subheading "Big Event to Occur here tomorrow," documenting the coexistence of blacks and the Klan in the county at that time (Hamilton County file).[82] Though not mentioned in the survey, the Vertical File for St. Joseph County also reveals the history of the KKK. The file contains a list of books and resources for the African American community in the county. The list is preceded by a little introductory paragraph, which notes the following about the history of the Ku Klux Klan:

> By mid 1923, Indiana's membership in the Ku Klux Klan led the nation, and St. Joseph County had an active Klan organization. However, because of the small number of African Americans living in St. Joseph County during the Klan's reign in the county, Klan activities appear to have been aimed mostly against Catholics and immigrants (many of whom were Catholic) and there was less violence against African-Americans and Jews than against Catholics in the county. (St. Joseph Vertical File)

The writer acknowledges the violent history of the Klan, yet shifts attention to their preferred targets given the fact that there were too few blacks in the area.

After its collapse in the late 1920s, the KKK continued to regain its political power and societal influence in Indiana throughout the twentieth century – none of it was captured in the surveys. In 1940, for example, the *Frankfort Morning Times* reports rebirth efforts in the state, and quotes the Imperial Wizard of the organization who stated a drastic increase in Indiana membership over the last year and mentioned Klan activities in about 35 communities at that time. No longer with the same political influence it once had, it now directed its efforts to combat "subversive

[82] Noblesville was forced to deal more explicitly with its Klan history after 1995 upon discovery of hundreds of Klan documents and membership lists. Fortunately, the contractor who found the documents in a trunk decided against "burning history," and donated the documents to the historical society. However, Noblesville citizens still prefer to rather be remembered for bringing down Grand Dragon D. C. Stephenson in his trial in 1925 than for supporting and fostering the Klan throughout the 1920s. In his article "'You Can't Burn History' Getting Right with the Klan in Noblesville, Indiana," history professor Allen Safianow recounts accounts and survey data from local residents about the Klan. His findings show that residents frequently perceived the Klan more like a fraternal organization rather than a hate group ("You Can't Burn History" 152).

influences" and to organize the majority group as "the Minorities – Jews, aliens Catholics, and to a lesser degree Negroes – are well organized."[83]

The sparse efforts of historical and cultural contextualization are also replicated in one of the permanent galleries of the Indiana State Museum, which is dedicated to the cultural history of the state. Positioned in a transitionary corridor or pathway between bigger exhibition spaces stands a white Klan robe with no further explanation of the relevance to the state. For a self-proclaimed "world-class institution," which is "forward-thinking" and whose mission is "to celebrate, explore and steward all that is authentically wondrous about Indiana," to not adequately reflect on this part of Indiana's "cultural history" and spatially position the robe in a passage from one hall to the next at least questions Indiana's willingness to face its ugly past, or in the words of the State Museum's website, to really "uncover Indiana's secrets" ("About the Indiana State Museum"). Maybe the curator thought that the robe says it all, but it is rather unusual to let the artifact speak for itself, especially since the state's KKK history still is a raw sore. The lack of text in addition to the scarcity of artifacts that would allow visitors to empathize with the victims of KKK violence is somewhat disturbing. It seems that state and citizens still try to minimize and repudiate – if not outright erase – this rather repugnant part of their sociocultural history. County respondents shied away from acknowledging their respective Klan history which could be interpreted as whitewashing their own history. The consequences are far-reaching and problematic, as the covering up and glimpsing over historical wrongdoings prevents reconciliation, healing, and progress. It fosters ignorance and reignites stereotypes and animosity. As the discussion of the next

[83] "Rebuilt Klan is Planned for Hoosier State." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 16 Feb. 1940, p. 1. The *Frankfort Morning Times* proves useful here to note other KKK revivals in the state that were overlooked by county respondents, including an anticipated rally weekend in Dearborn County in the fall of 1965, Klan parades in Morgan and Johnson Counties in 1967, a cross burning in Johnson County in the summer of 1967, and another Klan rally in Warsaw, Kosciusko County in the fall of 1970 (the year I stopped microfilming the newspaper). I note these incidents to show the breadth of white supremacist support in Indiana long after the heydays of the 1920s KKK in the state, as they corroborate that these beliefs are more ingrained in Hoosier culture as residents and scholars might make us believe.

trend will show, it emboldens white Hoosier residents to perceive their neighborhoods as "naturally" white spaces which they claim to defend against "encroaching" immigrants and migrants of color.

Trend 5: Whitewashing the History of the County – "Invisible" Sundown Towns

What becomes clear in the survey responses is a wide-spread hesitation to name the inglorious realities and historical facts that illustrate white supremacist attitudes in Indiana. Going along with the failure to acknowledge and reflect upon its Klan history goes the trend to downplay or generally overlook county activities that intentionally or inadvertently resulted in a drop of minority populations in their counties. One such poignant example is the existence of sundown towns and sundown counties. In 1957, Emma Lou Thornbrough already noted stagnation and declines of the black population in some places despite "a fivefold increase between 1860 and 1900" in the total black population in the state, attributing it to economic causes as well as "a deliberate anti-Negro policy" (*The Negro in Indiana* 224). Besides naming Washington and Crawford Counties as African American free zones, she identified Perry and Spencer Counties as already pre-Civil War sundown counties (*The Negro in Indiana* 46–47). She also recorded various towns that barred blacks: Utica in Clark County, Aurora in Dearborn County, Scottsburg and Lexington in Scott County, Linton in Greene County, and Bluffton in Wells County (*The Negro in Indiana* 225–227). Additionally, she observed that the riots in New Albany, Floyd County, in 1862 and Evansville, Vanderburgh County, in 1865 resulted in temporary exoduses and an overall intensification of racial animosity (*The Negro in Indiana* 186–187; 209–210).

County respondents in the survey were less forthcoming thirty years after Thornbrough's book was published, as there were only two remarks that alluded to a sundown town past. Responding to the inquiry about potential Underground Railroad sites, the Allen County historian

mentions in passing "Unlikely, Ft. Wayne enforced no-black ordinance" (Allen County, as of October 5, 1987).[84] A hand-written letter by the Boone County historian identifies Whitestown as a location that "would not allow any Black people to stay there" (as of November 2, 1987), inferring a sundown history.

Not a single survey response provided any concrete information or acknowledgment regarding their sundown town history. Heller's *1979 History of Adams County, Indiana*, a reference to which was sent instead of a detailed survey response, builds the only exception here and establishes one important fact. As this county history was published in 1980, it proves that people knew of such towns and policies.[85] It was not until 2005 that James Loewen published his seminal work *Sundown Towns*; however, it does not mean that the phenomenon was unknown to people living in those counties. It simply means that Loewen's work was the first major attempt to unearth this history on a larger regional scale and raise awareness of the phenomenon nationwide.

Sundown towns are tricky, though. The existence of sundown towns can easily be denied by whites if they choose to do so, as they have never been the *official* law of the land in Indiana. Many places had socially-sanctioned unspoken rules regarding minority settlement and service in their midst. As Heller notes, "Decatur and other towns in the county are commonly referred to in Indiana as 'sundown' towns" (77). Heller's insertion "in Indiana" here is crucial, as it corroborates the expansiveness of the cultures of exclusion enforced through sundown town policies. The

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[84] This statement is slightly ambiguous from a historical standpoint. It is unclear if the survey respondent alludes to the Black Codes, which became law in Indiana in 1831 and thus during the prime of the Underground Railroad network establishment, or if he alludes to those ordinances that were commonly enforced during the time sundown policies spread widely in the state, i.e. during 1890 and 1970. However, it does prove Allen County's animosity toward blacks in the past.

[85] One other article, enclosed in the Perry County file, alludes to the sundown phenomenon, though the writer does not use the term explicitly. In "Racial Barriers Nonexistent in old TC Schools," Indiana Journalism Hall of Famer Edward W. Schergens writes "I can remember many other black families living in Tell City. They were all educated just like the white children and we all lived here together as though we had the same color and were of the same race. There was never any difference shown. Cannelton had much the same situation. *However, in Troy, for many years, a black person was not allowed in town after dark*." (as of August 7, 1989; emphasis added; Perry County file).

phenomenon is not particular to Adams County, but applies to the entire state, as people across the state are familiar with the term "sundown town." Heller continues,

> By sundown every Negro is expected to be out of town. Of course, *this is not law, nor never has been, literally*. But it has been enforced many times; waitresses, as late as the 1950's and 1960's, refused to serve blacks, in restaurants, well-known black performers have been refused motel rooms, customers, even actual foreigners visiting here from another country, have been refused service at counters in the stores. (77; emphasis added)

Heller did not exaggerate if we recall the incident at the gas station in Michigan City from chapter one or when we look at Paul Davis's recollection of 1950 Rushville. The father of murder-victim Carol Jenkins was quoted in the 2017 article about the healing in Martinsville half a century after the crime. He recalled: "In the Rushville of the 1950s, […] if a black person wanted to go to one of the town's bars, they had to use the back door. He got around that by not going to the bars. 'I said, 'I ain't going in the back door for nothing'" (Higgins). The Rush County historian also recalled when a black friend was not permitted to enter a local restaurant, upon which they left (as of January 29, 1988). Above, I already noted the unspoken/unwritten policies of exclusion when discussing vacation resorts and housing markets. The law is an interesting case in Indiana. Indiana ratified an anti-lynching law for the state, yet lynchings continued to take place without punishment of the perpetrators. Sundown towns have never been official law in the state, yet were widely enforced.

One way to enforce such unofficial but socially-sanctioned law was an agreement by a group of property owners or real estate operators to not sell, lease, or rent their property to members of a specific race, also known as racially restrictive covenants. Housing segregation and restrictive covenants were already identified in chapter one as one of the key mechanisms to keep blacks out of town and maintain the all-white nature of the community. West Lafayette in Tippecanoe County had an expansive web of racially restricted property and neighborhoods. During my research I

came across housing deeds that still, in 2019, contain the language of the northern Jim Crow days. It appears to not have been a priority in the county to amend the language of the deed. Figure 6 shows a typical example:

I, Claude M. Draper, a Registered Civil Engineer of the State of Indiana do hereby certify that this plan correctly represents the lots, streets and alleys.

Claude M. Draper
Reg. Engr. 1425

Approved by the City Plan Commission of the City of Lafayette this 20th day of March 1946.

F.A.Tedford
Chairman
Harry B. Overesch
Secretary

Approved by the Board of Public Works & Safety of the City of Lafayette, INdiana this 25th day of March 1946

Jack R. LeFevre
City Clerk

Geo H Devault
Harry B. Overesch
E Burke Walker
Board of Public Works (Seal)

CLEGG PARKWAY ADDITION

WE, EDWIN R CLEGG and MATHILDA E CLEGG, of Tippecanoe County, Indiana, owners of the real estate herein described and shown, do hereby dedicate forever for public use for highway purposes the streets and alleys shown on this plan.

Lots as shown on this plan, and the use thereof by present and future owners or occupants shall be subject to the following restrictions and conditions which shall run with the land, to wit:

1. OWNERSHIP or OCCUPANCY - The ownership or occupancy of lots or buildings in Clegg Parkway Subdivision are restricted to members of the pure white Caucasian race and no persons except members of the pure white Caucasian race shall acquire, title to or occupy any lot or building or any part of any lot or building in this subdivision as owner, tenant or roomer or otherwise. This restriction is not applicable to the domestic employees of owners or tenants of residence in this subdivision, If any deed, instrument or arrangement shall be made attempting to convey or permit the occupancy of any lot or building in said subdivision to or by any person not of the pure white Caucasian race except as therein provided, the execution of any such deed or instrument or arrangement shall cause the forfeiture, except against a bona fide mortgagee, to the undersigned respective owners, their heirs, devisees, assigns or successors of said lot or building so attempted to be conveyed, leased or subjected to such occupancy and the title thereto shall at once revert to the undersigned owners, their heirs, devisees, assigns or successors. If any person not of the pure white Caucasian race shall occupy or attempt to occupy any lot or building or part thereof in this subdivision as owner, tenant, roomer or otherwise except as herein provided such occupant may be enjoined from continued occupancy by any court of competent jurisdiction at the suit of any owner or owners of any lot or lots or buildings in this subdivision without being required to show any damage to such owner or owners of any kind whatsoever.

2. BUILDING - No dwelling costing less than $6000.00 or containing less than 6000 cubic feet shall be erected in this subdivision. No building or part thereof shall be constructed within 30 feet of the front

Figure 6 The photograph displays page 23 of a West Lafayette deed. I took this picture in May 2018. Restrictions and conditions were added to the property in March 1946. “Ownership or Occupancy” outline the nature of the racially restrictive covenant prevalent in West Lafayette.

The title for this particular lot described in Figure 6 was last amended in 1967, yet the exclusionary language was upheld. Deeds in West Lafayette are unique, as they include (rather

than exclude) parties eligible to purchase, rent, or occupy property, namely "members of the pure white Caucasian race." Prior to these deeds, I only encountered "white race" as examples for eligible groups or more commonly a list of groups whose access to the property was denied, which frequently included "Negroes." Deeds became one of the subtle and hidden mechanisms to maintain Hoosier whiteness for decades.[86] Racist practices hidden in property deeds enabled the enforcement of exclusion while publicly maintaining the friendly and hospitable face.

As sundown towns were based on unwritten laws, it is difficult to pin down the active contribution of white residents in the expulsion of their black neighbors. There is no recording of possible threats and warnings given to black residents, and newspapers usually covered other, more "newsworthy" events. Sometimes, however, violent threats turned into violent actions, making it impossible for newspapers and residents alike to deny their biased attitudes and actions. In that regard, there are two exceptions in the Black History Project files.

Given the magnitude and infamy of the crimes committed and the subsequent nationwide news coverage they received, Grant and Morgan Counties survey respondents with the 1930 lynching of two African Americans and 1968 murder of a young African American woman, respectively, were unique in sharing news coverage pertaining to the legacies of those crimes, including stigmatization for the towns and counties. Whereas the survey respondents sent many clippings that attested to those crimes and their aftermaths, neither Grant County's survey response nor Morgan County's letter response (did not return a survey) acknowledged the crime in writing. In this regard, they demonstrated a similar silence as most other counties, regardless of the scope

[86] Other subtle mechanisms could be a siren on water towers at the edges of many Indiana small towns. In *Sundown Towns*, James Loewen recounts his discovery that Villa Grove, Illinois installed a siren on its water tower that rang each evening at 6 pm to signal to African Americans that it is time to leave town (64). More obvious mechanisms included a sign at the city limits that spelled out the warning to African Americans that their kind is not desired (Loewen 3). However, it is difficult to find residents today that would admit to such signs ever existing in their towns. None of the surveys admitted to it, neither did any informants in my interviews.

of materials received. And as this chapter illustrates, there is a plethora of expulsion examples to draw from. The survey responses alone, however, would not have sufficed (even though they would have been a start). The Orange County survey, for instance, documents the two separate societies in the county, but fails to acknowledge that at the beginning of the century French Lick whites "instructed blacks to leave."[87] Vermillion County representative did not own the county-wide expulsion of 1923 that Elliot Jaspin uncovered in *Buried in the Bitter Waters*. The list goes on and on.

Sundown town policies are no longer openly enforced. West Lafayette, home to a world-renowned university, integrated in 1970 allowing minorities to occupy, rent, and purchase property.[88] City limit signs were removed, discriminatory language in residential deeds and housing titles was not. Though unfinished business, the sundown chapter of Indiana's history was closed. As there was no public acknowledgment or apology of white Hoosiers, caution by minorities in those towns is still the best weapon.[89]

This trend consequently illustrated the power of whitewashing history and makes it an integral part of Indiana's cultures of exclusion. Although sundown town policies are no longer officially enforced, the legacy of them lives on. Residents do not necessarily need to own their past because the reputation often precedes them. This could explain why many Indiana towns remain overwhelmingly white and, if they didn't why the friction between local white residents and the newcomers of color erupted shortly after the latter arrived. The following chapters will

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[87] *The Freeman* [Indianapolis], 21 June 1902, p. 4, col. 4.

[88] However, based on experience and personal conversations with non-native residents in West Lafayette, some property owners and housing management still discriminate against domestic minorities and international students in the twenty-first century.

[89] In 2017, the Black History Program Archivist was quoted in the 2017 article on healing in Martinsville. As a native of Indianapolis, she recalled "I remember someone saying, 'Any place that's got 'green' in it, don't go there – Greenwood, Greencastle, Greenfield'" (Higgins). Regarding public acknowledgment and apology, Goshen, the county seat of Elkhart County builds the only exception here, as it passed a resolution that acknowledges the "racially exclusive past of Goshen, Indiana" in 2015 (Crothers).

illustrate in more detail one such example, as Frankfort and Clinton County experienced a growth of their minority population since the late 1990s with many Hispanics settling permanently in their midst. Shortly after their arrival, Frankfort's population entered an internal battle over school constructions and performance. The lack of working through their exclusionary past – like many other Indiana towns – might be one of the reasons why white residents have had a hard time adjusting to the new circumstances, as in their point of view the town was theirs to claim.[90] This is one of the disconcerting legacies of whitewashing history and the cultures of exclusion. Along with the idea of sharing selective history go the next two trends that are more indicative of how the whitewashing of county history works. Whereas the sundown past was mainly ignored, glimpsed over, and not admitted, the selective picking and choosing of historical documents distorts population trends and presents an incomplete picture of a black presence in Indiana.

Trend 6: Perception vs. Numbers – Cherry-Picking Historical Documents

To my surprise, only a small percentage of the responsive county experts made use of historical records. Public records, such as manuscript census schedules and city directories are invaluable in gathering data and formulating generalizations on the society across time. Early city directories clearly indicate black churches, businesses and residents by prefacing the former two with "colored" and by accompanying the latter with asterisks or the letter "C" at their entry. Rush

[90] Another more recent incident of claiming their town has been going on in Dayton in Tippecanoe County. A small town of 1,600 people, 95% white, close to Lafayette sparked a neighborhood frenzy over an annexation plan that would build about 100 new homes. The party opposed to said plan started a "Keep Dayton Small" campaign. In the Spring of 2018, they rented a billboard, which reads "Keep Dayton Small. Keep Dayton Friendly. Keep Dayton Dayton," signed by Dayton Watchdog and the Dayton Area Community Coalition (Bangert). As the three ideas were written in separate lines in combination with the content of the message and the messenger, people in the area infer the Keep-Keep-Keep as a KKK message. Whether or not that is the case, I could not corroborate; yet, I can attest to the eerie and unwelcoming feeling driving through this small town. Regardless, some of the residents of Dayton see it as their right to keep their town according to their liking.

County's city directories for 1901 and 1911, included in the BHP files, marked black citizens with "col" next to each entry.

Census data appears sporadically in the Black History Project. Pulaski County was the only county to consult the 1980 census, the most recent census available at the time the survey was conducted. Census schedules from the nineteenth century were consulted slightly more frequently but still sparsely: Porter County uses the 1880 census ("We have no information of any black residents in our county. 1880 census shows none;" as of January 28, 1988); Clinton County also references the 1880 census in its approximation of "20 or more families/households" but does shy away from specific numbers; Brown County references the 1860 census, which lists one 16-year old black waiter, who had been the only black resident until the early 1960, when a black family moved into the county; Blackford County cites "14 negroes" according to the 1840 census; similarly, Miami County uses the 1840 census to mention that "Philip Pew, wife + son [were the] only blacks." Ripley County references the 1850 County to mention that there were black people in Shelby Township, but fails to mention how many; Randolph County also utilizes the 1850 census to list 111 black heads of households. In total, only nine counties made scant use of such germane historical documents. Maybe they only listed the one census that listed black folks in the county, expecting it would suffice to tell the history of blacks in the county. Consulting one decade for the county population, however, does not reveal much about the population at all.

The 1979 History of Adams County, Indiana – the county history that demonstrated how to present Indiana history in plain simple language, detailing hostility towards minorities in the county and the state of Indiana – serves again as an example on how census data can provide a more comprehensive picture of county residents, shedding some light on community and race relations. Heller stated that "blacks have been living in Adams County during ten of the preceding

14 censuses, starting with 1840, when the county registered 17, the most yet reported until 1970" (77). After detailing names, characteristics, gender, age, and specific location for 1840, 1850, and 1860, Heller continues with, "There were no blacks in the county in 1870, 1880, 1900, or 1920 census; two in 1880 and 1910" (ibid.). Of course, since the census only collects population data every ten years, one needs to fill in the stories of what happens in between those years. City directories and local newspapers come in handy for that. The *Freeman*'s coining of "Negrophobia" in describing that blacks were driven out of Decatur would have supplemented Heller's narrative, as the argument would corroborate the bad "race record" and the sundown town history he noted. As a side note, Heller discussed the incident with the help of local newspapers (79–80), though he did not connect it back to the revealed census overview.

It was also through a look at census data that Elliot Jaspin came to realize and investigate the odd distribution of black and white folks on a county level. He dug deeper and was able to pin down the decades in which counties resorted to mechanisms of expulsion and performed racial cleansings. Adopting Jaspin's strategy to Indiana counties, census data alone raises some questions regarding various counties across Indiana – besides Washington and Vermillion. Some other counties had large declines during 1890 to 1930, the period of the nadir of race relations toward the end of the first wave of the Great Migration. For example, Jackson County had 270 blacks in 1890, but only registered 67 in 1930 (-75%), and Parke County had 356 blacks in 1890 and only 74 in 1930 (-79%). Similarly, Sullivan lost 73 percent of blacks during that time, from 182 in 1890 down to 50 in 1930. Perry County also lost 75 percent of its black population in these four decades (from 253 in 1890 to 64 in 1930), and Randolph County's black population dropped by 78 percent from 606 black residents in 1890 to 136 in 1930. Ripley and Dubois Counties lost their entire black population in these forty years, from 74 and 93, respectively, in 1890, to zero in 1930. Perry

County's black population dropped another 70 percent, down to 19 residents in 1940. So did Park County's black population, though only by 45 percent down to 41 black residents. Four of those counties would qualify for Jaspin's criteria of a "successful" racial cleansing. The 2000 census lists fewer black residents than the 1890 census for Jackson, Randolph, Dubois, and Ripley Counties: 227, 70, 56, 13, respectively. These are only a few examples, and further research of these counties is needed to fill the void between those census decades to understand what happened to the black population. However, they serve to illustrate the power of census data in asking big questions.

From the survey responses alone, it is difficult to ascertain why the history representatives of the counties did not consult historical and population data in a comprehensive way. It is likely that it was a matter of priorities and time, as it takes some time to locate the sources for something they might not consider worthwhile. It is also possible that they did a skimming similar to the one I presented in the previous paragraph and did not like the impression it would give. The surveys do not shed light into these observations, but they do indicate an inconsistent consultation of historical documents. As the last trend will indicate, historical documents that definitely belong to the past, such as Negro registers, were consulted more frequently than population records and city directories.

Trend 7: … Except for Documents from a By-Gone Era: Negro Registers

The trend of *not* consulting general historical documents such as the census or city directories does not entirely encompass distinct public records specific to a former by-gone era. Question 11 of the survey specifically inquired about the existence of such documents: "Materials, such as deed books, tax records, Negro Registers and manumission records can reveal alot [sic]

about history. Are you aware that any of these materials are available at your county courthouse or other locations?"

As mentioned in the historical overview of Indiana state laws above, the Black Codes in 1831 required black newcomers to register with the counties, and twenty years later Article XIII of the 1851 Constitution demanded all black residents to register. Whereas census data were only referenced nine times, the survey results disclosed the existence of fourteen Negro registers. With the help of Coy Robbins's *Indiana Negro Registers, 1852-1865,* researchers can complement these findings with additional seven counties.[91] Thornbrough specifically adds Clark County to the list, totaling 22 counties, but also mentions that "registers were begun in most counties" (*The Negro in Indiana* 70). She corroborates the statement in her footnote that "Negro registers were found in many of the courthouses of the state" during 1930s when the Works Progress Administration conducted a survey of county archives in the state (Figure 7). Reading much of Emma Lou Thornbrough's accounts on the history of blacks in Indiana, in particular her seminal work *The Negro in Indiana Before 1900*, I wanted to believe her when she states that the "provisions of the law requiring Negro residents to register appear to have been largely ignored" (70). However, let's also recall LaGrange County's claim that records have been destroyed by the boogey man and that they were the 35th county that witnessed the destruction of historical documents. In other words, Thornbrough's interpretation of the lackadaisical enforcement of the law might be painting the matter with a broad brush, but we might not even be able to prove otherwise.

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[91] Counties in the Black History Project that acknowledged the existence of a Negro register include Bartholomew, Crawford, Dearborn, Floyd, Harrison, Jackson, Jefferson, Knox, Montgomery, Morgan, Posey, Randolph, and Washington. Marion County was referenced in the Washington County file and is listed in Thornbrough's discussion of the registers (*The Negro in Indiana* 70). Besides Bartholomew, Floyd, Harrison, Jackson, Jefferson, Knox, and Washington Counties, Robbins discusses Franklin, Gibson, Hendricks, Martin, Ohio, Orange, Switzerland Counties in his 1994 compilation *Indiana Negro Registers, 1852-1865.* Furthermore, Jennings County's public library maintains what appears to be an online county history. The section "Anti-Slavery and African Americans in Jennings County" includes names of the local Negro register that was kept in the 1850s. That brings the total up to 23 counties in Indiana that are proven to have had these registers in the past (Figure 7).

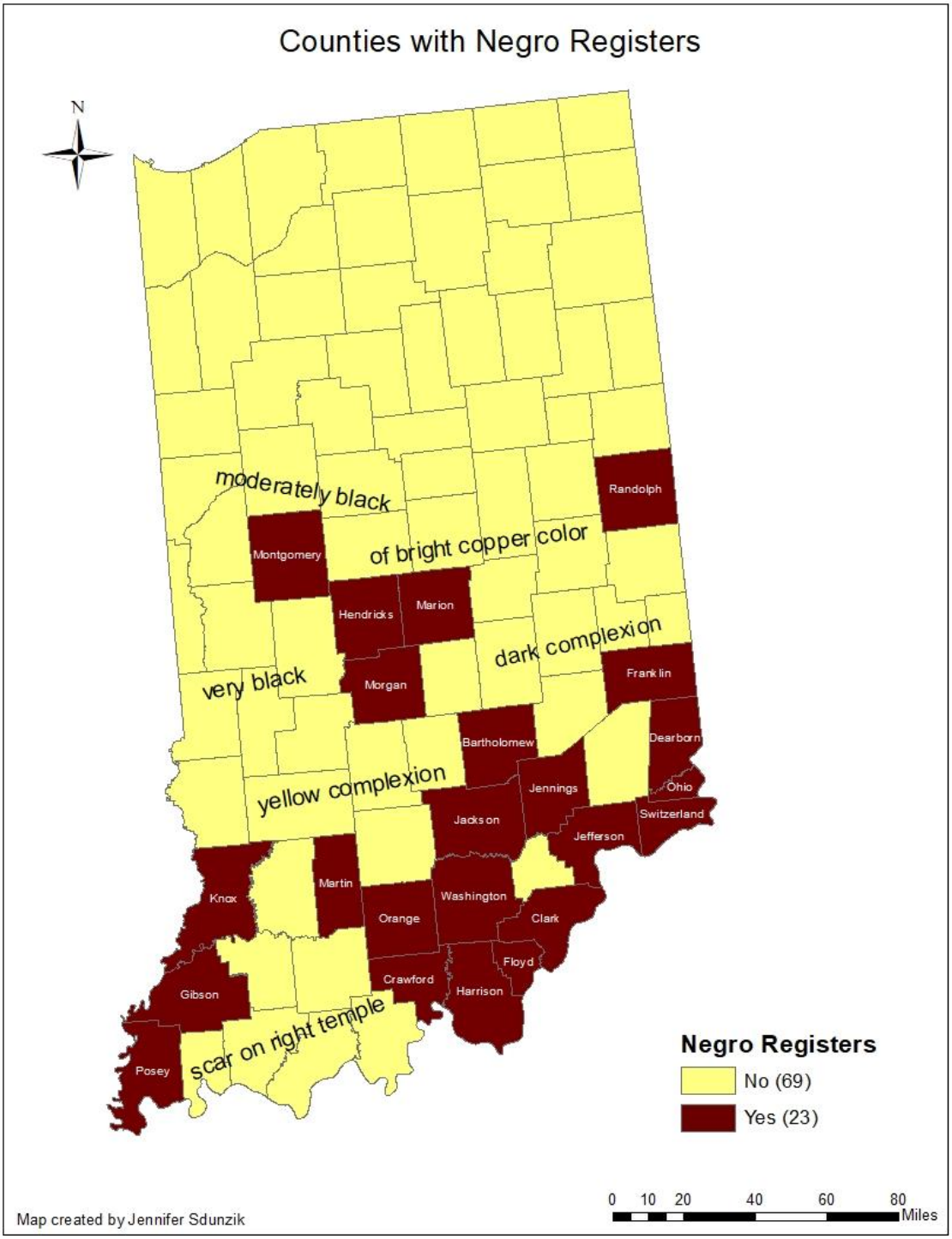

Figure 7 Map displaying counties known to have maintained Negro registers.

Regardless of the extent to which Negro registers were enforced, the copies of available Negro registers in the BHP suffice to juxtapose extent with content of such registers. Whereas I

have only been able to confirm Negro registers for twenty-three Indiana counties (25%), I want to highlight the content below, as it paints a dull, more eerie picture of the environment in which black Hoosiers found themselves during the mid-nineteenth century. Whereas most counties listed black individuals in table format, some wrote little paragraphs about their neighbors and residents of the different hue. Regardless of format, each entry includes name, age description, place of birth, residence, name of the witness, and sometimes the date of registration. What struck me were the reductions to physical markers and the level of detail in the "description" column such as "11 year old a boy of dark complexion," "scar on the right temple," "yellow complexion" (all Jackson County file), "moderately black, a little stiff in walking and five feet ten inches high," "very black," and "of bright copper color, the skin on the back of his right hand is scared from a scald, well made and about five feet three inches high" (Harrison County file). Montgomery County's "Certificate of Registry" was in paragraph format but with the same scrutiny of detail. It also contains a newspaper notice, dated March 14, 1853, which called upon "all negroes and mulattoes" to appear before the Circuit County clerk (Montgomery County file).

The fact that almost three times as many county representatives acknowledged the existence of Negro registers compared to the county's involvement in the Ku Klux Klan is worth noting (14 versus 5). One explanation could be that the former is further back in history, 130 years compared to "only" 60 years that distanced the county from its possible Klan engagement. Some individuals on potential membership lists may have still been alive at the time the survey was conducted. And if not the individuals themselves, immediate descendants of former NHTDA and KKK members, whom the community took it upon themselves to protect.

All seven trends detailed over the last few pages provide information about the black experience in Indiana. However, they disclose even more information about the white Hoosier past

as well as contemporary and past attitudes towards their black neighbors. Those revelations illuminate greatly how the cultures of exclusion mark and operate in the state. From maintaining the "us-versus-them" distance with the black population in town to denying Klan membership and presence in the county, neither gives the impression that blacks are part of the community. The lack of consulting historical data on a comprehensive scale suggests a low priority level to share black experiences in the county. The attempts to present the county as a non-racist community based on alleged ties to the Underground Railroad network and the presence of one black community member whose name they noted fail because of the lackadaisical approach to the other questions. All of these aspects explain the omission of potential incidents of expulsion, unspoken rules and community knowledge. The silence and denial of their sundown town past is particularly troublesome, as the legacy of an actively enforced all-white community is noticeable today. Not all community members know about past actions and inactions of their towns and counties; yet, they may have been taught that the town they inhabit is theirs along with stereotypes and misconceptions, all of which exacerbate the experiences of newcomers to these towns today. The Black History Project was started thirty years ago; some of these trends are certainly no longer relevant, or are they? What did we actually learn from the Black History Project files? How relevant is the information today? Below I will reflect on these questions before I conclude the chapter on Indiana's history of race relations with a few personal anecdotes and observations.

History Is Written by the Winner: Accuracy and Value of the Black History Project

Whether or not a survey was received or the extent to which the questions were answered, my experience with the Black History Project represents one significant aspect about archival collections and about historical documents in general. We always return to the question of *who* is writing the history. If county historians decided to engage the survey, what did they consider

worthy of mention? In other words, whose history are they sharing? Do references to town- or county-wide expulsions get included? Should the Ku Klux Klan escapades be noted or would that leave the "wrong impression" of the county and its residents? What personal and collective memories as residents of their counties do they share? And which ones do they silence?

The power of writing, recounting, and silencing history lies with the public spokespeople of the county with regards to the Black History Project. Anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot identifies four important moments in which silences are produced in the process of historical production: "the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance)" (26; emphasis in original). All of these moments are observable in the BHP: past black experiences, though existent as this chapter illustrates, were for the most part omitted or actively silenced.

This becomes more obvious when dealing with unpleasant moments of the past. Two examples will illustrate this point further. In a personal conversation with the former Clinton County historian, who had filled out the survey in May 1989, he shared with me in great detail how he recalled his aunt reflecting on a Klan funeral she attended when she was young. The aunt, so the story continued, vividly recalled the moment because of the full regalia in which the dead body was buried. This example not only attests to the county's Klan history, but it also proves my point that the power lies with those county representatives that write history. There is no single mention of the KKK in the survey response.

The second example derives from the limited Tippecanoe County research I have conducted over my time as a graduate student at Purdue, which far exceeds the information shared in the survey responses received. Whereas the survey wholeheartedly paints a picture of segregated

life in Lafayette, listing various black fraternal orders, businesses and schools, it fails to mention anything about the Hanna Community Center. Formally founded in 1943, the center was intended to be used for "educational, literary, scientific and charitable purposes, for the uplift and betterment of the Negro race" ("Hanna's History"). The Hanna Community Center still exists today, which made me stumble over the omission in the survey. Its mission until today has been to "celebrate the diverse cultures of Greater Lafayette while preserving Lafayette's African American culture, heritage, and history" ("Hanna's Mission"). The survey failed to preserve that history.

The survey respondent also shied away from including anything regarding West Lafayette's exclusionary history. Purdue is located on the West side, and not until the late 1940s were black students allowed to live in student dormitories. Purdue's campus integrated in the wake of the *Shelley vs. Kraemer* landmark case that prohibited housing and property contracts to discriminate on the basis of race. However, this U.S. Supreme Court decision did not deter private householders to continue their discriminatory policies. More than a decade after this monumental housing decision, in February 1959, Rev. R. F. Rehmer noted in light of the "Brotherhood Week"

> Through [sic] University housing, for example, is available to any Purdue student, faculty, and staff member, there are restrictions in West Lafayette against Negroes, also Negro faculty members. They are unable to buy a home on this side of the Wabash, and foreign students are sometimes more hard pressed to find housing than the native American is. (2)

In the mid-1960s, the University adopted a non-discriminatory policy statement regarding off-campus housing, making householders of the listed facilities for rent aware of the changes. To be included on the list of off-campus housing facilities, the University demanded that "the householder indicates his (or her) intention of following the University policy statement regarding discrimination" ("Report Re University Policy" 516). Though rather weak in nature, the consequences of the policy adoption were drastic. The list of landlords shrank from approximately

500 to 80 in that year ("Report Re Letter" 962). The list of off-campus housing ultimately ceased to exist, housing discrimination on the other hand persists.

However, Tippecanoe County's most poignant example of willful amnesia, or the power of local historians to write history as it matters to them, happened right around the time the Black History Project was conceived. In late January of 1987, the Black Cultural Center at Purdue University experienced a cross burning on its lawn (Oberlander A1). Students, faculty, and members of the community protested, demanding strong action from the university's administration. The survey was received in September the same year. The Tippecanoe County Historical Association responded in October 1987; yet, there are no traces of exclusionary policies or Klan incidents in the response. Neither were newspaper articles enclosed that would have painted a direr yet more accurate picture of life for minorities in Tippecanoe County. These moments were actively silenced and illustrate the power of local representatives in contributing to what Trouillot calls the "making of archives," which the BHP intended to provide. Trouillot notes

> the making of archives involves a number of selective operations: selection of producers, selection of evidence, selection of themes, selection of procedures—which means, at best the differential ranking and, at worst, the exclusion of some producers, some evidence, some themes, some procedures. Power enters here both obviously and surreptitiously. (53)

The Tippecanoe County survey response selectively captured the black experience in the county; community-making institutions as well as community-breaking incidents were silenced.

Ending on a Positive Note: Personal Dedication despite Public Acknowledgment

I do not wish to paint county historians as the devil. The failure to include certain crucial institutions and incidents of the past, however, indicates that certain issues, race-related ones for example, occupy a lower priority on a county level. It also proves the subjective nature of history, as (local) historians point to "noteworthy" individuals, events, heroes, and testimonies that align

with their worldview, which across Indiana is dominated by the white habitus. Their worldviews and personal experiences in society determine the relevance and importance of inclusion. A cross-burning that might terrify black and other minority county residents might be a nuisance quickly forgotten by a white resident, county historian, or survey taker accounting for the county's racialized history. Inadvertent or intentional, the survey responses therefore reflect that the "white racial frame" determined which information was ultimately included and "select[ed] the stories that matter" (Trouillot 52).

On a brighter note, some county historians became very dedicated to the purpose of the Black History Project, sending in regular intervals newly discovered materials, newspaper clippings about race-related events and issues in the county years after their initial response to the survey request. The Grant County historian serves as an example, who, according to the update on the survey sent in May 1989, "never misses an opportunity to show his support of our program and [… shares] his knowledge and County files." And indeed, the Grant County Vertical Files span five folders, documenting minority life and experiences from 1988 to 1994, featuring wedding anniversaries and minority scholarship winners as well as events like the Black Expo. However, probably most relevant from a historical and social justice standpoint are the articles reflecting upon the 1930 lynching of Thomas Shipp and Abe Smith in Marion. *The Chronicle Tribune*, the county's daily newspaper, featured a story about the infamous photograph in 1988. It ran various articles in 1993 in light of the pardoning of James Cameron, the survivor of that notorious summer night as he was supposed to be the third lynching victim. Any of those articles would have provided so much more context to the photograph displayed at the "Indiana in 200 Objects" exhibition, which celebrated the bicentennial of the state from April 2016 through

January 2017. The infamous photograph, here entitled "The lynching of Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith, 1930," was accompanied by a small, nonchalant paragraph, as displayed in Figure 8:

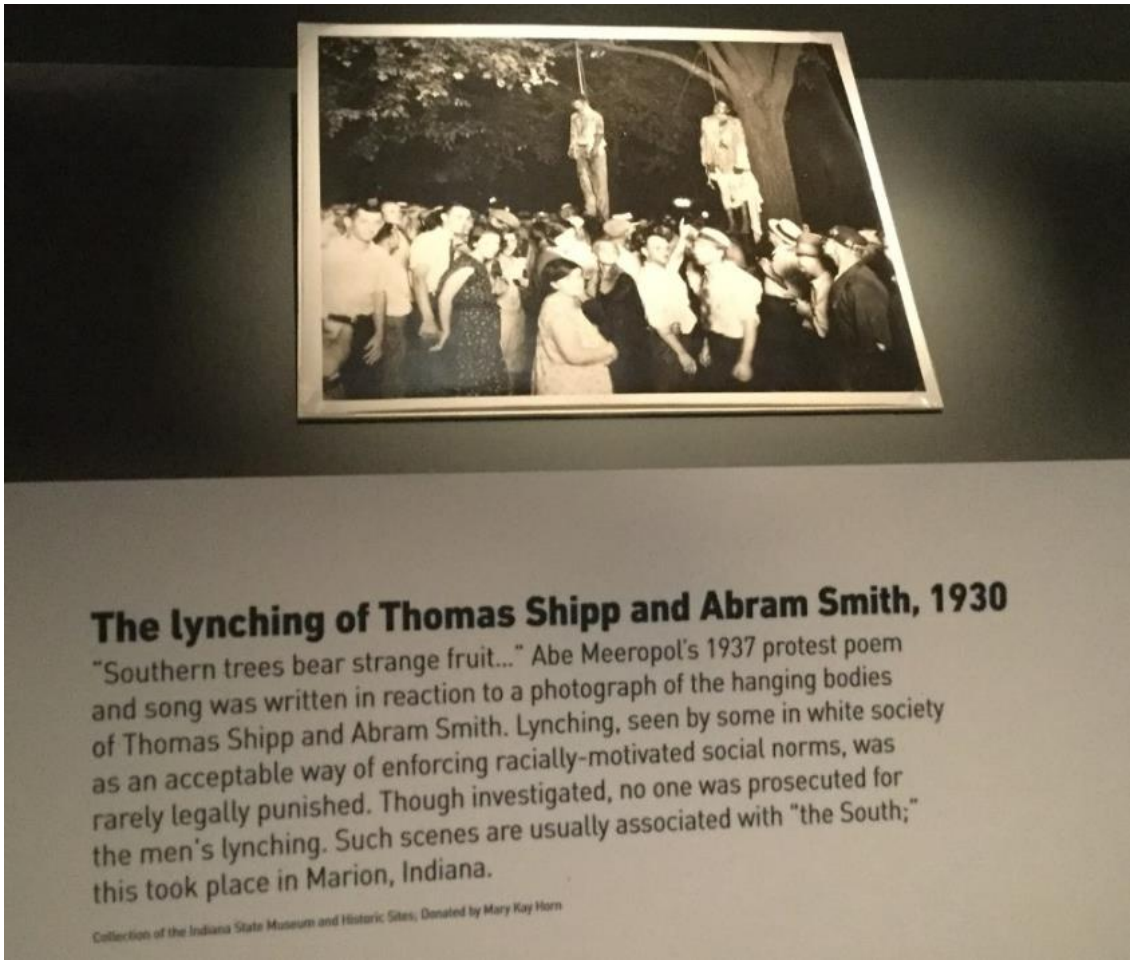

Figure 8 The photograph captures how the exhibition "Indiana in 200 Objects" attempted to publicly acknowledge the state's lynching history. The size of the caption provides an idea of the small-scale nature of the postcard. Photograph taken by author during exhibit visit in July 2016.

The description neither contextualizes nor explains the atrocity that took place. With regards to those "dark times in the state history" included in the exhibition, Susannah Koerber, the Indiana State Museum's senior vice president of collections and interpretation, is quoted to have said that "the state should not paper over its past, and visitors viewing these items – including a set of Ku Klux Klan robes and photograph of the Aug. 7, 1930 lynching of Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith

in Marion, Ind. – can reflect on where the state has been over the past 200 years and where it might be headed in the future" (Carden). Whereas I laud the intent, I question the effect because instead of acknowledging the state's racist past, the description distracts the exhibit visitor with common lynching tropes and references such as the poem/song title and "the South." This is another missed opportunity to publicly reflect on and apologize for the state's wrongdoing, or simply an example on how whitewashing, i.e. diluting, Indiana's racist history on the state level operates.

The exhibit featured two other objects of Indiana's dark history to the left and right of the lynching postcard, both of which were accompanied with little to no historical context – the "Indiana House Bill 364, An Act to Prevent Procreation of Confirmed Criminals, Idiots, Imbeciles and Rapists, 1907," the nation's first and Indiana's compulsory sterilization law and a red "Ku Klux Klan robe, circa 1979." Similar to the reflection on the lynching photograph, the Klan robe description misses the opportunity to acknowledge Indiana's extensive involvement and empowerment of the second Ku Klux Klan. Instead, the succinct paragraph hones in on the "long period of decline" that the KKK endured in the 1920s and it concludes with "[n]o longer the predominately anti-African American organization of old, the modern KKK evolved into a loose association of fundamentalist, gun-rights, anti-immigrant and white-pride adherents" (Figure 9).

Figure 9 Display of an Indiana Ku Klux Klan robe from 1979. The caption, however, discusses the KKK during the 1920s. This robe was worn by the Huntingburg Chief of Police [Dubois County]. The accompanied text does not close the gap between the 1920s and 1979; visitors are left to their own interpretations.

The biggest problem here is the difference in scale, i.e. how the three objects were displayed at the exhibition. The Klan robe was given a full-body size space to display the red robe – visually pleasing due to the silk material being used – whereas the lynching was merely displayed on a small photo postcard, approximately 6” by 8”.[92] What could have been the effect had they magnified the photograph, maybe hanging it from a papier-maché tree?

[92] The Sterilization Bill was displayed in a frame, approximately 8” by 11” regular paper size.

Therefore, the "Indiana in 200 Objects" exhibition is yet another example of the rather lackadaisical efforts to work through the state's past. "The homogenization of the teaching of history," anthropologist Marcela Poirier argues in her dissertation on decolonizing the teaching of the past, "has the potential to silence and exclude multiple peoples. This is because nation-states wish to fabricate a collective memory for their benefit, and in order to do so they capitalize on *important* (in their eyes) historical moments while ignoring many other stories" (3; emphasis in original). Her observation applies to museum spaces, as well, as they are state institutions that teach history (Trouillot 20), thereby creating a collective memory for citizens. Here, the exhibition capitalized on "important" historical state moments, in which the lynching and the KKK only play a marginalized role. The power, once again lies with the historical representatives who select to continue silencing parts of the state's history while superficially owning it.

I hope this chapter established a better record in detailing the maelstrom of exclusion, violence, threats, insults, fears, and problems that minorities face in a state that is cloaked by a culture of exclusion. Figure 10 illustrates all counties discussed in this chapter that demonstrated hostility and inhospitality toward black Hoosiers in their midst explicitly:

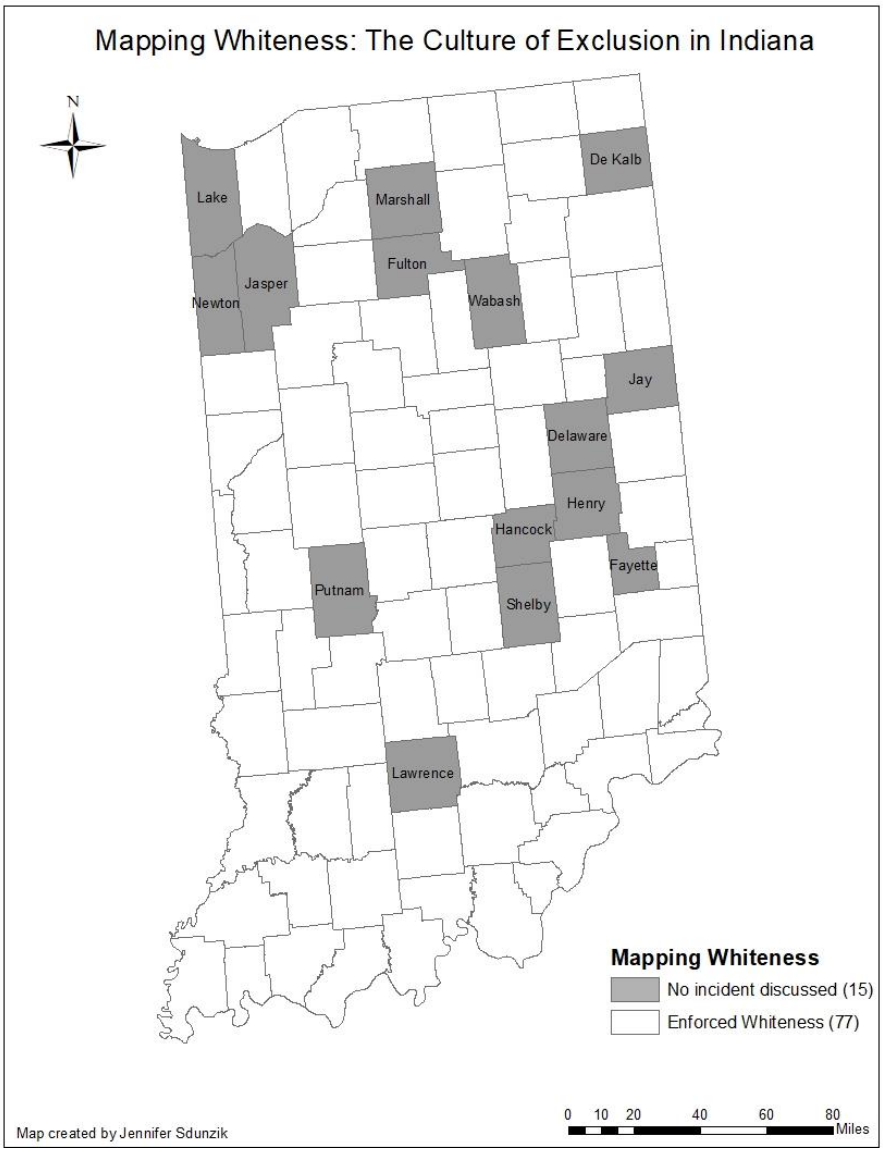

Figure 10 Mapping Whiteness. Map displays all counties discussed in the chapter recording examples of resentment of and animosity toward black residents (84%). 77 of Indiana's 92 counties have a proven tainted race record and have subscribed to the culture of exclusion. Criteria for inclusion: incidents of violence, expulsion, exclusion, segregated life, Negro Registers. I did not include the "Top 10" counties that did not respond to the survey request at all if that was the only county reference in the chapter, which would have increased the number of white-desired counties to 80. Their unresponsiveness, though an indicator for the low priority of black lives in their midst, does not provide enough grounding for incidents of intolerance and hatred. I also did not include counties exclusively mentioned in the context of possible Underground Railroad connections. More research needs to be done to assess the race record of the fifteen remaining grey counties.

This chapter documented Indiana's history of race relations. It is not a pretty race record. White Hoosiers defined Indiana as a white space from its nascent stage. The in-depth exploration of state laws and county-wide actions attest to it. The firm stance in anti-blackness and belief in white supremacy build the foundation for the cultures of exclusion.

The chapter started with an epigraph by Brad who introduced the national discourse about the U.S. North and the U.S. South. This geographical discourse is often guided through discussions of citizenship, and more particular racialized citizenship. This chapter illustrated that Indiana, though geographically located in the North, prescribed to racialized citizenship ideals that do not encompass African American citizens as was the case in the Jim Crow South. I showed how black citizenship was actively contested and undermined on a town, county, and state level through my geographically layered approach.

The prevalent cultures of exclusion produced structural, discursive, and institutional marginalization of black Hoosiers. I demonstrated the variegated exclusionary and inhospitable histories of different counties in Indiana that together revealed the larger processes at work, namely exclusionary practices that made counties inhospitable to black migrants, selective memories that actively and passively forget inglorious moments of the past, which seem to include histories of black communities and families in their midst, and ultimately the continuation of these racist and inhospitable practices over time. In short, the cultures of exclusion in Indiana is an intricate quilt of laws, acts and actions, threats, landmarks, newspaper headlines, documents and memories, all of which produce an unwelcoming environment for racial and ethnic minorities. This blanket of hostility toward and resentment of blacks in their midst provides ample opportunities to look more closely at the fabric of any patch. My patch is Clinton County.

The remainder of this dissertation takes Clinton County under a microscope, amplifying its overwhelmingly white nature since its founding in 1830. I will dive deep into the historical archives, personal interactions, and events. The next three chapters will take us onto a journey to a farming and manufacturing small-town environment in the heart of Indiana that represents many of the trends and observations uncovered in this chapter. I already included some relevant information about Clinton County here, enough to qualify for the Mapping Whiteness map. A closer look, however, allows me to reveal the complex and intricate ways in which Indiana counties have mastered to create and reproduce an exclusive and inhospitable environment for minorities. Putting the magnifying glass on one county allows me to uncover values and attitudes of Indiana residents today. Oftentimes, their worlds are based in the past, and translated to present circumstances. Their "white habitus" created walls invisible to the white residents in their "white racial frame," yet these walls remain almost insurmountable for racial, ethnic, and religious minorities as well as immigrants (of color) and members of the LGBTQ community. What these worlds look like, sound like, feel like, and how they exactly unfold in small-town Indiana will be the focus of the next chapters.

CHAPTER 3. CLOSE(D)-KNIT COMMUNITY: AS IMAGINED AND DESIRED BY ITS RESIDENTS

> Small towns can only be understood by paying attention to the cultural constructions that give them meaning. They exist as ideas or concepts that provide the people who live in them an identity and a way of talking about themselves. Only by understanding this cultural aspect of community can we make sense of the deep role that it plays in the lives of small-town residents.
>
> — Robert Wuthnow, *Small-Town America,* 3

> In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.
>
> — Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* 6

At the exit of Interstate 65-S onto State Road 28, a water tower looms in the distance. Corn and soybean fields dominate the landscape on either side of the state road. An industrial park arises, which is an indication of the change that midwestern small towns have undergone in the twentieth century, during which not only agriculture was valued but the processing of some of the field products via tomato processing and other factories. Nowadays the industrial park has about ten major factories, producing and processing food products as well as manufacturing goods. The closer one gets to the water tower, the clearer the emblem becomes: Frankfort. Driving into Frankfort, Indiana, one enters a quintessential American small town in the Midwest. On the way into town, smaller roads break off to the left and right. Left leads to Jefferson, an unincorporated town in the county. Right leads to Clinton Prairie, one of the K-12 schools in the county. The city of Frankfort has one high school itself, but three others school corporations are spread throughout the county. One passes La Quinta and a John Deere store. Once the speed limit reduces to 30, one is officially in town. The road is filled with small single-family homes and a few businesses – car dealerships, convenience stores, insurance companies, a pizza place, and a gas station. Other roads

leading into the city accentuate nicely mowed lawns, turn-of-the-century homes, and churches. And all-the-sudden one is in the heart of the downtown area with the courthouse and its square with a perfect view onto Old Stoney, a historic high school building resembling a small sandstone castle structure that now houses the city administration and the county museum. From the courthouse square one can easily spot the small-town must-haves: a locally owned bank, a church, a coffee shop, and a restaurant.

At the first glance, Frankfort seems like a typical midwestern small town – and maybe it is. Many of my informants described their town with the phrase "typical small town, USA." In his essay on place and identity in the Midwest, historian Andrew R. L. Cayton claims, "Perhaps what is most distinctive about the Midwest is a tendency on the part of many of its citizens to be uncomfortable with the whole idea of being distinctive" and that "Midwesterners are at their most passionate in their pursuit of normalcy, when they take pride in being typical rather than unusual" (159). In discussing Frankfort and Clinton County, my informants attributed qualities like "safe," "quiet," "low key," "convenient," "comfortable," and "close-knit" to describe the place they consider "home." Echoing Wuthnow's point from the epigraph, how are small-town identities culturally constructed? What gives its residents this sense of belonging that attaches them to *their* community? What exactly constitutes this "small town feel," a phrase that for my respondents did not require further explanation? Answering these questions is the purpose of this chapter.

This chapter focuses on exploring the history of and life in Frankfort and Clinton County, Indiana, through the eyes of the local residents and its county newspaper, the *Frankfort Morning Times*. Its goal is to convey how residents construct themselves and their surroundings, in an attempt to uncover the world and realities small-town residents create for themselves and their children, as this is the worldview that is passed on from one generation to the next. Benedict

Anderson's concept of "imagined communities" – though applied to the nation-state –extends to small-town America with caveats. Small towns form a community, as the spatially limited confines of a small town provide a common locality where residents frequently interact and create relationships. But the closeness and the bonds resulting from the geographically enclosed space are constructed; hence, they are imagined close-knit communities. Anderson demonstrates that language is one mechanism to determine who belongs and who does not in the nation (144–48). In recent decades, with visibly changing small-town demographics, local white residents' calls for English as an official language have become louder. Anderson also presents the newspaper as a tool to integrate members into a community (35, 44–45). Most small towns have their own *Times*, *Gazetteer*, or *Tribune* that documents the events in town, creating a shared knowledge base and common consciousness among the readership. Most newspapers in small towns nowadays, unlike in the past, are printed in English, reinforcing language as a mechanism and a prerequisite for belonging to the imagined community. Whereas in the past claims of "knowing everybody in town" might have held some truth, such claims are now outdated. Anderson proposes educational experiences as another pillar of community building. He corroborates his point with the creation of educational institutions in colonial Southeast Asia through which the colonizers guaranteed a shared knowledge base and experience in their dominion (121–134). Many of my respondents recalled their own time in school while simultaneously referencing other relatives in the school system at a different period in time; they assert a shared educational experience and knowledge base that build the basis for bonding in and belonging to their small-town community. My respondents' sense of place in their imagined community will lay bare what Bonilla-Silva coined the "white habitus" in Clinton County.

Clinton County, of which Frankfort is the county seat, is located in between two more urbanized counties in Indiana – Marion County with the state's capital, Indianapolis, in the South, and Tippecanoe County with the growing Lafayette-West Lafayette areas to the Northwest. However, despite its location in-between two urban hubs and along a major national highway connecting the U.S. North and South, it does not see itself as a transitory or bedroom community. Instead, Clinton County residents take pride in their county's predominantly agricultural and industrial economy. As this chapter will demonstrate, this identity contributes to their sense of belonging to this imagined close-knit community.

Clinton County remained overwhelmingly white – until recently – despite phenomena like the Great Migration and the fact that seasonal migrants have frequented the area throughout the twentieth century. The population of Clinton County and Frankfort – despite being the county seat and experiencing a growth in its Hispanic population – has remained stagnant for decades: in 1950, Frankfort had 15,028 residents and the population estimate for 2016 was 15,951. Similarly, the county experienced a numerical increase of 2,723 inhabitants – from 29,734 in 1950 to an estimated population of 32,457 in 2016.

Residential context matters, as it informs perceptions, attitudes, and opinions. It shapes the habitus of my informants. Most of my respondents grew up in the area when it was what some perceived to be an all-white community. This white reality conditions how current long-time residents view and reflect upon their community, though whiteness mainly remained unnamed and invisible. In *Race & Place*, Susan Welch and her co-authors identify four mechanisms in how far the place of residence informs our daily lives: 1) daily informal contacts, 2) friendship patterns, 3) social and political organizational structures, and 4) different economic and social opportunities and access, concluding that "all these factors shape individual possibilities and thus individual

attitudes" (3). While mainly appreciating these four aspects about their "white lives" in the community, my interviewees frequently disclosed their opinions regarding the demographic change in town.[93]

Clinton County and Frankfort are representative of Indiana and the Midwest for various reasons. Among other factors, they have historically been an agricultural community and a railroad town, a setting many midwestern locales share. When the railroad dissipated, the industrial and manufacturing sector was expanded upon. More recently, and not unlike many other midwestern small towns, the county and particularly Frankfort also witnessed a profound demographic shift from being an all-white community to a racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse town within two decades – a timeframe that has proven too short to convince local white residents of the benefits of residential and local diversity.

Additionally, Clinton County is in the middle third of Indiana's 92 counties in various statistics compiled by STATS Indiana, Indiana's leading database on demographic and economic data. With an estimated population of 32,317 for 2017, it ranks 51. The median age in Clinton County is 38 (compared to the state median of 37.7). Employed labor force ranks 47, unemployed 50. The annual unemployment rate is at 3.1 percent (compared to the state rate which is at 3.6%). School enrollment ranks the county in 39 out of 92. 86.2 percent of adults 25 and older have a high school diploma or higher (rank 64); 15.7 percent hold a B.A. or higher degree (rank 59). Population demographics by race rank the county between 37 and 60; the only exception here is the number

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[93] I borrow the term "white lives" from Bonilla-Silva who argues that

> Whites today, despite the virtual elimination of Jim Crow, live fundamentally "white lives" characterized by (1) neighborhoods that are almost completely white; (2) schools that are primarily white; (3) associational practices of friendship, church attendance, and social clubs that are virtually white except for the incorporation of Asians and some Latinos as "honorary whites;" and (4) various practices that reserve the white character of their lives even in so-called integrated jobs, schools, and neighborhoods. (*White Supremacy and Racism* 75)

Readers shall note the resemblances between Bonilla-Silva's four characteristics of "white lives" and Welch et al.'s four aspects, in which our residential context shapes our lived experiences.

of people identifying as Hispanic or of Latino origin (5,205 = 16.1%) which ranks the county 17th in the state ("Clinton County").

In this chapter, I set the stage for examining my interview and newspaper data in greater detail. I conducted semi-structured, qualitative interviews with residents living in small towns in Clinton County, Indiana. The people I interviewed included public officials, community leaders, city workers, farmers, teachers, and architects. Their stories provide a rich description of what it means to live in a small town and how they find community. I will be using Frankfort and Clinton County interchangeably following my informants' conflation of the two entities. As half of Clinton County's population lives in the county seat, their comments often encompassed the rural areas of the county as well as the city of Frankfort. The local newspaper echoes attitudes, interests, demands and values of the community, having prided itself as being the "Voice of the People" for decades, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century. Though named after the county seat, the *Frankfort (Morning) Times* represents all matters on the county level, further justifying the interchangeability of Frankfort and Clinton County in this chapter. Taken together, these sources inform a detailed picture of the ideal small-town community and citizen – as imagined and desired by its residents.

The idealized image of a small town and its residents will lay bare the "white spatial imaginary" of the culture of exclusion. Lipsitz's concept of the white spatial imaginary will help explain how many midwestern small towns appear to be "naturally" all-white[94] and how white supremacy became inscribed into these small-town environments, governing the four points outlined by Welch et al. earlier – daily contact, friendship patterns, social organizations, and

[94] I draw this classification from James Loewen's *Sundown Towns*, in which describes and debunks various claims on how sundown towns became to be all-white environments, including claims of some whites that "it's somehow 'natural' for blacks to live in the inner city, whites in the outer suburbs" (143). Such claims echo urban-only narrative of the Great Migration, which I already challenged in chapter 1.

upward mobility. Lipsitz applies his concept to urban sites and uncovers racial assumptions embedded in "seemingly race-neutral sites" which still "enact a public pedagogy about who belongs where" (13–14). He elaborates on the ideological manifestations of white spaces as follows:

> The plantation, the prison, the sharecropper's cabin, and the ghetto have been the most visible and obvious manifestations of white supremacist uses of spaces. *Perhaps less visible and obvious, but no less racist, have been the spaces that reflect and shape the white spatial imaginary* – the segregated neighborhood and the segregated school, the all-white work place, the exclusive country club, or the prosperous properly gendered white suburban home massively subsidized with services, amenities, tax breaks, and transportation opportunities unavailable to inner-city residents. (52; emphasis added)

Lipsitz here notes the invisibility of white spaces such as small-town Indiana as well as the scope and extent to which the cultures of exclusion operate in those spaces. The white spatial imaginary informs residents' white habitus and shapes the logic behind the "ideal" small-town image my informants embrace, as it

> has cultural as well as social consequences. It structures feelings as well as social institutions. The white spatial imaginary idealizes "pure" and homogeneous spaces, controlled environments, and predictable patterns of design and behavior. It seeks to hide social problems rather than solve them. (Lipsitz 29)

Exploring these feelings among small-town residents is best done through personal and long-term interactions with them in their places of comfort, which I did during my extensive fieldwork between summer 2015 and fall 2018.

In *Small-Town America*, sociologist Robert Wuthnow explores the meaning of community in small towns across the nation. In his Preface, he notes that "To understand how residents find community, it is imperative that we listen closely to the language they use to describe their day-to-day lives" (*Small-Town America* xiv). I fully agree with Wuthnow, but would like to add that it is as important to consider what they *do not* say as it is to hear what they *do* say. An important

omission in newspaper articles and most of my interviews concerns race – one of the "social problems" one "hides" if one ascribes to the white spatial imaginary. Unless prompted with explicit questions about racial and ethnic diversity, my informants overwhelmingly described the quiet, peaceful, and convenient life in a small-town with friendly interactions and familiarity with many of its residents. The omission of racial denominators, however, assumes the unmarked race of people behind these encounters are white Americans what Paul Spickard labels "normative whiteness." This trend can also be found in the newspaper coverage of local events, incidents, and heroes. Coverage generally otherized the non-white folks in the headlines already. In order to fully grasp the creation and persistence of an inhospitable environment to minorities of any kind, a close reading of newspaper articles and in-depth analysis of interview remarks is necessary. Only through a thorough investigation of words – the choice of some and the omission of others – will the persistence of prejudice be understood. In this regard, this chapter seeks to do just that.

This chapter is divided in three sections. First, I will provide a brief historical overview of the county and town of Frankfort, and explore what small-town residents mean when they use the phrase "typical small town." This discussion leads me into my second section, in which I will investigate the identification with specific points of pride to understand the imagined "ideal" town. Residents frequently highlight their identity as an agricultural community, a railroad town as well as a manufacturing hub. These "ARM" (agriculture, railroad, manufacturing; the order in which the sectors gained prominence in the county) attributes have become points of pride in many small towns, as they allude to a hard-working populace that has built and continues to inhabit the county. Lastly, I will engage the question of an "ideal" citizen by discussing important community values such as religion. Doing so, I will reveal the collective memory of Clinton County residents whose

imagined community resembles Andy Griffith's utopian Mayberry and makes minorities invisible and unimportant.

A Small Town Is Born …

The *Frankfort Morning Times*, the local newspaper since 1894, ran a "Historical Atlas" series in 1968 that traced the origins of the county and its early years. Compiler Simon H. Irick details the creation of county and townships over several weeks.[95] Clinton County was settled in the 1820s, mainly by German immigrants in search of agricultural land, and officially became a county in 1830, the same year the city of Frankfort was founded. Over the next sixty years, the townships formed with Union Township being the last one added in 1889. Many of the townships

[95] It is also in Irick's series where we find the only documented traces of Native Americans in Clinton County. Tracing the county borders during the establishment of Clinton County, he writes, "the northeast part of the county was a part of the Miami Indian Reserve until 1838 when the government purchased the Reserve and transferred it to the state of Indiana" (7 July 1968, p. 6). Irick's choice of language obscures the fact that the Treaty with the Miami, 1838 forced Native Americans to cede a lot of the land to the U.S. government. It also clouds the fact that Article 10 of this very treaty forced them off their land, resulting in their involuntary emigration to "a country west of the Mississippi river, to remove to and settle on, *when the said tribe may be disposed to emigrate from their present country*" (Kappler 521; emphasis in original). Irick, on the other hand, is solely concerned with tracing the borders of Clinton County historically, hereby revealing the fact that this land once belonged to Native Americans. Irick echoes the sentiments of the time in another reference to Native Americans in a later piece about the establishment of Jackson Township. He describes the hasty construction of the first cabin in the township with "For protection against the Indians who at that time were greatly feared, but who afterward proved true friends" (8 Sept. 1968, p. 11). Explaining how Clinton County came to be part of Indiana, he comments on the quality of the land, "Settlement was not rapid because the land was low and wet and it was supposed to be worthless, except for grazing, for a long time" (27 Oct. 1968, p. 11). He admits that the first relocations of Native Americans within Indiana state borders were to what settlers back then considered "worthless" land.

In my interviews, a few generic remarks were made regarding Native Americans – from being here "when Columbus came" to being the only true Americans as "we are all immigrants." Yet, no one recalled any Native Americans in the community – then and now. Except for a few relics, such as arrows heads, that have been found on various farms across the county and collected by some of my interviewees, their history has been entirely and successfully erased. The *Frankfort Morning Times* has been complicit in that erasure, as it did not feature any Native American related stories – positive or negative for that matter – until 1968. If any Native Americans lived in the county, they did not make it into the local newspaper. To that extent, the local paper then and informants now contribute to the myth of the "vanishing Indian" by not acknowledging or recognizing their existence, even though they might have been their neighbors. Notwithstanding, the 1925 City Directory for Frankfort lists three branches of the Improved Order of the Red Men (IORM) among its secret societies and fraternal organizations: the Dakota Tribe No. 42, the Degree of Pocahontas, and Royal Neighbors. However, as one did not have to be a member of a Tribal Nation, it is fair to assume that these three patriotic organizations were comprised of white members. As it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to trace the atrocities committed against Native Americans in Indiana, please see Glenn and Rafert's *The Native Americans* for further information.

were named after pioneer settlers as well as national politicians such as presidents Washington and Jackson (Figure 11). Clinton County today has about twenty unincorporated towns and six towns, Frankfort being the largest among them.

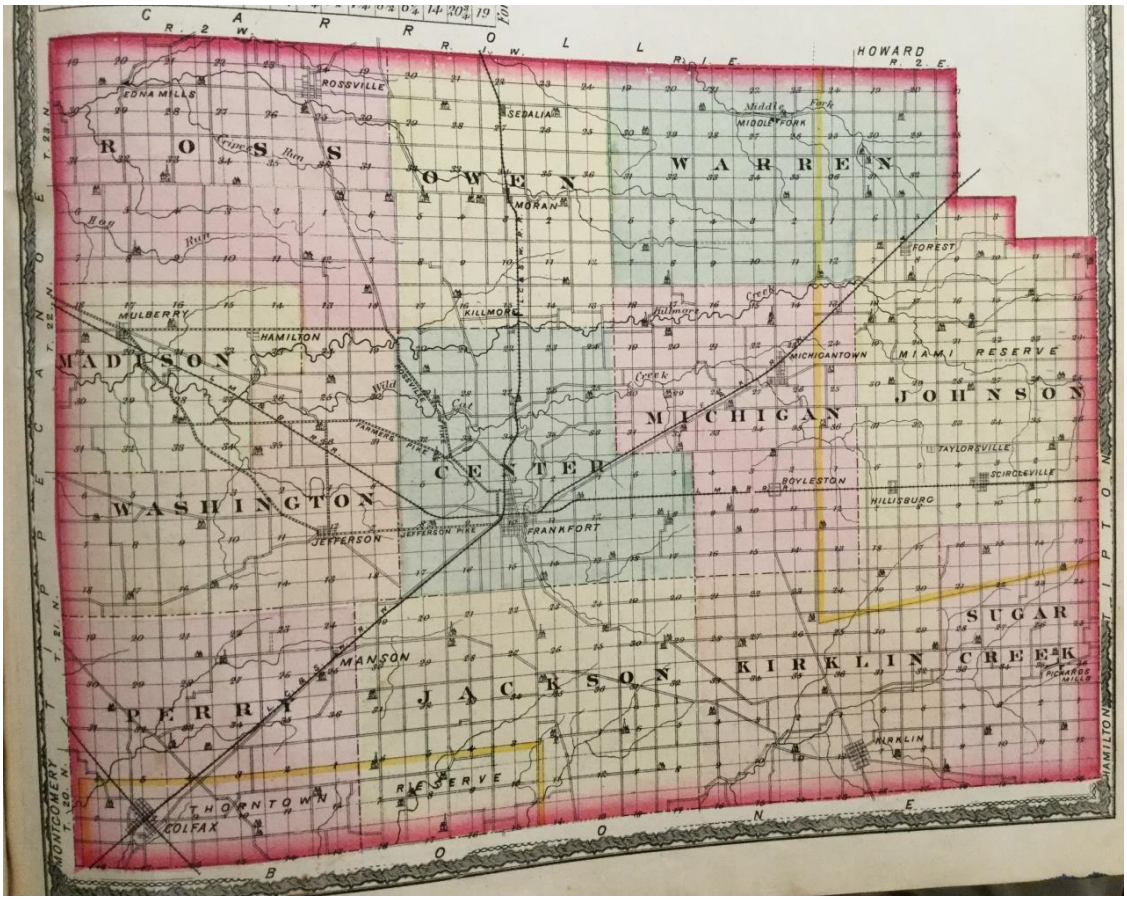

Figure 11 Clinton County as portrayed in an 1880 County Atlas provided by one of my informants. Forest Township in the northeastern corner of the county as well as Union Township, the northern half of Center Township, are missing on the map. The townships were formed in 1882 and 1889, respectively. The map shows all six incorporated towns of the county – Colfax in Perry Township, Mulberry in Madison Township, Rossville in Ross Township, Frankfort in Center Township, Michigantown in Michigan Township, and Kirklin in Kirklin Township. The yellow lines demarcate what once was the Miami Reserve.

Frankfort was founded in 1830 and named after Frankfurt am Main, the home town of the ancestors of the founders, John, William, and Nicholas Pence. However, unlike many small towns across the nation with a founding history and connection to a European nation, Frankfort does not

pride itself in its German heritage. The brothers themselves migrated to Clinton County from Ohio and were not first-generation German immigrants, which might explain the omission. No landmarks draw a connection to the German heritage. There are no records of German newsletters or newspapers. In my interviews, the connection to Germany was made twice – once in comparison to other towns with the same name in the United States and across the world, and once in connection to another – extinct – town in the county, Berlin. This might change in the future, as Frankfort celebrated its third Oktoberfest in the fall 2018.

Residents did not always distance themselves from their European history if one consults the local newspaper and the local high school yearbook. In the 1910s, the *Frankfort Morning Times* emphasized residents' German heritage with pride – until 1918. World War I changed the tone towards Germany and German immigrants, including in their own community, drastically. In early 1918, the article "Alien Enemies Must Register with Police" reports on Indiana's Chief Registrar and Clinton County Police Chief ordering "every German in Clinton county who has not taken out his second papers [to] present himself to the chief of police for registration."[96] Shortly thereafter, the paper reported that Illinois residents of Collinsville lynched a man "said to be of German parentage" while Frankfort proclaimed itself to be "no place for German sympathizers." The paper of the late 1910s also documents the shift to describing Frankfort as the "Gem City" – avoiding the name of the city that displayed an obvious German connection. By 1919, the Indiana legislature passed a bill barring German from the curricula of Indiana high schools – as eagerly reported in the *Morning Times*.

[96] 26 Jan. 1918, p. 3. In this respect, Trump's idea of a Muslim Registry is nothing new, as it was already enforced with Germans a century ago and with blacks in the form of the Negro registers a century and a half ago in places like Indiana.

Three decades later, the local high school yearbook draws direct parallels to the German namesake. The *Cauldron* contrasted the Frankfurt of the Old World with the Frankfort of the New World in 1946. While the portrait heralded Frankfurt as one of the leading cultural, art, and philosophy cities, it also condemned its most recent role in history as the center of the Hitler Youth Movement. The Frankfurt-am-Main portrait is juxtaposed with "Frankfort-on-Prairie Creek" – their very own Frankfort, "a typical American town" (5). This home portrait praised the school system and the local support of the war industry, culminating in celebrating American democracy and the American way of life in "Frankfort-on-Prairie Creek." The focus on the youth in and beyond the classroom builds a stark contrast to the Hitler youth described in the previous portrait, and may be the answer to what "a typical American town" offers to children. Yet, the recurrence of the phrase itself is noteworthy, as the assertion appears to be a fact of life.

The omnipresence of the phrase "typical small town," "typical American town" and the like is important because it is through the fact-of-life assertion that it gets its power. Already in 1927 was Frankfort defined as typical when staff correspondent of the *Indianapolis News* Harold C. Feightner describes Frankfort as a "typical Hoosier community."[97] It was a recurring phrase to describe Indiana towns generally and Frankfort in particular among my interviewees. Yet, inquiries about what exactly constitutes a "typical small town" often resulted in stumbling and scrambling for a definition. It seems that the phrase is so frequently used that it does not require an explanation. This holds true for 2018 as much as for 1927, as Feightner provides no definition of what he means by the phrase. My informants frequently used it when asked to describe what Frankfort is like, synonymously with "small town feel," "good town," and "a good Christian town." As these descriptors echo to some extent what black southern migrants during the Great Migration

[97] Feightner, Harold C. "Frankfort True to Hoosier Form." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 30 June 1927, p. 2

were hoping to find, as discussed in chapter one, it is worth taking a closer look at the exact words my interviewees used to identify what they cherish about their small-town community that might make it "typical." This analysis is important as it appears that it is exactly this community feeling that gives them a sense of belonging.

A "Typical Small Town?" What Kind of Community is Frankfort?

Whenever I encountered the response "typical small town," I was befuddled. What exactly makes a town "typical?" Is this a rhetorical question for all residents because it is obvious to all small-town residents but not me? I probed my participants further in what they envision when they use the phrase. Probing helped lay bare important community values and benefits of life in a small town, such as safety, Christianity, convenience, and education. Here are some of their statements when asked to describe Frankfort (Table 3):

Table 3 Typical Small Town as Defined by my Informants

Theme	**Informants' Description of Their "Typical" Small Town**
Christianity, Family	"… good Christian town to bring up children. Yeah, that's what I would say." (Penny)
Safety, Convenience	"To an outsider I would say Frankfort is a good place to live. It's quiet. It's low key. You don't have a lot of crime." (George)
Family, Friendliness/ Neighborliness	Yeah, a small little community where people can know each other and be known, which is what I like about small communities. And having grown up in that, I think it's good for a lot of reasons... I think children thrive where they're known and can be known and that sort of thing. (Joanne) "Frankfort is a good place to live, to raise kids." (George)
Family, Safety	"Well, it's really a good community. Here again, if it weren't, I wouldn't be here. But it's been a community as far as raising a family, you felt good, you felt safe, those kinds of things." (Curtis)
Friendliness/ Neighborliness, Education, Community Activities	"Everybody gets along. Most of the time gets along. Everybody … a lot of people genuinely care for each other. The churches care for each other and the well-being of the community. The schools used, we used to have smaller schools, smaller elementary school, now we only have two. Two large elementary school, and one middle school and one high school. We have a nice education. The education the children get is a nice education and the teachers care also. A lot of activities through the school and a lot of activities out of school, too." (Frank)
Convenience, Education, Safety	"I think a lot of people loved the community because it was quiet, I mean it really had everything that you wanted. I mean the downtown […] was full of stores for years that people could go local and buy whatever you wanted. And you had great schools that were in neighborhoods that kids could walk to, you had a nice park that a lot of communities did not have. So, a big draw for people and what they took pride in was the community and the things that it offered for families. There was huge safety measures, you virtually had little crime, major crime, you had petty theft but no major crime. I think people migrated here a lot not only because of the railroad but because it was safe. Great schools … just what you'd want. And if you like small towns, it had everything to offer for that." (Robert)

The upper half of the table, the remarks made by Penny, George, and Joanne, represent individuals that have lived in the community for a long time but were not native to the county. The last three

remarks (Curtis, Frank, and Robert) were comments from residents born in the community. The emphasis on schools, children, safety, and Christianity suggests that a "good" or "typical" small town is dedicated to raising children safely to become good Christian citizens. Whereas all resident comments overlap in the importance of societal values such as care, safety, education, and Christianity, there is one major difference. The folks that have lived in the community all their lives responded in the past tense. I purposely inquired about the town's identity in an open manner, providing space for their interpretation when they hear the question. The seemingly subconscious shift to the past tense, however, implies that times have changed. These are things they used to appreciate about their town – and may or may not – still appreciate today to varying degrees.

Caroline, a retired teacher and long-term-but-not-native resident of the county, was aware of her switch to the past tense and explains it with the changing times. She stated: "It's a close-knit group. You know the people that you got to meet. You live fairly close to them. So, there's this feeling of community. This is the Frankfort kind of past tense because as I've said there's a huge change." A little later, she added:

> The schools at Frankfort are all very good, were all very good. I'll past tense that, were all very good. My school in particular, I mean we were a family. The teachers that I taught with, we taught our whole careers there. You know? We got married together. We had kids together. We raised our kids together. We just … because we were the same staff for such a long time, we were a very strong family. Now we're going through helping each other. You know, we have people with cancer and we're just a tight community. Um, I think that's because we were together for so long and we all lived in the same town. So, the main things to me in my community would be my school, my workplace, the library, we had nice neighborhoods in Frankfort. We did have nice neighborhoods in Frankfort. It's very safe place to live. Safe place to raise a family.

Though intending to speak in the past tense, Caroline actually switches between present and past tense. The past tense alludes to the quality of the schools and neighborhoods, whereas the bonds formed in the past seems to have withstood the changes in town. The past tense here serves to

explain the building of relationships in a small town, bonds that resemble that of a “family.” Many other informants relied on the very same metaphor of “family” to convey the close-knit and caring nature of their imagined hometown community.

Additionally, some respondents emphasized economic advantages of living in a small-town environment in general, and this community in particular (Table 4):

Table 4 Economic Advantages as Described by My Informants

Theme	**Informants' Description of Their "Typical" Small Town**
Living Expenses	Cost of living is great here. You can buy a house at a little to nothing compared to living in Indianapolis or Lafayette or anywhere else outside of our community. (Doug) And inexpensive place to live, Frankfort is inexpensive … cost of living, you know. (Frank)
Comfort, Commute	Well, um, … living in a small community is comfortable and you don't have as long of a commute. You know, you live in a big city, it'll take you sometimes 2 hours, an hour and half to get across the city. Here you can get across the city in 5 minutes. So, this gives you more time to do things like watch the media and view the world. (Randy) Well, you know, could not be specifically Frankfort, but it is living in a small town is everything's close. You know? Like I remember growing up in the suburbs of […] and you know the high school was like 7 miles away from where I lived. You know? And to go anywhere, it was a long drive, but Frankfort, everything's within a mile. (Michael)
Commute, Location within the state and Midwest	Yeah, I can go from this side of town to the other side of town in 5 minutes. If there's traffic on the highway, I'll go down to a side street very quick. There's I guess in comparison, what I like best about this IS the size. It is small. I would not want to live somewhere large. I'm comfortable where this town is. We're perfectly located. We've got Lafayette. We've got Indianapolis. We've got Kokomo. We're close to I-65 so if we wanted to go South, to Kentucky, Tennessee, which we've done a lot, or north to Chicago or elsewhere, we can do that. We're in a great location. Frankfort, Indiana. I feel we're in a perfect location. We do have a small-town feel. It's a very good place to raise your kid. We do have our issues, same as any town. But I'm happy here. Anywhere you can find faults and you could find quality, you know, great point, positive things. I think for the most part, I think, it's positive. I obviously must like it here. I stayed here my whole life. (Bob) In this community, what I like about it is you can go to Indianapolis, you can go to Lafayette, you can go to Chicago, and Cincinnati and still come back home and be back home the same day that you left. So, our location, our proximity to larger communities, to be able to go visit and get out and come back home is I think a good thing. (Doug) We go to Chicago. We have a condo up in Chicago in the theater loop, and it's great because we have Frankfort where we live and then we go to Chicago, and there's all the culture and hustle and bustle and architecture and just it's so different, so we get the best of both. (Penny)

Informants accentuated the inexpensive cost of living, general proximity as well as Frankfort's central location in the state. It is close enough to the larger communities such as Lafayette and Indianapolis (and Chicago to some extent) to enjoy the best of both worlds, "all the culture and hustle and bustle" as well as the slower-paced life in a small town. Proximity to basic necessities, however, makes small-town life more convenient. Convenience here means being able to drive across town within ten minutes – be it for work, groceries, church or school. Children could walk to school as Robert remarked above (Table 3), Tiffany noted that "you could walk to work if you can." Even if the actual act of walking may no longer be possible due to the consolidation of the schools and the workplace being across or out of town, the small size of the community makes life "comfortable" and "convenient."

In October 1954, the *Frankfort Morning Times* asked "What Makes a Town a Good Town to Live in?" In honor of "Meet Our Town Week," the local newspaper praised its schools, teachers, churches, prosperous businesses, and local police. My interviewees echo these pillars of a "good town" sixty-odd years later. Residents particularly emphasize schools, teachers, and churches. It seems like not much has changed in the last sixty years, has it? One of the indicators, according to the article, is "the number of grownup children who want to stay in it."[98] This is true for almost half of my interviewees who were native to the area and who have been in Clinton County all their lives as were many of their ancestors before them. One of my interviewees has been running a family business that has served the community for more than 160 years, another could trace the family lineage back to the times before Clinton County was a county, when it was still Tippecanoe New Territory. He is a sixth-generation native to the area and so are the next three generations of his family after him, as they all still reside in the county.

[98] "What Makes a Town a Good Town to Live in?" *Frankfort Morning Times*, 14 Oct. 1954, p. 1.

Times, however, did change. Some interviewees lamented the loss of the younger generation, noting that once they leave for college, “they don’t come back.” Rick and Cheryl, a lovely farming couple I interviewed on a rainy afternoon on their family farm in the fall 2016, no longer have their family farm business, which had been in operation since 1915 when Rick’s grandfather purchased the first tract of land. Their offspring built their respective careers in the business sector in other medium-sized and large cities in the state. Rick and his brothers are getting older and corn and soybean farming is no longer “as profitable as it once was,” he disclosed in our follow-up conversation in the fall 2018. Most of their land has been rented out to other farmers in the area, their equipment auctioned off. They decided to downsize their house and move closer into town. Times are indeed changing. The multiple-generation family tied to an area has become rarer. Yet, although (family-owned) businesses and farms are in decline, they still serve as a point of pride as did the railroad even though its heyday is long gone.

The responses regarding a typical small town revealed two trends – economic and social benefits of living in a small-town. These two categories also resurfaced in further questions about Frankfort’s town identity. As the next two sections dive deeper into the town identity and community values, Frankfort becomes an agricultural/manufacturing/railroad town that values religion, education, and communal get-togethers.

Frankfort, An Agricultural Manufacturing Railroad Town: A Point of Pride and Collective Memory

Besides inquiring about Frankfort as a small town, I wanted to know more about its identity. I was curious how residents construct the identity of their town, how they imagine it, as it would disclose how they see the world, construct their realities and meanings of life, and attach themselves to their community, or locality if we want to use Cohen’s word. I often complemented

my question for the town identity with different sub-sets of questions – what values are being cherished in the community? What are residents proud of? How does the community present itself to the outside world? My questions were meant to elicit what anthropologist Setha Low calls the social construction of space, that is "the social, psychological, and functional transformation of space – through people's social exchanges, memories, images, emotions, and daily use of the material setting – into scenes and actions that convey meaning" (392). So, how do my informants construct their town? Instead of the cultural heritage and historical connection to Germany, my informants emphasized the town's heritage as a former railroad town as well as a farming and manufacturing community. Already in 1925 did Frankfort journalists write "While principally a farm community, the city boasts a number of sound factories, and is a railroad center of importance."[99] I encountered this tri-factor of Frankfort's town identity in my interviews and newspapers articles across time.

The railroad provides one way to understand how collective memory works in Frankfort. Regardless of the extent of knowledge and despite the lack of personally experiencing a train ride for most of my respondents, they classified Frankfort as a railroad town. A few elaborated, listing four to five train tracks from all directions and recalling their first train rides on the Monon or Interurban to places near and far away. For example, Tom, a retired farmer and local historian who has lived in the community for more than nine decades recalled: "And about a mile of here, they had a little pagoda, waiting houses, it was stop 44. I remember the number of that. We would get off and we had about a half a mile up the road to walk to the farm that was still in the family … that's good in my memory, riding the interurbans."

[99] Industrial Edition, p. 1. Included in *Frankfort Morning Times*, 16 Mar. 1925.

Figure 12 During the interview, Tom shared some of his photographs and postcards from the county with me. This photograph shows a rail line and the "little pagoda," dated around 1909 in Antioch, one of Clinton County's unincorporated towns.

Tom also recalled having owned an old City Directory from around 1916, in which

> they said there are 36 different passenger trains into Frankfort every 24 hours. 36 different passenger trains in Frankfort every 24 hours. Best way, only way to travel, you know. My mother had an aunt that lived in Rossville, you know. They'd get on the train, you know, ride to Rossville to visit.

The 1925 Industrial Edition clarifies the exact number of trains, noting "Four railroads and two traction lines stand ready to fetch and carry from all parts of the country" (3). In his Historical Atlas series, Simon Irick also attributes the construction of the railroad to the birth of a booming Frankfort almost a century ago. He describes Frankfort as stagnant before 1870 – when the first train was run into the city, a fact that made the town competitive and attractive on a state level.[100]

And so Frankfort grew into what Penny described as a "bustling little railroad town" with train depots and roundhouses, which made the town "prosperous" and turned the railroad into one

[100] Irick, Simon H. "Historical Atlas – From Clinton County's Early Years." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 24 Apr. 1968, p. 9.

of the major employers in the first half of the twentieth century. In his portrait of the city in 1927, Harold Feightner also accentuates the transportation network, which not only connected different parts of the state and region, but also provided employment opportunities to more than 1,000 people with its railroad shops. Native Frankfort resident Robert summarized the growth of the railroad and the town as follows:

> The railroad around here was huge. And everything was based around the railroad. It was a huge employer. Families worked there. Fathers and sons. Most of them worked in the yards. And a lot of the city, Frankfort built up around that area. The first saloons, the first hotels, a lot of that was in that area, for the people that worked there to stay in that area. Restaurants, places to catch lunch. I mean the railroad held a lot of importance for the community for a number of years.

Attempts to revive the railroad spirit and recover the role the railroad once occupied in the community surfaced among some of my interviewees when they discussed the last existing – yet dilapidated – roundhouse in town. Penny acknowledged that

> We tried desperately to buy it from the railroad company because we wanted to refurbish it because there's a lot of old railroad employees still alive in Frankfort. Long since retired from the railroad but still alive. We have that little group of people. And the railroad wouldn't sell it. Until it got to a point where there was nothing left and then the railroad was like 'Oh we'll sell you that.'

Most interesting about her remark is the fact that Penny, who is in her late sixties, is not a native of Clinton County; yet, she has been actively involved in community activities ever since she moved to the community over fifteen years ago. So active that she uses the identifier "we" when talking about the town's attempt in the earlier 2000s to purchase the property.[101]

Tom's recollection is a personal memory of using the railroad as a young boy; everyone

[101] The *Times* reported on former efforts to preserve the roundhouse. In 2005, with the founding of the Rail Heritage Trust, things looked promising to transform the old railroad roundhouse into a conference center with museum and restaurants attached. Even plans to conduct oral histories with the people that were formerly employed by the railroad were circulated. The fact that the current mayor presented new plans to the community in 2018 on how to transform the site indicates that plans fell through in 2005. In the summer 2018, Ken Hartman reports on the anticipated revitalization of the area that houses the roundhouse in the local online newsletter ("Movement"). Whether it will only be cleaned up or transformed into a baseball diamond recreational area will yet to be seen.

else recalled part of the collective memory of Frankfort residents. Thanks to French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs's concept of collective memory, which he coined in the 1920s, we know that even Tom's memory incorporates some extent of collective memory, as personal memories are also shaped by "socialization and communication, and that memory can be analyzed as a function of our social life" (Assmann 109). Let's recall Brundage's use of the concept to understand collective identity formation in the South, noted in the previous chapter. Besides "establishing an accepted version of the past," he links collective memory to social identity formation, as a group's social memory "purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact" (4). The collective memory of the railroad serves this purpose for residents of Frankfort and Clinton County, as it provides "an accepted version of the past" and gives them an identity.

However, it reveals more. It lays bare the selective nature of collective historical memory – "between the willfully recalled and deliberately forgotten," as Brundage calls it (6). I was excited whenever my interviewees emphasized Frankfort's once glorious past as a railroad community. It provided me with the opportunity to probe further whether southern black migrants had settled in Frankfort, as it presented itself as a booming railroad town and a prosperous fertile farming community. At times, my inquiry was just casually dismissed with "I don't know," "That's a good question," or "We didn't have – now that's getting a little before my time" and a chuckle. In other instances, however, the question provided revelatory insights, as the next two examples illustrate:

> Me: … especially since you said it was a prosperous railroad town and if you look at the history, when black people from the South left, why did they not get off the train there?
>
> Penny: That's true – unless they continued to move north. […] Maybe that's what happened, maybe they were there and moved out, I don't know.
>
> Me: Oh, so that's what happened that they were there…

> Penny: I don't know. You know, we are not that far from Chicago. We also joke about the fact that the car must have broke [sic] down when it was in Frankfort, that's how we got that group. [giggle]

Penny pondered the question, but as a non-native to the community she could only speculate about the town's history in that regard. She then inserts a town-internal joke that comments on the low number of African Americans in the community in general.

In another instance, this time with Robert and Tom, both native to the area and interested in the town's history, a conversation about the seasonal migrant workers and the hard labor and menial jobs Hispanics and Mexicans have performed in the area sparked the following exchange:

> Robert: But the railroad was never like that, was it? The railroad was always like … people from in town. Or a transit group, people from Illinois ran that line here. A lot of guys lived here, but the line finished out in Illinois.
>
> Me: But I mean the railroad was decades earlier, right. So maybe it was the black Southerners that came here.
>
> Robert: They did the labor. Yeah, they did the labor for the railroads.
> Me: So, it was before the Mexicans' time then?
>
> Robert: Yeah, there's a picture here somewhere [searching through the stack of pictures]
>
> Tom: … bricking the square.
>
> Robert: Yeah, the square was all brick laid by hand. And if you blow that picture up, all the people that do the work are black [and hands me the photograph]. (Figure 13)

Figure 13 The photograph shows the endeavor of getting the first brick road in Frankfort, here at the northside of the Courthouse Square around 1890.

Though he had never reflected on the connection between the railroad and black Southerners before, Robert had no doubt that black workers – who he assumed were all brought in by contractors from out of town – lay the train tracks just like they did the town square. There is no record of who actually built the railroad tracks in Clinton County, but Robert adopted the collective memory of the nation regarding the railroad for his town. As my informants were overall less familiar with the Great Migration and the importance of the railroad as a means of mobility for southern blacks, I paid close attention to the coverage in the local newspaper, which I will further discuss in the next chapter.

Frankfort is no longer a bustling railroad town. When the railroad industry collapsed in Frankfort is unclear; some of my interviewees estimated in the 1950s, which seems a little too early. The Nickel Plate Road magazine still hailed Frankfort as a railroad town in 1957, noting that

"Between 25 and 35 Nickel Plate trains move in and out of Frankfort daily" and "the yards at the west edge of the city can hold nearly 1,300 cars" ("Frankfort ..." 5–6). Throughout the 1960s, as other interviewees speculated, thus seems more likely. *Times* staff writer Janis Thornton noted the decline in the mid-1960s "when consolidation forced the cutback of the local railroad workforce."[102] And while the railroad boom was waning and fading away, the town transitioned more and more into an industrial and manufacturing community.

Frankfort always had industry. The railroad and the expansion of the industry were mutually constitutive at this time – the tracks allowed produce and products to be shipped from and to Frankfort; demand of transporting industry goods kept the railroad in business – until the train cars were replaced by the expansion of the highway system and semi-trucks. My respondents recalled a wide variety of the early manufacturing industries, including McDougall Kitchen Cabinets, Indiana brass (brass fixtures), Ingram Richardson (tabletops), U.S. Hames (horse harnesses), Plymouth (wooden car bodies), Jules Simon Co., and Levi Strauss.

Probably the most famous industry from the earliest twentieth century was the Kemp Brothers Packing Company, Frankfort's claim to fame because of the brothers' invention of pasteurized tomato juice in 1928. In 1976, Myrtie Barker, special correspondent for the *Indianapolis News*, endearingly titles her portrait of Frankfort "Tomato Juice's Home Town" (26). Though Clinton County is a big agricultural community, Barker notes that it could never supply enough tomatoes to fulfill the company's need. In 1942, the U.S. dedicated full forces and manpower to World War II, resulting in a shortage of labor across industries, above all the agricultural sector. The Kemp Brothers Packing Company advertised feverishly for tomato pickers in the local newspaper. Though not documented in the *Morning Times*, it is said that with the

[102] Thornton, Janis. "Railroads – the Inroad to Clinton County's Progress." *Frankfort Times*, 15 Mar. 2003, p. 8.

founding of the company in the late nineteen teens, Frankfort already experienced the arrival of migrant laborers. The October 1942 headline "Tomato Pack is Imperiled – Labor Shortage Threatens Loss of State's Record Crop" resulted in women helping at local canning plants. Earlier in 1942, the *Morning Times* ran a national story on labor shortages on American farms. Though big farming companies in the Southwest were pleading for migrant Mexican laborers, Washington Correspondent Peter Edson warned farmers not to repeat the same mistakes from World War I by importing Mexican workers. He urged them instead to look to unemployed U.S. citizens or labor supplied by the WPA.[103] Ignoring voices like Edson's, the Roosevelt administration authorized the Bracero program in 1943, again bringing many seasonal migrants from the Mexican neighbor, including to Clinton County.

The Kemp Brothers Packing Company survived the shortage and the war. With the sale of the company to a Californian packing company in the 1950s, the packing icon continued under the name Del Monte for a couple of decades. Del Monte rang a bell among some of my interviewees when they attempted to explain the first arrival of Hispanics and Mexicans in town. Some of my interviewees recalled the migrant labor camps on the outskirts of town.[104] Del Monte no longer has a site in Frankfort. Frank, who is in his mid-fifties and has lived in Frankfort all his life (as have his forefathers) recalled the Del Monte factory and guessed they had been gone for about thirty years. He added, "There's a lot of factories that have come and gone, too," summarizing the different and constantly changing manufacturing companies that were once located in the industry park.

Frank also provides a perfect example how the railroad and the manufacturing industry become part of the collective memory in town:

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[103] Edson, Peter. "Big West Farmers Ask for Migrant Labor." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 31 May 1942, p. 5.
[104] A more detailed discussion of the migrant camps and Hispanic community will follow in chapter five.

> We do [have employment opportunities]. Zachary's chocolate, they make chocolate out there, tons of chocolate, Federal Mogul, they make oil seals for engines, there is a lot, about 10 different ones. There's a lot. So, the railroad, it used to be 3,000 men that worked here, that worked on the railroad, and now it's 30, you know. So, the railroad back in the day definitely helped build Frankfort. I mean people worked on the railroad, a lot of men worked there for 30, 40, 50 years. But then when the railroad went out, we are fortunate that we have those factories. If we didn't have those factories, I wouldn't know what people would do. Don't know what they would do.

Praising the various employment opportunities provided by the industrial park on the outskirts of town, he presents the manufacturing sector as the saving grace once the era of the railroad was over. His choice of the pronouns "they" and "we" here are noteworthy. Using "they," he indicates a distance to the main employment sector, having worked neither for the railroad nor the industrial sector. Yet, at the end of his remarks, he switches to "we" channeling the voice of the town that was lucky to increase its industry and provide jobs for its people – just like Penny did with the town's attempt to revive the memory of the railroad and preserve the roundhouse as a physical landmark of the collective memory.

Today the biggest employers in the Industrial Park are Frito Lay, which has been in Frankfort since the 1980s and currently has two plants in town, Zachary's Confections (formerly Peter Paul's Candy Company which came to Frankfort in the 1950s and is said to have sparked the transition towards an industry focus), Federal Mogul, and ConAgra. The Clinton County Chamber of Commerce lists manufacturing as the leading industry in Frankfort.

Although it could appear that Clinton County is a large industry hub, Frank's comment – that many companies have come and gone – indicates that the industrial park did not grow immensely. Rather, the same land was recycled and different plants moved into the factory buildings. 86.2 percent of Clinton County's land is farm land (USDA). Farming has been central to the community since its foundation in 1830 and farmers were repeatedly featured as pioneers of

the city in the local newspaper. Coverage as early as 1889 and 1890 painted Frankfort as a typical midwestern town. As the voice of the people, the paper announced when residents married, baptized (their children), divorced, died. It informed readers about accidents on the farm and farming successes. One can discern the town's identity based on the themes dominating the coverage – a Christian, white farming community that celebrated its pioneers and residents. This identity was maintained through the twentieth century. Columns are dedicated to church and bible announcements as well as farming supplies stores and harvesting information. Farmers are also widely acknowledged in advertisements, e.g. in November 1927, Frankfort merchants and professionals ran an advertisement dedicated to "Our Good Friend – The Farmer." Sales of farms and farm supplies were frequently announced. Today, those sales are more featured online – a quick search of the Lands of America website reveals multiple auctions of Clinton County farmland on a daily basis. The local radio show hosts a special program in honor of National Ag Day each year on March 20. In 2017, besides emphasizing the crucial role of agriculture in the community today, the conversation also addressed solar and wind energy.

In the *Frankfort Morning Times*, it is not uncommon to see columns written by county agents. In 1966, for instance, George Becker, the County Agent for Agriculture calls for the beautification of their homes, towns, and counties – partially to attract new industry and new residents (13). Later that year, Becker writes about the intertwined nature of urban and rural areas, providing an array of examples to demonstrate said interdependence in Clinton County, whose population "is divided equally between those who live in the city and those who live in the rural areas of the county" (6). The same year, Joseph Steele, a Florida native also made history, as he becomes the first black individual associated with agriculture in the county. Steele was the new "assistant supervisor for the Farmers Home Administration in Boone, Tipton and Clinton counties."

("New FHA aide" 8). Clinton County's minuscule black population dropped from 37 in 1960 to 23 in 1970, Joseph Steele seems to not have relocated to Frankfort. His obituary in the *Indianapolis Star* in 2011 identifies him as a resident of the state capital, confirming that he did not relocate to any of the three counties of which he was in charge.[105]

Past and present, Clinton County is among the leading counties in the state of Indiana in the production of corn, soybeans, hogs and pigs (IRBC). Tomato and pickle harvest also dominated the migrant worker experiences in the mid-twentieth century, as a week-long series about Hispanic migrant work in the community in the local newspaper in 1969 reveals. In the summer of 1970, the *Frankfort Morning Times* featured a two-part series on migrant workers and agriculture, analyzing the economic realities behind migrant work in the county. The overall trend was a switch to mechanized farming, as regulations surrounding migrant camps had become more rigorously enforced in the state. Instead of upgrading wells in the migrant labor camps, farmers decided to change their crops from tomatoes to corn and soybeans, as the latter two were more conducive to automated farming procedures.

These three attributes – being a railroad town, a manufacturing hub, and a farming community – frequently formed a point of pride in my respondents' accounts, presenting Frankfort in a positive light and important spot on the map. Even though the farm population has been on the decline – nationally and locally, with the number of farms declining by 14 percent between 2007 and 2012 alone (USDA), the legacy of farming and the pride of being raised in a farm community was palpable. Though only a small fraction of my informants had firsthand experiences with the railroad, agricultural and manufacturing sector (ARM), they all emphasized ARM as part

[105] Becker, George. "Beautification of America is Job of Every Citizen." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 4 May 1966, p. 13, and "Rural, Urban Societies Inextricably Intertwined." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 23 Nov. 1966, p. 6. "New FHA Aide Named to Serve in Three Counties." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 28 Sept. 1966, p. 8. Steele's obituary was published on 24 Aug. 2011.

of the town's identity, thereby demonstrating how collective memory in a small town establishes a collective identity.

ARM provided residents with the opportunity to aggrandize the community. In print and in person, Frankfort became a big important railroad hub and provider for the nation – furniture, vehicle parts, food. However, residents also used ARM to rationalize the all-white nature of the town. In those instances, the "bustling" place turned into a small spot on the map unknown to anyone outside the county. For example, when probed further, Samantha, a middle-aged minority woman and native to the community, explains the low number of minorities while growing up in the 1970s as follows:

> Oh, you know what, I honestly … I think back then, I really believe Frankfort was very much agricultural. And so, you had a lot of families who were just born and bred here. You know? And so, I think that was just the largest part of it. It's just kind of, we were just a tiny little community and not really many people knew about us …

Like other respondents, in our conversation Samantha mentioned the three pillars of Frankfort's history and points of pride, all of which have put Frankfort on the map, but here she uses its small-town nature and reduces its size to "tiny little community" that no newcomers – minority newcomers in particular – would even consider moving to. She speaks on behalf of the town by using "we" – making herself part of the "tiny little community." According to this passage, the town belongs, or at least is inhabited only, "by families who were just born and bred here." As I asked specifically about demographic diversity here, she implied that all of those families were white (though she was not). As Elizabeth Rile Kelley did in the Union County history (Chapter 2), Samantha speaks on behalf of the town and thus reflects the tone and tenor of her environment. Whiteness, however, remains unnamed.

A similar contradiction can be found in the following exchange with Rick and Cheryl, the farming couple, who previously mentioned all the various industry options in the county that attracted, among others, many Hispanic migrant workers to the area. Earlier in the conversation, I inquired about whether black Southerners had come to farm in the county, but the couple told me that the farming black folks do in the South is different as "they were more tenant farmers that were farming for somebody else," which is "not an Indiana thing." Then, when talking about the time when Hispanics started moving to the area – seasonally and permanently – the following exchange took place:

> Rick: … But they came here because they would work and do the job that maybe the blacks wouldn't do or the whites wouldn't do or whatever.
>
> Cheryl: Or maybe they were just hired by the company, whoever the company was that was bringing in the money.
>
> Rick: Pretty much the African American population moved, migrated to the cities rather than the country.
>
> Cheryl: Like Chicago.
>
> Me: But why?
>
> Rick: Probably work. Factory work.
>
> Me: But didn't we just talk about factory work here?
>
> Cheryl: Yeah but the –
>
> Rick: Yes, but we're not an industrial –. I mean we are as Indiana, but yet it's Gary, maybe Kokomo, maybe Lafayette, Chicago.
>
> Cheryl: But the other areas are more agricultural in central Indiana here. That's why. Because there's so much agriculture down here.

Agriculture here serves as the explanation that southern black migrants did not settle in the area. Manufacturing in the area was talked down – in comparison to the big industrial centers in the region – to further illustrate why minority newcomers would not consider moving to the area. Yet,

both sectors then and now have actually shown us that they had a demand for labor – in the fields as well as on the production line. That leads me to believe that other factors – outside of employment opportunities – may have been in play. Maybe a closer look at Frankfort's citizenry – as imagined and desired by current residents will help answer the question. The last section of the chapter will consequently explore who Clinton County residents are and what values matter in the community.

Through ARM, residents were able to present their town to the outside world. They strongly identified with ARM, though oftentimes lacked personal experiences with any of the sectors. Thus, their emphasis and strong illustration of ARM demonstrates how collective memory is formed and how residents built a town identity around the political economy of the town. Presented interview data often includes "we," illustrating the deep connection and identification residents have with *their* town. Penny saw herself as a part of the town that tried to revive the railroad heritage, Frank personified the town's gratitude for the industrial sector, and Samantha defends the all-white nature of the town with the farming background. Yet, this identity is also exclusively white. The quotes never included any racial markers when introducing the different pillars of pride, reflecting how Spickard's concept of "normative whiteness" operates in small-town America. Yet, when probed why racial and ethnic minorities would not have taken advantage of these glorious economic opportunities, the unmarked whiteness of ARM became marked. ARM has been providing economic security and opportunities for white residents of Clinton County, some of the more invisible aspects of the white spatial imaginary, as Lipsitz reminded us above. The next section will explore aspects that contribute to the social well-being in small-town Indiana.

"It Really Isn't About What We Do, It's Who We Are:" A Community of Relationships

In the late 1920s, the merchants and businessmen of Frankfort displayed in an advertisement their understanding of the ideal citizen in the community: "'Faith, hope and loyalty' the spiritual equipment of the ideal citizen."[106] They selectively accentuated intangible values that matter to a community. To what extent do current residents reflect the ideals of the businessmen from 1927? Does the perspective of a merchant reflect general communal attitudes almost a century later?

One public official who has called Clinton County his home for more than three decades really enjoyed my question about the town's identity and admitted having brought forth the questions at various town meetings himself. Whereas Brad, like many of my informants, praised ARM, he elaborated on the question by teasing out the "fiber" of the community as the point he appreciates the most. Referencing a famous musician who grew up in Frankfort and returns to his roots to this day, Brad stated:

> He still is connected with all those, and I know this can happen anywhere, but I think there is always the reason why I think people think about Frankfort as their hometown or think about Frankfort as that community that they can say that they grew up with pride in. Is it because … it is something, it is a fiber of who we are, not what we do. So yes, are we agriculturally based? Most definitely we're an agricultural community. Do we have manufacturing? That makes up 28% of our work force is manufacturing. Are we a railroad town? That is our heritage. If it wasn't for the railroad, Frankfort probably would not have ever become as big as it is. And we're about 16,400 people. So how does that happen? Well, there's other communities that have railroads and never grew this big. So, I think it really comes back down to our fiber and who we are, interwoven – and to me it comes back to the relationships. And we are a community of relationships.

Brad invokes a sense of belonging, classifying Frankfort as a "community of relationships." Where do we find these relationships and how are they established? Who can build these relationships – and who cannot? How are these relationships instantiated? It takes trust, time, and rapport to build

[106] *Frankfort Morning Times*, 28 Dec. 1927, p. 5.

relationships, sometimes over multiple generations as some of my interviewees confirmed. If racial and ethnic minorities have been prevented to live in their midst until two decades ago, how much time will it take now to build these kinds of "relationships" within the community? In the remainder of this chapter, I will try to understand the web of relationships created by my participants. In that light, I will discuss the three Cs – the three crucial pillars of small-town life: church, children, and community activities/community-making. It is these three aspects that my participants recurrently noted, whether I was inquiring about events in which the community engages or how newcomers could get involved upon moving into the area and wanting to become a part of the community. In addition to the political economy, these values built the social foundation for their collective identity formation. It is my goal to visualize the "community of relationships" and untangle the web often referred to as small-town connections.

"Christians and Catholics"

Religion matters in small-town America. Religious congregations are a vital feature in many small-town communities across the Midwest. Clinton County is no exception. Clinton County is an exclusively Christian county. All my conversations noted "church" as an important aspect of their daily lives. Some informants included "church" or "Christian" in their responses about what a typical small town is, others suggested joining a church as a newcomer to the town, "to make friends," "to meet people," and "to get to participate in events." Frequently, when respondents indicated "caring" as one of the characteristics of their small-town community, it was a metonym for church that embodied the caring behavior of the community – organizing food banks and neighborhood parties as well as raising money for various causes in the community or natural disasters across the country. At times, folks did not remember particular attributes about the community when asked about the town's identity, but returned to the thought later in our

conversation, like Doug, a native-born resident working in the public sector in town, "You know earlier you were talking about what makes our community a good community. I think that it's a pretty strong faith-based community."

Even though some informants acknowledged the decline in their respective church memberships and sermon attendance, I did not record the trend among my respondents. All of my participants attended church, which they voluntarily disclosed at some point during the interview, as none of my questions specifically inquired about their religious affiliations. Some of them were actively involved in their churches, leading bible studies and youth groups, organizing fundraisers and food bazaars. The perceived decline in church goers and membership definitely is not a testament to the decline of church activity in town. On the contrary, as Penny puts it: "The churches are very active. We all have our own little missions, and there's a lot of fundraising. We do dinners and stuff. Every church does this. So, there's a lot of community money that is spent for non-profits, for a small town." For example, Tiffany, herself an active church member, mentioned the organization of an open prayer service on the courthouse square – open to all denominations – "to pray for peace and pray for the elections." The interview took place in late October 2016 a few weeks before the 2016 presidential election.

Religion has always mattered in the community. The *Frankfort Morning Times* coverage then and interviewee testimony now attest to the integral role the church has played for more than a century. In the local paper, advertisements about the city highlighted the fact that Frankfort had "churches of all denominations which are faithfully attended, the influence of which is plainly discernable in the everyday life of the community." Other advertisements claimed "Strong Churches Make Strong Communities." When featured with photographs showcasing human beings (instead of church buildings), we see a "traditional" white Christian family – two white

parents and two white children, visibly representing the message that "those who pray together generally stay together."[107] Usually, every Saturday, the *Frankfort Morning Times* featured many Christian voices in the paper in addition to enlarged one-page advertisements with strong Christian messages and church directories that listed the times of sermons and Sunday schools/bible studies. The weekly advertisements in 1966, for example, also included reminders to regularly attend church and daily read the Bible, incentivizing the latter by assigning various passages for daily readings. "It's kind of an expectation that, *are you a member of the church?*," stated Ben who no longer lives in Frankfort but had lived in the community for about a decade. He continued his thought, "that's something people would ask you if you walked in the first time. And *if not, why don't you come to my church?* I mean that is kind of a central element of the society of Frankfort." Even though Ben has not lived in the community for a couple of years now, he still recalled the tone prevalent in conversations he used to have in town. I remember having been invited many times to attend service in my interviewees' churches and hypothetical scenarios of me wanting to move to town included invitations to join their churches.

No matter from which direction you enter Frankfort, you will find a church within a few hundred yards upon entering county and city limits. "Clinton County is well blessed with churches. I think there's over 30 of them in the county," says Walter, a native-born resident who himself has attended one of the county churches all his life, which spans more than nine decades. My informants pursued the strategy of pointing to the number of churches in town to underline the importance of religion. Walter's estimate is low compared to many of my other respondents who speculated that there are currently more than 100 churches in the county.

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[107] "Frankfort, City of Achievements." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 21 Dec. 1939, p. 10; "Strong Churches Make Strong Communities." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 23 Apr. 1966, p. 3.

Their estimate was pretty accurate. In December 2005, the Clinton County Church Directory, printed in the *Frankfort Times*, listed 100 churches in the community. 19 of them were listed as Baptist, 14 of them as Christian, 13 of them as Independent. All other denominations were in the single digits. Five of the 100 churches carried Spanish names: Iglesia Apostolica Centro de Nueva Vida, Iglesia Bautista Esperanza, Primera Iglesia Bautista, Centro de Adoracion Jubileo, and El Mesias Metodista Unida. Additionally, three other churches provided either Spanish or bilingual services. In 2007, the Iglesia de Cristo was the first Hispanic church to advertise their services in the *Times*. The advertisement was of bilingual nature and ran between April and June 2007. The Iglesia de Cristo increases the number of Hispanic churches to six by 2007. To that extent, some interviewees speculated that there are now about fifteen Hispanic churches that provide spiritual guidance to the Hispanic community in town. Many of their sermons are in Spanish, in an attempt to reach the first-generation immigrants, many of whom are not fluent enough in the English language to follow church sermons.

Just as much as church is "expected" in a small town, to use Ben's description, church seems to be tradition. Samantha connects the number of churches to small-town habits and tradition. When inquiring about the importance of religion in the community, she said,

> I would easily say Frankfort is somewhat of a, I'm not even gonna say somewhat, it's very conservative still. There's a lot of churches here. A lot of churches. And I really believe there's a lot of churches here because there are a lot of people who … find that is still a priority. Now there's just as much people that don't go. But I think that's kind of small town feel kinda thing is that … there's more people than not that are still going to church. And I think it's just because it's a small town. A lot of tradition – *my parents went, so I'm going*. That kind of thing. […] it's like a breeding ground for churches. But I really think there's still a big conservative leaning here still. Still Mayberry. That Mayberry feel. Everything's still all-American values and you go to church and you eat your apple pie and [laughs]. Watch baseballs on Sundays. Right? So, but I think it's just part of that whole family feel, too. Just part of the family core of that our family did it, so we do it. Chris [McBarnes, current mayor of Frankfort] is very open with his Christianity. He is very bold about it actually. He's not ashamed to pray at meetings. Not

> ashamed to lead public things. Shan [Sheridan, Executive Director of the Clinton County Chamber of Commerce] is another one. He's not ashamed of doing that. He basically, Shan, basically said that if you don't like it, fire me. You know? He hasn't been fired yet so, [laughs]. So yeah, … So, we still live in a town that actually people really don't have a problem with it still. So.

In this passage, Samantha achieves multiple things. First, she establishes church as part of small-town traditions. It is part of the small-town experience. She elaborates on other all-American, "Mayberry" trends best to be observed in a small-town environment, such as eating apple pie and watching baseball. Alluding to "Mayberry," the fictional small-town community in the *Andy Griffith Show*, she reinforces a popular image of small-town America that celebrates community values but also renders racial and ethnic minorities invisible. This aspect struck me as at least a little bit odd as she is a racial minority in a midwestern small-town herself, but corroborates that the white spatial imaginary idealizes homogeneous spaces. She might again speak on behalf of the town, as she did above when she rationalized the whiteness of the town with being a "tiny little community."

Secondly, Samantha introduces small-town politics into the conversation, not only painting her community as a conservative one, but also listing town leaders who openly practice their faith. Interestingly, a separation of state and church seems to be less of a priority in this town, as she describes the blurring of the lines as acceptable within the community. In his study on U.S. small towns, Wuthnow found that "church involvement is expected among the community's leaders and other upscale residents" (*Small-Town America* 224), which corroborates Samantha's observation that her community embraces openly religious town leadership. Whether or not this is exclusively a small-town characteristic is debatable, as the United States presents itself as a Christian nation, with the U.S. President and many other public officials commonly swearing on the bible when taking the oath of office. However, it might have a stronger impact in a smaller community, as

people of other faiths might feel less comfortable at public town meetings that open and/or close with Christian prayers, and specifically as well as exclusively refer to the Christian deity.

In another conversation, Carla, who has lived in the town for more than twenty years, recalled the faith of another former public official, also blurring the line between church and state on a small-town level. Remembering an encounter, she recalled "There was a person on that board that used to be our mayor ... He was Catholic. He was probably one of the few Catholic mayors who we ever had. Most of them are Christian." Carla reinforces the omnipresence of religious values among town leadership while recalling a particular individual who shared her religious affiliation – he was a "Catholic" and not a "Christian" mayor in her eyes.

Carla's remark is striking because it separates Catholicism from Christianity. Carla was not an exception. Many of my respondents affirmed my question about religious diversity by naming "Catholic" and "Jehovah's Witness." Religion and religious affiliations were solely understood with regards to Christianity and church buildings. Inquiries about other houses of worship such as synagogues or mosques in the past or present were always negated, at times strongly. Some chuckled; it might have been a weird thought to imagine Islam or Judaism in their midst. Most interviewees needed to be probed with regards to religions besides Christianity and shrugged off my inquiry with a single syllable "no" or "nope."

However, if my respondents decided to mull over the question, their responses revealed their limited worldviews. For example, self-identified Catholic Doug commented further, "Jewish population isn't large. There are – we do have some Jewish population here. Is that the right word? Is that the right term? A lot of them will go to Lafayette to church there. But basically here, … it's a Christian doctrine here." It was his choice to elaborate further, yet he did so selectively by only discussing Judaism as an alternative to Christianity. Though noticeably uncomfortable whether or

not he chose the "correct" word to refer to the Jewish population, he acknowledged their presence in town. Yet, he also mentions that they commute to another close-by town to attend "church," revealing his own worldview to be bound by his Christianity.

Bob recalled Frankfort once having had a Jewish population when we were discussing town demographics. Thus, when religion became the focal point of our conversation, I specifically inquired if Frankfort had a synagogue in the past. "I don't believe so. Not that I know of. We had a black church at one time," was his response. The question for religious diversity triggered the recollection of a black church in town – which notwithstanding was a Christian church, the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Unlike most respondents, Penny did not need to be prompted further when asked about religious diversity in town. She responded, "I don't know how many churches there are in Frankfort but if you need a denomination, we have it. Not Jewish. Nothing – let me rephrase that, we have Catholic and Christian, no Islam, no Jewish, nothing out of the –." When rephrasing, she mismatched linguistically – the religion itself, Islam, with the adjective, Jewish, which could indicate her unfamiliarity of speaking about other faith-based communities on a regular basis. This observation can be corroborated with the fact that she did not finish her thought, "nothing out of the –" could be completed with "ordinary" or "box," underlining that the common religion is Christianity. And like Carla, she distinguishes between Catholic and Christian, indicating that the former does not belong to the latter in her worldview.

The distinction between Christians and Catholics stood out, as many of my informants repeatedly appeared to regard the two as two separate religions rather than one being a denomination of the other. "There's another church for Hispanics, but I can't remember what religion that is. I don't know if it's Christian or Catholic, I can't remember," recalls Angelica,

another long-term resident originally from Mexico. Though present in all conversations, this trend of regarding the two as two different religions was most prominent among white Protestant informants as well as Protestant and Catholic Hispanics, most of whom were originally from Mexico. Hugo, one of my Hispanic informants who identifies as "Christian," went far and beyond, helping me understand the Mexican perspective from his point of view a little better when commenting on the religious diversity in Frankfort. He stated:

> I believe Christianity is the strongest religion. We have Catholic Church. Now you have to understand one thing. Catholic Church in Mexico is different from Christianity. You know in United States, Catholic Church and Christian Church is almost the same. I mean you sometimes cannot even tell who's Catholic and who's Christian because both acting almost the same. In Mexico, Catholic Church and Christianity is like Jewish and Muslims. It's like, *woah! You're Catholic! And you're Christian!* You can tell the difference like black and white. In United States it's almost the same. You talking with Catholic. Even they call themselves Christians. Catholics in America call themselves Christian. In Mexico, no. In Mexico, Catholic are Catholic. And Christians are Christians. So why in Mexico, Catholic Church is different? Because, I mentioned this before when Spain conquered Mexico, [it] changed two things, or more than two things. What?

As he made this point earlier, I answered "Language and religion." And Hugo continued, "Language and religion. That's only way you're gonna conquer our country. If you don't change the religion, if you don't change the language, how you gonna conquer? So, you have to."

Historically, the differentiation between Catholics and Christians in the United States and Mexico can be traced back to at least the Mexican-American War in the mid-nineteenth century, which was fought over U.S. territorial expansion desires at the expense of Mexico. Both sides emphasized religion as part of their national identity to justify the conflict (Guardino 344–346). Whereas the U.S. anti-Catholic stance on an international level provided fuel and justification for the war and annexation, anti-Catholic prejudice within the United States preceded the war, having hardened significantly in the early 1830s to mid-1840s (Pinheiro 12–13). Whereas anti-Catholic stances were most likely present in the Midwest, they did not become highly visible until the 1920s

with the rise of the Ku Klux Klan. Due to the fact that Indiana's black population was relatively small, Indiana's Klan was strongly anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant besides being anti-black. The expressed distinction is troublesome in light of the state's history. Though Catholics in the United States continue to see themselves as Christians, in Frankfort they may not be regarded as such.

It is also through the churches that the black community was first fully validated as a member of the town community in the 1940s. Only one of my interviewees recalled the existence of a black church in town. Bob elaborated on the fact that the church no longer exists and that the house is now inhabited by a Hispanic family. The local newspaper, the *Frankfort Morning Times*, though sparsely, fills most of the blanks regarding the activities of the local Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church that existed in Frankfort from the mid-1880s until the early 1970s. Though built in 1885, the Bethel AME church did not receive regular newspaper coverage from the community until much later – despite the fact that church news regularly filled the local pages. However, when reported upon, the news snippets attested to the community-enhancing activities of the church, from barbecues in the local parks to church suppers.

The coverage of local black church activities remained sporadic; however, the tone in the *Frankfort Morning Times* coverage shifted in the early 1940s. For example, in 1941 the Clinton County Ministerial Association declares that it wants to help "this worthy group of people" expanding their one-room church to provide room for Sunday school and social activities. The article describes the black community as small but "making a heroic effect [sic] to maintain a church for themselves and their children."[108] Three months later, the *Morning Times* reported on the successful improvement of the AME church building, the donations, and further planned improvement endeavors, including the installation of a new furnace. Another two months later, the

[108] "Churches of County to Aid Colored Folk." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 1 Aug. 1941, p. 12.

Morning Times reported on the renovations wrapping up. Maybe the community support in the early 1940s encouraged the Bethel AME church to seek help at a later point in time again. In "An Open Letter to Frankfort" in September 1950, the church appealed to the public for financial assistance "right away" if the black community were to "maintain [their] church in Frankfort" (12). It remains unclear whether or not the plea was heard, as the *Morning Times* did not provide any follow-up coverage. However, reporting about Bethel AME events in later years indicates that the church was able to make ends meet in 1950. The community support of maintaining the local black church underlines the faith-based nature of Clinton County residents. Other potential motivations will be discussed in the next chapter.

Church activities also became a vehicle to bring the two communities together. Frankfort experienced its first "Race Relation Sunday" in the 1940s. Race Relation Sunday, according to the *Chicago Defender*, was first observed in 1923, and has grown in participating churches. It was one of the outcomes of the Commission on the Church and Race Relations within the Federal Council of Churches. Two local white churches, the First Christian Church and the Tabernacle Methodist Church, participated in Frankfort's Race Relation Sunday in 1945. The former invited Rev. C. W. Blackburn, ordained minister in Disciples of Christ Church in Indianapolis, the latter invited Rev. Henry Allen Perry from the local Bethel AME Church to speak. Both ministers are captured in portraits in the newspaper, constituting the first time that black ministers were illustrated in photograph in the *Morning Times*. According to the local newspaper coverage, the year 1945 marks the only time that Frankfort's churches participated in the event. However, it provides a window into how the churches brought the black and white communities together.[109]

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[109] "Plan Third Annual Race Relations Day." *Chicago Defender*, 6 Dec. 1924, p. 4. "News of Churches – Race Relations Day on Sunday at the Tabernacle Methodist Church." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 10 Feb. 1945, p. 4.

And as mentioned above, Bob was the only respondent who recalled that Frankfort once had a black church. Its doors closed in the early 1970s. *Frankfort Morning Times* staff reporter Laura Barone dedicated an article to its existence in 1978, quoting a few contemporary black residents in town. One of them was Elvis Douglas who had moved to town two and a half years earlier. Barone quoted him as follows: "'The black community, I would have to guess, is not a close-knit community.' If there is no church for the community, Douglas says, 'chances are the blacks don't socialize. There's no gathering point.'"[110] (10). Douglas stressed the importance of church as a gathering spot, as a place to socialize – a point my informants echo to this day – while simultaneously noting that blacks in Frankfort are deprived of this opportunity.

Socializing within your church community creates bonds. At times, informants compared their church relationships to one of a "big family." Thus, besides the spiritual and religious support, one gets access to resources and services the church provides, including translations, counseling, food banks, and dinner gatherings. Simply put, one can establish social capital by attending church in a small town. Yet, churches are still heavily segregated in Frankfort. Most white interviewees acknowledged that their congregations are all-white; at times, they acknowledged the presence of one Hispanic family. Minority respondents recalled the same church demographics. Thus, church-provided resources and social services do not equally benefit all in the community, as the next chapters will further illustrate.

Regardless, all of my informants emphasized the integral role that church inhabits in their personal and communal lives. However, it is not without its blind spots – be they other religions or inclusive events. As this section has demonstrated, churches are important pillars of support – spiritually and otherwise – in a small town. Caroline, who consciously noted the changes in town

[110] Barone, Laura. "Little Church Reveals Story from Frankfort's Past." *Frankfort Times*, 20 Feb. 1978, p. 1, 10.

by switching between past and present tense above, fittingly sums up the importance of church while introducing the next pillar of support. She notes:

> … because it's a small town, you had a strong support system ... Because of that closeness. And you not only had a strong support system, but a strong networking system. If you needed something, you knew who to go talk to because either you knew them from school or you knew them from your church. Because it's a small community, you just knew lots of different people, even if it wasn't your church. You knew the people at the other church. You know?

Caroline clarifies that church is indeed an expectation and underlines the social capital established through church attendance, calling it "networking" and "support system." Her words simultaneously introduce another network that it brings people together and brings them close – children, the second C, or more specifically schools, which will be the focus of the next section.

Home-Town Heroes and Standardized Test Scores

The schools in the community are a big point of pride for any small town. Clinton County is no exception. "A big part that keeps the community lively is the school … everything revolves around the school," a father of three in the county school system asserts. "Yeah," one of his daughters chips in, "last night we had a basketball tournament, and I would say about 60-70% of [the community] were at the tournament, and they are just so involved with the school and sports and there is a lot of interacting with the community and support, they support us with money and stuff and come to a lot of our events like track." Then and now, people support their local school sports teams. "We're big on sports. Our high school teams are just really important," another community member declares. "Until two years ago, I had season tickets forever and ever and ever and ever and ever." This is a woman in her late seventies who no longer has any immediate connection with the school though she did for more than six decades. Her children graduated decades ago, and she retired more than a decade ago. Yet, she continued to make an effort to support the children in the community. And she is not the only one.

As she did with church, Samantha explained this community support as part of traditions in a small town:

> We have people who on Friday nights they will, Friday nights, they don't go to the movies, they go support their basketball team. And, there are people that, I had a friend of mine that just passed away last year. Husband and wife. For 30 some years on Friday nights, they would either go to a football game or they'd go to a basketball game. Because it was tradition. They grew up Frankfort high. They went to Frankfort. They grew up at Frankfort ... It was just tradition. You go on a Friday night and it doesn't matter who the kids are, you go and support them. And that's and it's weird because – you don't see that. You don't hardly see that. In the bigger schools unless you're connected to a kid, there's a lot of people who got better things to do than to go and sit at stands at football or basketball. And we have … a huge support of core of people in this town who traditionally since they went to that school, they are die hard supporters. And it is a tradition.

Later in our conversation, Samantha reiterated that the support is a mixture of tradition and small-town entertainment because for the community,

> it's kind of like their little hometown heroes. And it's like hometown hero usually refers to the athletes, but it's really all these people who are sitting there supporting these kids. These kids have no idea that [they] are there supporting them. There's a guy who out at Clinton Prairie [one of the county schools], … every single – they call him Mr. Prairie because of the fact that – for what is he, he's 70 some years old and has not missed a game. Has not missed a game. […] And he can tell you about every kid that's playing. He could tell you the stats. He could tell you what's going on. Totally sane. Nothing's wrong with him or anything. That's just what he does ...

Samantha names the community supporters as the real hometown heroes. Unlike her assumption, as the father-daughter exchange above illustrates, the children *know* who is supporting them.

Clinton County prides itself with its athletic successes in school and has cemented them in its collective memory. "Because memories are transitory, people yearn to make them permanent by rendering them in physical form," Brundage writes in his introduction to *Where These Memories Grow*. He continues, "By erecting monuments or marking off sacred places, groups anchor their memories in space and time. Objects become infused with commemorative qualities, and thereby serve as physical markers of memory that preserve the past and the present,

underscoring the connectedness of past and present" (8). Recently, two honorees of the fifteen inaugural inductees into the high school hall of fame were former coaches – Raymond "Buck" Rohrabaugh was the football coach from 1929 until 1946, and Everett Norris Case made himself immortal by bringing four basketball state championships to the Hot Dogs.[111] The latter is also honored in the home arena, which is named after him. "Well, in the early years, of course, basketball was what put Frankfort on the map. We won four state championships," Walter recalled and added on, "'25, '29, '36, and '39." The hometown arena and the Hall of Fame contributes to preserving past athletic successes in the present, manifesting them in the collective memory of Clinton County.

In the local paper, the *Frankfort Morning Times* (now *Frankfort Times*), the featuring of athletic and educational successes increased throughout the twentieth century, with the 2000s regularly featuring sporting events from around the county in story and picture (though the majority of local heroes remain white). The 1927 portrait of Frankfort as a "typical Hoosier community" also featured the schools more broadly. Among many occupational and social opportunities, Harold Feightner heralded the educational prospects in the city and noted a high school enrollment of 2,500 children in the city.[112]

In the mid-1960s already, the paper started picturing their "hometown heroes" – sports teams, graduating classes, pageant contestants and new teachers in the community. In 1966, for example, the paper featured all 41 newly hired teachers for Frankfort – all 41 of them were white. The 34 members of the Clinton Central Bulldogs, one of the football teams in the county, also were exclusively white. The sports teams remained overwhelmingly, mostly exclusively white

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[111] Bardonner, Sharon. "Meet the Honorary Members of Hot Dogs Hall of Fame. *Frankfort Times*, 16 Feb. 2018. https://www.ftimes.com/news/news.php?ID=1766

[112] Out of all high schoolers in the city, two were black students – ninth grader Fred Brown and tenth grader Willie Joe Thompson (1927 *Cauldron*).

until the end of 1970, the year I stopped micro-filming. In 1967 and 1968, the graduating classes of the county high schools reflected the same demographics. Along the same lines, all 37 contestants of the 1967 Indiana Junior Miss pageant that was held in Frankfort in January 1967 were white, too. So were all 21 contestants of the Clinton County Junior Miss Pageant in October 1967 and 1968. In 1969, out of more than 200 high school graduates, the *Frankfort Morning Times* displayed one black graduate, Betty Louise Purcell. Betty Purcell was the first minority high school graduate depicted in the local paper. That she however was not the first graduate of color from a high school in Clinton County will be discussed in the next chapter.

Though we can only speculate about the treatment of black students in the Clinton County school system, the fact that Frankfort did not have a segregated school system – unlike other Indiana communities – was a point of pride for the black community. An *Indianapolis Recorder* article on Frankfort in light of a church conference included "mixed schools" in its first paragraph as early as 1911 ("News from Round About" 3). Six decades later and the first time we find a Letter to the Editor in the *Frankfort Morning Times* written by a black native resident, the point of mixed schools is still relevant. Sharing her experience as a life-long resident of Frankfort, Martha V. Maxey wrote "Our schools were never segregated and some of our churches were never segregated."[113] Maxey's observation is also highly relevant for the previous section, as it attests to the fact that some churches in the community actively contributed to the fact that their denominations were all-white. Maxey, born Kersey, is featured in the local yearbooks in 1916 (as a tenth grader), in 1918 (as a twelfth grader) and 1919 (in a group photograph of the senior class dressed as freshmen). Close reading of the *Cauldron* entries with regards to minority students, however, also reveals that some of the children you expected to graduate the following year, were

[113] "News from Round About." *Indianapolis Recorder*, 25 Feb. 1911, p. 3. Maxey, Martha V. "Negro Woman Likes Fine Treatment at Hospital Here." Letter. *Frankfort Morning Times*, 31 Jan. 1970, p. 4.

no longer featured. As 1935 constitutes the only time that included a section entitled "Pictures Missing" for all grades, it remains unclear whether or not they graduated, if they moved away and what became out of them. The local paper unfortunately did not track any other their minority student achievements or departures.

Though many informants featured schools as an integral part of the community, some also did not shy away from criticizing the current school system, citing recent school ratings in the county, which generally are below state average. They emphasized the use of past tense when talking about "the good school system." Others complained about the number of children with free and reduced lunches, lamenting the low-income population in the area these days. Some informants elaborated on the worsened image of the school system in the county, explaining the low grades of the school corporations in Clinton County with the fact that children are required to take the ISTEP, a state-wide assessment of student skills in English and mathematics. For a county with a high percentage of English Language Learners, the prospects of passing the test are even direr. Some respondents observed that the school personnel no longer live in town but rather commute. "You know my principal, I used to see him in church, or my basketball coach I would see him in church. Or choir director I would see him – you would see them in the community or at the store ... not anymore," Frank remembered. It's problematic because the teachers know less about the children in town, goes their explanation generally. However, the scenario also applies vice-versa, as the emphasis on establishments in town, and church in particular, illustrates. Current contentions of the school system, including school segregation, will be discussed in more detail in chapter five.

And to what extent do state recorded test scores really matter? Angelica, a mother of an elementary school boy, asserted, "The town has great schools even though it's not …, the statistics

and data doesn't show that. They do have great schools. We do have great schools. We have a great superintendent. I think our teachers work beyond what they needed to work just to make sure the kids are learning the right way and growing." Changing pronouns from "they" to "we," Angelica speaks on behalf of the town asserting the value of the schools. She makes a strong point, emphasizing that teachers' dedication and commitment to student learning are more valuable than standardized test scores, the latter of which were frequently lamented in my interviews by respondents who attended the schools before standardized test scores were introduced.

Though the community seems to be torn in terms of the performance and reputation of their schools today, the town slowly returns to seeing their schools as an opportunity to instill community pride again. In 2018, Frankfort inducted its inaugural class into its newly founded Frankfort Hots Dogs Alumni Hall of Fame. The hall of fame honors graduates of the Frankfort High School (and coaches) who have achieved great successes after graduation. Among the fifteen inductees from a time span of 75 years were engineers, actors, musicians, entrepreneurs, surgeons, athletes and coaches. Three of the inductees were women, one of them a daughter of Turkish and Swedish-English immigrants. All other Hall of Famers currently are white males. As the *Cauldron*, the high school yearbook, is a record of all its graduates, we have to wait and see when someone like Betty Purcell or Eugene Powell, the first black student athlete on the 1914 track team, is given the honor.

And even though the segregation of the schools is a relevant issue today (see Chapter 5), the school are also one of the reasons that the relationship between the two dominant communities in town, whites and Hispanics, is slowly getting better. Some respondents attributed it to the fact that the children grow up together and play sports together, resulting in their respective families attending the games, "They come together, yes." It might strengthen the "community of

relationships" even further, as they cheer for their "little hometown heroes" together. It might revive their community spirit, so that statements like "You know we were all hotdogs back then? Hotdogs. That's our mascot. The school mascot. And I think that for the town, it rallied around it" no longer have to refer to the past.

This section illustrated the various ways in which schools contributed to the forming of a "community of relationships" in Clinton County. Not only do residents support the children of the community in their sports competitions, but the local paper has documented then and now student successes and achievements, such as student pageants and graduations. Though some interviewees lamented the loss or decrease of the school spirit and thus community spirit, initiatives like the newly formed high school hall of fame contributes to revive the spirit while celebrating and commemorating student (and thus community) achievements for the ages.

Time to Celebrate and Help Each Other

If you are neither a believer nor have children of the school age, you can still flourish in small-town America. Volunteering and joining a club in town or one of the local committees was one of the frequent mentions in my conversations. Many of my interviewees were members of various organizations and boards themselves, frequently sharing concerns regarding or invitations for the next town festival or food bazaar. Some volunteered at the school or at the county hospital, taking patients to dialysis among other responsibilities.

In contemporary times, the Clinton County community enjoys celebrating itself with festivals throughout the year. Organizations often collaborate to organize and sponsor some of the many community events and festivals in town. The County Fair, the Hotdog Festival, the Summer's End Festival, and most recently the Fire and Ice Festival and the Oktoberfest have become a staple for Clinton County entertainment, as they provide opportunities for the

community to get together, forget about the personal and communal troubles and celebrate the town. Wuthnow observed,

> Celebrations work because they are clearly demarcated from everyday life. They punctuate time with levity, lifting spirits above the ordinary humdrum, adding color, drawing people loosely together, and perhaps most important, giving them something to talk about. This is why festivals so often commemorate the town's history. In collective memory, the festivals both retell and become part of that history. (*Small-Town America* 111)

Wuthnow makes a strong point here, which can be corroborated quickly when looking at Clinton County. The County Fair and the Summer's End Festival celebrate the county's agricultural identity with showcasing their farm animals and celebrating the harvest season. The Hotdog Festival carries the name of the school mascot, a communal marker of pride. The Fire and Ice Festival showcases the industry in the area, with many of the blocks of ice to be carved during the festivals being sponsored by the factories. And the Oktoberfest connects back to the city founders' ancestry, celebrating the town's origin story.

These events emphasize selective parts of their identities while negating other realities and circumstances. For example, the community hosted a fashion show in light of the Bicentennial of Indiana as a state in September 2016, "Styles Through the Ages." As this event is emblematic of what small town events feel like, I will briefly share my experience – as an outsider among 300 Clinton Countians – to bring you into that moment: We stand while the Indiana and bicentennial flags are being presented on stage at the beginning of the show. All 300 people in the audience proudly sing the state song, "Back home in Indiana." Everyone settles in their seats, eager for the display of their history. Wait, I notice two Hispanic teenagers but quickly lose them in the crowd. I see another Hispanic, an older lady who I had previously encountered at other events of the Extension Homemakers, she is one of the homemakers. The music starts, the conversations ebb. Everyone is focused on the stage – so am I. Local members of the community, mainly women, one

child, two teenagers and approximately five men, model the fashion of the state from the 1800s to the present day. Whereas the clothes were not unique to Indiana, the fact that the gowns belonged to members in the community was. All different eras were represented, special tributes were given to wedding gowns, war uniforms, and the pink ladies from the local hospital. One of the pink ladies lifts a pink elephant and the entire audience sighs endearingly. Every child born in the Frankfort Hospital is given a pink elephant at birth, this one in her hand belongs to her son who is 51 years old, a fact that audience sighingly embraces again. It seems like the majority in the room relives their own experiences with the pink elephant. The show ends with the military gowns – two outfits from the Union and the Confederacy from the Civil War, World War II uniforms, the Korean War and Vietnam War is also represented. An announcement comes over the speakers: Anyone who served, please come to the front and join the models. Applause. One of the models was a 96-year old World War II veteran. He receives a standing ovation. The U.S. flag is presented and everyone chimes in to "God Bless America." Most of the audience members hold their right hands over the left side of their chests. "Happy Birthday Indiana!" and the imaginary curtains fall.

It was a perfect Saturday morning event – for any white Hoosier from the community. The fashion show illustrates Lipsitz's white spatial imaginary, as it presented a "pure" and "homogeneous" space, reinforcing the perception of the town as naturally all-white (29). Not one of the outfits represented the Native American community, the African American community, or the Hispanic community. Indiana is a white state and no one in the room seemed to bother. In that regard, the event performed who belonged. However, one of the models was Hispanic, through which outsiders to the community could have been given a hint of an existing minority population. But the white spatial imaginary also hides social problems, and as Wuthnow poignantly remarks, "Festivals" – and I would add other community events such as fashion shows – "are not the time

to worry that the town's population is diminishing or be reminded that growth is significantly altering its ethnic composition. Whole sections of the community – minorities, the poor, and newcomers – may be left out" (111). And indeed, they were.

The fashion show was a collaborative effort between various clubs and organizations in the community, including the Civic Theater, the St. Matthew United Methodist Church, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Homemakers. Oftentimes, the events and other community initiatives result in the formation of specific committees. Generally, small town committees focus on particular aspects that need to be addressed in the community, having changing board members, and exist ephemerally. Some of the more permanent committees my participants mentioned include educational committees such as the Latino Parents Advisory Board and economic development committees such as the Clinton County Economic Advancement Foundation. The Neighborhood Revitalization Committee, though ephemeral, recently shook up the city, as it coordinated with current Mayor Chris McBarnes' Quality of Place initiative and the building of the Nickel Plate Flats in downtown Frankfort. The name of the apartments once again cements the railroad identity of the community. These beautification aspirations of the young mayor exceed the mission of Frankfort Main Street, another communal organization or board that dedicates its efforts to special events and programs in the downtown area to preserve a positive community feeling in appearance and activity (their main focus of entertainment is the Hotdog Festival).

The fashion show also illustrated a healthy stance of patriotism in the community. Pride in their state and country is already transmitted at a young age. Organizations like the Children of the American Revolution (CAR) contribute to the raising of patriotic and proud citizens. One of my interviewees enjoys her time in CAR, explaining in more detail the agenda of the group:

> I work with those, with the kids in Children of American Revolution. It's kind of a civics and patriotism kind of club. And the idea is to like pass on good things about

> America in terms of like our history and geography and traditions and that kind of thing. And it's been fun because a lot of kids don't know much about even like executive, judicial, or you know legislative branches. They don't, they couldn't pass their own citizenship test essentially. And so, the idea is to give them some more resources around that, and we had really neat speakers come and talk about how to properly fold the flag, and we've had all kind of outreach to veterans and gifts to those who live in the veterans' home and that kind of thing.

The support of local veterans and raising young civic leaders in the community is a good deed; yet, the organization is not open to everyone but exclusive to people who can prove their lineal descent from patriots of the American Revolution.

Then and now, the focus of most organizations and clubs lies with the community. They commit to serve the community with entertainment and charity, particularly for the children. For example, as farming couple Cheryl and Rick explained, members of the Lion's Club

> go to the school and test the kids for glasses and they, sometimes they buy the glasses for the kids if they can't afford it because of their home situation or something. So that's what the Lions are for. And what they do for buying those glasses, they make money selling ice-cream. They have a trailer and they take it to different areas where they have things going on like a festival or 4-H fairs and sell the ice-cream there. But then they also take that trailer and take it to school, maybe on the last day of school and will give the ice-cream to the kids for nothing. So, it's a very community-orientated [sic] group, too. Those things are good.

The remark indicates other community values and points of pride introduced in this chapter, namely children and agriculture, reflecting the interconnected nature between ARM and the three Cs. Another example is COACH Kids, a faith-based mentoring program for at-risk youth created in 2007, in which Penny used to be actively involved. COACH stands for Christ Offers All Children Hope and provides mentoring inside and outside of school. COACH Kids serves as an example community organization that combines all three attributes relevant to residents in this "Community of Relationships" – religious, school-focused, and community-oriented.

Clinton County has an abundance of community-oriented organizations and clubs. Randy, a native resident in his sixties, compiled a list of some during our conversation:

> It's got VFW [Veterans of Foreign Wars], American Legion. It's got Elks, Eagles, all these different social organizations. It's got the Lions Club, Rotary, Kiwanis, all these organizations, and they're all got a, all have 150, 200 members down to 20 or 30 members. And they do good things in the community. Lions Club collects glasses and has led dogs for the blind. And the Rotary has different projects, and so all these people are community-oriented. And these different organizations facilitate that.

Whereas Randy provides a comprehensive list, he does not switch pronouns from "it" [community] and "they" to we, which could indicate that he himself is not a member of any of the ones he listed. Curtis, another very engaged native resident and former employee in the public sector, asserted, "The majors are Kiwanis, Rotary, Alliance Club and Optimist Club. Those are the 4 majors [service organizations] in town."

Had I conducted my research a hundred years ago, I might have heard more fraternal organizations and secret societies in the list of civic clubs and engagement opportunities. The City Directory of 1925, for example, lists five masonic lodges alone. It also lists the Knights of Pythias – an organization, "intended solely and only to disseminate the principles of Friendship, Charity and Benevolence," according to the Declaration of Principles adopted in 1877 (Webb xi). The interpretation and commitment to the values that "champion humanity" (ibid.) of the order members is debatable, as the 1925 City Directory also lists a second Knights of Pythias organization, the K of P (Colored). As black residents were not allowed to "champion humanity" with their white neighbors, they championed it alongside them having had enough local black support to form their own organization.

Frankfort still has active fraternal organizations, the Clinton Lodge No. 54, the Loyal Order of Moose, and the Catholic-based Knights of Columbus to name but a few. The Knights of Columbus, for example, provide regular maintenance work to the church (shoveling snow, mowing the lawns) and organize various community events each year, including family picnics, soup

kitchens, and Special Olympics parties. To no surprise, none of my respondents identified themselves as being a member of a secret society, omitting their existence all together to highlight the community- and charity-oriented service organizations instead.

As mentioned above, the missions of many of the local clubs and organizations are centered around serving the community. Based on the evidence presented in this chapter, I have identified two main functions: charity and entertainment. Charity-based initiatives include mentorship programs, fundraisers, health and prevention services whereas entertainment values are provided with county fairs, town festivals, anniversary celebrations, pageants – and minstrel shows. Sometimes, clubs would host and honor a high school sports team, such as the American Legion in February 1925. In other instances, clubs would host luncheon speakers to entertain club members. In July 1925, the Lion's Club invited one of the city's recent high school graduates to share his experiences and observations. In October 1925, the Loyal Order of Moose announced its winter entertainment program for "members, their wives and lady friends," which included the annual dinner party and other stage events while the Kiwanis celebrated its own "Ladies Night and Dance." No matter the entertainment platform offered by social organizations, minstrelsy shows received the biggest accolades from clubs and the printed press.

Minstrel shows were a popular form of entertainment for Frankfort residents for many decades. James DeVries, who investigated race relations in a Michigan small town at the beginning of the twentieth century, notes the following about the entertainment value of minstrel shows:

> It is generally recognized that as an entertainment form, minstrelsy far outdistanced any of its rivals until the 1890s. So important was this "folk and popular form" in the nineteenth century that one authority on the subject has viewed it as a *key to understanding the thought and social realities of America's common people in this era*. A truly national medium, it reached virtually every town and hamlet in America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In fact, it could be accurately stated that most northerners of that time period learned about "Negroes" from the minstrel shows. (54; emphasis added)

Frankfort was one of the northern hamlets entertained by minstrelsy and continued the tradition way past DeVries' given time frame. The earliest announcement in the *Morning Times* came in 1905 and the latest in 1950. Blackface in school performances were common until the early 1960s if one looks at the high school yearbooks (Figure 14).

In *The Wages of Whiteness*, David Roediger labels blackface minstrels "the first self-consciously *white* entertainers in the world. The simple physical disguise – and elaborate cultural disguise – of blacking up served to emphasize that those on stage were really white and that whiteness really mattered" (117; emphasis in original). Thus, whiteness mattered in Clinton County though it was never publicly acknowledged. County-wide announcements of such frequent entertainment thus sent a signal to the local black community, as well, that whiteness mattered. Besides shows designed by local community members, the local paper celebrated minstrelsy on radio shows and nationally acclaimed minstrel teams.

Figure 14 This photograph, by far the largest across all yearbooks featuring minstrel shows, spans across pages 44 and 45 in the 1952 *Cauldron* and showcases this year's high school ensemble. Many of the students are in blackface.

Minstrel shows are but one example of how community engagement functions to perpetuate racist and stereotypical ideologies. The newspaper usually described the local shows,

hosted by social organizations as well as churches, as successful, having showings for multiple days with exuberant audiences. In 1935, the Rotary Club announced a special afternoon matinee of its minstrel show inviting about 350 "underprivileged youngsters of the city" to watch and experience their show. In its second-to-last of its six-day coverage of the show, the *Morning Times* clarified that "With the exception – that of George Goodnight, interlocutor – the ensemble works in blackface." In 1949, the Lions Club took it upon itself to revive the minstrel show and return it to "the peaks of popularity." Fully committed to the mission to bring back minstrel shows, "even the doormen and the ticket seller will smile blackface." Another example is the active involvement of parents in the minstrel cast, as was the case in a 1950 minstrel show of the Lincoln School. Parents inhabit a role model function, as children tend to emulate their parents – and some Clinton County parents wore blackface as late as 1950.[114]

These local minstrel shows demonstrate the white habitus of small-town residents. The extent and language in covering the shows in the local paper illustrate the successful and entertaining nature of them – despite having a small minority population in Frankfort at the time and despite the paper's own claim in 1939 that everyone reads the *Morning Times*. After all, the high school used to have its own minstrel performances each year – despite having black children as students and classmates. Frankfort no longer entertains with minstrel shows, but maybe, after all, the durability and nature of the community's white culture of exclusion provides one reason why the black population steadily declined in town over the course of the twentieth century, turning the white spatial imaginary into a white spatial reality.

[114] "Kiddies to See Minstrel Show," 7 Apr. 1935, pp. 1–2; "Rotarians in Minstrel Roles Score a Big Hit," 12 Apr. 1935, pp. 1, 6; "Lions Minstrel Show is Ready for Opening," 20 Mar. 1949, p. 1; "Lincoln Minstrel to Be Presented at Owen Twp. [Township] School," 26 Feb. 1950, p. 3.

This section introduced some of the ways in which Clinton County residents serve their community. Charity-based and entertainment-based initiatives dominate community-oriented clubs, organizations, and events. That they however serve the majority-white population in town becomes clear in segregating co-existing fraternal organizations like the Knights of Pythias, organization-sponsored blackface minstrel shows until the fifties and, more recently, all-white fashion show celebrations in light of Indiana's bicentennial celebrations. Classifying the community as one of relationships thus is problematic because it further obscures the at times insurmountable walls that minorities face. Not only are these walls difficult to climb, but events like the 2016 fashion show make these walls appear invisible, simultaneously sending clear messages of *non*belonging to non-white residents.

Conclusion: Imagined Ideal Citizen in an Imagined Ideal Town

This chapter presented specific examples of engagement that contribute to a "community of relationships." It is through all these involvements that people connect. They attend the same church or their kids are on the same sports team and they see each other at the games. They come together at festivals and meet each other in the grocery lines. They might end up on the same town board. They see each other on the sidewalks and say "hi" – after all, Frankfort is "a small little community where people can know each other and be known," as one of my interviewees put it. I guess all these scenarios contribute to a sense of belonging and a "community of relationships." Sure, all these different options to engage and volunteer result in different dynamics and groups across town – at times described as "cliquey" – but based on the diversity of options everyone could find at least one "clique" to kindle the sense of community.

However, the sense of belonging or the "community of relationships" are symbolic and imagined to echo Cohen and Anderson. Even though particular public spaces were among the

points of pride, including the parks, the library, and Old Stoney, the discussion surrounding them barely resulted in the same glimmer in their eyes as describing their community as "caring," "Christian" and "children-focused." None of my interviewees worked at the railroad, but most identified the town (and thus themselves) as a railroad town in the past. Only three of my interviewees identified as farmers, two of them long retired; yet, everyone claimed their deep connections to the soil. The manufacturing industry, by far the most relevant employer of the day, though mentioned, never carried the same connectiveness as the former two, which also happen to be more symbolic than the latter. Nowadays, school performances cause friction in the community, opinions diverge; yet, many continue to see themselves as Hotdogs.[115] Whereas I believe that some of the aspects were brought up as part of the performance of selling your community as a "good" community to a researcher – an outsider – I got the impression that many of my respondents identified with the attributes they chose to highlight about the life in their community.

This chapter presented the world as perceived and lived in small-town Indiana. I tried to tease out what a "typical" midwestern small town looks like, sounds like, and feels like, and thus uncovered the white habitus of Clinton County residents. The presentation of ARM attributes and the three Cs helped illustrate and convey the world small-town residents construct for themselves and pass on from one generation to the next. This *is* the world according to residents in small-town Indiana. As shown in this chapter, residents of Frankfort and Clinton County constructed their "typical" small town by creating an identity and spaces of in(ex)clusion. They fostered their sense of belonging to their imagined close-knit community through nostalgia and selective collective memory. And then they code their experiences and their town as "typical," something that, as

[115] Alternatively, they could identify as Hornets, Gophers, or Bulldogs – the mascots of the other three school corporations in the county (although none of my interviewees ever did). Yet, the Hotdogs were the only mascot mentioned in all my conversations and thus – symbolically – stand in for the school-fomented community spirit.

Andrew R. L. Cayton reminded us of, "They take pride in" (159). It explains the matter-of-fact attitude in proclaiming their town as a "typical small town" and struggles to define it. To what extent the community is close-knit might be debatable, but that it is close*d*-knit was illustrated in the chapter through various overt and subtle means of exclusion.

Clinton County is not unique, but rather representative of the state of Indiana. Chapter two already noted county-wide practices and means of exclusions across the state; one of my informants also underlined that Clinton County is reflective of the larger Hoosier identity. Tom was one of my oldest informants who has lived in the community for more than ninety years. The only time he spent away from the community was during one of the wars that the U.S. fought in the twentieth century. We spent an entire afternoon together talking for more than two hours about life in Frankfort, Clinton County, and Indiana. He concluded our conversation as follows: "I'd say Clinton County is not better than anybody else, we are just as good as everybody else. That's how I would describe it, not better but just as good. And I think anybody from the surrounding counties would tell you the same thing."

Despite their conspicuous efforts to appear "typical" (which makes the teasing out of values and beliefs ever harder), what became obvious through the analysis of cherished Clinton County values are omissions and silences. Constructing oneself as an ideal – but "normal" – citizen in their ideal – but "normal" – town does not include an extensive discussion of politics nor does it include the acknowledgement of the growing minority population, or does it? Is this ideal world presented in the chapter only possible by making some members of the community invisible and by ignoring historical and current realities? At times, my respondents would hint at or elaborate on some of the what they perceive more controversial circumstances that resulted in the decline of reputation of town and county. I alluded to some of the insensitivities and blind spots in this chapter already

that reflect the white habitus and white spatial imaginary of the community. The next two chapters will hook in on these moments and uncover the omissions of past and present people that lived and are living in town – but remain outside of the imagined close*d*-knit community. Voicing the unspoken, I will address the silences with regards to past and present events that contribute to the worldview prevalent in small-town midwestern America.

CHAPTER 4. LESS IDEAL CITIZENS IN A LESS-IDEAL HOOSIER TOWN: ERASURE AND NONBELONGING OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN CLINTON COUNTY

> "We had one that was a doctor here, Dr. Hill, he had a white wife." (Tom, 2016)

> But how can we build community anew when we're so prone to forget our own past? How can we collectively conquer the specters of the past if we refuse to name them, confront them, and try to understand the treacheries to which they bear witness? — Susan Curtis, *Colored Memories*, 271

Tom's one-sentence remark about a black doctor in Frankfort struck a chord with me. Here I was in Clinton County, Indiana – investigating why so many small-town communities in Indiana had no or only a minuscule black population despite the Great Migration and plenty of fertile arable lands, and Tom recalled in passing that a black physician lived in the heart of Frankfort and that he was married to a white woman.

As a native Clinton Countian in his nineties, Tom has witnessed Frankfort and Clinton County change over the course of the twentieth century. He recalled having ridden the interurban as a young boy (see Chapter 3), but passenger trains no longer operate in Frankfort. He remembered how he would watch movies that businesses across the county displayed by streaming them on building walls and how he paid 20 cents to go to the Roxy Theatre. Businesses no longer stream movies outside and Frankfort no longer has a movie theater. As a local historian, he had a vast knowledge about the founding, growth, and changes in the community. His recollection about a particular minority resident who happened to be married to a white woman – despite Indiana's anti-miscegenation law that remained in place until 1965 – demands further attention. On the one hand, his statement could corroborate that black southern migrants fulfilled their desires and settled in northern small towns during the Great Migration, as we learned from Scott's migrant letters in chapter one. When exactly did Dr. Hill migrate to Frankfort and how long did he stay? Where did

he come from? And how did he make a living? Were there other black families in Frankfort, and if so, what were their living conditions? On the other hand, Tom's statement stands in rather stark contrast to the world small-town residents constructed for themselves, as discussed in chapter three. How does a Dr. Hill fit into the small-town ideal? Why did not more residents recollect names or encounters with some minority residents? In other words, why did minority contributions and experiences not make it into the collective memory of Clinton County residents? How do we explain these silences and omissions that we already encountered in the Black History Project surveys, analyzed in chapter two? This chapter seeks to find answers to these questions.

In the previous chapter I presented the world Clinton County residents constructed for themselves and pass on from one generation to the next. This chapter will puncture this ideal world and illustrate some of the detriments resulting from the blind spots, silences, and omissions created with this world(view), particularly with regards to race and politics. In other words, this chapter breaks the silences and omissions prevalent in small-town America. Whereas the small-town community is perceived, or imagined, as a close-knit family-like entity for some, this impression is neither reflective nor inclusive of all members in the community. It is not a representative demographic reality either. However, racial and ethnic minorities across time have struggled in becoming a part of the community. They have remained on the margins. For the ordinary white interviewees, their presence did not matter much (if at all). On the contrary, if my respondents acknowledged their existence, they frequently associated them with negative stereotypes, misconceptions, and inaccurate perceptions.

This chapter has two objectives. First, I will voice the omissions of people, places, and events that have taken place in Clinton County and Frankfort. Through my analysis of the *Frankfort Morning Times*, other Indiana newspapers, manuscript census records, and yearbook

entries, I trace Frankfort's black history that "got lost" in the public memory from the late nineteenth century to the late 1970s. I complement these omissions with the silences regarding historical and sociopolitical phenomena, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Great Migration, which I encountered in print and conversations. This discussion seeks to shed light into why more minorities did not settle in Clinton County. Doing so, I will challenge the "ideal" small-town image introduced in the previous chapter. Because, as historian Susan Curtis writes in response to the questions posed in the second epigraph, "These Memories, no longer green, must be revived, no matter how painful, embarrassing or inconvenient they might be" (271). The denial of racial and ethnic minorities in their midst in the past as well as their involvement of the KKK will lay bare the stereotypes and misconceptions prevalent in the community today. Then and now, minorities overwhelmingly make the local news when they create (or are seen as) a "problem:" crime, drugs, non-integration. Consequently, and as the second goal of this chapter, I will discuss how the local white community learned about and thus perceived African Americans. I will demonstrate through newspaper accounts that the local black community cherished the same values about small-town life but also that the black and white communities coexisted and rarely mingled. This discussion will reveal an inhospitable culture that has been reproduced across the decades, making for an unwelcoming environment for anyone different than the dominant white Christian population.

In other words, the chapter narrates the history of Clinton County and the history of individuals that once lived and are currently living in the community. To fully flesh out how the individual maps onto the collective, I rely on historical materials and memories of my residents. As established in chapter two, the culture of inhospitality and exclusion is like a quilt, a multi-layered textile and traditionally a communal activity. The history, values, and attitudes from chapter three are the fabric of this quilt. The subsequent histories and moments, from Dr. Hill to

trade cards to the NHTDA annual meeting, are the patches and the stitches of this quilt. A patch by itself of this exclusion quilt might be an unsettling, disquieting, or uncomfortable reminder of past wrong-doings. Joined together, the patches will display a pattern of racism, discrimination, marginalization, and indifference, in short, they will illuminate the cultures of inhospitality and exclusion.

While this chapter uncovers the stories and experiences not transmitted in the dominant white culture of Frankfort and Clinton County, it is also a testament to the resilience black newcomers displayed in white small-town America. In the paper, local histories, and personal conversations, white residents have mainly rendered them invisible, glossing over them as they would direct the discussion into a more negative conversation about the community. Throughout this chapter, I interweave stories about minority resistance and survival based on extensive archival research. As there are no comprehensive accounts, I use newspaper and genealogy databases to reconstruct the experiences of these largely forgotten Frankfort residents. The next section will highlight some of the black families and their destinies.

Reclaiming the Colored Past: Frankfort's Forgotten Black History

Frankfort has a black history, though one wouldn't know when strolling through town, reading county histories, or talking with locals. Frankfort once had a black church, as Bob recalled in our conversation about religious diversity. The building still stands, but has been converted into a family home. There is no historical marker in the vicinity that indicates that this once was a place where the black residents of Frankfort worshiped (Figure 15). The church was, however, discussed in Claybaugh's county history, already introduced in chapter two. He notes the existence of the "African M. E. Church" as the "only church organization of colored people," lists G. F. Crossland as the pastor and a membership of fifty-five (290).

Figure 15 This single-family home at the south side of Frankfort was once the Bethel AME Church serving the black community of Clinton County. Photo credit: Marcela Poirier.

Claybaugh's second brief reference about blacks in the county concerned the county-wide expulsion of all African Americans (except for "an old barber") at the end of the Civil War was already discussed in chapter two. Let's remember, Claybaugh noted that the white animosity "gradually" subsided resulting in more black residents who had, by the time of Claybaugh's writing at the early twentieth century, become "a very orderly and reputable factor of the community" (179). Here the author explicitly notes a small black community in town, which means there is more to uncover. And indeed, the black population increased. Being at a mere number of 4 in 1870, the number increased to 40 in 1880 and 58 in 1910 in the county.[116]

[116] The Manuscript Census of 1870 lists the following four black individuals in Sugarcreek Township, Clinton County, Indiana: C., Mary, Jane, and John Cambridge, all natives of Kentucky and listed as "mulatto." Their ages range between 28 and 34. Both men are listed as farmers, both women as housewives. In 1880, both brothers have their own residences in Sugar Creek Township, Jane lives with C. P. Cambridge, and is listed as his sister. John lives with his sister Minerva and her daughter Anna. They have also adopted 13-year old John Snider. All of their marital statuses are listed as singles. The birthplace of their respective parents is indicated as Maryland.

The beginning of the twentieth century marks a time when many southern blacks started to contemplate alternatives to sharecropping by moving out of the geographical South. The *Indianapolis Recorder* published a "portrait" of Frankfort in February 1911. The entry in the "News from Round About" section reads like selling Frankfort to black migrants. The main event was a district conference held in the local AME church in Frankfort. However, the first two paragraphs herald opportunities for blacks in Frankfort. They read:

> Frankfort one of the most beautiful and home-like cities is situated in the northwestern part of the state and it has five steam railroad and two interurban lines coming and going every hour. There are about twenty colored families who own their homes. Some are in business and others are holding good positions. There is one church, mixed schools, and a K. of P. Lodge of about thirty members.
>
> J.D. Kersey and Jos. Parker own the leading barber shops and have all the modern conveniences known to the art. Nat Powell represents the race in the way of federal appointments as mail carrier, he is also chairman of the Endowment Board of the Grand Lodge K. of P. In the graded schools there are about twenty pupils. Misses Esther and Ruth Harper attend High School. (3)

The first paragraph with the emphasis on home ownership, mixed schools, and transportation reads like an invitation to potential migrants who would like to relocate. The message is reinforced in the second paragraph by highlighting the different professions available for blacks in town. The K of P is mentioned twice, underlying the importance of community-oriented social organizations to interact with each other and offer mutual support. In other words, these two paragraphs speak to the dreams migrants later explicitly expressed in their letters to the *Chicago Defender*. That these aspirations were not far-fetched can be seen in this portrait about Frankfort.

The *Recorder* article then provides a detailed account of the two-day conference proceedings. Lastly, general news snippets are included. "Correspondents' reports usually focused on the mundane acts and events that made up daily lives," historian Jack S. Blocker, Jr. writes, and lists "illnesses, injuries, courtships, weddings, funerals, visits, journeys, business transactions,

weather, celebrations, and the like" (383). And indeed, some Frankfort residents visited places, others received visitors; some recovered from illness, others celebrated officer appointments in local organizations. It is here where we encounter Dr. Hill: "Dr. C. Hill the only colored physician enjoys a good practice from both races. His office and residence is at 3rd and Sullivan streets" (3).

In addition to Tom's remark, I now had an address to dig deeper into the life of Dr. C. Hill. Dr. Clarence Hill and his wife Anna, or Annie, lived at the same address, 502 West Sullivan Street, from at least 1900 to 1940. Whereas many of the black families in town owned their houses, theirs was by far the most expensive home, worth $5,000 according to the 1930 Manuscript Census. His parents were born in North Carolina and Virginia, but he was a native of Indiana. He was born in Logansport, Indiana, in December 1874. Upon graduation from the Medical College of Indiana in 1898, he most likely moved to Frankfort. His wife is listed as Anna C. and Annie in the earlier censuses. Her age is slightly inconsistent, but she was between four and nine years older than Clarence. She and her parents were natives of Ohio.

The listing of their race, however, was the most striking in the manuscript census. In 1900, both Clarence and Annie are listed as "W" – white. In 1910, he is listed as "M" – mulatto, she was listed as "B" – black. The next two censuses list them as "Neg" – Negro. The inconsistent race classification is also reflected in the city directories. Scouring multiple years in the early twentieth century, Dr. Clarence Hill was only identified as "c" – colored – in 1927.

In the 1940 Manuscript Census, Clarence, still identified as Negro, appears with a new wife, Henrietta, native of Germany, who is listed as white. As she is foreign-born, her citizenship status is indicated as "Having first papers." Clarence is 65 years old at this time and Henrietta is 43. Henrietta brought a daughter into their marriage, also named Henrietta aged 12. She kept her mother's maiden name, Folkerts. The couple also had a son, Clarence, age 9, who according to

U.S. race ideology was listed as "Neg" – Negro.[117] In a City Directory from 1952, USAF is listed as his profession, young Clarence had joined the U.S. Air Force. The memory of my interviewee "We had one that was a doctor here, Dr. Hill, he had a white wife" proves to be correct. And the fact that his late wife was German might explain how they were able to live as an interracial married couple in Frankfort, Indiana.

Most astonishingly, the *Frankfort Morning Times* covered his sudden death in 1954 – without mentioning a racial denominator. Until his death, black residents' obituaries always included a reference of being "one of the finest colored residents of the city" or something along those lines – but not Dr. Clarence Hill. This is the first time that a black resident of Frankfort is not described as "colored" or "Negro." Maybe it was because he had been an acclaimed physician in town for more than half a century, maybe it was because his second wife was an obviously white woman. We may never know. Initial assumptions that the *Frankfort Morning Times* dropped racial denominators when covering minority and specifically black-related incidents by 1954 did not prove accurate. Clarence Hill's obituary fails to include membership to a congregation or church in town, but maybe he was not a member of any of the local churches. It also does not note the fact that Henrietta was his second marriage, and the fact that Annie was also a resident of Frankfort for more than three decades. The article notes the wedding date in September 1930. The manuscript

[117] His birth certificate from 1931 lists his full name as Clarence Harrison Hill, mother Henrietta Wilhelmine Folkerts was born in Wilhelmshaven, Germany. Clarence died in 2007 in Jacksonville, Florida. His inscription notes his service in the U.S. Air Force during the Korea War. His time in the military may have taken him away from Frankfort and he decided to relocate in Jacksonville, Florida, which unlike Frankfort had a vibrant African American community in the twentieth century.

According to the 1930 Manuscript Census, Henrietta immigrated from Germany in 1923 and lived with her uncle Lubbo Pennbacker and his wife Meta, who immigrated in 1894. Two-year Henrietta is listed as Meta. Her birth certificate from 1927 lists her father as unknown, but interestingly, Dr. C. Hill certified the birth of then called Meta Folkerts. Mother Henrietta naturalized in 1943 and died in 1979 in Frankfort. Daughter Henrietta died in 2008. All three, Clarence and both Henriettas are buried in Frankfort.

census, recorded in April of that year, still lists Annie as his wife.[118] Henrietta was living with her aunt and uncle at that time.

Though inconsistently recorded in Frankfort records, there is no doubt that Dr. Clarence Hill was a black man. A newspaper of his hometown, the *Logansport Reporter*, noted his graduation from the Indiana Medical College in 1898, described his temporary home visit with a probable anticipation to settle in Evansville to practice because "The prospects for the practice of a colored physician being unusually alluring at that place."[119] Instead, he settled and practiced medicine in Frankfort for more than five decades. The *Indianapolis Recorder* entry from 1911 described him as the "only colored physician" in town. Additionally, the paper included news snippets about Dr. Clarence Hill and his family thirteen times between 1929 and 1938. Usually included under the Logansport news section, we learn of the close relationship Clarence maintained with brother George Hill and cousin James Carter. When James Carter fell ill and was admitted to a Lafayette hospital in 1934, cousin Clarence was at his bedside. When he recovered, the cousin accompanied him and his wife back to Logansport. The cousins frequently visited each other for various dinner and birthday occasions.

Henrietta remained in Frankfort after the death of her husband. The 1960 City Directory lists her as Clarence's widow. She now lives for rent on a different street. It is unclear what happened to the house on Sullivan Street, which had been owned by Clarence Hill for more than half a century.

Clarence Hill lived a regular small-town life in Frankfort, Indiana. His account stands in for the many lost stories of other black Hoosiers. In spite of the fact that Frankfort is a self-

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[118] Her death certificate lists her being born in 1865. The 1900 Census lists Annie and Clarence as having been married for three years (around 1897). Annie had been hospitalized in the Central State Hospital since 1930, a mental health institution in Indianapolis, where she died at the age of 89 in 1954, the same year that Clarence passed.
[119] "Additional Local." *Logansport Reporter*, 1 Apr. 1898, p. 6.

perceived white community, there are traces of minority experiences in town. Even though black life events, social gatherings, and personal successes rarely mattered in local news coverage, they were neighbors. It is a testimony that peaceful co-existence in small-town Indiana was possible.

The Frankfort portrait from 1911 notes other names of prominent black families who resided in the community for decades – the Fannings, the Harpers, the Kerseys, the Parkers, the Powells, the Rickmans. Through Claybaugh we know about one singular barber and his family that were allowed to stay in the county when all blacks were driven out, adding that they were "accorded this privilege on the demand of Henry Y. Morrison," an influential attorney and citizen in the county (179). This barber was Joseph Parker, born in North Carolina, approximately around 1840, who "took special delight in telling how he worked for the young lawyer, carrying wood to his room and shining his boots." His death announcement "Oldest Colored Man Here, Dead" on August 16, 1919, constitutes the first obituary of a black Frankfort resident, and it remained the only one until 1931. Parker's status in the community seems to have fulfilled the role of the "token" black as identified in chapter two, as the article emphasized his former status as a southern slave and heralded the fact that he had been the "only colored man in the city for decades" (1).[120] The Parkers are first recorded in the Clinton County census in 1880. By the time of his death, his widow Rhoda and four of his eight children remained in Frankfort. Twenty years later, when the death of his daughter Iva Parker Brown made front-page news, none of the Parker family resided in Frankfort any longer; instead, they resided in other midwestern and southern locales. The legacy

[120] The article notes that the family had been in Clinton County for about 50 years, which means they came around 1869, maybe 1870. Joseph Parker first landed in Indianapolis after gaining his freedom at the end of the Civil War. The 1870 Census lists his family living in Boone County, which is adjacent to Clinton County. Ten years later they called Clinton County home. The profession – barber – and the connection to Henry Y. Morrison corroborates that Joseph Parker was the person allowed to stay in the county during the expulsion. This also means that Claybaugh was slightly off with the remarks when the expulsion took place, as it appears to have occurred in the 1870s rather than "Toward the close of the [civil] war." The article further notes that they lived in their house on West Walnut Street for more than 38 years. They owned their house. In 1930, Iva and Homer, two of his children, still resided in the same house, worth $2000, along with Iva's husband Ross Brown.

of one long-term black family ends here. Why the Parker descendants left Frankfort for good, we may never know. The latter part of this chapter however may shed some light onto this puzzle.

The Frankfort portrait in the *Indianapolis Recorder* lists Ruth and Esther Harper as high school students. The Harper sisters were the first black graduates from Frankfort High School since the *Cauldron* began documenting school life in Frankfort in 1912. In their graduating year of 1914, the graduating class is also pictured with baby photographs. So are the Harper sisters, even though their photos depict young girls rather than actual babies (Figures 16 and 17).

Figure 16 This is a photograph of page 18 of the 1914 *Cauldron*. Esther Harper is pictured in the third row, furthest to the left.

Figure 17 This is a photograph of page 19 of the 1914 *Cauldron*. Ruth Harper is pictured in the third row, further to the left. The Harper sisters were the only two black students in the graduating class.

Other black families who sent their children to the city high school over the years include the Powells, the Kerseys, the Fannings, the Hills, and the Cummings. At times, a preacher's child attended the high school, as well, for example, Juanita Watkins, a graduating senior in 1928 who previously attended school in Indianapolis. Eugene Powell was the only athlete in the yearbook of 1914 for twenty-seven years – until Bill Lewis became a member of the football, basketball and track teams in 1941. At times, black students joined the orchestra or the choir. Though a few entries listed membership in other school organizations and clubs for a few of the black students, one rarely finds them in the annual group pictures. One of the reasons could be the general attitude in school; nicknames for some classmates were inappropriate, for example in 1947, Charles Kersey's nickname was listed as "Stinky." Another reason could be the fact that the school regularly performed minstrel shows, as documented in the *Cauldron*, as are students wearing blackface at

school dances and other events. As discussed in the previous chapter, minstrel shows were frequently described as "One of the most enjoyable and successful entertainments this year" (1919 *Cauldron* 59), echoing the larger community values of entertainment.

On a sunny spring afternoon I conducted my interview with Walter, a retired farmer who has lived in the community for more than 90 years. At one point, he showed me pictures and a little book from his school days. He suggested we look through his yearbook together. As I flipped through the pages, he recalled names of class officers and the number of graduates in his class. As he contemplated how many of them were still alive, I came across a page that included a photograph of three black high school students, which made Walter note "That's the three colored people that we had in our class" (Figure 18).

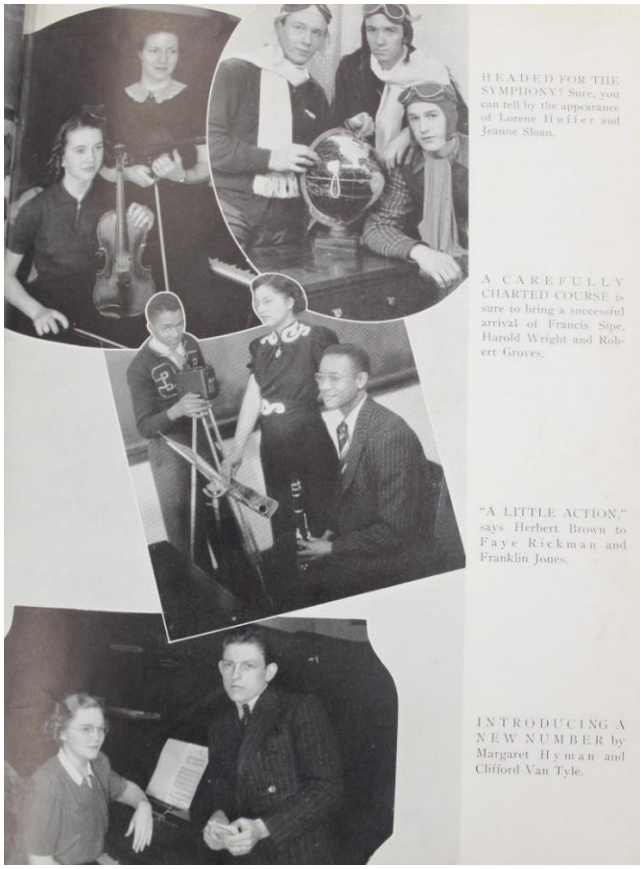

Figure 18 This is page 27 of the 1939 *Cauldron*. The photograph in the center of the page features Herbert Brown, Faye Rickman and Franklin Jones, Walter's black classmates.

When I read the caption aloud, which included the names of all three classmates, Walter reminisced, "Yeah. Good guy. He wound up in politics over [in] Kokomo. You know the political office in Kokomo. But he passed on, too." When we later talked about his school reunions, I inquired whether the three also attended. He recalled, "Two of them. Frank went on to marry the white girl. And she was a preacher."

Inclined to learn more about the second black Frankfort resident remembered partially for having married a "white girl," I came across the obituary of Franklin B. Jones, Jr. (1920-1999), published in the *Kokomo Tribune*, which notes him as a graduate of Frankfort High School. Walter's memory of his political engagement in Kokomo was correct, as he "was the first African-American county council member in Howard County, serving the Third District starting in 1978 […] He also served as a precinct committeeman and as a delegate to the State Democratic Convention." Besides noting his expansive list of service,[121] it notes the marriage to Rev. Mary E. (Ray) Jones in 1977. A racial denominator was not included. Another article in the *Kokomo Tribune* includes a photograph of Rev. Mary E. Jones, which is inconclusive with regards to her race.[122] In her application for Social Security, she identified as white, corroborating Walter's

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[121] As his service is both expansive and impressive, I am quoting from his obituary at full length:

> He served in the United States Army during World War II and retired from the Cabot Corp. in 1982. Memberships included the 21st Century Education Program; Minority Health Care Coalition of Kokomo; Howard-Tipton Central Labor Council; Mayor's Advisory Board; Governor's Coordinating Council; Steelworkers of America Retirees; founder, organizer and past-president of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, Kokomo chapter; member of board of directors and past-president of Indiana State APRl; co-founder of the Franklin B. Jones Community African Methodist Episcopal Church; past-president of the NAACP in Kokomo; member of the VFW 177; SOAR and organizer and past-recording secretary of USWA Local 2958. He was also past member [sic] of the Howard County Child Abuse Council and the Howard County Mental Health Advisory Board; past trustee-treasurer of the Historic Wayman Chapel AME Church; past treasurer of the lay organization of Indiana Conference AME Church; past treasurer of the Indiana Conference Lay Male Chorus AME Church; past trustee-treasurer of the Franklin B. Jones Community AME Church; worker on the Indiana State Alcoholic Beverage Commission; worker on the Kokomo Prayer Line; organizer of meet-the-candidate forums, banquets and promotional forums; and was instrumental in active voter registration drives and voter education programs. He was also retired as an Indiana State Alcoholic Beverage Council excise officer. He enjoyed church work, politics, traveling, reading and fishing. ("Obituaries – Franklin B. Jones." *The Kokomo Tribune*, 22 July 1999, p. 8.)

[122] Tye, Marilyn. "AME Congregation Opens New Church." *The Kokomo Tribune*, 24 Oct. 1987, p. 3.

memory of a "white girl." It is fascinating that the only two direct remarks about black residents in town I received during my interviews were in connection to the men being married to white women.

Frankfort's black past has mainly been forgotten. Besides these two remarks, I had one recalling that Frankfort "had a black church at one time." Built in 1885, it soon became the anchor and beacon for the black community organizing field trips and picnics. The *Frankfort Morning Times* did not take notice. In passing, it acknowledged the existence of the Bethel AME church in light of a draft notice for blacks in August 1918 (further discussed below). The church had been in place for more than four decades when it was first included in the paper's church directory on February 5, 1927. The "Methodist A. M. E." was one of nineteen churches in the city back then. One of the three Cs – church – became a means through which the black community temporarily put an end to its invisibility in the paper. The *Morning Times* started to cover church-based events henceforth, though sporadically, e.g. a "Concert of Negro Spirituals" with a choir comprising "local talent" in 1931 or a church-sponsored barbeque at the local fairgrounds in 1932. Ephemerally, the paper even listed "Colored Notes" in February 1935 to list Bethel AME church activities. Yet, the column only appeared this one time.[123]

Community-making through clubs and volunteering – another one of the three Cs – also mattered to Frankfort's black community, though the local paper failed to print any club meeting information for its black residents. The *Indianapolis Recorder* offered information about Frankfort's fraternal organizations as early as 1911. The *Frankfort Morning Times* lagged behind by more than three decades. It is through the obituary of Robert L. Kersey, Sr. in 1945 that we come to know about the existence of such social organizations. According to his obituary, Kersey

[123] "Concert of Negro Spirituals," 30 Sept. 1931, p. 2; "Colored Folk Planning Big Time Sunday," 12 July 1932, p. 1; "Colored Notes," 23 Feb. 1935, p. 6.

was "a 32nd degree member of the colored Masonic lodge, also of the colored K of P order."[124] Overall, city directories for the city of Frankfort are inconsistent and incomplete in what they include. I only found the "K of P (Colored)" once, in the 1925 *City Directory* (25).

When Frankfort native Robert L. Kersey became a reporter for the *Indianapolis Recorder* in January 1940 to deliver the "Frankfort News," we learn the most about the social life and activities of black residents in Frankfort. Local clubs included Ladies Aid, Just Right Club, and Stitch A Bit Club. His first news coverage also included the following observation: "The young men of Frankfort are organizing a basketball team which should go great guns, as there is considerable talent in this line."[125] Interviewees and newspaper coverage confirm that the Frankfort high school had a successful basketball team in the first half of the twentieth century. Here, it becomes clear that sport teams were segregated and local black men tried to assemble their own team in 1940. Thus, racial segregation – though never captured in the paper – was reality in Clinton County. By not including clubs and activities of its minority residents, the paper actively excluded its black community, and preserved the image and legacy of an (self-perceived) all-white community.

Consequently, southern black arrivals in the early twentieth century were not noted in the *Frankfort Morning Times*. Their stay in the community might have been perceived as transitory and temporary at best, which proves true for a couple of black newcomers in the community. For example, Albert William Idle, native of North Carolina, and his wife Jeanette rented a house in 1910 and owned one in 1920. However, by 1930, the couple had relocated to a black neighborhood in Indianapolis. Samuel Culpepper, a native of Kentucky, worked as a porter in Frankfort in 1920, but does not appear in any local records thereafter. Similarly, Mattie Williams, another native from

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[124]"Obituary – Robert L. Kersey, Sr." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 23 June 1945, p. 6.
[125] Kersey, Robert L. "Frankfort, Ind." *Indianapolis Recorder*, 27 Jan. 1940, p. 6.

Kentucky, worked as a servant in a local hotel, but was no longer in Frankfort during the next census. Alexander and Mollie Andrews made their way up from Kentucky sometime between 1910 and 1920 and rented a house in town. By 1930, their work as farm laborer, cook, and janitor paid off, as they were home owners. However, Alex died in Indianapolis in 1936 indicating that he had left Clinton County despite home ownership.

Though erased from public memory, Clinton County had a black history. This section offered a glimpse of the resilience, gatherings, and destinies of the local black community. After the expulsion in the late nineteenth century, the black community started with a single barber family. From then on, the black community flourished through fellowship, forming its own church and social organizations. Though socially isolated and rendered invisible in the community at large, Frankfort's black community maintained a choir, organized their own barbeques, planned their own field trips, and possibly formed their own sports teams. If we recall the seven trends noticeable in the Black History Project, this section proved that Clinton County was governed by an us-vs.-them mentality, as traces of black history, if not entirely erased, were marginally admitted. Only three of my interviewees barely recalled any black history, proving further that blacks are not part of the county's historical/collective memory (Trend 1). But Clinton County also had its "token blacks" in Joseph Parker and Dr. Clarence Hill (Trend 3).

The foregoing pages attest to a black presence, but leave unanswered many of the social realities that might have contributed to a decline of black families in the area. After peaking with 90 individuals in 1930, the number of black residents started to dwindle to a mere 23 in 1970. Why did not more black migrants settle in Frankfort and Clinton County? I just established that the black population formed its own sense of belonging, how then do we explain the decline? What's not being said here? Did values and attitudes change? Did Clinton County become a closed society

toward new black residents? What other sociohistorical events took place in Indiana that did not make it into the public memory of the residents? What else is being omitted here? The next sections seek to answer these questions, revealing trends 4 and 5 from the Black History Project: whitewashing the KKK and whitewashing the history of the county.

Silencing Memories: If We Don't Mention It, It Never Happened

How do we explore attitudes and values when memories are silenced? Communal attitudes and perceptions can best be understood when contextualizing the sociohistorical happenings and political leanings of the time. Politics, however, is a topic you avoid discussing with a stranger. Generally, my informants classified their community as "conservative," and left it at that.

The *Frankfort Morning Times* reveals attitudes and events in the county (and the state) that suggest a particular brand of conservative politics, one based on white supremacy. In 1889, the local paper reported on activities of the White Caps in the state. White Caps were "a secret society composed of community members who believe they were acting in the best interests of the community" who "felt compelled to clean up their neighborhoods by punishing 'moral' offenders," writes the Historical Society of Harrison County in their seminal work on the vigilante group (9). It notes further that the group's "Punishment was not administered along racial, religious or other prejudicial lines, but was based on the prevailing community standards" (ibid.).

Yet, their activities have frequently been aligned with the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, including in newspaper coverage reprinted in the Historical Society's work (e.g. 119). Historian Clifton J. Phillips attributes Indiana's long history of vigilantism as a "legacy from the state's frontier past" and explains the Klan-like behavior of the group as follows: "Like the Klansmen, they usually appeared by night as a band of hooded, masked men who first warned their chosen victims to reform their behavior or leave the area; if this warning was ignored, it was followed by

midnight visitations and frequently by severe beatings" (371). In her dissertation on the White Caps in Harrison and Crawford Counties, Indiana, Madeleine Noble expands on the Klan connection of the white cappers calling them the "link between the first and second Ku Klux Klan" (10). She argues that the white cappers blended the methods and tactics of the post-Civil War Klan with the mission of the 1920s Klan, "the aim of defending the values of a declining rural America" (11). That said, the Indiana white cappers rank among the many organizations that advocated white supremacy in the state.

Through the small snippets in the Condensed State section, the *Frankfort Morning Times* expressed disapproval of the organization in 1889, e.g. "White Caps are becoming a public nuisance in Morgan County." Four of the five available months reported on such activities across the state, including Morgan, Crawford, Perry, Harrison, and Hendricks Counties. One year later only one of such incendiary crimes made the news in the *Frankfort Morning Times*, shortly prior to the midterm election in 1890.

The *Frankfort Morning Times*' disapproval of the White Caps in the late nineteenth coincides with the first attempt to eradicate the organization in the state. A severe beating of Mormon missionaries and two recent female converts in the summer of 1888 in Perry County caused a national outcry and condemnation of the organization. The organization had already existed in Indiana for at least three decades, with the earliest recorded account in Monroe County in 1854 (Historical Society of Harrison County 99). However, in light of the fact that Indiana native Benjamin Harrison was the Republican nominee for the U.S. presidential election in 1888, Indiana was under greater scrutiny from the national media. The *New York Times* castigated the organization and the state in the aftermath of the Mormon beating, calling the White Caps "a disgrace to the State and a reflection upon the courage and ability of the Executive branch of its

government" doubting Indiana's ability to "protect society by law" ("The Indiana 'White Caps'" 4). The snippets of state-related white capping activities in the *Frankfort Morning Times* are too brief to infer editorial and therefore communal attitudes regarding the situation. They however attest to the fact that there was communal awareness of extralegal violence.

The White Caps were not eradicated in the 1890s. The *Frankfort Morning Times* reported on other white capping activities in the state in 1907. With its gruesome details, "The Most Flagrant Case of White Capping" reads like the sensationalized coverage of lynchings that the paper sporadically reported upon.[126] It is unclear what resulted in the extensive gap in white capping activity coverage. In her white capping study in two southern Indiana counties, Noble notes that "Many people locally felt that the presence of the white caps was a deterrent against crime and other acts or behavior generally disdained; given the limits and inefficiency of law enforcement, residents of the counties were, for many years, tolerant of the excesses of the order in light of its 'services'" (87). In other words, the extra-legal violence had become more socially-sanctioned, which then might have made it less newsworthy.

It is difficult to ascertain whether there ever were incidents of white capping in Clinton County, as history has not been well recorded. None of my interviewees recalled any white capping incidents in Clinton County, or Indiana for that matter. The *Frankfort Morning Times*, however, proves white capping activity in the state, of which it disapproved, at least prior to the 1890s nadir of race relations across the nation. The presence and actions of the White Caps in Indiana might help explain why the number of black residents dropped significantly post-Civil War and remained low until the turn of the century in Clinton County.

[126] "The Most Flagrant Case of White Capping." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 18 May 1907, p. 4.

Unlike the uncertainty regarding white capping in the county, there is no doubt that two other white supremacist organizations existed in Clinton County: the National Horse Thief Detective Association (NHTDA) and the second Ku Klux Klan (KKK). Moreover, the *Frankfort Morning Times* attests to the wide-ranging support in the community for both organizations in its coverage. The two groups aligned their agendas in the 1920s, blending white supremacy, vigilantism, and politics. The marriage of these two white supremacist organizations could explain why minorities then and now avoided settling in the Hoosier state and/or it could explicate the silence, omission, and avoidance of discussions about race. The NHTDA and the KKK were barely discussed in my interviews. Only four conversations (16%) specifically mentioned Indiana's connection to the KKK past, one of them did so more extensively. That conversation was also the only one, in which the NHTDA surfaced. Though contemporary residents rarely acknowledge the existence of the KKK or NHTDA, a detailed discussion of both organizations is warranted, as the presence and communal support of such white supremacist organizations might help explain why black migrants did not permanently relocate in Clinton County during the Great Migration. Though this part of Indiana's history was discussed by less than one in five of my informants, their abrupt dismissal once the topic surfaced caught my attention. As the next section will show, they were quick to acknowledge the state's legacy of the Klan, but even quicker in denouncing any Klan presence in their county. Additionally, the one extensive conversation about both white supremacist organizations in the county contained a plethora of detail about the history, conveying a palpable atmosphere about the organizations' presence in the county. Lastly, the overall silence by most informants regarding KKK history of the county reflects the whitewashing trends already uncovered in chapter two, in which survey respondents also avoided acknowledging the fact that the second KKK flourished in Indiana in the 1920s. I will start with an overview of my interview

moments in which the Ku Klux Klan briefly appeared and continue with close readings of *Frankfort Morning Times* coverage regarding various events of both organizations in the county.

A Hooded Past: Acknowledging the KKK in Indiana and Clinton County

Doug, who briefly noted Judaism as an alternative to Christianity in the previous chapter, is a native of the community in his mid-sixties. He ran a family-owned business for the majority of his life. No longer self-employed, he remained visible in the community through his employment, his involvement with his church and his engagement of community activities. Doug's key phrase during the interview was "all-white community:" he used it to describe the town's identity, and to explain the cultural and demographic changes Frankfort has undergone as it now no longer is "an all-white community." As he repeated the phrase, I inquired further on how it remained white until recently. He inserted the demographically homogeneous make-up of the community when he explained that it was a "small" "farming" and "railroad community" in the past that experienced migrant workers but remained "basically an all-white community." His reach to historical events allowed me to specifically inquire why African Americans did not move into the community in the past. Here is an excerpt of our exchange:

> Me: But what about African Americans? You mentioned them. Like are they recently coming here?
>
> Doug: Just recently.
>
> Me: And they didn't come back then?
>
> Doug: There weren't any back then.
>
> Me: Ok.
>
> Doug: And you know, I don't know why they didn't move to the community.
> Me: And there wasn't anything that kept them out?

> Doug: I would think that. But the one thing, the reputation the community had way back, way back, was it had ties probably to the Klan, as Indiana was a big Klan state. And so that may have had some things to do with it. You know, reputation gets out. Your town reputation gets out. But I can tell you that through my age time, I didn't see any of that kind of activity going on. It was just a community that folks just didn't move to. I mean they just didn't. And I don't have the reason for that. I think now that's all changed ...

Here, Doug inserts Indiana's historical ties to the Ku Klux Klan to explain the lack of minorities in the region. However, he protects his community immediately after that insertion, explaining that there have been no Klan activities in the community during his life-time. In the same breath, however, he weakens his protective strategy by strongly asserting that it's just not a community to which people moved, opening up the possibility that the community indeed embraced the KKK (though without his knowledge).

Frances, another native of Clinton County in her late seventies and retired school employee, adopted a similar defensive strategy. During the interview, she shared "a lot of really neat things about [her] life." She expressed gratitude and love for her community, in which she once knew everyone who lived there because "everybody was either related or had been here for years and years." Indiana Klan history did not surface during our two-hour conversation about the community until the very end. At the end of our conversation, I handed her my business card for one of her acquaintances to be able to get in touch with me for a potential interview. My card lists my research interests, including hate crimes, which prompted the following exchange:

> Frances: I see this on here [my business card], too. Hate crimes. I don't ever remember the Ku Klux Klan being around here at all either. But I think they were in southern Indiana.
>
> Me: Yeah, I haven't even looked into the KKK yet ... but that's good knowledge.
> Frances: And I just saw that. But that's never been around here.
>
> Me: No?

> Frances: Ever. No. Nothing like that that I can remember. Ever. Anything like that. Where somebody was … you know, I wonder if there are any Jewish families [here] ... Hmm. I dunno. If they are, they're ok ... Again, there has never been a place of worship for Jewish families.

My research interests in hate crimes triggered her defense mechanisms about her community. She strongly negated any KKK presence in the area, but hesitantly admitted to the presence in the state. Without finishing her thought, she immediately shifted the conversation speculating about any Jewish families in the community. This ephemeral moment in which the words "hate crimes" prompted remarks about the KKK, which then triggered thoughts about Jewish families illustrates confusion and discomfort on the one hand, a potential connection of the KKK discriminating against religious minorities on the other.

The most recent acknowledgment of a Klan presence in Indiana was provided by Cheryl and Rick, the farming couple who recently dissolved their family farm. After conversing about the Great Migration that resulted in urban growth of the northern black population, we speculated why African Americans would not come to small-town Indiana. I recalled that some of my informants used the Klan as an explanation of why African Americans avoided Indiana, which triggered a personal memory among my respondents. Before committing himself to the farming business as a small farmer, Rick was a teacher in Putnam County in the early 1970s. He was aware of a Klan presence there because "Well, … people talk." He clarified immediately that he would not have moved to that community as a black man, which led me to inquire whether he was comfortable enough to work there as a white man. He responded: "Oh yeah. Oh yeah. I mean as a white person, there weren't any problem [sic]. But I do remember that there was a librarian that came to the school I taught at and she was a pretty hot little blonde but her husband was black. And she didn't last but about 3 weeks." He resigned shortly thereafter, committing himself full-time to the family

farming business. Whereas Cheryl and Rick acknowledged the most recent Klan presence in the state, they did not comment on Clinton County's Klan history.

However, one interview stands out in affirming a presence of the Ku Klux Klan and the National Horse Thief Detective Association in Clinton County. Tom and Robert, both native to Clinton County, are interested in their county's history. Their dedication to preserve local history led them to many auctions and postcard shows in the area where they acquired memorabilia from the county. I was honored to share a wonderful exclusive afternoon with them, as they opened their house and memories up for me.

Sharing a wealth of county memorabilia from postcards and newspaper prints to "Gem City" shot glasses and bottles made in Frankfort, they stumbled across badges from the National Horse Thief Detective Association in their collections (Figure 19).

Figure 19 Badges of some of the NHTDA chapters in Clinton County. They represent constables, or chapters, in Cunningham, Mulberry, and Frankfort.

The surfacing of the badges triggered a lot of memories and knowledge about the vigilante organization. It was almost as if they forgot my presence in the room, as the two men were mainly

talking to each other. My intermittent comments and questions appear more like a reminder to contextualize the association. Here is one excerpt of our conversation (identifying information of other community members has been removed):

> Tom: Oh, oh …. You know, I have been told Frankfort had two [chapters].
>
> Robert: Yeah, they had the Gem City and the regular Frankfort.
>
> Tom: Regular Frankfort. Somebody said this was a rare one, the Gem City, the Woodside, I guess.
>
> Robert: I've got the Gem City, the Mulberry, and the Cunningham [badges].
>
> Tom: I had Cunningham, Rossville, and Mulberry.
>
> Me: What are you talking about?
>
> Tom: That's for the Horse Thief badge … they had horse thieves.
>
> […]
>
> Me: So Frankfort had two? Like clubs?
>
> Robert: Like a chapter.
>
> Tom: Avery had one [chapter], and _____ had one of Geetingsville. I never saw one of Geetingsville.
>
> Robert: And that's exactly what they did, too – chase horse thieves.
>
> Tom: Well, they did to an extent. _____ said there was a fella in Mulberry who got too familiar with his neighbor's wife. So, one day he went out and they had tied a bundle of switches with a note that said "you better stay home or you get these used on you."
>
> Me: You get what?
>
> Tom: You better stay home or we use these on you – switches, whip.
>
> Robert: It probably would have been a good thing for him.
>
> Me: Switches are whips, aha.

> Tom: _____ laughed, _____ belonged to the Mulberry, he laughed, he said they went a little bit beyond horse thieves.
>
> Robert: Yeah. Oh yeah, yeah, they were more like a vigilante group actually.
>
> Tom: See _____, he was the captain of Mulberry. And I often wondered. See this is a constable, I wondered if these were here.

They recalled members in the community who had badges of other locales in the county as well as some names of neighbors, friends, and acquaintances who once were members in the association. While Tom shared some activities of the group, Robert tried to contextualize the organization to me. Tom spoke from his experience given that he is in his nineties, Robert from what he had acquired during his studies of the county history given that he is thirty years Tom's junior. Seeing this dynamic unfold underscores the value of having interviewed the two of them together. Later, we talked about the different styles of the badges, which is when Robert clarified that every chapter had its unique style and Tom emphasized how rare these badges are. We also stumbled over a "window sticker" of the NHTDA, "If you were a member, this one went in your window," and a "pin," "You would wear that on your lapel," explained Robert. In that realm, they dwelled upon having owned an enlarged panoramic photograph of a big meeting of the NHTDA in 1925 that took place in Frankfort, which captured all the "guys" and "they all had their badges on. It was a great picture," remarked Tom. Robert inserted that it was more than 200 men that were shown in the photograph. Their collection also spanned stock books and journals of the NHTDA (Figure 20). The various NHTDA memorabilia triggered from my two respondents a wealth of information that attests not only to the strength of the organization in the community, but also to the fact that they knew people who belonged to the organization. The members were no strangers or invaders but their neighbors and friends. Consequently, in their minds, the NHTDA was group of "guys" mainly concerned with "chasing horse thieves." This constitutes one example on how vigilantism

in Clinton County is whitewashed.

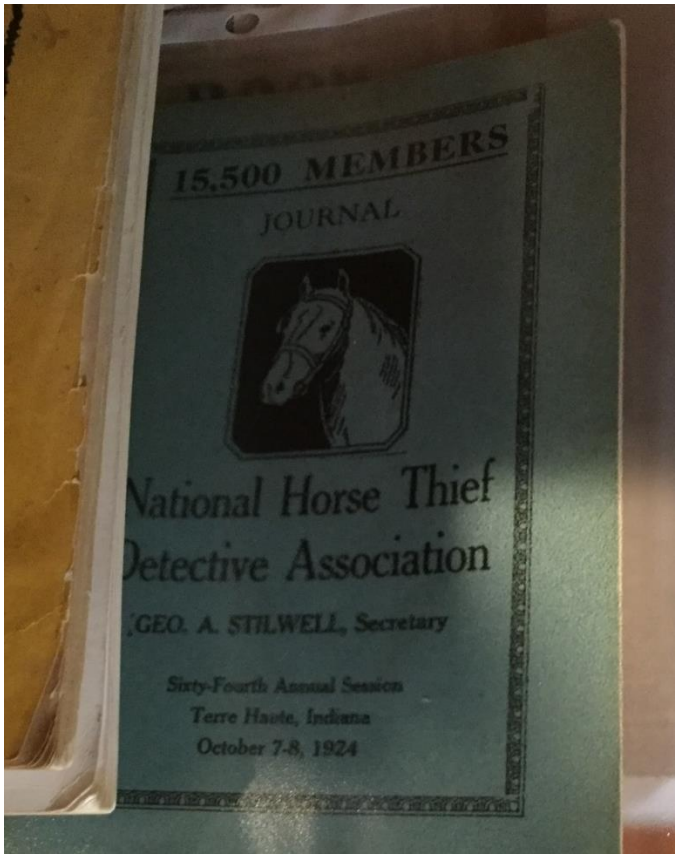

Figure 20 Journal of NHTDA from the 1924 annual meeting in Terre Haute, Indiana

Robert called them “more like a vigilante group;” however, what is important to point out is the fact that the NHTDA was sanctioned by the state of Indiana as a legal (though unpaid) force for upholding the law ever since the passing of the “Horse Thief Detective Company” Act in 1852. Membership was exclusive to “free, white males, 21 years old, with superior character and property” (Wade 22–23). Aligning themselves with the Klan leadership in the state in the 1920s resulted in the NHTDA having the same powers as the police. State-sanctioned or not, African Americans and other outsiders might have rightfully been concerned to know that groups to which they could not belong could take the law into their own hands and thought twice about relocating to Indiana during the Great Migration.

We talked about the National Horse Thief Detective Association at various points during the afternoon; yet, never did either of them make the leap to associating the organization with the Ku Klux Klan. Already in 1924, Max Bentley, journalist for *McClure's* magazine, noted the connection between the two organizations. He argued that through D.C. Stephenson, the Klan "resurrected the Horse Thief Act and made it the law-enforcement arm of the Indiana klan" (24). Purdue American Studies alum Erik Wade expands on this aspect, detailing the intertwined nature of the two white supremacist organizations. Wade argues that the "Klan and the NHTDA emerged from and converged during moments in national and state histories when anxieties about race and citizenship ran high" (214).[127] In that regard, it was no coincidence that both of these white supremacist organizations were popular in the immediate aftermath of the first wave of the Great Migration and World War I. Indiana experienced its fair share of immigrants and southern black migrants settling in their midst. Joining organizations that stood against such demographic influxes was one way to express their displeasure about such population changes. As the history of the KKK in the state is still a sore subject, it could explain why my informants kept their memories and knowledge hushed. Inadvertently, however, their refusal to admit having knowledge about the NHTDA and KKK contributes to the perpetuation of an idyllic small-town environment full of white-washed history operating under a white racial frame.

Tom and Robert were the only ones who openly acknowledged the existence of the Klan

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[127] See in particular chapter five of Wade's "Constituting Whiteness," pp. 194–263. At a different point, Wade outlines in how far their mission and activities coincided, stating

> the Klan gladly endorsed and participated in the activities the NHTDA pursued such as the desire to prohibit the wholesale and trafficking of liquor and intimate relations in parked cars. The two organizations saw themselves as key proponents of law and order in Indiana. However, the NHTDA and the Klan's mission was also tied together in racial terms since both were invested in protecting the rights of whites as opposed to other racial or ethnic groups. Law and order was, therefore, neither color-blind nor neutral. (213)

He also notes that the two organizations should also not be conflated; though there was some bleed over of leadership and cross-sectional appeal of their initiatives and missions, some Catholic Hoosiers who were part of the NHTDA would have never been invited to become a member of the KKK.

in Clinton County.[128] While we were engaged in a conversation about the few black families that lived in the community in the past, Robert inserted "you also had the Ku Klux Klan that was busy in all those areas for a number of years that would have kept the black population out." Here he follows a strategy similar to Doug, correlating the Klan presence with the black absence in the community. Robert's comment was met with a loud "Oooooh yeah. Now that stuff" by Tom. While Robert reiterated that black families "were kept out," Tom recalled the following:

> They were anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish. We had a fella that opened up an ice-cream parlor. My wife who is seven months older than I am and grew up in Frankfort, she cannot remember the Rainbow Inn, it was a little ice-cream parlor, it had little rainbows and little chairs. She cannot remember. I said my aunt would take me in there, they had a big rainbow at the balconies on the west side of the square. And it was a Greek that run it. And he had a brother-in-law, I think it was his brother-in-law, he ran a candy kitchen on the north side of the square. Well, that rainbow, in World War II, or World War I, he was in the 42nd division, which was the Rainbow Division, a very highly honored division in World War I, and to commemorate that, he painted a rainbow over the balcony over that brick…that's how he got the name Rainbow Inn. And they, them Ku Kluxers made it so tough on him, he finally just quit business and left town.[129]

Though Tom started his recollection of Klan activities with the anti-religious stance of the Klan, his example also attests to its anti-immigrant stance in Indiana.

I was curious to follow up on Tom's recollection and tried to identify the individual who was Greek but served in the U.S. army. Skimming the roster of the 42nd U.S. Division, which was known as the "Rainbow Division," I looked for members from Frankfort, Indiana. I came across Thomas Kussurelis, a private in the division. Further research led me to the obituary of Elizabeth (Bette) Ellis who passed away in Ann Arbor, Michigan in 2005. As her obituary also serves as a

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[128] At least among my interviewees. In chapter two I recounted a conversation with an Indiana Historical Society staff member who recalled his aunt's memories of having attended a Klan funeral which was held in Clinton County, thus affirming the Klan presence in the county. Allen Safianow lists "well-publicized 'Klan funerals'" among local Klan efforts to enhance visibility (and support?) in the community, as they "featur[ed] huge floral tributes in the shape of a cross" ("The Klan Comes to Tipton" 209).

[129] In 2010, the *Frankfort Times* reported of a local history event, during which the Clinton County historian recalled that "at least one business owner was forced to leave town" during the Klan era in Clinton County (O'Brien, Martha. "Historian Shares Memories of County's Past." *Frankfort Times*, 5 Feb. 2010, p. A1, A8.

Life Story, I found all the answers I needed to confirm Tom's recollection. According to the life story, Thomas Kussurelis immigrated to the U.S. in 1910 – "from his homeland Greece." Explaining the service in the army and his connection to Frankfort, it continued

> In order to get citizenship, Thomas joined the U.S. Army during the First World War and served at the Mexican border and in France with the 42nd U.S. Division, known as "The Rainbow Division." After the war, he returned to Greece to visit his ill mother. While there he met Marika and they were married in 1924, and soon after returned to the United States. Upon their return, Thomas and Marika settled in Frankfurt, Indiana [sic] where Tom owned several restaurants. But Tom soon traded in his restaurants to buy a grocery store in Ann Arbor, Michigan. ("Elizabeth (Bette) Ellis")

The obituary dates the family move to Ann Arbor in 1926. His World War II Draft Registration Card from 1942 indicates that he is the owner of Tom's Grocery. Both Thomas and Marika Kussurelis were buried in Ann Arbor in 1983 and 1992, respectively.

Frankfort city directories affirm the ownership of Candy Kitchen for Harry Kussurelis in 1913 and the Rainbow Inn for Thomas Kussurelis in 1924. The *Indianapolis News* ran advertisements for Frankfort's Rainbow Inn in 1919. In March of that year, they were looking for an "experienced chef for first class café" and contact reference was Harry Kussurelis, and in October the advertisements desired a "second cook; necessary to have good experience; white or colored."[130] The Greek brothers openly advertising for personnel hire regardless of color constitutes the only example of that kind I found during my research for Clinton County. Given that blacks did not constitute part of the larger Clinton County community, it is fair to assume that not many establishments in Frankfort hired across the color line. Though the local establishment remains unidentified, the *Frankfort Morning Times* reported upon a "Colored Chef Leav[ing] Frankfort in Hurry" two months after the advertisements. Whether or not the black cook worked for the Kussurelis brothers, we do not know. The fact that he was driven out of town before the

[130] Male Help Wanted." *Indianapolis News*, 29 Mar. 1919, p. 18; 8 Oct. 1919, p. 22; 9 Oct. 1919, p. 26.

Klan dominated Indiana politics and ideology corroborates that the social environment was hostile toward blacks in Frankfort. In other words, small-town Indiana found civic value in exclusion, which the KKK knew how to exploit. That said, the KKK in Indiana and Clinton County was not an aberration but rather an extension of the tendencies the community engendered.

Tom's recollection about the Rainbow Inn led me to inquire again if the Klan, indeed, was in Clinton County, which Tom affirmed with "Ooooh, it was strong!" Tom, as he was alive when the Klan was in power, had vivid memories of the Klan "marching around the square in Frankfort, must have been hundreds of them." He remembered the "sheets, regular bed sheets. They'd pin it around, they had pointed hats." Both, Tom and Robert, recalled that the local museum once had one of the robes on display, "We put it on a mannequin up there," Tom chuckled, "it didn't go over very good," alluding to the disapproval of the community to deal with its own racist past. I could sense that Tom was appalled of the Klan history, when he continued his thoughts with "I think they was ashamed of themselves, that's why they had to put sheets over themselves."

Tom blamed the Ku Klux Klan presence and activities for the departure of the Kussurelis couple in the mid-1920s. By then, however, the lack of diversity had already turned into a moment of pride for Frankfort. Facts and Figures in the 1925 Industrial Edition note its citizenship as "99 per cent American" (3). I already noted the advertisement that correlated the absence of a foreign population with the absence of "social evils [including] race riots" in chapter two. The lack of a foreign population, in another ad, made it "An All-American City" and explained the "absence of labor troubles."[131] To that extent, Frankfort reflected the anti-immigrant sentiments that swept the nation in the 1920s, particularly in the less urban areas. We can see manifestations on a national level in various laws passed during that time, from the Immigration Act of 1917, to the Emergency

[131] "Every Day in Every Way," 6 June 1925, p. 5; "The City You've Been Looking For," 30 June 1925, p. 5.

Immigration Act of 1921, to the Immigration Act of 1924, all of which limited the number of immigrants permitted to enter the United States, particularly from "less desirable" nations of origins. Entrenched in anti-immigrant sentiments and Klan ideology, Frankfort did not approve of first-generation Americans like the Kussurelises either (the brothers naturalized in 1919). Frankfort as an all-American city without labor troubles and race riots is therefore, in uncoded language, an all-white nativist city. Prideful moment or not, Clinton County residents have selectively preserved their history, hiding their culture of exclusion while erasing the existence and contributions of minorities, migrants and immigrants for decades.

Tom's recollection about the Greek restaurant owner being driven out of town led me to inquire if Dr. Hill, the black doctor, was among the ones being driven out of town, as well. Whereas the question sparked Tom's initial response, "Ooh, blacks … they was wicked on the blacks," Robert and Tom then attested to his resilience, having stayed in the community for a long time. One of the reasons Robert provided in that regard was that the Klan was more active in the county itself than in the city of Frankfort. My close reading of *Frankfort Morning Times* coverage in the next section contradicts Robert's argument. However, this moment in the interview was important as it shed light into the fact that the KKK "was wicked on the blacks," further illuminating why few African Americans settled permanently in Frankfort during the time of the Great Migration.

Robert and Tom are collectors of historical artifacts proud of owning rare memorabilia. Our conversation transitioned into Klan collectibles, upon which Robert commented "Yeah, it's highly collectible" and "yeah, but you don't show it" (Figures 21 and 22). We were unable to locate the application for membership in the local KKK that they had among their local history treasures. But Tom recalled some information from the form, noting

> What I couldn't understand, the people, they were supposed to be religious, you had to be a protestant, religious protestant, that was on the application. And guess

> what, they'd go around in people's yard and burning crosses. So now what kind of religious belief can you have and burn a cross?

Robert engaged this remark with "yeah, they got sidetracked pretty early on what they were supposed to be doing," ending on an embarrassed or uncomfortable chuckle.

Figure 21 The pocket knife was among the memorabilia from the county. Robert contextualized the item, noting "They did all of their advertising, so you could keep … and they would sell that to membership and they would either show that and they would take the money on whatever they spent the money on, and they promoted ... they sold that, paper weights, everything that had …typically just the KKK on it."

Figure 22 Some of the Klan postcards they were able to acquire over the years. Robert estimated that the pictures were from 1924, speculating that it must have been the hey-day of the Klan in the county, as "for anybody to take their mask off, that just didn't happen." This statement is slightly exaggerated, as the Library of Congress holds a plethora of photographs of a 1926 Klan parade in Washington, D.C., many of which feature marchers without their hoods downs (Arbuckle).

This moment marks one of the complexities and contradictions I encountered in the various hours of interviews conducted in the community. As local historians, they had memorabilia and stories, which they willingly shared with me. In the comfort of their own home, they both acknowledged the county's burden of history to me. In an attic full of historical artifacts that reflect county and state history, it might feel appropriate to discuss less glamorous moments from the past. However, though Robert acknowledged the importance of preserving the materials and sharing history, he admitted that I was the first one to whom he opened his house. I hope that going forward and expanding on his collection, he is courageous enough to share some of the artifacts and stories publicly – with the help of the public library or the county museum. The wealth of knowledge and

collectibles could transform Robert from a mere collector of artifacts to an educator about the county history. The need to publicly reflect on the less-ideal history of the county is there, so that incidents of exclusion and intolerance can be avoided in the future. However, this might take some time if we recall Tom's remark that the display of a hooded mannequin a couple of years ago "didn't go over very good."

Tom's and Robert's accounts were by far the most comprehensive I could gather on the matter from Clinton County residents. The majority of my interviewees followed the motto "If we don't mention it, it never happened." Though few remembered that the KKK and other white supremacist/vigilante groups were active in Indiana and Clinton County, the local newspaper confirms their presence. By returning to the newspaper, we can begin to appreciate how the presence of the Klan made for a less-than-welcoming environment for black migrants.

Support in Black and White? Klan Coverage in the *Frankfort Morning Times* (1925 – 1969)

In the last thirty years, scholars have investigated the Klan history in various Indiana communities consulting the local printed press, including Kokomo (Safianow, "'Konklave in Kokomo' Revisited"), North Judson (Wilkinson), Tipton (Safianow, "The Klan Comes to Tipton"), and Muncie (Smith). Other studies focused on general Indiana press coverage during the 1920s with regards to the Klan (Scharlott; Smith). These studies have shown that prior to 1925, the year the decline of the Klan started, Indiana newspapers either reported on Klan activities or never mentioned them at all. In his analysis of Indiana press coverage of the Klan during the 1920s, Bradford Scharlott found that "about half the articles and editorials in the first period were neutral toward the Klan, and of the rest the favorable outnumbered the unfavorable by a 3-to-2 margin. Moreover, favorable articles tended to be longer and more prominently displayed" (124). Reasons

for a more "deferential than adversarial" coverage in the earlier 1920s, according to Scharlott, included fear of violence and other types of harassment.[132]

I did not have access to the *Frankfort Morning Times* from 1920 to 1924. Based on Tom's recollection, we know the Klan was powerful in Clinton County, thus little, neutral, or even favorable coverage of Klan activities in the county newspaper is possible. By 1925, the Klan was in full power in the state; yet, the local paper did not run any articles until mid-April when Grand Dragon D. C. Stephenson's assault on Madge Oberholtzer led to the collapse of the reign of terror in the state. The coverage from the *Morning Times* in the mid-twenties provides a plethora of articles conveying the standing of the Ku Klux Klan and local attitudes toward the KKK in Clinton County. These news snippets corroborate Tom's and Robert's remarks about the strength and power of the Klan in their midst. The coverage greatly diverges from Scharlott's findings whose sampled articles in the second half of the 1920s no longer portrayed the organization as favorable (161 out of 163 articles; p. 128). Whereas Scharlott's samples reported upon unflattering and unfavorable realities such as political corruption, the death or debilitation of the organization, and the undoing of the villain Stephenson, the *Frankfort Morning Times* did quite the opposite.

In 1925 the Clinton County organization of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was flourishing. The title story on July 3, 1925, ran "Klan Announces Its Fourth of July Program" with

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[132] The Hoosier Chronicles, Indiana's digital historical newspaper archive, currently holds more than 2,000 articles under the keyword "Ku Klux Klan," forty percent of which belong to *Fiery Cross* coverage. However, of the remaining almost 1,200 articles, one can identify some of the early opposers of the Ku Klux Klan in the state, including the *South Bend News-Times* and the *Hammond Times*, the latter of which published calls to disband the organization as early as 1921. South Bend is home to Notre Dame University – a Catholic bastion in the state – and Hammond is frequently perceived as a suburb of Chicago and was already notably racially and ethnically diverse by the early 1920s. Based on Klan-related coverage in the *Frankfort Morning Times* ensuing in the mid and late 1920s and Tom's echoing reminder of how strong the Klan was in the county, it is rather unlikely that Clinton County's local daily paper was among those opposing voices. Among the most famous editors opposing the Klan's reign of terror in the state was Muncie's George R. Dale and his newspaper, the *Post-Democrat*, which he founded in 1920. For an excellent discussion of Dale's fight against vice and political corruption, as epitomized by the Indiana Ku Klux Klan, see Ron F. Smith's "The Klan's Retribution Against an Indiana Editor."

its sub-heading "Forty-Two Klan Organizations Are Coming Here." The article outlined the program, including a "fifty-piece band, the best in Indiana Klandom" and various speakers such as "Homer L. McGee, Great Titan" and "Mrs. L.W. Bronson, representing the National Ladies' organization" (1). The status of the Ku Klux Klan was reinforced at the end of the article, which cited local Klan leaders who "feel very proud of their privilege of leading the state in this year's Fourth observance" and who "seemed quite confident, that if fair weather prevailed, the celebration will be a big day in Frankfort's history" (2). The day after the parade, the paper continued to herald the Klan, sub-titling its front-page coverage with "Klan Enthusiasm Is at High Pitch Throughout Day Altho the Thunder Rolls, the Lightning Flashes and Rain Comes Down in Torrents." The article featured summaries of speakers of the day, including the "Trail Blazer" Reverend A. P. Penn who debunked rumors that the Klan was dead. According to the article, the Klan parade was met with "Rounds of applause and cheers" (1). The firework was delayed but met with applause, as well, "as the lights show[ed] three big letters K and the American flag, the little red school house, and other familiar signs of Klandom." If support in the state started to dwindle, the news hadn't made it to Clinton County yet. Unaffected by the summer storm, the community demonstrated its support for the organization unabatedly and cheeringly. The *Morning Times* reaffirmed the existence of local Klan offices the following day when the Ku Klux Klan Hall experienced a "spontaneous combustion" which caused a fire destroying "Two or Three Hundred Robes." The mere fact that the local Klan offices lost that many robes in addition to the rather pompous tone in the local coverage of Klan events attest to the positive reception of the KKK within Clinton County borders. [133]

[133] "Klan Announces Its Fourth of July Program," 3 July 1925, pp. 1–2; "Klan Celebration Carried Out Regardless of Storm," 5 July 1925, pp. 1, 9; "Large Crowd at Fairgrounds to See Fireworks," 7 July 1925, p. 2; "Klan Robes Lost in Morning Fire," 8 July 1925, p. 10.

Besides hosting the state's Fourth of July parade on behalf of the Ku Klux Klan, Frankfort also sponsored the annual state convention of the National Horse Thief Detective Association in October 1925. Hertz Dry Goods Company ran advertisements welcoming the delegates and members of the association to town. The "cordial welcome" to the city included "personally directed tours" of the industrial park and an evening program of musical and artistic entertainment. Besides recounting speakers' accolades about the deeds that the organization had brought to the state of Indiana for the last 65 years, the article declared the current NHTDA membership in the state at 15,500 (2). The following day, the paper published the achievements of the convention, including passed resolutions and reelections. As the visitors were highly pleased with the Frankfort branch's organization and hosting of the meeting, Frankfort would soon again be a popular choice to host their annual convention. It also noted the fact that every county in the state has "one or more societies," making Indiana the state that had "the most complete organization of the kind in the United States." The tone of the coverage appears affirmative and celebratory if not proud. What's more, the local coverage contextualizes the artifacts. The three badges shown in Figure 19 attest to Clinton County having multiple of these "societies."[134]

These festive reports stand in stark contrast to the coverage surrounding the Stephenson trial. The trial of the former Indiana Grand Dragon was minutely documented in the *Frankfort Morning Times*. April and May of 1925 were dedicated to hearing arrangements and trial proceedings. Late 1925 coverage included jury selection as well as verdict and prison procedures. As there was no Klan-related coverage prior to the Stephenson scandal in 1925, the incident may have sparked more interest to cover Klan-related items in general.

[134] "Detectives in Session Here," 7 Oct. 1925, pp. 1–2; "Annual Session of Detectives Is Closed Yesterday," 8 Oct. 1925, pp. 1–2.

Whereas the tone in event and activities coverage was overwhelmingly supportive of the KKK and NHTDA in 1925, the *Frankfort Morning Times* attempted to pursue a more critical stance toward the Ku Klux Klan, though more on a national and state rather than county level, in 1926. The paper reported upon the quarrels between the Knights of Ku Klux Klan – the national organization – and the Independent Klan of America – the state organization, incorporated in 1924. In court, the president of the Independent Klan of America asserted that the principles of both orders are the same except for the Independent Klan believing in "race purity rather than white supremacy." Witnesses of the suing party, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, attested to an active Klan membership of 50,000 and a "fluctuating membership" of 200,000 in Indiana as well as 141 charters in the state. These numbers reflect the power of the Klan after Stephenson's trial and verdict in the state.[135]

Besides confirming and documenting the existence and activities of the Ku Klux Klan and the National Horse Thief Detective Association in Clinton County, the *Frankfort Morning Times* reported the formation of other similar organizations in Frankfort. For example, more than 200 local former Klansmen joined American Trinity because they opposed the "autocracy and unfair methods" of the Indiana KKK at the time. Allegedly, 25 county residents remained loyal to the old order of the KKK by August 1926. Unlike the Klan, this locally organized American Trinity "did not permit the use of robes, masks or like equipment," and declared "that it fostered no boycotts against any church, creed or nationality and that it stood only for real Americanism." Whereas it denounced the animosity towards foreigners and Catholics which among others characterized the Indiana Klan in the 1920s, it did not declare its stance on race.[136] Considering that the membership of the organization consisted entirely of former Klan members who subscribed themselves to the

[135] "Klan Damage Suit is Opened," 22 Jan. 1926, p. 1.
[136] "Klan Threatens Court Action Against Order," 6 Aug. 1926, pp. 1–2.

supremacist ideologies of the Ku Klux Klan, it is fair to assume that American Trinity still followed what Leonard Moore called "the creed of racism, nativism, [and] Americanism" (3).

By the end of 1926, the Ku Klux Klan was still alive in Clinton County – and women were part of it. In December, Frankfort witnessed a cross burning, which was mainly officiated by Klan women. Though not labeled the Women of the KKK or WKKK, this is the first time that the women of the Klan were acknowledged as active local members of the organization in the newspaper. Attendees of the event included a child, according to the article. The fire department, upon realizing the instigators of the fire alarm, did not interfere.[137] This small article is important for various reasons. While the Klan was in decline on a state-level, Klan activities were still accepted or socially-sanctioned on a county-level. Even more important is the fact that women in Clinton County were part of the Klan who brought their children along. The article therefore documents how prejudice was perpetuated across generations and within households. Reflecting two of the three Cs – children and community activities – this event illustrates how civic life in Frankfort breathed life into white supremacist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan.

After 1926, *Frankfort Morning Times* coverage on local Klan activities became more sporadic. Cross burnings seem to have become the most newsworthy. A cross burning in the city park in October 1939, for example, "aroused suspicion that the Ku Klux Klan was carrying on undercover activities in Clinton County." Frankfort experienced another cross-burning in late 1969. This incident was not noted by *Frankfort Morning Times* staff. However, a concerned citizen in the community wrote a Letter to the Editor informing the people responsible for the cross burning that "this is NOT 'Klan Kountry,'" which makes the failure to report the incident by the local daily newspaper noteworthy here.[138]

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[137] "Fiery Cross Burned in City Last Night." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 4 Dec. 1926, p. 2.
[138] "Ku Klux Klan Burns Cross in the City Park," 1 Oct. 1939, p. 1; "This Isn't 'KKK Kountry'," 26 Nov. 1969, p. 4.

State-wide KKK coverage in the *Frankfort Morning Times* mainly focused on the lengthy and continuous attempts of Stephenson's appeals, his parole in 1950 and subsequent parole violations as well as his second parole in the mid-fifties. Additionally, the paper sporadically discussed potential rebirths of the organization until 1970. For example, what made a 1965 incident noteworthy was less the coverage of the police investigation into the matter but more the editorial that was published in response to the coverage the next day by a community member. Titling the response "Revived Ku Klux Klan should not be allowed to exist in Hoosierland," the writer took a clearer stance on the matter than the paper ever did. The writer condemned the 1920s "advocacy of white protestant supremacy" and called upon fellow Hoosiers to not let this happen again. Speaking out against what the KKK stood for, this letter provides the first example of public resistance in the community. The writer also noted that the "Klan left a canker sore across Hoosierland that didn't heal for many years."[139] Based on the general evasion of this very topic in my countless hours of conversation with Indiana residents, I am not certain the sore has healed yet. Inquiries about local histories tended to highlight positive attributes about their railroad past and being a farming community, but the responses rarely included references to the impact of the Ku Klux Klan. The silencing of history and memories might be one legacy of a potent culture of exclusion.

The inconsistent coverage in the local paper regarding Klan activities, the lack of taking a strong stance against the organization, and the overwhelming silence on Klan matters from the majority of my interviewees warrants caution. The lack of coverage, for example, does not equate with the absence of the Klan or the ideologies that defined the organization. The limited exchanges I had on the topic affirmed the strength of the Klan in the community back then, and the continued

[139] "Revived Ku Klux Klan Should Not Be Allowed to Exist in Hoosierland," 29 July 1965, p. 4.

existence of the organization in other parts of Indiana and the country. As demonstrated in chapter two and above, racism and prejudice are more intrinsic to Indiana than is commonly acknowledged. In other words, the Klan in Clinton County and elsewhere in the Hoosier state, exploited rather than generated white supremacist notions and beliefs. The omission of ugly county history and the continued discomfort of residents to confront it might be indicative of an attempt to forget what happened or to perpetuate the prejudice and biases toward the Other – non-white, non-Protestant, non-native. Current sociopolitical events and attitudes revealed in the community might suggest the latter.

The silence on the Klan was one of the trends identified in my analysis of the Black History Project surveys. Diving deeper into one county's history revealed the same whitewashing strategies illustrated by the overwhelming silence among my informants: if you don't mention it, it never happened. Newspaper articles, on the other hand, documented a celebratory demeanor toward white supremacist organizations. By avoiding conversations about Klan activities in the county or the state, this stain might just go away. This lack of reflexive public memory and county history enabled Clinton County to reimagine its past and commemorate moments of pride such as the railroad boom without reflecting upon politics and communal attitudes that prevented black Southerners and other minorities from settling and staying in their town.

Whitewashing Klan connections is one characteristic of the cultures of exclusion, and goes hand in hand with whitewashing the larger county history. As was the case with the KKK/NHTDA history, most of my informants pursued the strategy of erasing minorities from Clinton County's past, the focus of my next section. Erasing the community's past racial and ethnic diversity might be easier than having to explain why most people of color left. Their erasure will again be

juxtaposed with newspaper clippings, which document an oftentimes selective and one-sided colored past in Clinton County.

Erasing and Criminalizing Minorities: The Legacy of a Contentious Relationship Between a Community and Its Colored Past

Tom, Walter and Bob – all of whom recalled glimpses of a black past in Frankfort were the exception. Generally, whenever my interviewees described the community in the past, they highlighted major stepping stones and incidents. Rarely, however, did they volunteer information regarding the racial make-up of the town. Inquiring about the demographics disclosed some discomfort and insecurities on how to refer to the community in racial and ethnic terms. Some shifted the content of the question to recalling different exchange students that have lived in the community over the years as they could not recall any racial or ethnic minorities who lived there. It appeared that in their worldview, this has always been an environment, in which whiteness was a fact of life and thus did not require a denominator, or as Spickard notes, in which whiteness was normative. Reflecting on the image my respondents created about their community in the past, I was convinced that this had been an all-white community since its foundation. However, though remembered for their white wives, Tom's and Walter's remarks about past individuals of color in their midst did not fall into the "token" category but rather opened a world into a black Frankfort – a world long gone and forgotten by today's residents of Clinton County.

Two trends emerged in my conversations: community members talked the black population into non-existence or they stereotyped them, frequently with regards to criminal proclivity. "There weren't any back then," asserted Doug, coiner of the "all-white community" phrase. Penny, the self-proclaimed roundhouse savior from chapter three, shared a community joke with me that refers to the black community as "accidental," as "the car must have broke [sic] down when it was

in Frankfort. That's how we got that group." Though both remarks stand in stark contrast to the chapter opening that documents the longevity of the black community in the area, they are indicative of the town mentality. Some like Doug talked the black presence away, others revealed prevalent stereotypes in the community. Both ways demonstrate how Frankfort created "passive" barriers to an inclusive environment. Both strategies send a clear message of who belongs (and has always belonged) and who never did (or still doesn't) – how else do we explain the qualifier "accidental"? Both attitudes convey a layered system of indifference from the white majority. Unpacking these layers of indifference will be the focus of the remainder of this chapter, as it illuminates why not more African Americans settled in Clinton County and explains why the few that did left. I will start with the erasure of the black presence.

Erasing Blacks

Doug is not the only white resident who denied a black presence. Here are some examples of how my informants described the absence of the black community:

Table 5 Community Expressions Regarding the Absence of African Americans in the Community

Theme	Informants' Description of the Black Community
There Were No Blacks Here	• Um … Basically this is a white Anglo Saxon protestant community. It basically is this kind of a community. I know back in the 60's, um, back when the black revolutions were taking place across America. And the riots and so forth. Um … people would come down from Chicago they would be aghast that there were no black people in Frankfort. And so, they would say we're gonna get 'em on a bus and load 'em out, put them down on the square and let them loose. That was the attitude. Oh, my goodness, here's a city and there's no black people here. (Randy, in his sixties) • When I was in high school […] we had one or two Hispanics in my class and no African Americans. (Frank, in his fifties) • And my God, I looked at that thing. I have never contacted the black. That I gotta do that because [they] wanted me to do that. So, you know what? My black was on vacation … [laughs]. I told that to the [agency]. Can you imagine me say to somebody in Detroit or something, that the only black we had was on vacation, so I couldn't get the black to talk to me. And when I wrote that to the [agency], they must've really scratched their head. (Richard, in his nineties, when remembering a community report he had to submit to a federal agency)

Randy simply stated that there were no blacks in town, Frank based his remarks on his high school experience to assert the absence, and Richard claimed that the only black resident in town "was on vacation." Interestingly, Randy and Richard compared their all-white town to metropolises like Chicago and Detroit, both of which experienced a steady increase in black residents as a result of the Great Migration. Eerily, Randy's remarks resemble Claybaugh's description of how the community got rid of its black population in the late nineteenth century, updating the wagons with buses, reflective of technological advancement.

Their recollections refer to the fifties, sixties, and maybe seventies based on their ages or when they moved to the community. Admittedly, the census numbers for the black community are minuscule – 50 in 1950, 37 in 1960, and 23 in 1970 (Frankfort's total population hovered around 15,000 throughout these years). But all of these numbers are greater than zero. However, *Morning*

Times staff writer Laura Barone attested to the invisibility of African Americans in her 1978 portrait of the black community, observing "as far as Frankfort is concerned, its black population was never that noticeable" (1).

The *Frankfort Morning Times* proved instrumental not only in filling in for the omissions of interviewees' collective memory but also corroborating their sentiments. The sparse coverage, though a testament to the presence of some minorities, reflects that the community at large did not care much about achievements and events of local minorities. The draft call for blacks during World War I that noted the local Bethel AME church in passing also illustrates the negligence and indifference of the local paper regarding its black residents. Two weeks after announcing the draft call for "colored men," the four eligible men – John Williams, Robert L. Kersey, Fern Leon Reed, and Lela Edward Roberts – had joined the war. The paper reported on the joyous sendoff for the "Colored Boys," during which Reverend Washington, the minister of the local AME church, "presented the comfort kits to the boys."[140] All men except Williams were natives of Frankfort. The paper did not indicate the ages of the four men, leading me to initially assume that the men were indeed teenagers. Further research revealed the age for the three Frankfort natives who all were between 24 and 27 years old. All three returned to Frankfort after the war,[141] though the local paper did not consider it noteworthy to report upon its black hometown heroes (unlike their white counterparts who were frequently celebrated). It never printed any of their letters from abroad, neither did it cover when they were injured, maybe died, nor when they returned home. Honoring Clinton County service members in word and picture never encompassed black service members.

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[140] "Colored Boys Given Sendoff by Friends," 24 Aug. 1918, p. 1.

[141] The draft registration card for John Williams identifies him as a native of Homer, Louisiana, where he was buried in 1952, so he eventually returned home after the war. He came to Frankfort during the 1910s and was employed as a laborer for the railroad before being drafted in Clinton County. There is no local record of him after the sent-off to war, leading me to believe that he returned to Louisiana where he eventually died.

Such coverage might have been counter-intuitive to overall attitudes and sentiments in town, which rendered African Americans invisible, criminal, or ludicrous. Black service to the country remained invisible in Clinton County. The fact that the *Morning Times* describes the black men in their mid-twenties as "boys" is indicative of the time, when coverage frequently referred to black men as boys unless it was coverage of crime, during which black male teenagers were robbed of their youth and presented as "negro beasts." I will return to this idea later in the chapter again. Unsurprisingly, the Clinton County War Memorial, erected in honor of all Clinton County war veterans, does not include any of the black service members native to the community, constituting one of the most powerful indicators of black erasure and *non*belonging (Figure 23).

Figure 23 A panoramic overview of the Clinton County War Memorial located in the heart of downtown, erected adjacent to the courthouse on the downtown square. The centrality of the memorial indicates its value for the community. Besides the black granites that carry the names of county veterans for the respective wars, the red bricks honor certain individuals (based on donors). No black service members are to be found anywhere in the memorial. Photo Credit: Marcela Poirier

Throughout the twentieth century, segregation of schools, neighborhoods, and public spaces was a reality for many Indiana towns.[142] As noted above, the black community heralded the fact that Frankfort did not have a segregated school system. And indeed, black students learned alongside white students in Frankfort. The *Cauldron*, the high school yearbook, listed a few black students throughout the twentieth century, at times including their engagement in various clubs and orchestra. Most of the times, however, group photos did not feature the students. Instead, following the path of indifference and negligence that characterizes community values, the school annually hosted minstrel shows as featured in the yearbooks (see above). Like the black service members, the black school children for the most part remained invisible. So were their accomplishments if we recall Franklin Jones's long list of achievements (see above). Blacks simply seemed to not belong to the Clinton County community.

"The youngsters here went through high school, left for college and never came back," stated Catherine Lewis in Laura Barone's portrait of the black church and the black community in 1978. Lewis, herself a black native of Frankfort who graduated from Frankfort High School in 1946, provided one of the main historical insights into communal attitudes towards blacks. "Prejudice, she says, is the reason the few black families in the town left. 'Who wants to do housework all your life?' she says. 'Scrubbing floors and cleaning toilets – I did that for a while

[142] The *Frankfort Morning Times* covered various cases of de facto school segregation in the state, including in Gary and Indianapolis. It also followed the racial disturbances in Muncie, in which the high school sport team's nickname "Rebels" along with the confederate flag as the school's symbols resulted in skirmishes in the late sixties. The reporting, however, was sporadic and incomplete, thus failing to contextualize the boycott in the larger racial picture. Instead, it fell prey to its own established norms of amplifying violence and arrests in the black community. Similarly, the *Morning Times* reported on on-going fights for integrated housing, led by black and white community leaders. One of the most prominent leaders in Indiana was George Neagu who led the Indiana State Fair Housing committee in the early 1960s. Coverage of state-wide race-related events further illuminates the *Morning Times*'s indifference and negligence of black realities. After the murder of Medgar Evans, civil rights leaders across the country received death threats, including George Neagu, as the *Morning Times* reported. Whereas the article covering the threats against the Neagu couple detailed their achievements in the fight for equal housing, the headline did not: "Wife of White Racist at Gary Tells of Fear" (*Frankfort Morning Times*, 19 June 1963, p. 2). Yes, the couple was white, but their record speaks for itself that they were everything but racist. Such misleading headlines may be an honest mistake, but they might also reveal local journalist attitudes toward the fight for civil rights or race-related issues in general.

and it took me three years to work up the courage to get a factory job'" (Barone 1).[143] Job opportunities for blacks in the community were indeed limited. In 1930, African Americans took part in a lot of different occupations, many of which were menial ones – janitor, custodian, porter, housework, laborer. The invisible barriers of upward mobility for blacks in the community might have contributed to their decision to leave Frankfort.

Besides Catherine Lewis, Barone featured two other families in her portrait – all of whom are quoted living comfortably in Frankfort. "I have no intention of leaving. Frankfort is home to me. I feel comfortable here," stated Catherine Lewis (Barone 10). However, they all left, including Lewis whose family on the mother's side of the family, the Harpers, had been in Frankfort since the early 1880s. Her obituary notes her as a resident of Marion, Indiana. She did however return home in 2012, as she was buried on the same cemetery in Frankfort as her parents, Herschel and Beulah Harper Lewis ("Obituary of Catherine V. Lewis").[144]

Frankfort never enforced residential segregation to my knowledge. The 1930 Census documents that with the exception of three families who lived adjacent to one another, the vast majority of black residents had only white neighbors. However, that does mean that neighborly co-existence was peaceful or that "voluntary" segregation did not occur. For example, in July 1934, "Color Lines Drawn in Neighborhood Rumpus" spanned the cover page of the *Frankfort Morning Times*. Though it appears to have been a quarrel among neighbors with accusations on all sides presented in the court room, the journalist seemingly wanted to attribute the blame to the black children involved, prefacing the description of what ensued in court with "a neighborhood quarrel in which little colored boys played an important part." The journalist shifts the tone between black

[143] Lewis's obituary lists Federal Mogul as previous employer ("Obituary of Catherine V. Lewis").
[144] The grave of her parents, however, is unmarked (as are other graves of long-term black community members), providing another indicator of black erasure in the community.

and white descriptions:

> Whites were accused of pushing colored children off the sidewalks and accusations were also made that on numerous occasions, stubby, brown-skinned thumbs have often strayed periously [sic] near flat proboscis and the chubby brown hand to which the digit was fastened is said to have wobbled and wavered, especially strong in the direction of whites.[145]

Instead of noting who complained on behalf of the black family, the reader receives descriptions of black body parts that might belong to a black boy. More importantly, the journalist concludes that it was black kids who threatened to punch white kids in the nose, which stands in stark contrast with the actuality of white kids pushing black kids of the sidewalk.

The article provides more specific examples of local white attitudes towards blacks that do not reflect a peaceful co-existence. The most heated moment in the court room "occurred when a white man, the only male member of the troubled families present, told the gentleman of color that he should be back 'down south across the line.' The colored man replied that 'I suppose you are a tough guy, I guess you are a regular Dillinger." It remains unclear whether or not the black family actually was a migrant family from the South or how long they had lived in Frankfort; property ownership is the only information we can retrieve from the article about the black family. What is clear, however, the white male complainant believed all blacks should live below the Mason-Dixon line, invoking further a sentiment of unacceptance, or *non*belonging.

The presiding circuit judge also offers insight into the community mindset. He hoped that the families upon returning to their homes can "try to iron out the disagreeable situation," seemingly siding with no one. But he continued, "In the meantime I will talk to the two colored boys and warn them of what they should not do. White families should likewise warn their children to remain on their premises and mind their own business." Here the judge apparently trusted white

[145] "Color Lines Drawn in Neighborhood Rumpus." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 27 July, 1934, p. 1.

parents to know how to discipline their children but he did not extend the same benefit to the black parents involved.

Whereas there is no record of residential segregation, the community enforced it regardless and discriminated against its black residents. We come to find out about segregation in church and housing discrimination through one of Frankfort's few black voices in 1970. The Letter to the Editor by Martha V. Maxey constituted the first residential black voice printed in the paper.[146] The recently received "fine treatment" at the local hospital sparked Maxey to write the letter. However, as a life-long resident, Maxey also attested to segregation in the community generally, noting for example that "some of our churches were never segregated" (4). In other words, some were. In light of declining membership, the Bethel AME church held various financial drives in the community from the forties through the sixties as we come to find out through *Morning Times* coverage. Maxey's remark sheds a different light on the fact that all of these drives were successful even when membership was as small as four (as was the case in the late 1960s). After all, an open black church might prevent black residents from attending white houses of worship. In this aspect, some white congregations might have actively contributed to the fact that they were all-white.

Maxey's experiences with the local housing market reflect the extent to which housing discrimination impacted the black community. She wrote:

> The main trouble I ever experienced was in finding a house to rent or live in – but I always had some good white neighbors who helped me find a place and they usually succeeded. Afterwards, I found it was not my race so much as the fact that they had never rented places to colored people and did not know anything about them. (4)

[146] The *Morning Times* falsely printed her last name as Mazey. Whereas it might have been a simple typo, it again illustrates the indifference and negligence paid toward the black community in Frankfort. The death of her son in his mid-twenties in 1947 was also not noteworthy. Neither was the accident with a passenger elevator that killed Maxey's husband, George Floyd Maxey, in 1921 at the age of 20. He died the month his son was born. In other words, the daily hardship, experiences, and residents' name do not matter in the community, manifesting further the sense of *non*belonging.

Maxey was born in Frankfort as Martha Kersey in 1898 and lived there through the Great Migration. Yet, she experienced landlords in her own hometown who had never rented to black residents.[147] Maybe the landlords recently joined the Frankfort community, but maybe they also actively contributed to the fact that they were shy of that very experience. Maxey's letter, however, is a testimony that housing discrimination was part of the lived experiences for minorities in Frankfort – native or not. This is yet another "invisible" barrier the white community of Frankfort put in place to make their surroundings an inhospitable place of *non*belonging for minorities that could explain the decline of the black community.

The erasure of blacks also took place through the segregation of public spaces in town – another community-enforced but not well recorded mechanism of inhospitality. The Travelers Protective Association (TPA) Park has frequently been mentioned in my interviews and surveys as one of the favorite places in the city. Besides a petting zoo, it also houses an Olympic-size swimming pool. Every summer the local paper ran numerous ads about the opening, including opening hours and season prices. Not once did the ad include the restriction of *who* of the public *was allowed* to use the pool. It seems to have been an unspoken rule that Frankfort's black residents were not to use the pool. Or maybe it was clearly indicated at the sign at the park or pool gate preventing "outsiders" from using the pool.

In 1954, however, through the bravery of a local white minister, Frankfort's discrimination record was officially in the books. The pastor accused the city of violating the state law regarding access to public accommodations which had been in place since 1885. He reported that other cities in the area – Kokomo, Lafayette, and Indianapolis – had been operating their pools on a non-segregated basis. His complaint sparked discussion in the city, including "Special permits [to] be

[147] In 1930, she and her eight-year-old son Leonard Maxey lived with her parents who owned a home in town. By 1940, her mother had passed and she was living with her son and her father in a different home for rent.

issued [to] Frankfort's colored residents" and resulted in the public to be invited to a public hearing the following week "to express their views on the matter." Two days later, however, the paper announced the meeting had been canceled and declared that the "Pool is Open to All" – effective immediately. The article included the consensus of the general public, which "appeared to be that the pool should be for all public use" as well as the gratitude of the black community, represented through the pastor of the Bethel AME church who called this decision "one big step necessary in the elimination of segregation" in Frankfort.[148] While expressing his gratitude, the pastor confirmed segregation to be a reality in Clinton County. What becomes clear here is how white residents ensured that their white spatial imaginary became a white spatial reality – imperceptibly demarcating houses, churches, and pools, all of which one could perceive as "race-neutral spaces" to uses Lipsitz's term, were indeed white spaces.

Segregation was as much part of the black experience in Clinton County as was actual physical violence and intimidating threats. One of such violent incidents involved a local black resident in February 1964, as was reported in the *Frankfort Morning Times* with the front-page headline, "Frankfort Man Tells of Beating." The Frankfort man is identified as Charles Kersey. The Kerseys, a local black family, had been in Frankfort for multiple generations. The city directories of Frankfort list the Kerseys as early as 1887. Charles is Martha Maxey's brother. What is surprising about the headline is the lack of a racial denominator; instead, it notes the nativity of

[148] "Frankfort Violating Law by Not Letting All in Pool, Says Minister." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 22 July 1954, pp. 1–2; "Public Hearing on Pool Segregation Issue Canceled; Pool is Open to All." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 24 July 1954, pp. 1–2. Other coverage in the same issue demonstrated that Frankfort was not unique in the pool segregation issue, as "9 Marion Negroes Sue After Being Barred from Pool," which eventually resulted in the Marion City Council announcing the pool "open to all races" ("No-Damages Given in Pool Case," 1 Aug. 1954, p. 1). However, the pool debate in Indiana was far from being over. Two summers later, in 1956, "Racial Friction Breaks Out Over Swimming Pools" in Muncie as well as Evansville resulting in arrests in the former locale and threats of a lawsuit in the latter if access continued to be refused (13 June 1956, p. 1). Whereas Grant and Vanderburgh Counties were proven to be spaces of inhospitality and exclusion in chapter two, here we would have a first reference for Delaware County, home of Muncie, to be included on the Mapping Whiteness map (Figure 10).

Kersey. The article, however, quickly "clarifies" that he is a "Negro." It was through his grandfather Robert L. Kersey, Sr.'s obituary from 1945 that we learned about segregation of social organizations in Frankfort, as he was active in local black organizations. Now, it is through Charles Kersey that we learn about physical acts of violence blacks endured close to their Indiana homes: "he was beaten and robbed," and "had had three teeth knocked out and was cut and bruised about the face" (1). Though the suspects were still at large, the sheriff noted that "he was convinced that there was no racial difficulty involved in the beating" (ibid.). It remains unclear where the sheriff's conviction came from as the investigation was still open at the time of the news coverage. Unfortunately, the case was not closely followed in the *Morning Times*.

In light of these facts that proved negligence, segregation, discrimination, and violence that blacks faced in Clinton County over the course of the twentieth century, the voices of white community members featured in Barone's portrait about the black community fade. One of Catherine Lewis's teachers claimed that "There was never the least feeling in the community against them" (1). Debatable is also Barone's own take in her conclusion. In light of the absence of the local Bethel AME church, she wrote, "Maybe Frankfort should be proud that the church is empty, because it means blacks and whites are living harmoniously and sharing their institutions. Maybe Frankfort should be sad that the church has no black community to give it life" (10). My interviewees generally did not recall any black residents – then and now – making a harmonious co-existence at best hypothetical. Frankfort today has no black church. Its black population remains minuscule with 0.6 percent in the 2010 census, though my informants noticed a very recent increase. If Barone's speculation about the harmonious co-existence were true, churches have opened their doors to all newcomers regardless of race since the black church ceased to exist. The next chapter will illustrate that this is not the case. Whether or not residents are sad about the

absence of a black community is also questionable, as indifference, negligence, and unfamiliarity with any potential black residents characterize the environment until today.

For example, unfamiliarity and anachronistic terminology, at times, revealed the limited interactions white residents had with African Americans. Whereas I can see how a gentleman in his nineties recalled having had "three colored people" in his class and continued to refer to African Americans as "colored" throughout our conversation, I struggle to extend the same understanding to a community-engaged family with both parents in their late forties/early fifties, "I don't know like the history of any colored-- black people." Though she corrected her speech right away, it felt like she did it because of my presence as the researcher in the room. Other people referenced the black community as "the blacks."

The unfamiliarity with non-white members shone through in multiple interviews. Cheryl and Rick, the farming couple, recalled when their church split up and they formed their own congregation, they were in need of a minister "and so we called a guy who is the head of Science Bound at Purdue. He goes down to the inner cities of Indianapolis and recruits kids for engineering. Black as the ace of spades," Rick recalled. He continued, noting that

> And we laughed about that because here we have a black pastor in little white Rossville, Indiana. And he was wonderful. Everybody just loved him to death. And I mean he's a great guy and we still see him from time to time and we just think the world of him. And it's kind of funny you think well, there should be some prejudice there in rural Indiana. But I sure never saw any of it.

Rick's recollection of the pastor as "black as the ace of spades" indicates unfamiliarity if not condescension. Rick corroborates this impression when sharing the irony of a "black pastor" in "white Rossville." And like Catherine Lewis's white teacher featured in Barone's article above, he denies any presence of prejudice in rural Indiana. Unfortunately, I have not been able to identify the pastor to provide an alternative voice to Rick's account. Catherine Lewis provided an answer

– that applied to her former teacher as well as Rick's remarks: "But the whites don't realize it because they weren't Negro" (Barone 1). In other words, obliviousness and ignorance are passive mechanisms of the inhospitable cultures of exclusion.

This section illustrated the community's efforts to explain local blacks away. Community members generally did not recall any black families in the area; in their collective memory, Frankfort was an all-white community. The local paper corroborated this trend and selectively reported on community activities and members – rarely did they include black members of the community. If they did, as was the case in the first call for black soldiers, indifference and negligence characterized the reporting. In the even rarer instances that black voices were featured like Catherine Lewis's and Martha Maxey's, we came to learn about all the invisible yet inhospitable barriers in place – landlords, jobs, churches. Through words of my informants and print of the local paper, Clinton County has appeared overwhelmingly white.

Imagining, presenting, and acting as an all-white community gives license to not only erase minorities but also create, disseminate, and perpetuate myths and stereotypes about the "Other." Of course, people in Clinton County do not live in a utopian ideal small town but in the real world, in which vice, crime, and minorities exist. Presenting minorities as "problems" by attaching racial denominators in coverage of crimes is one way to achieve this. Minimizing (or erasing) positive contributions of minorities while emphasizing their contributions in negative coverage simultaneously reinforces the (desired) whiteness of the community. It keeps the boundaries of the ideal small-town world intact; minorities do not belong in it. The local paper attests to the permanence of the strategy over the course of the twentieth century; my interviews suggest that the same mechanisms apply today to a great extent. The last section will show how people in Clinton County come to think in stereotypes that positively corelate minorities with crimes and

violence, thus unfit for peaceful small-town co-existence. The remainder of the chapter will focus on the ways local journalists fostered and reinforced communal attitudes towards African Americans in their coverage, creating a clear distinction between those who belong and those who don't.

Disrupting the Small-Town Ideal: "Tales of Rape and Revenge, of Stupidity and Docility"

Doug subtly associated crime with black newcomers moving into town. He inferred that the Klan presence in Indiana resulted in a low number of blacks in the community, as described above. In the same breath, he noted the current demographics of Frankfort as follows:

> But I know that there has been an increase of … African Americans into our community. I don't have a challenge with that, as long, you know, they behave themselves. I'd say that with the Caucasians, the white folk. You know? If you can't behave yourself, I don't want you to be here. But as I said earlier, or just a little while ago, that the population now, and I'm not saying that the people who are coming in are not law-abiding citizens, but the people who have been resident here for a long period of time, who were law-abiding, they kind of mingled out and have gone and has left us with a larger number of people who are now trying to regroup their life because they have had challenges with the law. And so it's been, that's been … a struggle with the community. I think it has been a struggle with the community.

On the one hand, Doug affirmed the recent growth in Frankfort's black population. On the other hand, he didn't not object to that growth as long as "they behave themselves." Here he subconsciously associated African Americans with trouble, which is corroborated in the remainder of his remark, in which he attempted to generalize (and deracialize) the struggles in the community with recent newcomers who do not respect the law. But what would give Doug or anyone else for that matter the idea to associate African Americans with crime and trouble in the first place?

Doug was not alone in this line of thinking. Here are some other examples that reflect a stereotypical and negative perception of African Americans:

Table 6 Examples of How Community Members Talk about African Americans

Theme	Informants' Description of the Black Community
Town Mentality Revealing Stereotypical Thinking	• Ok, in the past, I would say very few black. Very few Latinos. We knew when a black person came and the mentality was, well they're on welfare. They don't work. They drink. They drive Cadillacs. And they're useless. And that's the mentality. (Bob, in his fifties) • Black people, it's like they are out for themselves. They wanna get ahead, they want their family to get ahead. They are friendly and all that stuff, I don't mean anything bad about that, but they are just not an organized group. There are always factions. They don't jell very well. (Penny, in her late sixties) • We have, I mean they're spattered and scattered around, but not a major, we are seeing a growth in black – mainly because we're seeing a lot of people coming from ... Gary and there's just so less opportunity at some of these other communities like Gary, Indiana, and Lake County. High crime and so we had unfortunately picked up some of the gang banger type people and they're looking to get away from their situation. Whether they're trying to do it for the right reasons or just doing it for the wrong reasons and looking for new territory, I don't know, but we're seeing some of that. And that's been difficult … (Brad, in his sixties)

Bob, Penny, and Brad reference various negative stereotypes about the black community, some in more general terms and some specifically with regards to Frankfort. Though Bob starts his remarks in past tense, he ends in present tense. This shift in tense could indicate that the shift in mentality did not take place. Penny and Brad's remarks are indicative of that. Brad's remark, in particular, echoes Doug's association of African Americans and crime. Unlike Doug, Brad does not do so subconsciously. Despite general omissions of local minorities in the paper and the lack of daily interactions in an "all-white community," many of my informants still formed an opinion that reflects African Americans in a negative light. A close reading of relevant news coverage in the *Frankfort Morning Times* will elucidate how a self-perceived all-white community learned about African Americans.

"Hounds Chase Negro" reported the *Frankfort Morning Times* on October 22, 1904. Based on local newspaper coverage, this incident constitutes the first local racial controversy documented

in the paper. The article details the account of a white 20-year-old palm reader, a native of Ohio, who alleged that a black man whom she had met in Indianapolis, followed her to Frankfort, threatening her, beating her, and stealing her money. The local police, on the other hand, "accused her of being intimate with the negro, but she denied this." The man was able to escape the police twice, once despite the bloodhounds. His destiny was not revealed until the next issue of the paper a week later.[149] Under the sensationalized heading "Negro Fugitive Captured After Desperate Struggle," the article described in great detail the arrest of John Johnson. According to Johnson, the two had been intimate and "that in cities where they were allowed to do so they passed as husband and wife." The article reveals two crucial points. First, Johnson "sought refuge in the home of Rev. Harper, the colored minister."[150] That is to say, the *Frankfort Morning Times* tacitly acknowledged that the city had a black church as early as 1904, yet did not dedicate any coverage to it in the paper then. Secondly, the article confirms the insecurity and vagueness of race relations north of the Mason-Dixon line that had been a topic in many of the national newspaper articles discussed in chapter one. This aspect becomes clearer in the article at a later point: "When asked why he did not surrender to the officers if he had done nothing more than to be intimate with the woman, he replied that he wasn't certain just how strong the race prejudice might be around here." And Johnson's concerns, though not acknowledged in the article, were warranted, as Indiana had an anti-miscegenation law in the books since the mid-nineteenth century.

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[149] For the first twenty years, the *Frankfort Morning Times* was a weekly newspaper until it became a daily. Its motto since the beginning of the twentieth century has been to be the "Voice of the People." At times, it proclaimed to be "A Paper for the People." "Morning" was dropped in the early seventies; thus, recent newspaper coverage will refer to the *Frankfort Times*.

[150] In 1931, the *Morning Times* reported upon the death of Mrs. Elizabeth Harper, "one of the last of pioneer colored residents," during which we learn more about this "colored minister." She and her husband Rev. John W. Harper came to Frankfort in the early 1880s. Her husband is credited with being one of the founding members of a local church for black folks ("Colored Woman Dies Thursday," 16 Oct. 1931, p. 12). Further research revealed that he served in the Civil War in Indiana Regiment 28. John and Elizabeth were the parents of Ruth and Esther Harper who were the first black graduates from Frankfort High School depicted in the 1914 *Cauldron* ("John W.").

Suspicion, criminality, and abnormality accompanied *Morning Times* coverage of blacks the following years. In his midwestern small-town study of race relations in the early twentieth century, James DeVries also analyzed local newspaper coverage about minorities arguing that "the newspaper chains found that the public had a genuine interest in negative stereotypes about blacks. Tales of rape and revenge, of stupidity and docility regarding the Negro titillated the imagination of the public and sold papers" (50). This is true for Clinton County, Indiana, as well. Oddities like a black girl with her heart located on the right side of her chest became newsworthy in 1905, as did a "mysterious" black man hiding in the local woods, for whom arrest was suggested to explain his mysterious behavior. In May 1906, a black boy was arrested and charged with larceny for having stolen a watch – which according to him he traded. The following year, the conviction of John Lewis, "a Negro Burglar," became the cover story. Thus, the sole emphasis on crime when covering blacks in the county creates a distinction between those who belong and those who don't – and might explain how Doug felt inclined to qualify his statement with as long as "they behave themselves." In the past, according to the *Morning Times* coverage, they did not.

"Tales … of stupidity and docility," according to James DeVries, found informative and entertainment value among small-town residents. Besides KKK and NHTDA memorabilia, the local historians Tom and Robert also possessed some rare community collectables which displayed blacks in disparaging ways. Besides salt and pepper shakers, and miniature dolls, they had some trade cards that merchants had lying on their counters back in the day. Trade cards are like business cards and flyers today. Tom highlighted one card in particular, even recalling the text on it due to the incendiary language it contained (Figure 24):

Figure 24 An exemplary trade card that circulated in the community around the turn of the twentieth century.

The trade card serves as a good entry way to gauge the community's attitude toward the black community in the early twentieth century. Clinton County's mindset parallels the attitudes in the state, as discussed in chapter two. By displaying a trade card as shown in Figure 24, the local dry goods store Southard & Swan sent a clear message to any potential minority customer at the time, as they advertised their store deriding black folks in word and picture – with a southern tongue resembling black character speech during slavery, calling themselves a derogatory term, and displaying three big-lip, funny-looking individuals.

The *Frankfort Morning Times* also responded to demands "of stupidity and docility," reinforcing stereotypes about blacks through pictures and words, thus providing additional insight

into the status of blacks in the community. The paper never featured photographs of local black residents – throughout the twentieth century. Instead, it featured demeaning caricatures of blacks and blackface. These visuals served to advertise minstrel shows as well as cotton mattresses, or simply provided general entertainment value in comic format featuring stereotypical southern dialect and big-lipped, ignorant blacks and southern mammies (e.g. 22 May 1926, p. 11; 9 Oct. 1926, p. 11; 26 Feb. 1927, p. 5), for example the cartoons entitled "Taking the Hurdle" and "Bean Sprout" (Figures 25 and 26):

Figure 25 Example of caricature featuring ignorant black, *Frankfort Morning Times*, 4 Oct. 1927, p. 9.

Figure 26 Example of caricature featuring white perception of blacks, *Frankfort Morning Times*, 15 Apr. 1928, p. 11. The way the white individual positions the black individual, Ick, trying to "hide" the donkey results in the donkey's ears appearing to grow of out the black individual's head like "Bean Sprouts."[151]

When a black migrant arrived in Frankfort in the 1920s, the *Morning Times* reported on a "Colored Lad [Who] Eats Thirteen Watermelons in Six Days on Trip from South to Frankfort." A *Morning Times* reporter conducted an interview with the boy, which disclosed that he was on his way to Indianapolis to live with an uncle of his. The reporter described his interviewee as "a bright little chap who has been in the grade schools, can read and write and talk intelligently." The boy's level of education became noteworthy. Earlier that month, the *Morning Times* featured a photograph of a small black boy who enjoyed his "melon time in Georgia" and did not worry about

[151] Cartoonist J. R. (James Robert) Williams was celebrated for his cartoons across the nation. His "Out Our Way" single-frame comics entertained millions of readers. He featured recurring small-town cowboy characters, including the black character "Big Ick" who is featured in Figures 25 and 26. Though not produced by the *Morning Times*, its staff decided which of the comic strips to reproduce. They selected many that featured blacks in stereotypical and ludicrous ways.

"politics, the high cost of living and so on" on its front page.[152] Photographs in the paper usually featured blacks from "far away," depicting them involved in city riots, as lynching victims, criminals, or "happy-go-lucky" individuals from southern farms. In this regard, the *Morning Times* coverage stayed true to its philosophy of covering black crime and black stereotypes. And this is how the Clinton County community learned about African Americans. The legacy of such skewed exposure can be seen today, for example in remarks like Doug's, which subtly reproduce such stereotypes in conversation with a researcher.

Accounts of lynchings, or as DeVries called them "tales of rape and revenge," were another way how blacks ended up in the local paper. Ever since the beginning of the twentieth century, the *Morning Times* sporadically covered lynchings, most of which were located in the South. A lynching in Georgia in August 1904 constitutes the first example reported in the *Frankfort Morning Times* when the local paper announced "Two Negroes Burned By Mob" in Statesboro. Whereas most of the lynchings were described in gruesome detail, they were usually not accompanied with a photograph. The closest lynching to home featured in story and picture was the lynching of Abram Smith and Thomas Shipp in Marion, Indiana that took place on August 7, 1930. [153] Whereas it is beyond the scope of this chapter to cover the news reporting in detail, it is worth noting that the *Frankfort Morning Times* did not openly condemn the violence enacted upon

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[152] "Colored Lad Eats Thirteen Watermelon in Six Days on Trip from South to Frankfort," 22 July 1926, p. 1; "It's Melon Time in Georgia," 4 July 1926, p. 1.

[153] Smith, Shipp, and James Cameron were arrested the night before and charged with the murder of Claude Deeter and rape of Mary Ball (who later recanted her story). As the news about the alleged crime spread like wildfire, a mob gathered around the prison where the three accused were being held. When the sheriff refused to hand over his prisoners, the mob stormed the jail and took hold of the three black teenagers. They brutalized and lynched Abram Smith, 19, and Thomas Shipp, 18. A voice from the crowd proclaiming Cameron's innocence prevented the third lynching that night. Though based on false claims, the lynching in Marion constitutes "a tale of rape and revenge." The lynching has received much scholarly attention, as it was one of the most outrageous lynchings to take place in the North and produced an iconic photograph of the incident. See chapter two for discussion of the photograph, which is said to have inspired Abel Meeropol to write the poem and song "Strange Fruit" and served as a point of inclusion in the "Indiana in 200 Objects" exhibition. For further information on the incident, see James Cameron's memoir *A Time of Terror. A Survivor Story* and James Madison's *A Lynching in the Heartland*.

the three black teenagers, two of whom were lynched sixty miles east of home. Instead, it featured voices such as Prosecutor Harley H. Hardin, who himself attended the lynching spectacle and then was put in charge of investigating the mob violence. In the quotes featured in the *Morning Times*, Hardin blamed the victims and exculpated the community.[154]

In the aftermath of the Marion lynching, coverage returned to Marion sporadically to report upon the end of the investigation, the non-indictment of mob members and the exoneration of the local sheriff. Of course, though not prominently displayed, the local paper did not fail to report the fate of then 17-year old James Cameron who was convicted of being an accessory to voluntary manslaughter to imprisonment of two to 21 years.[155] The article also gives insight in the different ways of reporting and describing crimes and criminals. Cameron, though by the time of the verdict only 17 years of age, was referred to as a *man* whereas simultaneously white criminals get the benefit of youth attached to their character, no matter the crime, for example in this front-page coverage from February 7, 1932 when "Richard H. Gladden, 22-year-old Frankfort *youth*, today stands formally charged with murder of his wife" (1; emphasis added).[156] As I mentioned above, unlike draft-related news that labeled black men as boys to go and fight the war, crime-related news robbed black teenagers of their youth.

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[154] For example, the *Morning Times* wrote "Prosecutor Hardin announced today that he would demand the death penalty for Cameron when the grand jury convenes, since, he declared, this youth had a hand in the affair as well as the others." In an attempt to assure the local black community that this lynching was an aberration, he is quoted as having said "he did not believe the violence was a demonstration against the negro race, but that it was aimed against the individuals and the charges involved" and that the lynching "might have occurred even had the two men been properly tried and sentenced to death" ("State Troops Are Sent to Marion," 9 Aug. 1930, pp. 1–2). Though Hardin was in charge of investigating the mob violence, he defended the Marion community before even having begun his investigation. Unsurprisingly, none of the mob members were ever convicted of the crime.

[155] "Marion Negro Convicted of Manslaughter." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 8 July 1931, p. 8. Cameron was paroled in 1935 and pardoned by the state of Indiana in 1993.

[156] Whereas Cameron was a black youth from Marion, coverage for local black youth being referred to as "colored man" is no different, e.g. "Colored Man Is Injured," referring to an 18-year old boy who was hit by a truck while riding his bicycle (25 Nov. 1933, p. 2).

The last coverage of a lynching was the heinous murder of Emmett Till in 1955 and the ensuing travesty of a trial against the two murderers. Similar to its coverage of the Marion lynching, the *Frankfort Morning Times* wrote nothing that condemned the violence enacted upon Emmett Till. Instead, it tacitly seemed to agree that Till deserved to die, as its first reporting of the reason for the lynching noted that Till died "because he made 'ugly remarks' to a white woman" – without inserting "allegedly" or "supposedly." [157] Upon realizing that this murder – unlike the many previous ones reported in the *Morning Times* – sparked an outcry across the nation, the tone shifted towards more empathy and included key words like "allegedly" when noting Till's "crime." However, simultaneously, the paper repeatedly printed the Mississippi sheriff's conspiracy theory that the body retrieved from the river appeared like a grown man and was too decomposed to have been in the water for such a short period of three days.[158] With the *Morning Times* deciding to cover local voices that strongly defended the community and doubted the crime, it demonstrated that it sided with the perpetrators of violence rather than the victims.

Lynching coverage constitutes one example, in which we can gauge the local attitude towards blacks, as the *Frankfort Morning Times* frequently demonstrated apathy or sided with the perpetrators of the crime. Riot coverage falls into the same category when we recall the Carlisle incident in 1904 (see Chapter 2). The race riot in Chicago in 1919 was also covered in story and picture, laying blame on the urban black population.

In the spirit of racial unrest and continued mob violence throughout the nation in the 1940s, the *Morning Times* claimed that Frankfort was on the verge of its own little riot in town in 1947. The front-news coverage "Five Negroes Jailed; Police Halt Trouble" starts with "Quick action by

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[157] "Two White Men Held in Negro Boy's Murder." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 1 Sept. 1955, p. 1.

[158] This very seed of doubt about the state of Till's body later became one of the key arguments for the defense, eventually resulting in the acquittal of the murderers by an all-white jury.

city police averted a possible riot about 11 o'clock last night following a fracas on Main Street near Freedman's Store." Eye-witness accounts described the black men's behavior as "acting belligerent and apparently in search of trouble." An encounter between the group and a white couple caused the situation to spiral out of control, eventually resulting in the arrest of all five non-resident black men. Follow-up coverage featured the white man's version only, noting the cause as an exchange of "hot words" after "the Negroes had walked between he and his wife in a swaggering manner." It emphasized how local "whites who were attracted to the scene" came to the white man's "rescue." One of arrested black men was "adjudged not guilty" as he remained in the car when the other four "became engaged in a brawl." The remaining four were fined for assault, battery, and disorderly conduct. Though labeled a brawl, only one party was to be punished: the black criminals who did not belong into the community.[159]

Coverage of local incidents involving minorities frequently echoed these sentiments. In 1919, transitory fellows were arrested by a local constable "pending word from the Danville police as to their identity and character," and local blacks were being chased out of town because one of them had asked a white girl "to take a trip with him." When the *Morning Times* eagerly followed the uproar in Marion in the aftermath of the Shipp and Smith lynching, it also reported on the local arrest of three blacks after a chase through the cornfields. All three were charged with vagrancy, "admitted they were trespassing and annoying residents west of the city limits, and were held guilty by the court."[160]

Vagrancy and trespassing ordinances and their strict enforcement became a popular means in Frankfort to control access to the city. Frankfort was, in fact, a potential destination for southern

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[159] "Five Negroes Jailed; Police Halt Trouble." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 10 Aug. 1947, p. 1; "Negroes Fined in Assault Case." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 12 Aug. 1947, p. 1.
[160] "Two Danville, Ill. Colored Men Are Arrested and Jailed," 1 Nov. 1919, p. 1; "Colored Chef Leaves Frankfort in Hurry," 13 Dec. 1919, p. 1; "Three Negroes Get Long Terms," 9 Aug. 1930, p. 1.

black migrants. But such migrants were arrested on trumped up charges. In early 1942, the *Morning Times* noted "Negro Transient" Bennie Rogers was taken into custody because he "had violated a federal code by leaving his home in Gretna, Louisiana, without notifying his local draft board."[161] Three weeks later, Virgil C. Hamilton, another black migrant – this time from Lexington, Kentucky, was detained – for "trespassing on railroad property."[162] Hamilton was arrested on Nickel Plate property by "special agents of the Nickel Plate," which could or could not indicate that he arrived in Frankfort by train. It is likely that he did, as Frankfort had four major railroad lines, freight and passengers. "Negro Transient" Essec Ree Walker, from Magnolia, Arkansas, definitely arrived via train in Frankfort in 1949, as he was hurt "stepp[ing] off a moving boxcar and crash[ing] into a signal standard." Two other migrants, currently treated in the hospital, were facing "charges of riding unlawfully in a moving freight train." If the word spread, the number of arrests might have been a deterring factor for blacks not to get off the train in Frankfort any longer. It was definitely employed as a strategy to discourage blacks from settling in Frankfort, as the *Morning Times* reported three days after their arrest that "The fine and costs were suspended *on condition the two leave town immediately*" (emphasis added). Many migrants did not have a penny upon arrival in the North. Since the two were arrested before securing employment, it was probably easiest to comply with the request to leave town.[163]

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[161] "Negro Transient Taken in Custody by U.S. Marshal," 13 Mar. 1942, p. 1.

[162] "Trespasser Detained," 31 Mar. 1942, p. 8. The placement of this brief snippet is worth noting, too. It follows "Racial Unrest is Stirred by New Housings," an article about the racial friction in Detroit, written by Frank Kenesson. Until recently, Kenesson had been a staff member of the *Frankfort Morning Times*, but not until he joined the Detroit staff of the Associated Press did we read anything about the ongoing Great Migration in the *Morning Times*. Kenesson noted that race troubles were nothing new in Detroit, "But it was not until the great migration of southern and foreign labor in 1917-21 to Detroit's mammoth motor industries that racial problems became acute." He later explained the cause for the unrest this time around – the fact that housing authorities planned a housing development project for blacks too close to white neighborhoods causing much resentment among the white residents. As was already demonstrated in chapter one, housing was the number one factor for visibly executed white animosity toward black newcomers.

[163] "Negro Transient Hurt in Jump from Boxcar," 8 June 1949, p. 1; "Negro Transients Find Trouble Still Dog Their Trail," 17 Sept. 1949, p. 1; "Transient Negroes Are Fined, Given Freedom," 20 Sept. 1949, p. 1.

Law professor Timothy Zick notes, "for a substantial time in our nation's history local territories were largely under the discretionary control of the police and other local officials," such as Nickel Plate special agents or constables, who "were empowered to create purified territories" (549). This way, the community determined who belonged in the community and reinforced its identity as an all-white town.[164] The *Morning Times* demonstrated an impeccable consistency in othering these black migrant arrivals, continuously referring to them as "negro transients," invoking criminality, homelessness, and thus *non*belonging.

Around the time that "negro transients" made the headlines, whites also arrived through similar means in Frankfort, though not considered newsworthy by the *Frankfort Morning Times*. Frances, who remarked the KKK upon noticing "hate crimes" on my business card, recalled

> But I do know after the war and what we call our Great Depression, we had a lot of hobos that would ride on the train and get off in [Clinton County]. Cuz I can remember mom feeding them. Getting them food, sandwich, and they'd sit on the back porch and eat. And that happened to a lot of people around here when people lost their jobs or didn't really have a place to stay.

Similarly, when I inquired about potential migrant newcomers during the Great Migration, "Southerners, blacks and whites alike" triggered the following memory by Bob:

> Southerners, now that's interesting. My mother came from Kentucky. And when they came here, in the 30's and 40's, there was a migration of Southerners here. They were looked down upon as the Mexicans are now, they were dirt. They were dirty. They talked funny. They ate funny foods. And what my mom said, they had

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[164] Zick's "purified territories" echo Lipsitz's "'pure' and homogeneous spaces" idealized by the white spatial imaginary (29). When the power was given to community members to create such territories in Indiana in the past, we ended up with vigilante organizations like the White Caps. In "Constitutional Displacement," Timothy Zick notes the resurfacing of the strict enforcement of trespassing laws against undocumented immigrants. He also connects these recent efforts to past endeavors "of early state exclusions of paupers, vagabonds and other unwelcome persons" (564). He elaborates on the territorial displacement, noting that

> These state and local laws are efforts to address problems purportedly related to illegal immigration, including higher crime rates and lower property values. The apparent hope is that by controlling access to places like residences and workplaces, local territories will become illegal immigrant-free zones. The nature and character of these local reforms raise the concern, however, that all aliens in the community will feel unwelcome and will perhaps be forced to move elsewhere. (565)

In a similar fashion, the Frankfort community might have hoped that the enforcement of trespassing laws against southern black migrants would result in a migrant-free zone, sending a message of unwelcome and incentivize relocation elsewhere.

> a section in town, [it's] still there and it's called Hogville. […] And there's like a junk yard there. Well then, that section, that's Hogville. There were a lot of small homes in there and they're still here. But that's where the hillbillies lived. And you know, they have pride in that.

Inquiring about potential black Southerners who could have been attracted to the same job opportunities that attracted white Southerners, Bob agreed with the attraction but immediately noted, "I think the racism kept them out." Asking him to elaborate further, he said the following:

> if the blacks came, you have to look at the time period where there were no rights for blacks. Very little. They would've been treated bad, up until the 60's, so and a small town like this, they really wouldn't be welcomed up until that time period. Maybe even till the 70's. You know, when the civil rights really started to kick in. But up until then, they wouldn't have been welcomed.

Frances's and Bob's recollections attest to the Great Depression and Great Migration affecting Clinton County. Both noted the arrival of white Southerners in town, a fact that was missed by the local paper. Bob himself is a descendent of one of those southern white migrants. Yet, Bob also answers how black arrivals would have been received had they decided to settle permanently in the area. That explains the transitory stay of the newcomers in Frankfort, as the census lists mainly comprise long-term families in an area. Additionally, the *Morning Times* corroborates the unwelcome attitude of the community toward black migrants.

Consequently, despite the fair share of "negro transients" who "disrupted" Frankfort tranquility, the *Frankfort Morning Times* never contextualized them within the larger on-going Great Migration. When it started covering effects of the Great Migration on northern communities, it couched its coverage in general national terms. However, we can draw a few parallels and inferences from said coverage. For example, in May 1956 the *Morning Times* printed "Problem of Race Relations Not Confined to South; Discrimination in North, Too," an article written by Associated Press reporter Bem Price. Besides identifying housing as the major issue of contention and racial tension, Price acknowledged the existence of sundown towns in the Midwest, noting

that "There are cities such as Cicero, Ill., adjacent to Chicago, and Dearborn, Mich., next to Detroit, which exclude Negro residents *through community pressures*" and added that "you can find instances in the North of mob action when a Negro family moves into an all-white neighborhood" (2; emphasis added).

"Community pressures" served as an extralegal, unofficial tool to maintain all-white communities without admitting racist intentions. Indiana communities resorted to this strategy frequently with regards to black residents, as discussed in chapter two. Trend 4 in the BHP contextualized sundown towns within the larger narrative of whitewashing county history. And the foregoing pages affirm that Clinton County utilized such "community pressures" on its own black residents: the "colored chef" in 1919 as well as the two "negro transients" in 1949 received ultimatums to leave town to avoid further troubles or court fines.

Bem Price noted the enforcement of all-white communities in 1956, right at the peak of sundown town policies, as sundown town expert James Loewen's findings reveal, "Between 1947 and 1967, more towns were established on a whites-only basis than ever before. Almost every suburb that sprang up or expanded after World War II was whites-only" (127). Without having had a term for it back then, Bem Price already raised awareness of this problem while it was peaking.

Ten years later, in July 1966, the *Morning Times* printed an even more explicit description of the socially-sanctioned measures of exclusion that northern whites had put in place to restrict black mobility to the designated dilapidated black neighborhoods in urban areas. In "New Plan is for Northern Suburbs to Share Negro Problem," United Press International staff writer Lyle Wilson wrote,

> Startled congressional champions of civil rights recognized a Great Society effort to outlaw outside the South the prevailing discrimination against Negroes which is

> not enforced by northern law, but which is *based on habit* and most of all is *dependent on a subtle exclusion* of Negroes from the good life, the good education, and the good homes of suburbia. (12; emphasis added)

He elaborated on his point, noting the plans to fully integrate suburban schools "by making sufficient Negro children available, pretty much regardless of how the suburban whites feel about it. They won't like it." He then scolded the opposing attitudes of "outside-the-South whites" toward the "housing provision in the pending civil rights bill" and accused "northerners of hypocrisy in refusing to accept all-out civil rights law for themselves while approving it for others" (ibid.). Though he focused his criticism on northern suburbs, northern hypocrisy did not stop at many small towns such as Frankfort.

Wilson's criticism of northern whites, unfortunately, remains the exception in the coverage. In the 1950s and 1960s, the *Morning Times* sporadically covered race relations on the national stage, but more often than not focused on highlighting white resistance (without denouncing the violence) and black stereotypes. Broad strides in civil rights legislation never made big front-page headlines, but were frequently relegated to the back pages or received a small note on the front page. For example, with the passing of school desegregation with *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, white protest voices over the integration from numerous places found a voice in the *Morning Times*. For the next few years, every August and September, the paper feverishly reported on various racial flare-ups across the nation, from Texas, to Alabama, to Kentucky. The reports covered spontaneous mobs, Klan rallies and cross burnings, high-school walkouts and boycotts by white students as well as the expulsion of news reporters on-site who intended to cover the demonstrations.

In the 1960s, the *Morning Times* increased its coverage in this respect, covering protest marches as well as arrests of the protesters. At times, boycotting teachers were quoted in the

articles, as well, revealing that opposition to race mixing prompted their protests over school integration. "We're not ready for integration. I think it's dangerous for young Negro and white children to grow up together. Before long they would be dating and would intermarry. They would give us a mongrel nation" ("White Pupils" 1). To my surprise, I never found a local editorial piece on the matter in the *Morning Times*. With its minuscule minority population, Frankfort never had segregated schools. Arguments like the one above about potential race mixing could have easily been debunked by any attentive resident who had lived in town long enough to observe the limited interaction black and white students had outside of the classroom.[165]

Indiana was by no means immune to the fear of race mingling and mixing. Suffice it to say that the Indiana was one of last two northern states to repeal its anti-miscegenation law in 1965.[166] This fact puts Walter's and Tom's recollections about local black residents being engaged with white women into a different perspective, as it was legally prohibited and socially disregarded to intermingle.

Occasionally, the *Morning Times* picked up on some statewide incidents about black protests. The coverage, probably inadvertently so, uncovered some of the fears and prejudices present in Indiana. For example, in 1962 two 17-year-old black boys were arrested in Anderson, Indiana. The arrest stirred protest from the black community due to the teenagers being handled as adults. The alleged leader of the protest revealed that one of the boys arrested was singled out by

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[165] "White Pupils, 3 Teachers Boycott Kentucky School Opened to Negroes." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 13 Sept. 1956, p. 1. The *Morning Times* did, however, pick up the argument of miscegenation in January 1957 when publishing an article from the Ithaca, New York Associated Press, in which national social psychologists debunked the argument that desegregation would lead to intermarriage. Though it was not front-page news coverage, it is important to note that the fear of a "mongrelized race" was eventually addressed by reprinting the national conversation ("Will Desegregation Lead to Mongrelization? 'No,' Says Nation's Top Social Psychologists," [sic] 25 Jan. 1957, p. 11).

[166] Wyoming, the other northern state, also repealed its law in 1965. Two years later, with *Loving v. Virginia*, the Supreme Court ruled all laws prohibiting interracial marriage as unconstitutional – overturning existing laws in sixteen states, all of which were located in the South.

the police officer "from a large group because he knew Newson had been dating a white girl."[167] Unfortunately, the *Morning Times* did not follow up on what happened to the teenagers, but it is noteworthy that this particular quote was printed. Dating across race definitely caught the attention of local white residents, as Walter, Tom, and the Anderson police officer corroborate.

This section illustrated how newspaper coverage disrupted the all-white reality of Clinton County by reporting on black crimes and to a lesser degree on other black stereotypes. To that extent, it demonstrated one way how community members learned about African Americans and came to associate negative stereotypes, including their inclination to criminality, with African Americans without having had personal interactions. *The Frankfort Morning Times* coverage emphasized crimes committed by minorities while justifying crimes against minorities, establishing a lily-white world, in which the culprit remains the same: the non-white individual. Presenting African Americans in almost exclusive fashion as criminals, as seen in the *Morning Times*, might help explain how Doug was willing to welcome minority newcomers "as long as they behave themselves." The next chapter will hone in on the power and durability of such negative stereotypes and their legacy in the community today.

Conclusion: A Less Ideal Town

This chapter contextualized some important omissions and silences that enabled Clinton County residents to construct their ideal world as described in chapter three. The evidence presented in this chapter clearly punctured the ideal image. Simultaneously, it demonstrated that

[167] "Arrests Stir Negro Pickets at Anderson." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 14 Aug. 1962, p. 2. The article also revealed other stereotypes held about black youth, which unfortunately are still common arguments among law enforcement officers today. The police captain justified the teenagers' placement in jail instead of the juvenile division with the fact that they are "strapping six-footers." Fifty-two years later, an 18-year old teenager was described with a similar imagery. But in the case of Michael Brown, the officer's fear of feeling "like a five-year-old holding on to Hulk Hogan" ended deadly for the black teenager.

this imagined worldview is not only wrong but incomplete.

Digging deep into the archives, I was able to fill some of these racial and political omissions and silences. I disrupted the white ideal world by discussing Ku Klux Klan and National Horse Thief Detective Association activities, which respondents overwhelmingly omitted. The history however was not erased as the few remarks from my interviewees proved. Most residents may not willfully "forget" or "ignore" the less glamorous past of their county. Their selective memory and the overall town mentality lend themselves to prioritizing the good moments of history, especially when conversing with an outsider to the community. That's why most of my informants may have chosen to present the ideal small-town image. However, though racism intrinsic to U.S. society at large may condition their memories, that does not absolve them from being complicit in omitting the uglier parts of the town history, as they are the ones retelling it. Consulting newspaper coverage regarding KKK and NHTDA activities allowed me to present a more comprehensive overview of these white supremacist groups and their reception in the community.

The embrace and support of such groups in the past might be some of what Susan Curtis called the "painful, embarrassing, and uncomfortable" memories, a past that best stays forgotten. For me, this community-wide support of these organizations helped explain the demeanors towards everyone who is different, e.g. non-white, in the community. The once bourgeoning black church was not acknowledged in the local press for almost four decades, neither was the black community except for a few instances. All but three residents did not acknowledge a black presence in town and most likely do not even know about the black church which closed its doors in the 1970s. If they did, for example some of the senior citizens I interviewed, they remained silent. I captured some of Frankfort's black history, highlighting some of the achievements forgotten and/or omitted by contemporary residents of Clinton County.

The complete erasure of the local African American community failed through simple means: the belief and perpetuation of black Americans as violent criminals and law-breakers. In general, the newspaper only considered coverage involving African Americans newsworthy if they were spectacularly violent and geographically distant (lynchings, riots, school boycotts), or painted the individuals in the story in a negative light (trespassing, welfare). Through such coverage, however, the *Morning Times* affirmed a black presence in the community and the community's contempt to such presence.

While noting the various ways in which residents perceived African Americans as a problem, I uncovered the exclusionary nature of the three pillars that created the "community of relationships" from the previous chapter. The community is overwhelmingly (if not exclusively) Christian, yet they practiced their belief and fellowship separately. The community cares for the good education of their children, yet never celebrated achievements by its black students. Community-making through community activities – be they the church choir, a park barbeque, or a basketball team – were conducted within their own racial circles. Though enjoyed separately, it attests to the fact that black folks embraced the same values – church, children, and community. However, the results from this chapter classify the "community of relationships" as dysfunctional, non-organic or selective at best.

Celebrating the achievements of black Clinton County residents, this chapter contested two grand narratives – the exclusively white nature of the Midwest and the exclusive settlement of blacks in the urban North during the Great Migration. The chapter is a testament that blacks resided in small-town America. Yet, this chapter painted a rather scathing reality for racial minorities in small-town Indiana. It documented the support and celebration of white supremacist values and organizations. Whereas the reign of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s was the pinnacle of white

supremacy, the chapter recorded that the mindset and civic value of exclusion preceded and outlasted the Klan. To that extent, it explains how Clinton County's black population dwindled over the course of the twentieth century and got "lost" and erased from its collective memory, just like the supremacist, inhospitable and exclusionary cultures that contributed to the "loss." The next chapter will hook in on this moment and investigate to what extent this culture of inhospitality and unwelcome has survived into the twenty-first century. As Clinton County has experienced a stark increase in its Hispanic population over the last twenty years, I will explore to what extent white Clinton County residents have overcome or operationalized the strategies that excluded African Americans. Unlike the black presence, the brown (Hispanic) presence was frequently acknowledged by my interviewees; the next chapter will determine if they were perceived as yet another "threatening" population. Does the beat go on?

CHAPTER 5. KEEPING ON KEEPING OUT: NEW MIGRATION, OLD EXCLUSION OR WHEN TEMPORARY BECOMES PERMANENT

Corn fields, soy beans, water tower – the panorama of Frankfort, Indiana. At the first glance, travelers would think they had arrived in any typical midwestern small town, until they look a little closer. After passing the industrial park, the small town emerges. Entering Frankfort on state road 28, one passes auto dealerships and an insurance company building, the former carrying Hispanic last names, the latter advertising language services in Spanish. On another road into Frankfort, one passes Mexican restaurants as well as a Mexican supermarket. The Catholic Church advertises services in Spanish. It quickly becomes clear that this town now has a Spanish-speaking population.

Similar to the arriving southern black migrants, today's immigrants are not evenly distributed across Indiana's population. Some communities have experienced an influx of immigrant settlement while others are nearly as homogeneous as they have always been. In fact, many rural communities across the Midwest are no longer seas of white faces with British, German, French and Scandinavian last names. Since the early 2000s, Frankfort, a town of slightly more than 15,000, has become home to many immigrants from Latin America. Along with a plethora of other communities in the Midwest, this town has undergone a significant transformation in the last twenty years – much to the displeasure of longtime residents. Yet, the world introduced in chapter three rarely reveals this reality. How do we explain this disconnect?

In the previous chapter I punctured the ideal small-town world presented in chapter three. I uncovered a small-town culture and mentality that produced a hostile and unwelcoming environment for black residents and migrants alike. Some strategies were obvious like the erasure of a black presence and the support of white supremacist ideologies and organizations, but others were hidden like the discrimination on the housing market and the exclusive nature of the city pool.

Yet other mechanisms were coded like the feeding of black stereotypes through picture and word in the local paper. No matter the method, all succeeded in creating barriers to an inclusive environment resulting in a self-perceived image and representation of an all-white community.

The purpose of this chapter is to underscore the persistence of cultural practices that explain the decisions of countless black migrants not to stay in small-town Indiana. The chapter seeks to continue the discussion started in the previous chapter, in an attempt to investigate the durability of the cultures of inhospitality and exclusion in the twenty-first century. It will continue to break the silences and omissions that are as much part of the small-town worldview as the success of the railroad. I will demonstrate that racial and ethnic minorities continue to struggle for acceptance and integration in Clinton County. As of 2019, they remain on the margins.

While extending the discussion into the twenty-first century, this chapter pursues the same objectives as the previous one. First, I will briefly sketch Hispanic history in Clinton County, tracing their arrival back to the early twentieth century, which according to most interview perspectives started in the early 2000s. As a major agricultural county in the state, Clinton County has a long history of seasonal migrant work. Contextualizing the migrant history is crucial as it shows different attitudes from the local community to *temporary* visitors to the community. Though preconceived notions were present, the white community made an effort to make their visitors feel welcome. This changed when the migrant workers settled *permanently*.

Clinton County's white racial frame resulted in the strong formation of stereotypes and misconceptions regarding African Americans. Today, it contributes to the negative image white Clinton Countians have about Hispanics. For the last 20 years, Hispanic migrants decided to cease their seasonal appearance and settled permanently in Frankfort. Their numbers increased fast and considerably, and so did the animosity by local white residents. The change in local white attitudes

might seem drastic, as my interviewee reflections from 2017 stand in stark contrast to the engagement of the migrant community decades earlier. What exactly happened to make the local white community express viscerally their displeasure about their new neighbors?

The key to understanding the noticeable change in attitudes lies in understanding key moments in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Thus, as my second objective, I will demonstrate how local white attitudes and perceptions revived their inhospitable and exclusionary cultures, resulting in the creation of two separate communities. They have resulted in the continuation of the insider-outsider mentality, delineating who belongs and who doesn't. And like the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s knew how to exploit those tendencies and feelings of exclusion, Donald Trump knew how to foment and reignite them during the 2016 presidential race. While investigating the county and its county seat historically up to the present, it became clear that racism is not a "thing" of the past. Frequently using politically correct language, my interviewees tried to present some and obscure other deeply-held attitudes. I am exploring some of these examples here.

The cultures of exclusion and inhospitality that discouraged African Americans from stopping in Frankfort during the various twentieth-century migrations is alive and well in Clinton County in 2019. The community continues to reproduce and deploy the same strategies and structures that created a hostile environment for black migrants in the twentieth century – only now they are operationalized to exclude another "undesirable" population. In other words, the beat goes on. However, the question is how much longer. While the chapter uncovers some of the county's recent problematic past (and present), it will also highlight instances in which divisions have been overcome and the community has come together. I will celebrate those moments as beacons of hope to illustrate that change is possible. Though Donald Trump may have widened

the chasm in the community, these instances are a roadmap and reminder for everyone who seeks to contribute to bridging the two communities in Clinton County. To better contextualize the community's contentious relationship with Hispanics in contemporary times, let's start with exploring the county's migrant worker history.

Acknowledging Hispanics as *Temporary* Additions to the Community

Unlike the erasure of African Americans in the county, the Hispanic history is part of the collective memory of the community as well as in print. Migrant workers, often prefaced with "seasonal" or "temporary," were acknowledged in 40 percent of my conversations.[168] The collective narrative for the community is "We would have migrant workers come and pick the tomatoes." Almost all community members used the exact same language. Doug, for example, noted

> it was basically a white community. And the only time that that would change is in the summer time when the migrant workers would come in to work the fields for Del Monte. We used to have Del Monte and they would come in to pick tomatoes and they would be gone by November.

A little later in the conversation, he paraphrased himself and added the caveat, "and for the most part the community was happy when November came when they all left."

Bob, on the other hand, recalled the seasonal migrant community even more vividly:

> Actually, probably about 40 years ago, I can remember the migrant workers. There was a Del Monte, it was a company here, makes ketchup. Well, it's no longer here. But, … I remember large trucks full of tomatoes. Well, you know, the migrant workers sitting on the edges. The smell of tomatoes and all that. That's just the memory I had. But when those migrants were done, they went back home.

[168] Surprisingly, all twelve participants engaging in this conversation were white. That is to say, none of my six minority informants, some of whom ended up in Frankfort through migrant work, shared this part of the collective memory, though all of them commented on the more recent demographic shifts in the community.

Bob paints an almost idyllic picture of the times the migrant workers were in town with them travelling on the sides of the truck. He reinforces the image by accentuating the smell of tomatoes. Whereas some of my informants extrapolated, the key words "migrant workers," "pick tomatoes," and "canning factory" (alternatively described as tomato factory or Del Monte) were recurring in all conversations that noted the migrant worker history of the county. As this builds another instance of the migration phenomenon, it is worth spending a moment understanding the reception and perception in Clinton County, particularly as this agriculturally-induced brown-bodied migration is part of the collective narrative in a community that has proven inhospitable and unwelcoming to its black neighbors.

Employing migrant workers makes sense for a county like Clinton. Since its foundation in 1830, Frankfort and the surrounding rural areas are typically described as a farming community. Newspaper coverage regularly featured 4-H events and advertised farm sales. The "Wanted" pages always included need for farm hands and agricultural labor. Though not documented in the *Frankfort Morning Times*, the Clinton County community most likely received migrant workers of Mexican heritage during or shortly after the First World War, as the Kemp Brothers expanded their tomato business empire to that part of Indiana in the 1910s. The first reference to Mexican migrant workers and tomato picking in the area came in 1935, when the *Frankfort Morning Times* reported the arrest of Mexican national Paul Utierrez whose only crime seems to have been that he entered "the country illegally." This notice locates migrant workers in the community three decades before the collective memory of my respondents who usually located the migrant phenomenon in the 1960s. Del Monte took over the tomato business from the Kemp Brothers in

the mid-fifties and soon became largest employer of migrant laborers, having hired as many as 1,300 migrant laborers a summer for in-plant operations and field work.[169]

Across the state of Indiana, migrant workers were seen solely as *temporary* necessities whose departure was widely disseminated. For example, in October 1965, the *Morning Times* ran the article "Tomato Harvest in Indiana is Now Almost Completed." The article summarized the state of the harvest with each of the 13 succinct areal reports ending abruptly, "harvest ended, migrants gone." By contrast, the newspaper never announced the arrival of the migrants at the beginning of the harvest season. This aspect corroborates Doug's take on the migrant community above, as the migrant departure was considered newsworthy.

The *temporary* presence of migrant workers in the community actually resulted in community efforts to make their visitors feel welcome. By 1957, Del Monte attracted up to 1,300 migrant workers to the community, enough incentive for some members of the community to act. Reverend Pedro Cervantes along with two other local ministers formed the Clinton County Migrant Committee. The committee was formed to overcome the fact that "we have paid little or no attention to our visiting friends in past years," establishing the seasonal migration as an active and recurring phenomenon that preceded the presence of Del Monte. "Visiting friends" underscores their temporariness in the community.[170]

The *temporary* nature of their stay made the migrant workers less threatening. By 1960, Clinton County had the second-highest number of migrant workers in the state and the migrant worker committee had become a staple of Frankfort "to counsel and advise the workers, who often know little of the local laws, facilities, and practices." The committee offered programs, such as

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[169] "U.S. Officer Takes Man Who Jumped Border." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 26 Nov. 1935, p. 1; Harkey, Ira. "Migrant Farm Workers Make Regular Stop in Frankfort." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 30 Sept. 1969, pp. 1, 3.
[170] "Clinton County Migrant Committee Set Up for Summer Mission Work." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 1 June 1957, p. 1.

classes in craftwork, and its spokespeople raised awareness about the situation of migrant workers in the county, including "their wish to be accepted in the community, to make friends and to be friends."[171] In contrast, there was a singular incident where members of the local community extended the same level of welcome to African Americans. By participating in Race Relation Sunday in April 1945, two local white churches attempted to bring Clinton County's black and white communities together, sending a message of acceptance and belonging.

However, the continuous emphasis on seeking acceptance for the *temporary* guests in the community stands out in the newspaper coverage. For example, in a Letter to the Editor in the summer of 1968, the Clinton County Migrant Committee, then called Migrant Council, reiterated its mission as an "attempt to make the Spanish-American people feel more at home and feel that they belong to our community rather than to feel that they are 'just passing through.'" By then, the Council had engaged various churches in the community to house a Friday evening event for "Kennedy Casa," during which games, dancing, sports, and other forms of entertainment were being offered. The language was clear already back in 1968: the goal of the program was to "'build bridges' between the two peoples," as was the mission of the 1945 Race Relation Sunday.[172]

Whereas the plea for acceptance in the community shines through the *Frankfort Morning Times* coverage, so does the lack of comment on their living arrangements. The only notice came in 1961 when Clinton County had "26 migrants camps […] ranging from two houses to fifteen and more."[173] Some of my participants, on the other hand, remembered and contextualized the living conditions of the *temporary* visitors in town (Table 7):

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[171] "Migrant Worker Organization is Under Study." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 9 Feb. 1960, p. 1; "Migrant Work Discussed at May Day Tea of Church Women." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 8 May 1960, p. 12.
[172] "Migrant Council Asks Help; Tells about Kennedy Casa." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 4 July 1968, p. 4.
[173] "County Church Ladies Continue Migrant Work." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 17 Sept. 1961, p. 6.

Table 7 Examples of the Living Arrangements for Migrant Workers in the Community

Theme	**Informants' Description about the Former Migrant Worker Community**
"Mexican encampments"	Yeah, seasonal. They had a place in town, a big vacant lot, and they had tents out. They had encampments. They called it Mexican encampments. They had those laborers on the corner of Green and Rossville Avenue. And one of my neighbors, he was a guard, they had a little trouble with them at night, they'd drink and maybe get into a fight. They had him kinda doing guard duty. But it…nothing severe, just more or less rowdiness, you know. But had no trouble with them. Hardworking. Pick those tomatoes, and they paid them good. They paid them good for their work. And none of them would stay. And when I was working, this one family would come up and finally stayed. He got a job at one of the elevators. And he had a family, had several kids. He's now right here. (Tom)
"Shanties"	Well, I mean, [African American arrival in the community] wasn't kind of a migratory thing like the Hispanics were. It used to be that Red Gold Tomatoes had a plant here in Frankfort, and this is hear-say, I might have some of the stuff wrong because I wasn't there, but I give it a shot. They imported literally migrant workers to pick tomatoes, and they set up shanties for them, years ago, now we wouldn't tolerate that stuff, you know. I don't know if that's how the word got out so to speak. And now we moved on to factories. But I know that's where it started. (Penny)
"fenced-in"	Well, here in town, when they had the migrant camp down on Green street… there was a fence. That whole thing was fenced in. They had a six-foot fence with barbed wired on top of it. And they lived inside that area. (Robert)

These three memories – visualized by the themes of encampment, shanties, and barbed wire fences – do less to invoke images of a small-town with a heavy tomato scent in the air and more to suggest images of a town controlling and fencing in its *temporary* visitors. Their choice of words invokes a more eerie description of the housing situation for the migrant worker community and aligns more with the commonly held attitudes toward non-white individuals in the community. Though instrumental in establishing the industry sector as one of the strong pillars of the community, these recollections that are part of the collective and public memory challenge the extent to which the local white community understood and appreciated the *temporary* presence of the necessary labor force.

After more than half a century of seasonal migrant workers on their fields, the state of Indiana and Clinton County came to realize the importance of migrant labor to the state's agricultural economy. A state-wide conference in 1968 addressed various health, sanitation, and educational standards for labor migrants. Locally, the very active Migrant Council catered to migrant worker needs. By the late 1960s, they organized regular schooling and day care centers for children in the summers. The Migrant Council used the *Frankfort Morning Times* to raise awareness and interest in the local community to contribute to these initiatives, for example, by calling for loans "of tricycles, wagons and pull toys […] equipment that few of these little folks have ever been able to enjoy, since in their roving life there is no room to spare for transporting them."[174]

Education became one avenue to demonstrate support of the migrant community while pursuing a better integration or acculturation of the group. In 1967, elementary school director Gosewehr asserted that "This community IS interested in migrant people. One of our main purposes is to help the migrants fit into our community, and to help our community recognize their need"[175] (emphasis in original). Though integration was allegedly one of the goals of the educational programs, separate "special" busses that brought the children to school as well as segregated schooling of local and migrant kids prevented full interaction with the local community. To that extent, the experience of migrant children resembled the experience of local black children, who, though not physically segregated, were excluded from the Clinton County school community, as illustrated in the previous chapter.

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[174] "Migrant Center Opening Set Back." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 11 July 1969, p. 3.
[175] "Children of Migrant Workers Study Here Under Special Title I Program." *Frankfort Morning Times*, 3 Aug. 1967, p. 11.

Similar to the black church, the Migrant Council utilized the newspaper to call upon locals for private donations to be able to offer educational programs in future years after initial federal funding dollars ran out. The Migrant Council's Financial Drive became front-page news in April 1970, providing ample time to collect money to be able to serve migrants' needs later in the year. When the educational programs started in August of 1970, the *Morning Times* reported on the success of the financial drive, a testament to a small-town community's desire to help each other.[176]

Through a 1969 six-part series on the migrant worker community in Clinton County, we come to find out that the majority of migrants were from Texas, and at times Florida, who lived in the community from July until mid-October, which was usually after the first frost, and that field hands made about $30 a day. We learn about the reduction of migrant labor hires by Del Monte, which only hired 700 migrant workers in 1969 and led staff writer Ira Harkey to speculate about the disappearance of migrant labor from the region altogether within the next decade. We also learn that the decline in available migrant labor was connected to educational aspirations, as the migrant families returned home by early September to enroll their children in school. Further, we learn about the interconnected nature of the educational programs offered in the community. As the day care center supervised toddlers up to the age of four, older siblings could enroll in the school programs as they were not needed for baby-sitting at home, which enabled them to receive the same education they would receive back home, so that upon returning to Texas, they were on the same level as their peers. The series also introduced us to faces of the migrant community, Frank Salinas and the Martinez family. Salinas, once a migrant laborer himself, became Del Monte's chief recruiter and contractor, and thus serves as an exemplar of the American dream. The Martinez family worked in the tomato fields and would return to Texas after harvest season in

[176] "Migrant Council Drive Scheduled," 24 Apr. 1970, p. 1; "Migrant Children Classes Set," 20 Aug. 1970, p. 1.

mid-October. The series covered many aspects that are part of Frankfort's collective memory, including key phrases like "picking tomatoes" and "Del Monte."[177]

Harkey's speculation about the disappearance proved wrong. Whereas companies like Del Monte disappeared from Frankfort (and most recently from Indiana with the plant closure in Plymouth in early 2018), migrants continued to come. And some of them never left resulting in a current Hispanic population of an estimated 35 percent in Frankfort.[178]

Unlike the black community, the migrant community became part of Clinton County's collective memory. Due to an active Migrant Council in the 1960s, the destinies of the *temporary* community members have been preserved, at least somewhat. The Migrant Council used the *Morning Times* as a vehicle to raise awareness about and called upon the local community to care for, interact with, and support the migrant community, without whom Indiana agriculture would not be where it is today. The section illustrated how residents and the local newspaper acknowledged the Hispanic presence as *temporary*. And migrants kept coming.

What changed in the early 2000s was the *temporary* nature of their stay, as many Hispanic migrants settled and sought *permanent* employment in the agricultural and industrial sectors in the area. Suddenly, they were no longer out of sight in some segregated migrant camp on the outskirts

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[177] "The Migrants – A Way of Life" series is comprised of the following six articles, written by staff writers Ira Harkey, III and Judi Barra: "Migrant Farm Workers Make Regular Stop in Frankfort," 30 Sept. 1969, pp. 1, 3; "Some Travel Alone, Others in Flocks," 1 Oct. 1969, pp. 1, 13; "Many Dreams Have Come True for Workers in Tomato Fields," 2 Oct., 1969, pp. 1, 16. "Some People 'Give a Damn,'" 3 Oct. 1969, pp. 1–2; "Peace, Quiet Foreign Words," 4 Oct. 1969, p. 1; "Two Strangers Visit the Martinez Family," 5 Oct. 1969, pp. 1, 12.

[178] The exact number of Hispanics in Clinton County is unknown. According to the 2010 Census, 13.2 percent of Clinton County's and 25 percent of Frankfort's populations identified as Hispanic or Latino (4,395 (out of 33,224 total) and 4,098 (out of 16,422) individuals, respectively). In our conversation, Joanne, who has worked extensively with and for the local Hispanic community, warrants caution about the census number as "not a lot of the Latino population fill out the census." The Frankfort Community schools in 2018-2019 indicate that slightly more than half the students identified as Hispanic (50.6% or 1,621 out of a total number of 3,203 students), a number Joanne regarded "a little elevated." The Mexican Consulate, according to her, estimates the number around 40 percent in Clinton County. Many respondents echoed these number, speculating about the Hispanic population to be roughly between 35 and 40 percent. I decided to go with the more conservative number of 35 percent above. But even the 2010 percentage indicates that the Hispanic population represents one-fourth of Frankfort's total population.

of town, but rather sought to live in *permanent* housing, renting and purchasing among white neighbors. With that demographically changing reality came a change in attitudes toward the Hispanic community, who were deemed worthy of help as long as they were *temporary*. All of a sudden, they became a visible, noticeable, *permanent* "problem." Once the brown-bodied, non-English speaking migrants ceased to be *temporary*, old and familiar patterns of the local white community resurfaced. The next section will illustrate how the cultures of exclusion and inhospitality were operationalized against a new *permanent* "threatening" community, recreating barriers once implemented to prevent black southern migrants from stopping in Clinton County.

"A Tale of Two Cities:" When Minorities *Permanently* Disrupt Clinton County White Lives

> So, we feel like it is two communities. Um. I do feel these two communities. There's no interracial--We tried. I mean we have programming there. Don't get me wrong. There are people here that want that unity and we try it, but we still have opposite sides. You know. And the fact that your officials are all of them, the majority, I mean, … it's not representative. The majority are still Anglo. That says something, too. Integration comes with when you see equal representation on the people that are making your decisions. You ask any community. And there isn't, and that's the reality of it. So. (Stephanie)

In 2006, journalist John B. Thomas published an article on Frankfort, entitled "A Tale of Two Cities." He contextualized the divided nature of the city with the recent immigration marches throughout the nation (U.S. Congress had just proposed a bill that made it a felony to live in the country without valid documentation) and the murder of Derek Thomas by Santiago Perez eight years prior, noting that "After the incident, many whites seemed to blame Frankfort's Hispanic community as a whole for Thomas' death" (159). He quoted the mayor and the priest of the Catholic Church and featured Hispanic residents from the community. While all informants admitted to some little tensions in the community, the overall tenor of those quotes was hopeful.

My findings challenge those opinions, as there was more in the community than a little tension at the time Thomas published his article. I recorded Stephanie's remarks in the epigraph in 2017, more than a decade after Thomas published his Frankfort portrait that featured a sense of hope that the friction in the community would soon be overcome and there would be one united Frankfort. Stephanie is a racial minority in the community, who specifically relocated to Frankfort to bridge the gap between the two communities. Four years into her journey in Frankfort, she openly shared her experiences in the community, noting the biggest struggle is the fact that the town was still comprised of two communities. She corroborated her impressions with the absence of representation in all spheres of life, including town leadership.

For example, by the time "A Tale of Two Cities" was published, Frankfort found itself in the midst of what one informant described as a "racial battle" over ending segregated schooling. While African Americans in the early twentieth century correctly touted the fact that Frankfort's schools were not racially segregated, by the early twenty-first century ethnically segregated schooling had become part of Clinton County's reality. When migrant workers decided to settle *permanently* in the community, the cultures of exclusion became institutionalized and contributed to widening the chasm between the two communities.

City-wide school consolidation was on the table as early as the summer of 2001. The issue concerned two aging school buildings – Kyger and Riley Elementary schools, both built in the 1920s. The lack of an HVAC system and modern technology as well as the insufficient accessibility for disabled students, plumbing problems, and roof repairs were among the key issues that both buildings faced. The underlying issue, however, was the eradication of the school segregation that had transpired in the community since the Hispanic community increased in size.

Ben, a white male in his fifties, lived in the community during the time the elementary school debate erupted and recalled vividly:

> I mean we had two elementary schools, one of which was about 85% Hispanic and was not passing the test, probably the state test at that time. It was about a 25% pass rate of that building. The other building […] had about an 85% passing rate and it was about 86% white. So, we had a white school and Hispanic school, essentially. And one was performing well on the state test, the other one wasn't.

These numbers are similar to the ones in the *Frankfort Times*. In 2002, 60 percent of Kyger's student population was of Hispanic origin, 96 percent of the student body received free and reduced lunches. By 2007, Kyger's student population was comprised of 81 percent non-English speaking students – the highest percentage of any school in Indiana.[179] These ethnic and socioeconomic conditions turned the neighborhood school into a neighborhood center, in an attempt to improve the overall living conditions for the children, running blanket and food drives as well as breakfast programs.

The segregated nature of both elementary schools was explicitly addressed in *Frankfort Times* coverage. The community-run task force in charge of developing recommendations for the school board addressed the issue in their report, referring to it as "the de facto segregation that plagues our community" in April 2002. They expressed hopes that the new schools and redistricting will result in "both schools hav[ing] comparable economic and ethnic diversity, giving all our children the chance to learn from and with one another from the earliest age." But if the community recognized the problem, how then did it turn into a "racial battle?" "Is [it] because Caucasian parents want their kids separated from Frankfort's influx of Hispanic kids, or vice versa?" asked the *Times* in an editorial in 2002. Once touting itself to be the "Voice of the People,"

[179] Trares, Ryan. "State of Frankfort's School Up in the Air." *Frankfort Times*, 5 June 2007, pp. 1–2.

it turns out that the *Times* still had a pretty good understanding of the community it represented.[180]

Neighborhood schools – seemingly race-neutral – are what Lipsitz calls a "racialized space," giving "whites privileged access to opportunities for social inclusion and upward mobility" (6). The aforementioned standardized school test performance is indicative of that and thus reflective of Frankfort's racialized geography where the white spatial imaginary once disrupted by brown-bodied non-English-speaking migrants relegated their children to one school.

Associating neighborhood schools with small towns also exemplifies "defensive localism," one of the key mechanisms and racial logics of Lipsitz's concept (13). Michael, a middle-aged white male who had moved to the community prior to the elementary school debate and had children in the school system at the time, echoed the attraction of neighborhood schools fifteen years later when the school project surfaced in our conversation. He noted,

> And they could've renovated that school and it would've been a great landmark in this community and kids that lived close to the school could keep walking to the school. And … like that would be a really unique small-town thing that would, I think, … if a small town appeals to you, like that's why. Because you've got this school that's super close by, your kid could walk two blocks and be at the school. That's small town. Well, instead of preserving that they let that school be torn down … and now the school's like, it's too far for most kids to walk because they consolidated it all on the edge of town.

Besides losing "a great landmark," Michael lamented the fact that the school consolidation resulted in school being outside of walking distance. The small-town pride is reflected in Michael's remark; the racialized undertones in the neighborhood school concept, however, remained invisible and unnamed.

The *Frankfort Times* also engaged the neighborhood school argument, as Readers Opinions frequently reflected personal memories associated with the schools. Managing Editor Jim Bush

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[180] "Task Force Explains Elementary School Recommendation," 16 Apr. 2002, p. 6; "Task Force Recommendation Raises Questions," 6 Apr. 2002, p. 4.

endorsed the school improvement plans by May 2002 arguing that "quality education is not built on memories" and that the school system itself is a "selling point" for small towns. The community however remained divided on the issue. The dire need for modern school buildings in light of wasp nests and ceiling leaks destroying children's reading materials in the classrooms was defeated by project opponents who successfully led a petition to stop the school consolidation in the summer of 2002.[181] A margin of 77 signatures mandated shelving the project for at least a year before the community could undergo another remonstrance. Ultimately, it would be six more years that the students were exposed to sub-standard and segregated schooling environments.

Ben, a school project supporter, had children in the school system during that time. He remembered the controversy vividly, classifying it as "a racial battle. I mean I'm not gonna deny there was a high racial overtone in the process." Elaborating further, he interpreted the community climate as follows:

> But the reality is there were individuals in the community who, for lack of a better term, I think had some racial motivation. That was why they were fighting the change. It had nothing to do with the education of the students. It had nothing to do with cost. It had nothing to do with the factors that most people fight school construction. So that piece I think opened my eyes a little bit to rural Indiana, more so than I was ever thinking it would be, of that nature.

Ben's remark spells out the racial motivations prevalent in small-town Indiana cultures.

Ben drove this point home when he recalled engaging some local teachers after the school board declared they would file another remonstrance. He had assumed "that everybody in education" would be agreeing with what's "best for kids" but soon realized that "that wasn't quite the case" with educators in Frankfort. "Even though they knew it was best for kids, they were letting the bias of their community get in the way," he assessed during our conversation. In other

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[181] Bush, James S. "City Residents Should Embrace School Plan," 18 May 2002, p. 4; Kontos, Suzy. "Kyger Teacher: New Is Needed." Letter. 25 May 2002, p. 4; Lutz, Richelle M. "New Not Better – Renovate." Letter. 25 May 2002, p. 4.

words, their identities as teachers clashed with their identities as native to a town that had committed itself to practicing exclusion and inhospitality to outsiders, particularly non-white ones. Ironically, the desire to keep the children segregated also meant that white children continued to be exposed to sub-standard school environments. But at least, they remained ethnically segregated. Ultimately, the second remonstrance was successful for project supporters who collected almost twice as many signatures as the naysayers. The new schools opened their doors in the fall of 2008, ending school segregation in Frankfort (not the county).

Nowadays, the community schools of Frankfort are indeed the most integrated in the county. 50.5 percent of all Clinton County students are enrolled in the city schools. For the last three years, Hispanic students have slightly outnumbered white students.[182] Whereas the student body is comprised mainly of Hispanic and white students, the faculty remains overwhelmingly white. In the 2017-2018 school year, 3 out of 239 teachers in the city were non-white. The picture is even direr in the other three school corporations in the county, which all registered a student population of more than 90 percent white students in 2017-2018. Whereas the total student enrollment in all four county schools has remained relatively stable, it appears that white parents prefer to send their children to the county rather than the city schools nowadays.

Similarly, two of the three county school corporations registered an all-white teaching staff in 2017-2018. This lack of representation in the faculty not only echoes Stephanie's point in the epigraph but becomes particularly noteworthy in Trump's America. Some of the community bridge builders I engaged in conversations noted a slight shift in the community since the election.

[182] For the 2018-2019 enrollment, Hispanic students comprised 50.6 percent while white students comprised 46.2 percent. The remaining 3.2 percent are comprised of multiracial, Native Hawaiian, black, Asian, and Native American students. The numbers have minimally shifted from the previous school year, in which 51.4 percent of students identified as Hispanic, and 45.7 percent as white. The Indiana Department of Education gathers information about all school corporations in the state. It currently does not provide the teachers count for the 2018-2019 school year listed, which is why I listed the 2017-2018 number for comparative purposes. For further information, check the Indiana Department of Education's website at https://compass.doe.in.gov/dashboard/overview.aspx.

For example, Joanne remarked

> so the teachers were asked kind of had they noticed anything with the kids and they said 'no I think everything is fine.' And then when you get the kids alone and ask them, they start to express their real concerns or that they've had, there's some little things, […] the main thing I've heard is that's being joked about, like the whole "build a wall" thing being joked about in front of them like it's a joke when it's a huge threat […] if you have parents that could literally be deported tomorrow and you wouldn't see them again and they have a plan and standby guardianship paperwork they have to do because they might not be there when you get home, that's not funny to them. It's not funny at all. So yeah, I mean there's that. There's definitely a heightened level of fear.

The remark is important as it either points to the obliviousness of the teachers who did not notice any differences or hints at the fact that Hispanic students may not confide in their white teachers, further underscoring the need for representation in the teaching staff. Joanne's comment attests that bullying is part of the daily experience for non-white students in Clinton County, another aspect of which the white teachers might be unaware. Though mixed schools were a point of pride among Frankfort's black community, the unfolding of twenty-first century school segregation with a significantly larger minority student body begs the question what if more southern black migrants had settled decades ago and raised their families in Frankfort? Would the point of pride have vanished and turned into a point of contention?

The "racial battle" that ensued over the elementary school project in Frankfort is emblematic of the larger climate that developed in the community in the 2000s. It constitutes one example of the community wrestling to adjust to the *permanent* Hispanic newcomers. Another battle, this time over general living arrangements, erupted in Frankfort, spearheaded by the Quality of Life group.

Quality of Life or Cultures of Exclusion?

The birth of the Quality of Life initiative represents the pinnacle of Frankfort's exclusionary and inhospitable cultures and mindsets. The national immigration debate throughout the 2000s affected the community greatly as Thomas already observed in his 2006 Frankfort portrait. In *Latino Heartland*, Sujey Vega similarly observes increased anti-Latino sentiments in central Indiana and documented how national political immigration discourse "influenced people's perceptions of their Latino neighbors as criminal threats" in Lafayette, Indiana (102). By 2007, the community hit an all-time low in acceptance. Letters to the Editor became a popular means to display what Sujey Vega called "a rhetoric of denied belonging" (106). Many white residents viscerally and aggressively expressed their resentment, frustrations, and anger about immigration and the local Hispanic community, particularly the undocumented.[183] In Vega's case and mine, such community voices portrayed undocumented residents as "the enemy, the 'anti-citizen,' not deserving of legalization or human empathy" (Vega 106). It became a common strategy in the letters to position Hispanics as threats to white American law, economics, culture, and life styles.

One such letter was written jointly by the boards of the Clinton County Chamber of Commerce (CoC) and Partners in Progress (PIP) in September 2007. The two organizations united in speaking out against "illegal activity" and "illegal people" in the community. Like town

[183] For example, see Rita McCall's letter "Illegals Putting A Strain on Nation" (13-14 May 2006, p. 11), Lynda Phoebus's letter "'Illegal" is the Operative Term and Barometer" (20-21 May 2006, p. 4), or Vernon Dixon's letter "To the editor" (3-4 Nov. 2007, pp. 10, 13). Oftentimes fact-free, white locals lamented the lack of national pride (for the U.S.) among Hispanics and the fact that they take jobs away, doubting that they would be employed in a Hispanic store if they dared to ask for a job. They asserted that migrants "come here pregnant and have their babies and get free medical, and welfare" and pay no taxes. Lynda Phoebus openly declared that "They claim they have rights. They have no rights. They are not citizens of this country. For the Americans that seem to be helping in this fight, I think that you are traitors. You should be deported along with the rest." Perceiving all *permanent* newcomers as criminals, Dixon asserted "You brought the Latino Kings, the Mex Mafia and God knows how many more. You shot at our officers, you set their cars on fire. Now we have drive-by shootings, gang warfare, murder, and the list goes on and on." In the letters, immigration naysayers strongly advocated for ifire, the Indiana Federation for Immigration Reform and Enforcement, a public interest group supporting stricter border control and minute man endeavors, which eerily carries reminiscence of the olden days, during which the local NHTDA chapters enforced law and order in the county.

residents, they argued that "the presence of illegal people also create (sic) issues of overcrowding, street gangs, violent crimes, identity theft, false identity and lack of appropriate insurance" and that this "illegal presence taxes the resources of our Clinton County public safety agencies, schools, health care providers and social service agencies." Hence, they advocated for the enforcement of laws "that will enhance and improve the *quality of life* for all the legal people in Clinton County" (emphasis added). This final remark most likely inspired the community initiative called "Quality of Life," which catapulted Frankfort into the state-wide and national spotlight of the underlying intolerance and racialized undertones of the program.[184] For example, the *Indianapolis Star* reported that "Frankfort Rolls Up Its Welcome Mat" after the launch of the initiative.[185]

The CoC/PIP letter sparked an editorial from the *Frankfort Times* staff writers, in which they expressed caution regarding issues that concerned the community. They noted that "The tone of some letters has been unsettling. Not so many years ago, our nation condoned intolerance for certain minorities, and often it escalated into something ugly. We fear that sort of rancor might reoccur here, regardless of how vigorously letter-writers deny prejudice."[186] The fact that the staff expressed concerns about the resurfacing of "that sort of rancor" in their midst is important as it admits some awareness of past intolerance. Important also is the fact that they juxtaposed these concerns with the letter-writers' attempts to not sound racist. These letter-writers commonly emphasized not minding "legal" immigrants and that their concerns have nothing to do with race, proven by their alleged friendships with folks from different nationalities. Sujey Vega observed

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[184] Clinton County Chamber of Commerce and Partners in Progress. "Chamber, PIP Seek Crackdown on Illegals," 29-30 Sept. 2007, p. 4. The *Times* describes the letter as the catalyst that "set the community ablaze" turning immigration into a "contentious topic of conversation for the rest of the year." Some of my informants also recalled that the Chamber of Commerce temporarily adopted a banner on its website declaring its stance against "illegal" immigrants around that time. The local immigration issue became the number one story of 2007, as the *Times* reflected back on the Top 10 news stories of the year ("The Year in Review, 2007 Top 10," 29-30 Dec. 2007, p. 1).

[185] Evanoff, Ted, and Tania E. Lopez. "Frankfort Rolls Up Its Welcome Mat." *Indianapolis Star*, 21 Oct. 2007, pp. A1, A3.

[186] "Immigration: Honest Talk for Honest Solutions," 6-7 Oct. 2007, p. 7.

the same trend of positioning oneself "within legal, not racial, concerns" in her analysis (107). In her case and mine, notions of legality and citizenship were invoked and expressed to avoid the label of racism. This is one example in which the cultures of exclusion and inhospitality operationalized citizenship to manifest and preserve whiteness in small-town Indiana.

By November 2007, less than two months after the CoC/PIP letter, the Quality of Life Task Team was born and invited the community to discuss specific aspects to improve the "quality of life" in town. Identified issues included "safety," "better education," "lack of understanding that propels certain prejudices," and "an increase in drug activity."[187] Identified issues notwithstanding, the *Times* advertised the group meetings as a continuation of "talks about legal and illegal immigration."

The conflation of living standards and immigration issues quickly became apparent in these meetings with pleas "to use the terms 'legal' and 'illegal'" and remarks that "Understanding English is important to improving Frankfort's quality of life."[188] Some audience members began to question the agenda and the power of the group, based on the breadth of topics covered in the meetings – from tinted-window violations, to government bills cracking down on employers, to English classes in the community. All issues seemed to target the Hispanic community instead of working toward improving the "quality of life" in the community. I noted one instance in the past, in which the community meeting was called upon to determine who could use the city pool. The explicitly segregated nature of barring black residents resulted in an immediate eradication of the ordinance. Fifty-odd years later, the white community reproduced exclusionary and inhospitable practices rediscovering ordinances that violate citizenship rights and target minorities.

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[187] Meadows, Kate. "Residents Meet to Mull 'Quality of Life,'" 2 Nov. 2007, pp. 1, 11.
[188] Meadow Kate. "Meeting Breaks Apart Myths, Tiptoed Toward Deep Issues," 7 Dec. 2007, pp. 1, 3.

Suspicion regarding the practices of the Quality of Life group grew further, leading the *Times* to declare that they cannot "give support and credence to what amounts to a loosely organized ad hoc group that, in essence, operates in secrecy." Quality of Life members claimed the group has "given life and a face and a voice to the community," yet names of membership were not disclosed. To that extent, the paper called for transparency if the group cared to represent the interests of the community. It was never able to report on intent and purpose of the group.[189]

The Quality of Life controversy arose in one-fourth of my conversations. My interview respondents reflected the torn attitudes towards the Quality of Life group in the community, as well (Table 8):

[189] "Quality of Life Group Must Be Transparent," 8-9 Mar. 2008, pp. 4–5; Meadows, Kate. "Committee: What Is It, What It Isn't," 29 Feb. 2008, pp. 1–2. The nebulous nature of the group led Father Chris Miller of the St. Mary's Catholic Church to discontinue the committee meetings in 2008, justifying his decision with believing that the "vision has since changed direction." He is quoted as being "concerned about the way it's going" and about "some of the things coming out of it." Father Chris did not elaborate on his comment. However, other community voices filled the void. Stephen D. Tharp recalled attending the most recent meeting in his Letter to the Editor, summarizing the meeting as "This was not a conversation, but a pronouncement of sentence on people with little voice and even less influence" ("Nation of Laws Also Is Nation of Respect," 1-2 Mar. 2008, p. 4). Other words he used were intimidation and isolation. These were also common tactics of the 1920s Indiana KKK.

Table 8 Opposing Voices Concerning the Quality of Life Initiative. Voices are not identified to protect my informants.

Community Voices Defending Quality of Life Program	**Community Voices Opposing Quality of Life Program**
[The Quality of Life was] a program that would try to teach the new people coming in how to, how do I want to say this, on how – how do I wanna say this – to become part of us and people then not caring whether they're here legally or not. And we would meet on a once a month basis. We would talk about laws and what would be required, and what we were gonna try to enforce that month so that that way people would get to understand what it is to accept the rule of law. And our classes were growing. We were having more and more Hispanics coming to the meetings to understand what all of our rules and regulations, our laws were. And then it came to a halt. […] We were trying to make them become a part of us to a point of understanding how to act and how to live and obey the rules of law. And if they did that, the majority of the people of this community probably wouldn't care if they were here illegal or not. Because they were at least act and looked and be just like us and that would make everybody happy.	[The Quality of Life was] so anti-immigration, and then we duked it out for 5 or 6 years basically at the height of the whole immigration issue. And for a while that's where that whole chamber thing, you know where they had the link to illegals not welcome letter and all that, was happening. So yeah, … that was in the height of all that, the quality of life group was going on. … They disbanded. I mean there's still who I would consider the forces behind, you know, that are against this whole, you know, against the undocumented. I mean they're the ones that […] said we don't use the word undocumented. We use the word illegal. And I mean they're the same people and they're still around doing their thing.
So one meeting would be about our standard of housing. So what we were trying, so we wanted to communicate to these people that were coming in, you can't have 25 people living in one house. That's against the law. So you need to understand. So that was what we were saying. Well, we were picking on the Latino ... Well, we were picking on anybody that was doing that. It just happened to be the Latino community because it was the Latino community doing it. … This was our motto. Quality of life for ALL. We're all asking, we're all having to abide by the same law. I can't put my trash out at a certain time. We're asking you not to do so. Jennifer, we had a massive exodus of people to leave Frankfort because we had such a growth in Latino population coming in because they couldn't go anywhere. They'd call the police and say, look these people have put their trash out every day. And you know our trash pickup are these 2 days of the week. And their dog is, even their dog is getting into their trash […]. And the police would go over and knock on the door. Nobody would answer. And most of the time they didn't speak E … they didn't even understand. They didn't even know. And they'd take care of it for a day or so and they'd be right back. So, it was this ongoing.	Um, and essentially what it was is to their viewpoint, to improve the quality of life. We would get rid of all Latinos. Then we'd have our town back again. Ok. So, they would have some meetings […] They were open meetings. But I remember asking, well who is on your board or who is in your group and they would just not, they didn't want specific names tied in to this group. It's almost like a KKK thing, only it wasn't a KKK thing, but it was kind of that mentality? If you follow me ... Ok, where was I going with this story? So anyway, there was that whole thing that was going on and then luckily enough people, which was refreshing, kind of like me, spoke up against this. … It didn't go away, but it kind of went underground... You didn't hear about it anymore. Used to be it was in the paper all the time. And then, it kind of went away ... Here's where I'm going. With Trump back. With Trump here, then I think that that is kind of giving license for those feelings to be out there again publicly. The people in that Quality of Life group, I don't think their opinions changed. They just realized that they had to be quiet about expressing those opinions, … that it wasn't accepted. Enough people kind of stood up to them a little bit. That they just kind of quieted down.

Proponents of the community group emphasized the intent to increase the living standards; yet, the remarks indicate difficulties to clearly differentiate their mission from immigration. In contrast, opponents reflected the suspicions that arose around the secrecy of the group, resembling past times of the KKK. They also noted the anti-immigrant nature, as the meetings started around a time when Frankfort hosted immigration forums to inform the community about the issue. Lastly, they shed light into the fact that the group went dormant for a while, fearing a revival of such initiatives due to the current Trump administration.

In the midst of Frankfort's lowest point of acceptance, the Hispanic community came out in November 2007 and June 2008 to clean up the city's TPA park. In the fall they raked leaves, in the summer they painted buildings and playgrounds as well as cleaned up the park. This form of community engagement slowly became a means to overcome immigrant-baiting, which was most palpable between 2006 and mid-2008. The summer of 2008 ultimately became the turning point and the Hispanic community actively fought to become a part of the larger Frankfort community.[190]

The mid-2000s exemplify most explicitly the unwelcoming and inhospitable environment of Clinton County. With the Quality of Life initiative, residents in Clinton County attempted to institutionalize the cultures of exclusion by advocating for policies that specifically targeted the Hispanic community. However, discrimination, criminalization, marginalization, invisibility, and non-representation were still part of the daily lived experiences of minorities during the time I conducted my research in the community from 2015 through 2018. In an attempt to preserve the

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[190] "Drop the Us-Versus-Them Mentality." *Journal & Courier*, 28 Nov. 2007, p. A5; "What Happens When a Segment of Frankfort Bands Together?" *Frankfort Times*, 17 June 2008, p. 4. Besides cleaning the city park, they successfully integrated Hispanic culture in the Clinton County and 4-H Fairs for the first time, providing ethnic food and entertainment under the umbrella of "Hispanic Cultural Exposure Day" (O'Brien, Martha. "Hispanic Culture Becoming Part of Fair," 17 July 2008, pp. A1, A5). Other initiatives intended to bridge the community divide included inter-denominational gatherings and political community organizing of Hispanic high school students.

all-white, Christian, and English-speaking nature of the community, the cultures of inhospitality still ostracize minorities and send a message of *non*belonging to outsiders. My next section will illustrate how.

Legacy of the Cultures of Exclusion: Segregated Believers, Celebrations, and Lives

In the preceding chapters, I identified church as a vital component of lived experiences in Clinton County – for blacks and whites alike. Yet, church still constitutes a segregated reality. Five of the 100 churches listed in a 2005 Clinton County Church Directory were Spanish churches. Besides these five, three other churches listed Spanish or bilingual services in the community. The Catholic Church in Frankfort serves a high percentage of the Hispanic community. Yet, they provide two different services so that mingling between white and Hispanic Catholics rarely takes place. Protestant congregation members – white majorities and non-white minorities alike – could count the number of non-white congregation members, which usually did not exceed more than a handful.

Some of my minority respondents expressed their pleasant surprise about their reception in church. Angelica who has lived in the community for more than twenty years has attended various churches, but never stayed for long. She recently gave it another try to find the "right" church as she wants her child to grow up Christian. She recalled this experience as follows:

> Like the church next door where we go, we were so welcomed when we first attended. It seems like everybody made their way to say hello to you, which I have never experienced before. They don't make you feel different or … I don't know if – I guess that's a wrong word.

The way Angelica amplifies her welcome and the way she stops herself questioning her choice of words might be an indication of why previous attempts to find a church did not have the intended outcome.

Though the churches form an integral part of Frankfort's identity – then and now, they do not live up to their mantra "love thy neighbor like yourself." Church-organized foodbanks, bazaars and gatherings do rarely include both communities. If they do, they end up in awkward encounters, as the following example illustrates. Joanne recalled having attended the Fish Fry, one of the "white" fundraising benefit gatherings hosted by the Catholic Church. Though not native to Clinton County, middle-aged white Joanne grew up in small-town Indiana. She has lived in this community for about two decades, in which she dedicated lots of time and efforts to bridge the gap between the two communities. She accompanied one of her Hispanic friends who attends the Catholic Church to the dinner. She remembered the event as follows:

> I walk in and I feel it. You know what I mean? I just feel this like *Wait, who's here* kind of thing and it was weird. And so, I was sitting there and like interpreting for her like asking if she wants more fish, your general stuff, but she's the only Latina in the room, and people are looking at me weird because I'm speaking in Spanish to her and I had a couple people say how do you do that kind of thing …

She then specified a particular moment from the evening, during which she wanted to introduce her friend to one of the acquaintances in the room since "you know they go to the same church:" "So I introduce them to each other and then he says, he realizes that she's a Spanish speaker, so he says 'hola, buenas noches' or whatever, going into his best Spanish here. And then he said 'bien venidos a los Estados Unidos.'" She concluded the memory with "So aggravated, so I turn to [her] and I was like for mas de quince años. You know?," qualifying the encounter as "condescending."

Joanne's encounter addresses different issues. The lack of cross-cultural engagement within the same church community results in her acquaintance being unaware of her friend's situation, the fact that she has lived in the community for more than fifteen years. He wanted to be nice addressing her friend in her mother tongue; yet, his limited Spanish skills did not allow him to engage in a full-fledged conversation and instead welcomed her to the country, which had a

"condescending" effect. Joanne's setting of the scene addresses nonverbal missteps as people stared at the only non-white member in the room and at Joanne for engaging her in Spanish. The stares exemplify the unfamiliarity of the white community with non-white, non-English speaking community members.[191]

"In addition to the fact that congregations forge bonds among their own members," Robert Wuthnow writes in *Small-Town America*, "they also serve as bridges across the wider community by sponsoring broader events open to the public" (226). The Fish Fry could have served as a bridge for the broader public, but also fulfilled the purpose of bringing the same congregation together. Other such public events could be community forums or neighborhood parties if it weren't for the exclusive mindset of various white congregation members in Clinton County. Two quick examples will illustrate this further.

Caroline, who proclaimed church as an expectation in chapter three, recalled planning stages of one of the immigration forums organized in the aftermath of Donald Trump's election as president. Frankfort's Hispanic community sought answers to the confusing messages sent by the Trump administration concerning immigration bans, DACA, and ICE. Caroline remembered,

> when we were looking for a place to host our forum, I knew that my church wouldn't do it because we also have a group, the majority of the people at my church probably would say 'no, we're not gonna host something for the Latinos!' They're not vocal racists. But I don't think they would step out of their comfort zone to host something. I might be wrong. But that's just my ...

She doubled down on her perception describing the current minister as "pretty conservative." Caroline's interpretation of her church family not wanting to leave their comfort zone, or white habitus, underlines yet again the unfamiliarity and discomfort with the Hispanic community in town, with whom the white church members prefer keeping their distance rather than forging a

[191] In the previous chapter, I also noted unfamiliarity with a black pastor in lily-white Rossville already as one of the detrimental effects of an all-white world.

bond. Her description of fellow congregation members as "not vocal racists" invokes Barbara Trepagnier's concept of "silent racism," implying that, though not engaging in racist discourse, they continue to hold negative stereotypical thoughts and assumptions about Hispanics (15).

Similarly, Penny recalled one such church-initiated activities from her own church. They organized a neighborhood party with live music, food and drinks, "trying to reach out to the neighborhood around us and reach those non-Christian people. Obviously, we wanna get them involved in the good word and in the church, so we decided to have this [neighborhood] party." During the clean-up in conversation with some "of our older church people," one lady remarked "I really think we gotta move it in cos we had a (sic) awful lot of riff-raff." Clarifying her meaning of "riff-raff," Penny noted that it was another way of saying "poor white trash."

This exchange with Penny reveals two important things. First, the quoted lady from her congregation reveals that some congregation members disapprove of community-wide church activities being for everyone, and secondly, the desired exclusion transcends race as the woman complained about poorer white community members attending the neighborhood party.

Prejudicial treatment in a culture of exclusion and inhospitality does not stop with race. Letters to the Editor and interview remarks expressed resentment and suspicion toward other religions, frequently conflating religion and immigration.[192] One interviewee asserted that "not

[192] Letters to the Editor from the mid-2000s are helpful here, too. Conflating race, religion, and citizenship, they display Vega's "rhetoric of denied belonging" to the national imagined community of the U.S. One resident inserted his religious point of view on birth control and abortion when arguing that the "white race in America and especially in Europe has committed demographic suicide" and explained that immigrants were coming to fuel the American economy as "we aren't producing enough white children." He finished his letter, noting that "In America, thank the good Lord, our immigrants are Christians" unlike in Europe where "the white kids are being replaced by Muslims." It is particularly interesting how he classified the immigrants to the U.S. as "our" immigrants, claiming the good "type" of immigrant for themselves. Arguing for better integration of local Hispanics, another letter noted "these people are Christians and not Muslims reading the Koran and learning how to make bombs," clearing conflating Islam with terrorism. Other letters expressed resentment of undocumented immigrants in the community in inserted religion to not be perceived as racist: "I have never been a racist and believe all people are human beings and God's children, but so is Bin Laden and his terrorist group" (Bracken, Robert. "The Greater Good Served by Working Together," 20-21 May, 2006, p. 4 and "Immigration Not Going Away," 3-4 Nov. 2007, p. 4; McCall, Rita. "Who is Looking Out for American Citizens?" 3-4 June, 2006, p. 4).

everybody but a good group of Muslims hate Americans. Hate Christianity," while another suspected uninterrupted calls to the FBI "if a Middle Eastern group moved into Frankfort."

These opinions, however, are not based on personal encounters but rather formed through media coverage. Terrorism news is proven to increase prejudicial attitudes (Das et al. 453). No Muslim Americans live in Frankfort; yet, Muslims exclusively surfaced in a negative light.[193] In one of the most comprehensive accounts of the Muslim American experience since 9/11, Rachel Gillum contextualizes Donald Trump's public anti-Muslim rhetoric during the 2016 presidential campaign. She notes that "Such high-profile rhetoric and actions – by casting suspicion on members of Muslim American communities and characterizing them as inherently 'un-American' and violent – can foster anti-Islam sentiment more broadly" (5). My interviewees' remarks illustrate what such "anti-Islam sentiment" sounds like in small-town Indiana and corroborate the antipathy and suspicion of Clinton County residents toward the Other in 2017.

From separate churches and services to allegedly inclusive church activities that preferably or de facto remained exclusive, it appears that the churches have a long way to go to bridge the two communities in Clinton County. And so do the white Christians, as their lack of interaction with minority groups or other religions revealed resentment, intolerance, as well as unfamiliarity and condescension at best. As far as the churches go, there is evidence that they are trying. The Cinco de Mayo celebration remained a communal effort of the First Evangelical Presbyterian Church and the Primeria Iglesia Bautista for a number of years until the latter was able to acquire a larger congregation space in town in 2015, continuing the tradition of food and fellowship as a church fundraiser in town.[194] Similarly, Frank recalled a very recent change in his own

[193] By 2014, half of all Americans believed that Islam is more likely to encourage violence among its followers; among Republican-leaning individuals and older Americans the percentage was up to two thirds. The study also recorded that about half of all Americans believed that at least some U.S. Muslims are anti-American (Pew Research Center).
[194] Wieseman, Anna. "Local Ministry Dreams Big for New Space." *Frankfort Times*, 8 Dec. 2015, p. 1.

congregation: "… we have a couple of [Hispanic] families that go to our church. In fact, our last song every Sunday, one of the verses is in Spanish. The last song, the last verse, in Spanish." In other words, the presence of the few non-white families in some congregations has resulted in a more inclusive and welcoming environment, sending a signal that whites and Hispanics are part of their church community.

As small-town America favors the celebration of festivals, the community attempted to bridge the divide between the two groups in 2004 accordingly. They introduced the Hispanic Cultural Arts Festival in the community to share and celebrate food, art, and music pertaining to the newest cultural group in Frankfort. The festival continued to entertain residents and the wider Indiana community in 2005 and 2006, each year growing in size. With the all-time low in community acceptance, the Hispanic Cultural Arts Festival was canceled in 2007. Attempts to revive the festival in 2009 under the new name Latino Festival resulted in noise complaints and calls for ordinances regulating live music.[195] No Hispanic festival has taken place since.

The Hotdog Festival is a big annual summer festival in the community and reinforces the county's desired white spatial imaginary. Over the course of two days, the festival entertains with children and senior citizen talent shows, dog shows, live music, food stands and more. 2015 constitutes the only attempt to provide entertainment for the Hispanic community. The program included a clown/magician in Spanish, a dance troupe, and three live bands performing in Spanish. The program and information booth proudly advertised the "Latino stage" that year. Yet, after four hours strolling over the festival grounds, which surround the Court House Square, I was still unable to locate it. I eventually asked EMT personnel cruising in golf carts across the courthouse square,

[195] Israel, Evan. "Festival Noise Concerns Some." *Frankfort Times*, 16 Sept. 2009, pp. A1–A2.

who were able to direct me to the location of the stage. It was neither in plain sight, nor was it part of the courthouse square (Figure 27).

Figure 27 Birds-eye view of Frankfort on the day the town sets up for the Hotdog Festival. The booths are arranged around the Courthouse square. The orange oval represents the location of the main stage. The Latino stage was located behind the building in front of the green space in the top right corner in 2015 (yellow oval). The demolished building across the street was still standing, preventing even further easy spotting of the stage. Image retrieved from http://www.insideindianabusiness.com/story/38394361/frankfort-mayor-says-build-it-and-they-will-come.

Thus, despite the inclusion of Spanish-speaking entertainment, the all-white image of Frankfort was preserved by locating the stage outside of the main festival circle that encounters the wealth of visitors (Figure 27).

The reason why these Spanish-speaking components became part of the 2015 festival at all was a Hispanic board member on Main Street, Inc., which plans the festival each year. Once he left the board, money was no longer allocated to include items for Frankfort's large minority population. Celeste Lay notes potential "tokenism and burnout among the Latinos who do participate" in community leadership positions such as board membership on Main Street, Inc.

They “may suddenly find [themselves] being asked to participate in numerous activities” (122). In many of my informal conversations, minority residents echoed these sentiments.

Inquiring with Carla why there is no longer any entertainment in Spanish, she explained

> And you know why that was? Because when, I don’t know how they survey people that attend the Hotdog Festival to figure out what they enjoyed the most. And the 4 floor dancers were voted as the second top thing. And so they were willing to put money behind that. But not … I don’t know how the survey comes because I didn’t get it. I don’t see other Latinos get it. Not that I’m the only Latina, but you know what I mean. I mean. You know what I mean. I work in a public office […] and I didn’t get it.

Carla’s interpretation is important as it indicates a selective (segregated) gathering of survey results to justify what entertainment to bring to town. And correctly noted, the Mexican Folk Art dance group (Figure 28) featured on the main stage for the next two years before the Main Street Board discontinued their engagement in 2018.

Figure 28 The Mexican Folk Art Dance Group entertains the Frankfort community during the Hotdog Festival.

Though local festivities are part of the community values in many small-towns, Clinton County still struggles to abstain from preserving its ideal all-white impression of small-town life. Even in moments of inclusion, the relegation to outside main festival grounds indicates that the Hispanic community is still not considered a part of Frankfort's town identity – corroborated by the fact that all forms of Hispanic entertainment have disappeared by 2018. In other words, community events continue to serve and entertain the white residents of Frankfort and Clinton County, just like the minstrel shows did in the past.

One more mechanism of exclusion and *non*belonging is worth discussing here: living arrangements. In the previous chapter, I discussed Martha Maxey's Letter to the Editor, in which she shared her experiences with landlords in the community, confirming housing discrimination as part of the lived experiences for minorities in Frankfort. Housing discrimination today reifies the unscrupulous nature of landlords. The maltreatment of Hispanic renters garnered so much attention that the *Frankfort Times* caught on to it in 2001. Staff writer Brian Hamilton provided steps for renting parties when landlords fail to address tenants' complaints. He disclosed various examples of prejudice among the landlords – from refusing to provide leasing contracts in Spanish to refusing fumigation of their properties because of cockroach invasion. Hamilton described the landlords' attitudes as "It's not our fault; it's the people living there."[196] The insinuation of Hispanic renters bringing cockroaches when moving into property was also recalled in my conversations.

My informants also confirmed the residential segregation in town when discussing the two communities. Curtis, who frequently invoked problems in town with the Hispanic presence, expressed the divisions as follows:

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[196] Hamilton, Brian. "Landlords Hear Hispanics' Complaints." *Frankfort Times*, 13 Oct. 2001, p. 1.

> Both sides will say that the other's not doing enough. I understand that. But the thing that I don't understand I guess is that, try to work through these folks over here, that we're not able to get to the others at all, except that they're just not really interested in being involved in the community. In their community, they have, basically, predominantly, they have been in the southwest sector of town. That's where they have grouped.

"They" here refers to the Hispanic community and reinforces the us-vs.-them dichotomy. While implying Hispanic disinterest in becoming a part of the community, Curtis identified one section of the town as "their" town. The same geographical location was identified in multiple interviews. One more comment stands out in this regard. Spencer who has children in the Frankfort community schools and overall seemed to accept and embrace the Hispanic community in town noted, "Hispanics are mostly populated on the west side. The southwest side. There's like a big chunk of neighborhood that you drive through, is basically Hispanics. And the kids call it the ghetto. That's what all the kids call it." His comment affirms the Hispanic concentration in one area but also conveys the attitudes in town towards this neighborhood – as referred to by "the kids." The "ghetto" reference in combination with Doug's description of the area as "the rougher part of town" once again reifies the power of negative stereotypes of minorities as criminals. They are so prevalent that children pick up on the attitude deriding residential areas of their classmates.

Historically, the term ghetto refers to sections of a city to which Jews were restricted. When the term was first applied in the U.S.-American urban context, it mainly referred to African American neighborhoods. Defining the race-restricted ghetto term, Gilbert Osofsky writes "The Negro ghetto remained and expanded, as the other ethnic ghettos disintegrated. The economic and residential mobility permitted white people in the city was, and would continue to be, largely denied Negroes" (130). Appropriating the term ghetto to their small-town contexts, residents illustrated how anti-minority feelings continue to restrict residential mobility of minorities

manifesting the ghetto experience as a testament to American race prejudice in the small-town Midwest.

This chapter thus far has touched upon various effects of marginalization, invisibility and exclusion of minorities in public daily life in Clinton County, including a wide range of community perceptions solely based on stereotypes and teenagers labeling predominant minority neighborhoods in town as "ghetto." The durability of the cultures and practices of exclusion became most palpable in instances when my informants approached the topic of race. These moments revealed for white residents a certain level of discomfort and for minority participants the internalization of the exclusion mechanisms, mainly stereotypes, about themselves and other minority groups, as the next section will reveal.

Effects of the Cultures of Exclusion on the Two Communities

The lack of close daily interactions between the two communities manifested discomfort in talking about the community with regards to race among my white participants. Various informants struggled to find the "proper" terminology to refer to themselves and each other when their "normative whiteness" was interrupted and whiteness was "juxtaposed" with race. When prompted with questions of racial and ethnic diversity, many informants displayed some extra effort to express their thoughts in that regard, stumbling, stuttering, correcting their terminology, in search for politically correct language. Rick, for example, noted "A lot of those Hispanics will work jobs that white people won't do ... Or I say white people. I mean Caucasian." Similarly, at one point, Tom corrected himself when talking about crime in racial terms: "But as far as the Mexicans being brought up, well, in the arrest and stuff, they are in trouble, so are the English, Americans, … whatever we are, … you know." We already saw in the previous chapter how Doug overcorrected himself with when trying to deracialize his comment. He noted "I don't have a

challenge with that, you know, as long they behave themselves. I'd say that with the Caucasians, … the white folk. You know?" All three white men, all native to the community and all above the age of sixty, never had to describe themselves with a race label. Once the invisibility of their whiteness became marked, they started to stutter and hesitate in their remarks. They audibly displayed insecurities or struggles referring to themselves as white Americans, as they corrected themselves while looking for synonyms.

The same struggle is noticeable with regards to minority labels. I already noted the antiquated term "colored" as a common descriptor for black folks. Curtis's remarks stand out with regard to race labels for Hispanics. He showcased his confusion, noting "Latino – I … I never figured that out. You have Mexican, Hispanic, and Latino ... Now Latino, I think I know. That's all Spanish speaking folks. Am I right?" After I explained the different terminology, he noted "I thought that was all up-sided, and no, I didn't realize we had to bring it out – I guess I'm a Welsh American ... No, I just find it so interesting that we have to have an African American and…" When I inquired why he thought we needed the different categories, he asserted "Because they did it. They want it," referring to black Americans. And the conversation went on about different race categories in different historical contexts.

Whiteness literally remained unnamed by noting the European origin of his ancestors. Overall, Curtis proclaimed confusion with different race labels throughout our conversation, at times implying frustration with "political correctness." Instead of reflecting on the origins of the social construct of race or the role of colonialism, Curtis revealed that he had already identified the "culprit" for all the race talk – the African American.

The longevity and power of negative stereotypes prevalent in the cultures of exclusion did not stop with white Americans in the community. Local minorities shared these opinions. Hugo is

Hispanic and non-native to the community. However, he has lived in the area for almost two decades, a timeframe that has proven long enough to adopt the town mentality towards potential newcomers moving into town, including religious and racial minorities. He described his belief in the overall acceptance of the community with the following remarks:

> Yeah, I think people, I mean it's not like people are gonna close the door. Let me give you an example. One time I was doing my haircut and an Afro American, a black person come to the barber shop and ask to the barber, '[do] you cut the hair for black people?' And it's like, what kind of question is that??? This is a business. This is a barber shop. You don't see a sign, no black person allowed. No Hispanic people allowed here. He just come with this. What kind of question is this? Come on man! So basically, he [snaps finger], do you cut people … I mean if you come with that mentality, you're looking for problems. It's like if I go to the coffee shop and they don't know me and I ask the lady, are you serving coffee for Hispanic people? And everybody who are in the coffee shop is like, they look at me like, what the crap? What are you talking about? Why [do] you come with this kind of question? Do you want problems? It's like I'm gonna start a problem where there is no problem.

The interview with Hugo took place on two separate days. He brought up the above example in both occasions – the other time in regards to describing Frankfort as a safe and "great place" to live. Hugo correlated the inquiry about cutting black people's hair with seeking trouble. He doubled down on his opinion alluding to Jim Crow times, in which barber shops, coffee shops and other public establishments across the nation discriminated against black Americans as well as people of Mexican ancestry. As he did not grow up in U.S. society, he did not consider the incident in its sociohistorical context failing to comprehend the legacy of nationwide exclusion of African American citizens. Neither did he consider the fact that not every barber actually knows how to cut black hair. Instead, he perceived the questioner as a troublemaker. Hugo did not grow up in Frankfort, yet he has adopted the town mentality that clearly associates black people with negative stereotypes. Like Doug in the previous chapter, he associated black people with "trouble," a code word for crime. Unlike Doug, he did not do so subconsciously.

The emphasis on negative stereotypes regarding people of color in the community in combination with alienation through "illegal people" claims revealed the internalization of racism among my minority respondents. Stephanie justified the looks she received in the community with her being "an exotic species," lamenting at a later point that Indiana, and small-town Indiana in particular, does not provide room for one's individual identity, they only perceive you as black regardless of your national and racial origins. Samantha, who painted the community supporters as the real hometown heroes in chapter three, whitened her racial background when talking with me:

> I am who I am. And I'm happy. I'm proud. I can't change. I can't scrub it. I can't change who I am… I can't change the way I, I'm, I usually joke with people and tell them I'm whiter than you are [laughs loudly] because I am. Other than a really good tan, … I really, … my heritage, what I've grown up in, I'm just like you. I'm just like -- except I don't have a cool accent like you [laughs loudly] That I wish I have! But I look at people and I'm just like, I'm just like you. There's nothing different. So, I got a better tan than you. Who cares? [laughs loudly] But I'm just like you. You know?[197]

Samantha correlates growing up in a small town, "my heritage, what I've grown up in," with being white, and makes jokes about her skin tone being the result of tanning. However, at a different point during our conversation she recalled how she was treated during her school days:

> I got made fun of in school. You had your … you know … little poop heads, that would make fun of you because you were different. In today's culture I would probably easily say it was kind of soft bullying. I never got thrown up against the wall or anything like that but called names. You know things like that.

Though she graduated about three decades earlier, she recalled moments when she was otherized in school. However, she immediately neutralized the bullying experiences by noting that nothing

[197] Ironically, she had just shared an encounter with me, in which she was approached by someone who held preconceived notions about her racial identity, background, and language skills. She apparently talked differently from what the counterpart had expected, i.e. she talked "locally" and intelligently. She encouraged him to be more careful in expressing these thoughts, as not everybody responds kindly to otherization. However, in the excerpt, she otherized me by noting my "cool accent" demarcating me as the outsider to the community.

worse ever occurred.

Name calling and bullying is also a reality for many Hispanic students today. Angelica recalled a particular case of an elementary school boy whose backpack was thrown around on the bus and who was bullied because he was Hispanic. And at times it goes beyond name calling. Carla whose family moved to the community in the nineties when she was of elementary school age recalled a particularly traumatic event from her childhood during which she observed discrimination for the first time:

> And so, what we started noticing when I got into middle school, I remember there were a lot of fights between Latinos and Caucasians. Like physical. Not just verbal but physical. And I don't … like, I knew I was different. But I didn't see that as a negative thing until middle school. In middle school I remember my first thought of … sort of hate, my feeling of hate, like feeling of discrimination sort of, that sense that people that look like me are discriminated came out in middle school … And I remember that there was this one, I had a friend. I had a lot of friends, but one friend of mine, he's Latino and he got in a fight with somebody that was Caucasian. The principal came up. And the Latino, he grabbed him from his neck. He like pulled him from his neck and took him to the office and the other student was left there when they were both involved. To me that was the first symptom of discrimination. I almost, I felt like a sense of hate towards the administrator when I saw that. I'm like why are you doing that? Why isn't that happening to this other kid, you know? So, I think that was my first, the first one I remember of consciously feeling those things and then from that point on, my grades started to go down ... It was almost like a reflection of, I cannot, almost like rebellion saying you cannot do that. You know. Even like a sense of less, feeling less of and letting my grades be affected by that …

Carla words reveal the consequences of discriminatory treatment: 1) she did not see being "different" as a negative thing until middle school, indicating after joining it, she did; 2) school personnel treated students differently with the principal punishing the Hispanic child but not the white child (just like the judge in the neighborhood quarrel talked to the black children, but not the white children); 3) the event sparked some animosity, some "sort of hate" toward the administrator and the system at large based on the unfair treatment; and 4) the event was so traumatic that she did not only feel "less" but also let her school performance be impacted by it.

Lastly, in speech, local minorities frequently robbed themselves of their U.S. citizenship. In describing town demographics, my minority informants at times used "60% Americans" when referring to white residents. Angelica, who is of Mexican ancestry and has been married to one of those "Americans" constantly ostracized herself when talking about town demographics and intercultural relationships in town, for example,

> But I'm getting along great with American families. I do. I actually now think that most of my friends are Americans. And I visit more American families than Hispanics because – besides my family. Him, because of me, I want to think it's because of me, he has gotten a little closer to the Hispanic population. He wants to learn more about our culture. And he's, … we've been together going on nine years. So, he has actually learned a lot of my culture. And, and he passed that along. He not only learns it and keeps it there. He actually talks that to his parents and his brothers and his friends.

Angelica clearly demarcates boundaries between Hispanics and whites in town, the latter being described as "Americans." She herself identifies as Hispanic but does not correlate that identity with her U.S. American citizenship – echoing the alienated status the town community attributes to "her" community.

This internalization of their marginalized, if not oppressed, status and the adoption of stereotypes presented themselves in different forms – describing oneself and fellow racial/ethnic minorities in belittling language, whitening oneself, and denouncing their own citizenship. No matter the form, all examples are a testament of racial and ethnic minorities exuding sentiments of *non*belonging in the community. As this section illustrated, Frankfort and Clinton County currently comprise two communities within its geographical boundaries. They coexist in geographic proximity but both lead drastically separate lives. This reality might not change any time soon, as the election of Donald Trump seems to have emboldened Clinton County residents to once again openly lament their immigration "problem" and the overall decline of American society. As I close

this dissertation, I will briefly reflect upon how Donald Trump impacted my research in small-town America.

Conclusion: The Beat Goes On – But There Is Hope

Frankfort is currently run by a young Republican mayor, Chris McBarnes, who at the age of 23 was the youngest mayor in Indiana when he was elected in 2011. His election was generally highly praised among my interviewees with descriptions ranging from "a young mayor with a lot of energy and a lot of good ideas" to "Chris has done a fabulous job of pushing Frankfort beyond its comfort level." In some instances, respondents juxtaposed the current mayor with previous town leaders, in others they implied current national politics. For example, Samantha conflated national political parlance when praising the local mayor. She said,

> I really think that having a younger attitude towards the town, having somebody who has grown up here, ha[s] lived through the changes of –, he's seen Frankfort at its worst and I think he's seeing Frankfort at its best now. I think he's actually seen it both ways. He's seen Frankfort at its best and he's seen it at its worst and now he's building *it to be great again*.

One cannot help but notice the resemblance to the national controversy surrounding Donald Trump's slogan of Making America Great Again.

As a conservative community, Clinton County strongly supported Donald Trump in the 2016 U.S. presidential elections, casting 71.5% of its votes for the Republican candidate. As an ethnographic researcher in the community during the long presidential race as well as the first two years of the Trump presidency, I experienced a Trump effect during my time in the field. I overheard conversations about "wall" chants in local schools and observed local church groups wearing "Make America Great Again Repent" t-shirts at festivals. Most pertinent to my data collection was the shift in topics and tone in my conversations with community members. As a detailed analysis of all remarks exceeds the scope of this chapter, a quantitative reflection of the

Trump effect must suffice. I had seven references to current national politics or political leanings prior to election night from three of my 11 respondents, mostly couched as a side note, e.g., "I happen to be a Democrat, but most people are Republican." I had 125 references in all 17 conversations that I conducted after election night, ranging from opinions on Trump opponent Hillary Clinton and Trump himself to stances on policy agendas such as immigration bans and refugees. The Republican majority in the community, some of whom I happened to interview, agreed with many of Trump's early steps on the national and international stage.

The outspoken anti-immigrant rhetoric during Trump's campaign which stoked animosity and fear in local communities with immigrant populations across the nation, resulted in specific community organizing: Frankfort hosted three immigration forums between November 2016 and March 2017,[198] providing crucial insight into community relations at large. The March forum involved community leadership, including the mayor and the chief of police, as well as immigration experts and lawyers. The former addressed attendees encouraging trust in the leadership. The latter addressed concerns regarding ICE, guardianship, and power of attorney. Informative materials were distributed in Spanish and English. The forums attest to the fact that immigration is still a prevalent issue that concerns the community.

The relationship between town leadership and the Hispanic community can best be described as frail. In the March forum, the former appealed to the latter to trust them, "trust the police, call when crime happens," and "trust until we violate that trust." Questions by Hispanic attendees, on the other hand, revealed a certain level of suspicion, mistrust, and, above all, fear: "What happens if a police officer does not respect the rights of the resident when they report a

[198] None of the forums were announced in the newspaper out of fear of community backlash, "we were trying to do it on the down low. Cuz we didn't want it to be a debate," one organizer explained. The Quality of Life examples above explain the cautionary measures taken this time around. Instead, word of mouth, flyers, and Facebook messages brought most attendees into the room.

crime?" and "Does a traffic stop mean detention?" Even more troubling, one public official encouraged the Hispanic community with "if you rent, report poor rental conditions, so we can hold landlords accountable." Though couched as a call for action on behalf of the city through local complaints, they inadvertently admitted awareness of the housing problem with landlords continuing to expose Hispanic renters to sub-standard living conditions. This communal awareness of housing exploitation without concrete measures to prevent them corroborates the potency and durability of the cultures of inhospitality and exclusion that continue to reign in Clinton County. Mechanisms of exclusion and *non*belonging are fully operational in 2019.

Further neutralizing the ideal small-town world presented in chapter three, this chapter illustrated how the cultures of inhospitality are alive and well in the twenty-first century. I showed how strategies of exclusion and mechanisms of *non*belonging have been reproduced and continue to be operationalized in all spheres of life to determine who belongs to small-town Indiana and who doesn't.

My interviews did not reveal much about the African American experiences in Clinton County, but instead laid bare interviewees' stances towards the "new nuisance" in town – Hispanic migrants who settled in large numbers in the community in the last twenty years. These comments simultaneously disclosed the power of the community values and attitudes towards minorities, which have not changed. On the contrary, the structures that created a hostile environment for black migrants earlier in the century are deployed against another wave of migrants.

The three core values that characterized the "community of relationships" – religion, celebrations, and school – crumbled in this new reality. The community is still overwhelmingly (if not exclusively) Christian, and still practices their beliefs separately. The community comes together to celebrate the town, yet relegates Spanish-speaking entertainment outside of the regular

festival grounds and schedule. As a result of the rapid increase of minorities, a community once heralded for its mixed schools resorted to school segregation in the twenty-first century. Though the community cared for the good education of their children, they preferred to have them educated separately. Attempts to end segregation were met with strong opposition reminding us of how many small-town residents aggressively fought to preserve their all-white neighborhoods throughout the twentieth century when the Great Migration brought black Southerners to their city limits. Tensions heightened and the situation exacerbated quickly in the 2000s, ultimately leading to Frankfort's lowest point in community acceptance. Thus, the results from this chapter corroborate that the "community of relationships" is an imagined community; in reality, these relationships remain dysfunctional and selective.

Segregation transects every sphere of life – church, school, neighborhoods, public events. The consequences are many. The internalization of stereotypes and *non*belonging lie among the worst. The lack of daily interactions between the two communities prevents overcoming the divide, as the white majority continues to believe in negative stereotypes reproducing animosity and suspicion towards their non-white minority neighbors. This chapter documented some ways in which residents perceived Hispanics as a problem – from draining the welfare system, to bringing drugs and crime, to being in the country illegally.

The trends of erasing or demarcating others continues and far exceeds the discussed groups in this dissertation. A survey comment illustrates this well: "This is not a very accepting town. There is a lot of racism and discrimination against LGBT people. Those of us who are quite liberal try to speak out, but are often mocked and shouted down."[199]

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[199] I gathered additional information with a "Life in a Midwestern Small-Town Community" survey to supplement my interview data and measure the applicability of attitudes about social, political, or moral issues addressed in my interviews on a broader scale. From my personal interactions and experiences in studying Indiana and this community, I am inclined to agree with the survey comment. I did not elaborate on any discrimination against the LGBTQ

The chasm is wide and may have even widened further under the current Trump administration. Some of the presented remarks alluded to the exacerbation since Donald Trump declared to run for president. Public online forums since his inauguration corroborate a resurfacing of vile hostility and animosity towards the Hispanic community.[200] It is beyond the scope of this chapter to elaborate at great length on the plethora of examples, but my interviews post-election attested to residents no longer being reserved in touting their political opinions at large – they freely discussed Trump administration policies, the president and his opponent, refugees, and immigration. To that extent, the Trump effect is real, as his stance have seeped into the daily – segregated – lives in small-town America.

Though this chapter painted a rather dire reality for ethnic and racial minorities in Clinton County, there is hope. After the 2000 conviction of Santiago Perez, the first incidents of local white uproar against the Hispanic takeover of their town did not escalate. On the contrary, the tragic fate of 15-year old Placida Vasquez who was suffering from kidney failure brought the entire community of Frankfort together in 2002 when her story broke the local news. Due to her parents' non-citizen status, she could not be placed on the waiting list at the Riley Hospital for Children for a kidney transplant until the family could pay $75,000. Frankfort responded, formed a task force to raise the required money, and collected more than $60,000 on Placida's behalf.[201] During the

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community, as it exceeds the scope of this dissertation, yet have plenty of evidence that corroborates this remark. It appears that many LGBTQ folks have moved away from the community, fleeing out of similar reasons as the black community who left because of prejudice. An Indiana native once told me that if you don't feel accepted in small-town Indiana, you don't turn to activism and try to change the community – you just leave. I guess she was right.

[200] "Billy," for example, posted two days after Trump was elected "Think he will thin out the illegals in Frankfort?" starting an entire thread as "Donald Trump." "MFGA" [Make Frankfort Great Again] posted in the thread on August 1, 2018, the following remarks (spelling mistakes not corrected): "All a person has to do is shop at walmart and its obvious frankfort is a safe haven. if a mexican cant speak english then they are illegal. plain and simple. frankfort leaders arent interested in protecting american citizens from the migrant influx, theyre preoccupied with what frankfort may or may not be 50 years from now. wake up mr. mayor!"

[201] Placida underwent surgery in March 2003. Sadly, she passed away in Mexico in October 2007 – in the midst of Frankfort's vicious battle over immigrants in the community (Thornton, Janis. "Placida Vasquez Dies in Mexico." *Frankfort Times*, 9 Octob. 2007, pp. 1, 7).

pinnacle of community intolerance, it was brave members of the community who became suspicious of the activities of the Quality of Life initiative, ultimately leading to its dismantlement in 2008. With more supporters on their side, the Hispanic community became more visible in the community, cleaning the city park, meeting senior residents, and entertaining at county fairs. Progress was maybe most palpable in 2015 when the biggest town festival included various entertainment opportunities for the Spanish-speaking part of the community. And even though Spanish-speaking entertainment (and any Hispanic entertainment for that matter) has been discontinued on the county-wide scale, Frankfort's Hispanic community continues to celebrate Cinco de Mayo, Quinceañeras, and Días de los Muertos, preserving its cultural traditions while inviting the entire community to participate. Though this level of resilience has been necessary, these opportunities also create a sense of belonging in small-town Indiana. And that is indeed worth celebrating.

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This dissertation attempted to illustrate what Celeste Lay observed in *Midwestern Mosaic*:

> An important but often overlooked aspect of immigration into rural areas is that the migrants who choose to move to and reside in small towns are often different from those who choose to live in urban areas. People who choose to live in small communities appreciate the benefits of this lifestyle. […] In essence, the migrants to small towns are not only economically closer to natives than those in urban America, but they have important cultural similarities. (135)

I documented how the black migrants who packed their bags and left the South during the Great Migration expressed hopes and desires to relocate north included small-town America. Their desires to relocate were motivated by an interest in different practices of citizenship, including property ownership, access to a living wage, voting, and quality education, as well as control over well-being of their families and self. In small-town America they sought the tranquility, robust social networks, and good schools that Lay describes as "the benefits of this lifestyle." What they

found was a hostile and unwelcoming environment inhabited by white Midwesterners that did not want “their” kind in their midst, economic and cultural similarities aside.

The culture of exclusion, displayed in hostile attitudes, local ordinances, exclusionary practices and racist discourses, secured the white spatial imaginary and white spatial reality for decades, as this dissertation illustrated. Simultaneously, I delineated the potency and durability of the cultures of exclusion that dominates the midwestern landscape at large by documenting contemporary challenges of the twenty-first-century migration waves of (im)migrants to small-town Indiana. Together, the chapters in this dissertation record the racialized geographies of Indiana, providing us with a nuanced understanding of identity and belonging in the Midwest.

Through its focus on small-town Indiana, this project demonstrates how normative racism is to the nation. Small-town Indiana serves as a microcosm of the U.S. in its failure to own its racist past. Instead, it silences, forgets and erases. Until Indiana and white America at large openly confront and honestly own their history of prejudice, discrimination, and violence, race relations in small-town America and the nation will continue to be a source of contention and instability. Until then, the beat goes on.

APPENDIX A. METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

Reflecting Upon Methodological Decisions, Obstacles, and Challenges

In my introduction, I provide the main methodological approaches taken in this dissertation. Here, I would like to elaborate further on the challenges of consulting archival materials and microfilms, as well as provide more detail about the analytical choices in working with my article data base generated through consulting the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*. Additionally, I am including a detailed overview of the participants in this study.

A Hidden Treasure: The Black History Project

Besides consulting traditional secondary sources to compile the history of race relations in the state of Indiana, I drew upon the Black History Project files located in the Indiana Historical Society in Indianapolis to substantiate Indiana's cultures of exclusion. Discovering the Black History Project files, along with the Black History Vertical Files, has been exciting and revolutionary for the project. Due to the depth of my Clinton County community study, a comparative approach to various counties as detailed as Clinton County, as initially anticipated, had to give in to time and financial constraints as a graduate student. With the help of the Black History Project, however, I filled this void, delineating the pattern of white hostility toward and resentment of blacks in towns and counties across the state. With the backdrop of the Black History Project, I was able to illustrate that Clinton County, Indiana, is not simply an aberration in the midwestern region but more characteristic of the entire state.

The discovery of the project itself is a testament to the tenacity of us researchers. Ever since I started my research on Indiana, I had contacted the Indiana Historical Society – with little luck. My contact fell ill for a long time and ultimately retired before we had the chance to meet and

discuss my research questions in greater detail. In light of these news, I contacted the general reference desk in the early fall 2017, receiving a response from a dedicated staff member in the Society who suggested the Black History Project and the Black History Project Vertical Files as potential points of interest. This little note started my journey into the heart of Indianapolis laying hands on undiscovered materials not yet studied by any scholar, as there is no formal catalog entry available yet and thus no record of the hidden treasure of Indiana race relations.

The Black History Project collection remains unprocessed to this day. Initial difficulties pertaining to the unprocessed nature of the project arose when trying to sketch the intent, scope, duration, and trajectory of the project, as the expert archivist for this project retired earlier in 2017 and a replacement had yet to be found. Regardless, with the help of countless conversations with library staff and meticulous study of available files for both projects, I utilize the Black History Project and the accompanying Vertical Files to explain the pattern of anti-black hostility across the state of Indiana.

I expected 184 files to review as Indiana has 92 counties and we are talking about two collections that deal with the state's history on a county level. The county files were arranged alphabetically. To my surprise, the first county, Adams County, was the fifth folder in the Black History Project, suggesting that they are four folders of general information and documents regarding the project. Yet, due to the unprocessed nature of the material, initial inquiries to staff about the four folders went nowhere. Further confusion came up after I went through all Black History Project county files and only encountered 91 files. Clinton County was the one county that appeared to not have a folder in the collection.

The Black History Project Vertical Files, created as supplementary information to the survey project and thus consisted mainly of newspaper clippings regarding race relations in the

respective counties, only consisted of 45 files. It appeared as if these folders were only created if there was indeed additional information to be filed for a county – unlike the Black History Project, which was intended to give a comprehensive picture of *every* county in the state. In that regard, even an empty folder speaks volumes.

To my luck, the missing Clinton County file and the four project folders that start enumeration of the project containing the general information pertaining to the project were found shortly after I concluded my week-long archival research on-site, resulting in a follow-up intensive research visit. The "General Information" files compensated for the fact that I was unable to personally speak with the creator of the project. Among maps and intermittent county level summaries and encounters, they contained a letter written by the project initiator, dated May 25, 1989, sketching the trajectory of the project until that point. Twenty months after the counties had first been contacted in late September 1987, this letter was sent as an update to all county historians as well as county historical societies and county libraries, respectively (BHP, Folder 2). Thus, the analysis of chapter 2 is based upon my in-depth study of 141 of 184 anticipated files and conversations with various staff members at the reference desk of the William H. Smith Memorial Library in the Indiana Historical Society.

Overview of Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature Generated Database – Sampling Mechanism and Sampling Bias Explained

I conducted a thorough search of the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* from 1900 to 1970 with the following keywords: "Negro," "Migration," "Immigration," "Ku Klux Klan," "Middle West" and "Indiana." The search resulted in a total of 1213 articles for the seven decades. Based on the titles, I separated out 32 Indiana-related articles and 39 Indiana Ku Klux Klan-related

articles (general KKK-related articles were kept within the decadal/decennial counts). These 71 publications were closely read and relevant ones are included in the dissertation discussions.

The bulk of my search results, however, was simply sorted into the respective seven decades (1142 articles). With 61 articles, 1968 is the year that yielded the most results across all decades. Due to the overwhelming number of articles, I decided to only do a close reading of articles published from 1900 to 1930 (261 articles), covering the span of the first wave of the Great Migration, which scholars usually date from 1915 to 1930. 112 or 42.9 percent of the 261 articles were included in the data set. For the remaining four decades, I sampled a minimum of 10 articles (random selection based on titles revealing migration relevance).

Regional and social characteristics build the criteria for my data set. More specifically, if articles described conditions in the North and South due to the migration, they were included in my data set. I coded further for references with regards to the Midwest and Indiana, my research foci. On the other hand, if relevant population distribution data for the U.S. was included, or the state of race relations in the country were explained with the help of the migration phenomenon, they also became part of my data set. The juxtaposition of city and small town/rural life, also coded for, proves interesting. If articles made references to my categories, they received a 1; if they didn't, they were marked with 0. Doing so, I ended up with 159 articles from 73 publishing entities that build the basis for my statistical analysis (Table 9). Per decade, the number of articles spreads as follows:

Table 9 Distribution of Articles by Geographical References per Decade

Decades	Number of Articles	North Referenced	South Referenced	Midwest Referenced	Indiana Referenced
1900s	10	7	4	1	5
1910s	50	45	38	17	2
1920s	50	47	40	15	3
1930s	10	7	5	1	1
1940s	10	8	4	4	2
1950s	10	9	7	3	0
1960s + 1970	19	16	16	4	1
Grand Total	**159**	**139**	**114**	**45**	**14**

My in-depth reading of the first three decades explains the bias in the data. Interesting to note is the overwhelming percentage of references to the North in the articles. This observation resembles the trends already found in the migrant letters discussed in chapter one. To no surprise, 87.4 percent of the included articles reference the "North" in general terms compared to only slightly more than one fourth of the articles (28.3%) referring to the Midwest and 8.8 percent referencing Indiana.

As I was focusing solely on the content of the articles and not the publishing entity, the breadth of outlets is reflected in the number of journals, weeklies, monthlies, and proceedings. However, of the 73 publishing entities total, only 39.7 percent (29) provided more than one article in my analysis. Periodicals with the highest number of included articles are: *Survey* (13), *U.S. News and World Report* (9), *Literary Digest* (8), *Opportunity* (8), *Crisis* (6) and *Monthly Labor Review* (6). Noteworthy here is the distribution of migration-related articles by journal per decade (Table 10):

Table 10 Distribution of Articles by Journal per Decade

Most Frequent Publications	Number of Articles Included in Data Set
Survey[202]	**13**
1910s	10
1920s	3
US News and World Report	**9**
1950s	3
1960s	5
1970s	1
Literary Digest	**8**
1910s	4
1920s	3
1930s	1
Opportunity	**8**
1920s	7
1930s	1
Crisis	**6**
1910s	4
1920s	2
Monthly Labor Review	**6**
1920s	3
1930s	1
1940s	1
1960s	1

As illustrated in Table 10, only two of the major publishing entities spread migration related coverage over more than two decades – *Monthly Labor Review* and *Literary Digest*.[203] What the table also shows is the decadal spread of the migration-related coverage in these news outlets. Whereas *Crisis* and *Survey* only covered the migration wave in the 1910s and 1920s, the *U.S. News and World Report* covered the decades from the 1940s to the 1970s. However, the latter

[202] There is a caveat when it comes to *The Survey*. In 1933 the paper started publishing its "Graphic number" as a separate publication, *Survey Graphic*, thus since then the publications are recorded as *Survey Graphic* and *Survey Midmonthly* ("The Survey"). My data includes one article from each of these publications in the 1930s and 1940s, as well, which technically increases the number of articles included from the periodical to fifteen over the course of four decades, joining the *Monthly Labor Review* in terms of coverage spread.

[203] *The Independent*, *The New Republic* and *The Nation* were the next most frequent publishing entities with five entries each in the data set. Among them, *The Nation* also spread its coverage over more than two decades.

was not founded until 1933, which explains the lack of coverage in the primetime of the first Great Migration wave.

Overview of Participants

Table 11 (see below) shows a detailed overview of the participants in Clinton County for this research project. The table is based upon self-reporting and general information shared during the interview. I refer to approximate age and years in the community as well as the occupational sector to preserve the anonymity of my informants. “Public” in the occupational sector includes employment for the city/county, schools, and community-related services like church, educational institutions, banks, funeral homes, and community centers. “Private” refers to business employment arrangements. “Retired” includes individuals who worked in the public and private sectors as well as farmers. “N/A” refers to individuals who did not disclose their occupations during the interviews. I indicate the level of their community engagement based on the extent to which interviewees included their involvement in community and church activities, volunteering, and town committee positions they held.

Additionally, I interviewed one participant of the first wave of the Great Migration whom I met at a national conference and engaged in conversation about my research project. William is an African American is his nineties who migrated as a toddler with his family from the South to Chicago. He agreed to participate and I spent a wonderful afternoon with him in Chicago in October 2015. He is not included in the table, as he does not belong to the Clinton County community.

Table 11 Description of Interview Participants in Clinton County

Name	**Age Range**	**Race/ Ethnicity**	**Gender**	**Native to the Community**	**Years in the Community**	**Occupational sector**	**Community involved**
Frank	50s	White	Male	Yes	50+	Public	Somewhat
Paul	50s	White	Male	Yes	50+	N/A	Somewhat
Mary	50s	White	Female	No	40+	N/A	Somewhat
Walter	65+	White	Male	Yes	90+	Retired	Not really
George	50s	Black	Male	No	~15	Retired	Somewhat
Curtis	65+	White	Male	Yes	80+	Public	Yes
Hugo	40s	Hispanic	Male	No	~15	Public	Yes
Doug	60s	White	Male	Yes	60+	Public	Yes
Carla	30s	Hispanic	Female	No	20+	Public	Yes
Michael	40s	White	Male	No	~20	Private	Not really
Joanne	40s	White	Female	No	~20	Public	Yes
Bob	50s	White	Male	Yes	50+	Public	Somewhat
Richard	65+	White	Male	No	60+	Public	Not really
Randy	60s	White	Male	Yes	50+	N/A	Somewhat
Caroline	60s	White	Female	No	40+	Retired	Yes
Angelica	30s	Hispanic	Female	No	~18	Public	Somewhat
Stephanie	30s	Black	Female	No	~5	Public	Yes
Samantha	40s	Black	Female	Yes	~30	Public	Somewhat
Brad	60s	White	Male	No	30+	Public	Yes
Tom	65+	White	Male	Yes	90+	Retired	Not really
Robert	60s	White	Male	Yes	60+	Public	Not really
Penny	65+	White	Female	No	~15	Retired	Yes
Tiffany	40s	White	Female	No	~20	Public	Somewhat
Spencer	50s	White	Male	No	~20	Private	Not really
Frances	65+	White	Female	No	70+	Retired	Not really
Shannon	65+	White	Female	No	50+	Retired	Somewhat
Dennis	65+	White	Male	Yes	70+	Retired	Somewhat
Ben	50s	White	Male	No	~10	Public	Somewhat

APPENDIX B. BHP SURVEY QUESTIONS

as included in the Black History Project files located at the Indiana Historical Society in Indianapolis. I removed the space in between the individual questions but did not correct any of the spelling and punctuation. They are reprinted verbatim.

SURVEY OF COUNTY BLACK HISTORY INFORMATION

PLEASE PRINT

GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Would you respond to the following questions regarding the history of Blacks settling in your county?
    a. To your knowledge, what is the earliest occurrence of any Blacks in your County and where were they located?
    b. Can you identify communities in your county settled by Blacks prior to 1930? If known, please give name and date for settlements.
2. Are there any famous or infamous Black people who are associated with your county. (These can be persons native to the state or people who were here briefly, as well as individuals who spent a major portion of their lives in Indiana.)

Name	City	Reason for fame
e.g. Marshall "Major" Taylor	born & lived early life in Indpls	World renowned cyclist
Madame CJ Walker	Indpls was the central location for her business from 1910	Prominent business woman in the beauty culture industry

SITES, ORGANIZATIONS, INSTITUTIONS

3. Can you identify historical landmarks within your county that are associated with the presence of Blacks? These could be buildings, streets, areas, sculptures, etc. (Please be specific when indicating their location.)

Type or name of landmark	City	Location	Description
e.g. Indiana Avenue	Indpls	near westside	culture center from late 1880s

4. To your knowledge, were there any Underground Railroad sited in your county.

City	Location

5. Were any separate schools for Black children operated in your county?

School	City	Grade level	private/	does school	does bldg

	public	still operate	still exist

6. In which cities, if any, were there separate churches attended by Blacks in your county? Was there a predominance of affiliation with a given religious denomination.

City	Religious Affiliation
e.g. Indpls	AME, AMEZ, CME, Baptist, more recently, Pentecost

7. Are you aware of businesses that were owned and operated by Blacks in your county. (Please be specific and list city, owner, business and approximate time frame.)

City	Owner	Business	Time period
e.g. Indianapolis	John Jones	trucking co.	approx. 1870-1950

8. Do you know of clubs, groups or organizations that were operated by or for Blacks to promote education, health, or other social concerns? (Please list these here, even if you plan to include on the Referral Sheet.)

City	Organization	Social Concerns	Time Period
e.g. Indpls	Flanner House	all social services	1898-
Indianapolis	Woman's Improvement Club	education, health	1903-

SOURCES

9. Are you aware of any published or unpublished materials (e.g. newspaper articles or columns, high school or college papers, etc.) that give information about the history of Blacks in your county?

Type of Material	Location of material (i.e. library, historical library, historical society, private home, etc.)

10. Give a brief description of materials that you may have in your files (personal or organizational) that give information about the presence of Blacks in your county.
11. Materials, such as deed books, tax records, Negro Registers and manumission records can reveal alot about history. Are you aware that any of these materials are available at your county courthouse or other locations?

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

12. Give any additional information about your county that you think would be helpful in shedding light on the history of Blacks.
13. Do you have other information that may not be about your county, but which may be of interest to me as the Black History Program Archivist for the Indiana Historical Society? Please describe.
14. Further elaboration about your knowledge of the history of Blacks in your county can be attained from you by a:

_____ phone call best time to call _____

_____ scheduled visit to your county

_____ other; please elaborate

15. Name of your county: _____.
    If you represent a city (public or private institution, name of your city _____

16. Name of person complete survey
    Institution (if applicable)

    Address

    City

    Telephone No.

The survey ended with indicated return date, and contact information of IHS staff.

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