

MasterSlides for Nadir and Sundown Towns

Use as you wish. Most are in public domain. Those taken or constructed by me are yours to use, so long as you footnote me and don't make \$ off them.

Please note:

- This workshop is intended for people who want to learn about sundown towns because they may want to research one (or more) and then try to help it transcend its white supremacist past.
- I shall use the actual “n-word” at least twice, quoting sundown town signs, etc.
- Such language is offensive and upsetting, but I cannot in conscience avoid it. If this will upset you, kindly leave now. You will not be able to do this kind of research and social justice work.
- Thank you.

We Live in a Landscape of White Supremacy

Names of towns and buildings

Statues and monuments

Columbus Day

Thanksgiving

The “Redskins”

The “Great Explorers”

OED word of the year, 2017:
“post-truth”

Why should we privilege one narrative above
others with the term “true”?

History got messed up with Keith
Jenkins, Richard Rorty?

Historiography!
“Sociology of knowledge”

“The Most Important Era in U.S.
History You Never Heard Of,
and Why It’s Especially
Important Today”

James W. Loewen

jloewen@uvm.edu

“Making Public History Accurate and Inclusive”

James W. Loewen

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Lies My Teacher Told Me in the Age of “Alternative Facts”

James W. Loewen

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Historiography!
“Sociology of knowledge”

How could this happen??

When did it happen?

The Nadir: 1890-1940

What was its purpose?

Rationalize and defend the South

Why did the North acquiesce?

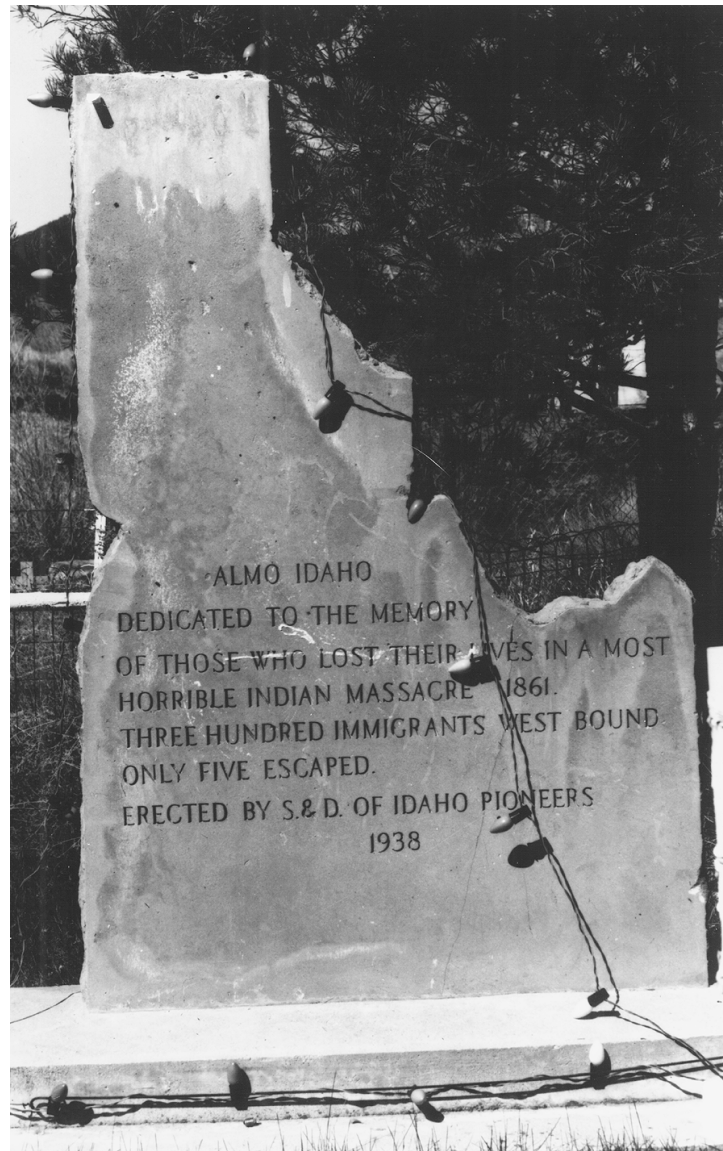
Unclean hands: complicit in white
supremacy

Historiography:

- The study of history
- Who wrote this? When?
- Who *didn't* write it?
- Who is “comforted” by it?

Every monument is
a tale of three eras:
What it's about;
When it went up; and
Today.

Most Confederate monuments
went up during the Nadir
of Race Relations, 1890-1940.



ALMO IDAHO
DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY
OF THOSE WHO LOST THEIR LIVES IN A MOST
HORRIBLE INDIAN MASSACRE 1861.
THREE HUNDRED IMMIGRANTS WEST BOUND
ONLY FIVE ESCAPED.
ERECTED BY S. & D. OF IDAHO PIONEERS
1938



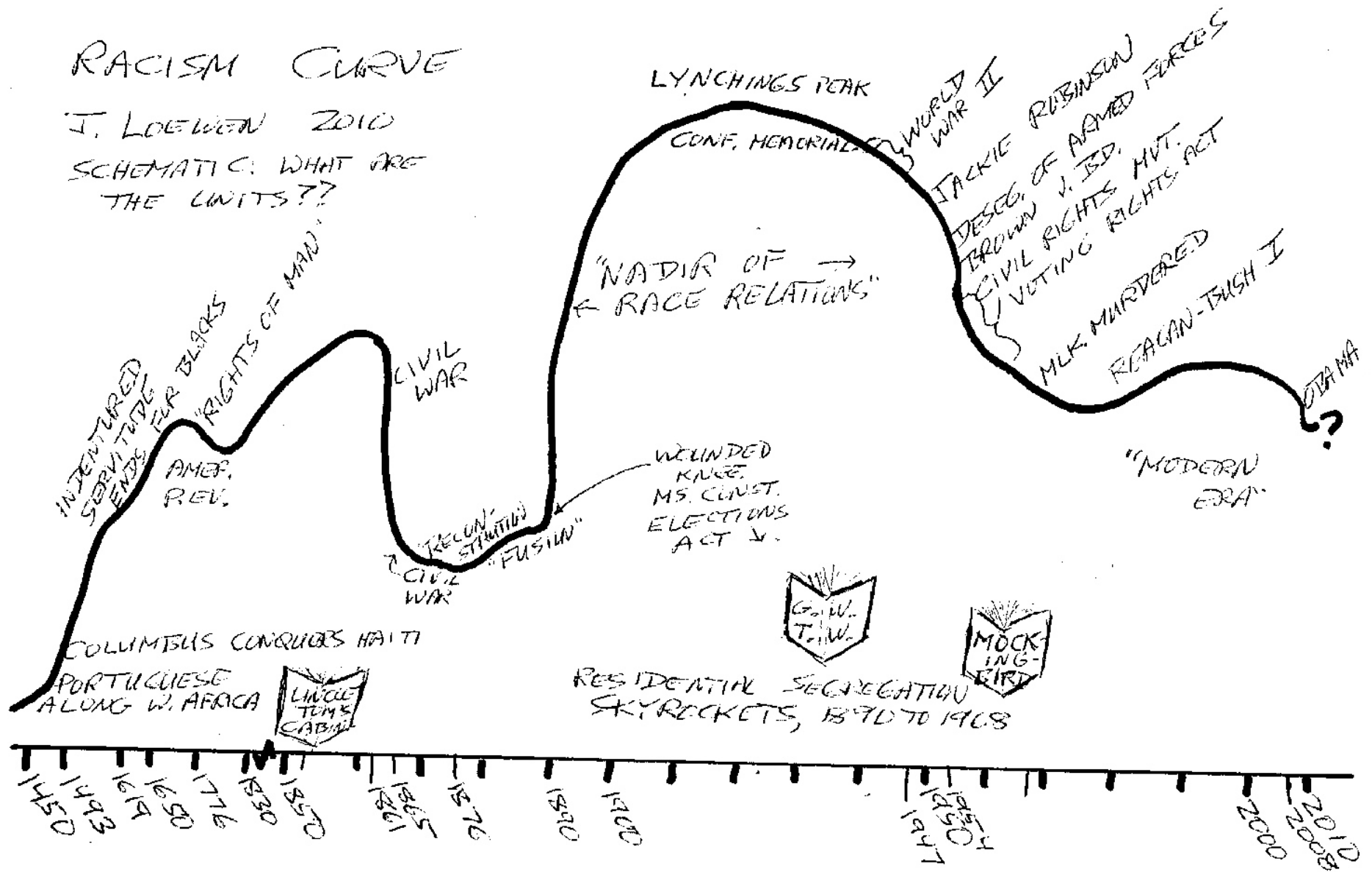
Helena, MT: “A Longing Tribute to
Our Confederate Soldiers” – 1916

The Montana Confederate Memorial was dedicated in 1916 at a time when race relations in the country were at the nadir with segregation and lynchings reaching their peak. The memorial beautified Hill Park, but ironically it also made a strong statement about the past - that even this far north the Confederacy should be honored nostalgically. —
Great Falls Tribune, 9/12/2012.

RACISM CURVE

J. LOEWEN 2010

SCHEMATIC: WHAT ARE THE LIMITS??





Rock Creek Massacre, 1885, prompts expulsions throughout Idaho, Washington, Oregon, California

The Worst Time for History: The Nadir of Race Relations

- Racism (as ideology) to all-time high
- 1890-1940
- “Three I’s”
 - Indian Wars
 - Immigrants (San Francisco, Ellis Island)
 - Imperialism



The Nadir in Iowa

From “Bright Radical Star”

to

10.7 / 1 Black Incarceration to White

In September of 1867, Susan Clark headed off to her neighborhood school, Grammar School #2, in Muscatine. But Susan, who was black, was turned away at the schoolhouse door. Authorities told her she must go to a different school, one for black children. Her father, Alexander Clark Sr., sued on her behalf, saying she had a right to attend her neighborhood school.

In 1868, the Iowa Supreme Court agreed. It said that if a school could exclude black children it also could exclude German children or Irish children or French children. It went on: "For the courts to sustain a board of school directors... in limiting the rights and privileges of persons by reason of their nationality would be to sanction a plain violation of the spirit of our laws [and]... would tend to perpetuate the national differences or our people and stimulate a constant strife, if not a war of races."

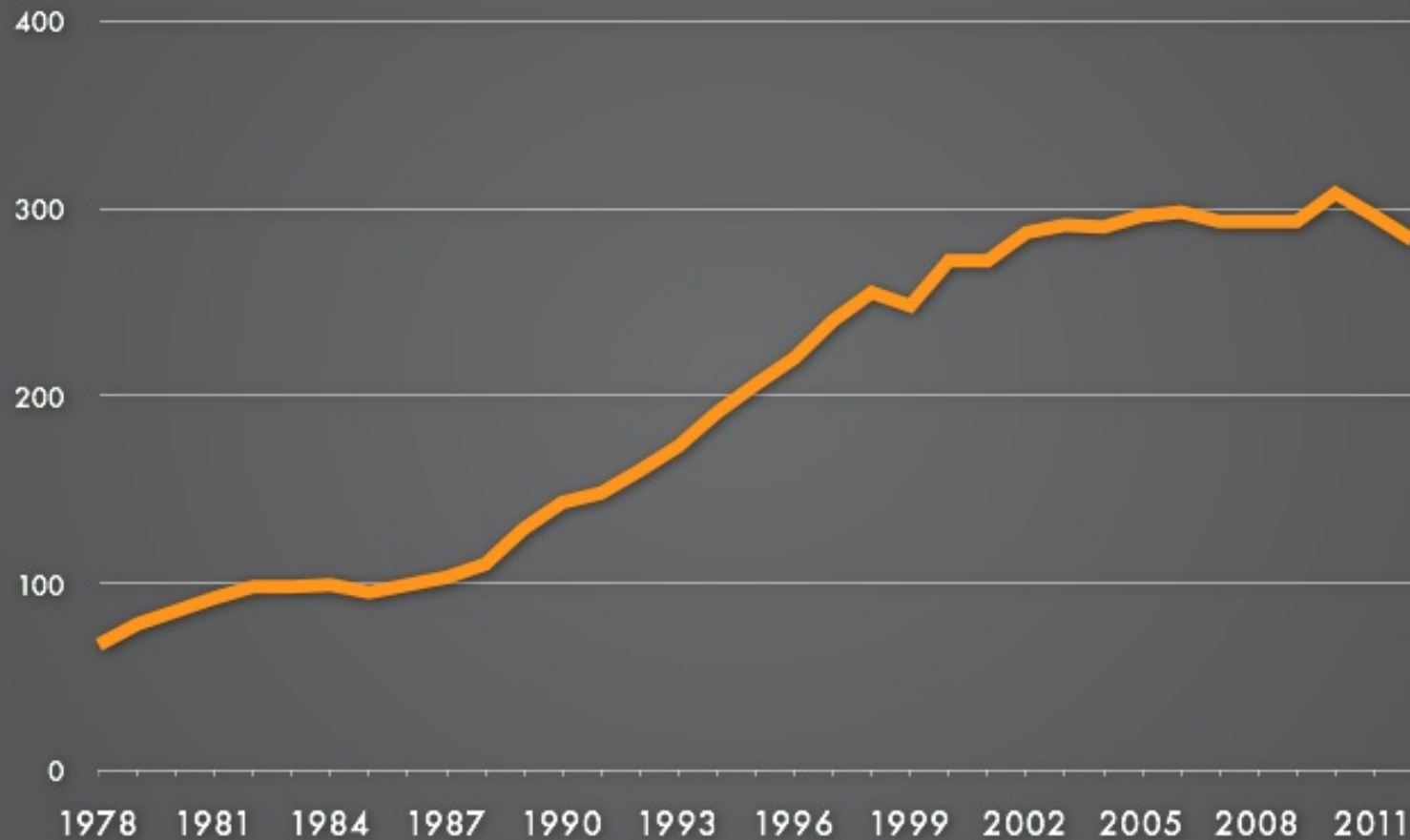
Susan Clark, the court said, was entitled to go to her neighborhood school and was entitled to "equal privileges with the other pupils therein."

It wasn't until 1954, in the famous case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, that the Supreme Court of the United States recognized the same principle.



Emma Coger was a schoolteacher who bought a ticket on a steamship traveling the Mississippi River. When she sat down in the dining room for her meal, she was told she had to eat in the pantry because she was a quadroon -- one of her grandparents was black. She refused, and steamship employees dragged her out of the dining room. She sued. In 1873, the Iowa Supreme Court ruled in her favor, saying that in Iowa all people are equal. It stated: "If the Negro must submit to different treatment, to accommodations inferior to those given to the white man, when transported by public carriers, he is deprived of the benefits of this very principle of equality." The Court noted that she was removed because of prejudice -- a prejudice "that is fast giving way to nobler sentiments, and, it is hoped, will soon be entombed with its parent, slavery." The Court was overly optimistic. It wasn't until 1964 that the Congress of the United States came to the same conclusions that the Iowa court reached in 1873.

STATE PRISON INCARCERATION RATE IN IOWA

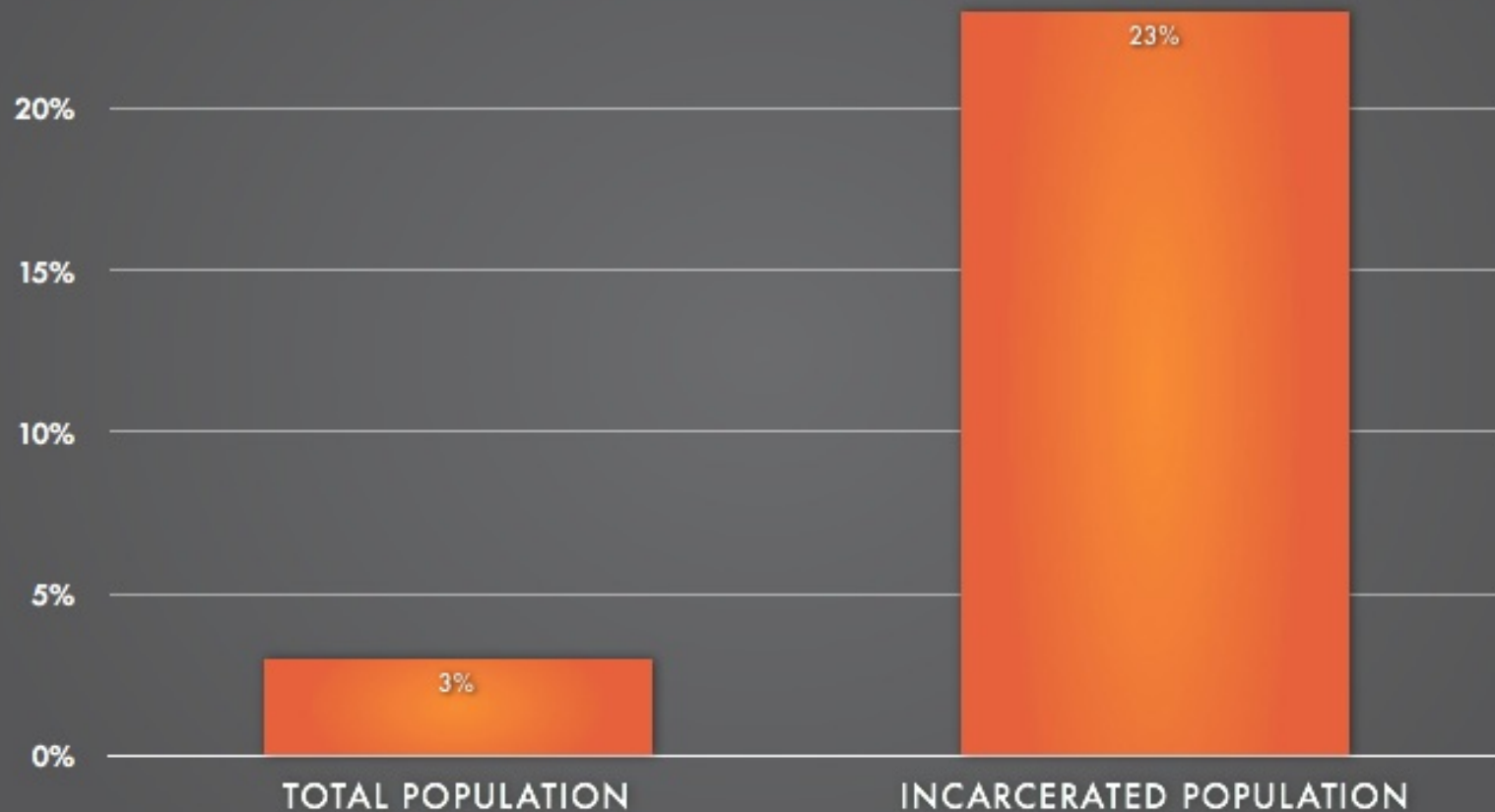


PRISON
POLICY INITIATIVE

Number of people incarcerated in state prison with sentences over one year, per 100,000 people in the state.

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, Corrections Statistical Analysis Tool.

BLACKS ARE OVERREPRESENTED IN IOWA PRISONS AND JAILS





Affirmative Action at Iowa State?

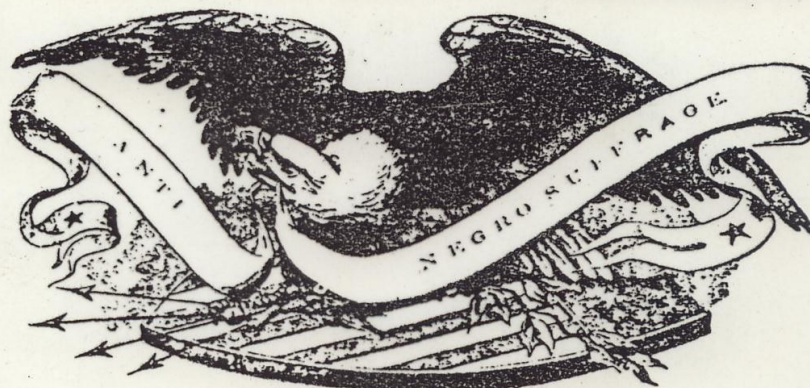


Othello and Desdemona



CHURCHILL, A RE GOOD ENOUGH FOR THE MEDICAN MEDICANIC

DEMOCRATIC MEETING.



ALL WHO ARE OPPOSED TO

NEGRO EQUALITY!
AND CONGRESSIONAL USURPA-
TIONS,

and in favor of the payment of the
NATIONAL DEBT
IN GREENBACKS,

EQUAL TAXATION, ABROGATION OF THE "TEST OATH" AND SECURING TO ALL THE
States of the Union their Rights under the Federal Constitution.

Are cordially invited to be present and take part in the deliberations at

MASS MEETING,
at Sherwood's hall, February 22, '68.

THEY ARE GOOD ENOUGH FOR THE BOND HOLDER WHO PAYS NO TAXES

© 1868 by the Author. All rights reserved.

FACSIMILE OF POLITICAL POSTER IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1868.



Print Matthews, Shot, Nov. 6, 1883



Print Matthews, Remembered by Students from Boston

How could this happen??

When did it happen?

The Nadir: 1890-1940

What was its purpose?

Rationalize and defend the South

Why did the North acquiesce?

Unclean hands: increasingly
complicit in white supremacy

NE

"The End of the Trail"

by James Earle Fraser



Shown smaller
than actual size
of 9" high.

© NE 1993

One of the most beloved and acclaimed sculptures in American history, "The End of the Trail" is James Earle Fraser's world renowned tribute to the American Indian. The few existing bronze originals are virtually beyond valuation, but now this magnificent 1/3 size museum quality reproduction is available for the exceptional offering price of just \$69.00 per sculpture.

Each "End of the Trail" sculpture will be meticulously crafted of cold-cast bronze — a remarkable medium that holds even finer and more intricate detail than traditional hot-cast bronze. Every sculpture will be individually cast from a special blend of powdered resins and bronze, then hand-finished with a classic patina, similar to the original. Each "End of the Trail" will be hallmarked and serially numbered. A Certificate of Authenticity will accompany each sculpture.

The edition will be strictly limited to just 9500 pieces worldwide and after that, all molds will be destroyed forever. To reserve this important Limited Edition Fraser reproduction, simply return the reservation application below.

*The New England Collectors Society is a division of
Reed & Barton Silversmiths, makers of fine products since 1824.*

NE The New England Collectors Society
237 Saw Mill Road, Box 464
West Haven, CT 06516

ET0185

Please accept my reservation for "The End of the Trail" to be crafted for me in cold-cast bronze at \$69.00 plus \$5.00 for shipping and handling.

☐ I have enclosed my deposit of \$18.50* I will be billed for the balance in three equal monthly installments of \$18.50* each, upon shipment of my sculpture.

☐ I need send no money now. I will be billed for my deposit of \$18.50* prior to shipment, and for the balance in three equal monthly installments of \$18.50* each upon shipment of my sculpture.

☐ I would like my four equal payments of \$18.50* charged to my:

☐ MasterCard ☐ VISA ☐ AMEX ☐ Discover

Card # _____ Exp. _____

Signature _____

All applications are subject to acceptance.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

*CT and CA residents please remit applicable state and local taxes. Please allow 8-10 weeks for delivery after payment of initial installment.

☎ For fastest service on charge card orders • Telephone TOLL FREE 1-800-654-5536 • 9 am - 5 pm EST Mon.-Fri.



COOLIE, SLAVE,
PAUPER, &
RAT-EATER.

THE CHINESE QUESTION.

THE CHINAMAN WORKS CHEAP BECAUSE HE IS A
BARBARIAN AND SEEKS GRATIFICATION
OF ONLY THE LOWEST, THE MOST INEVITABLE WANTS!

THE LOWEST AND VILEST OF THE HUMAN RACE.
WENDELL PHILLIPS.
I (A WHITE MAN) AM OPPOSED TO HIM ON GROUNDS OF —
1, RACE; 2, INDUSTRY; 3, POLITICS; 4, MORALITY.

TRADES — UNIONS.
MEETING

RESOLVED,
IMPORTATION OF CHINESE
BARBARIANS IN TO THE
COUNTRY MUST BE STOPPED BY
THE BALLOT OR BULLET.

THEY ARE DISHONEST AND FALSE,
VICIOUS, IMMORAL AND
HEATHENISH.

DEGRADED LABOR OF A
EUROPEAN IMMORALITY IS VIRTUE ITSELF
WHEN COMPARED WITH CHINESE IMMORALITY.

JOHN CHINAMAN IS
AN IDOLATER
HEATHEN.

"SERVILE LABORERS FROM ASIA"
JOSS HOUSES IN OUR MIDST.

CHINESE PAGANISM HAS, BY
ITS FRUITS A PRACTICAL
IMMORALITY FOKER BY
FAR THAN THAT KNOWN
AMONG ANY EUROPEAN
OR CHRISTIAN
PEOPLE.

NO FAMILY
VIRTUES
SUCH
AS
WE HAVE
(WHITE PURITY)

COLORED ORPHAN
ASYLUM

IT COULD BE
BETTER FOR THE
COLORED RACE
TO BE
COLLECTED
IN ONE PLACE
AND
LEFT TO
THEIR OWN
DEVICES.

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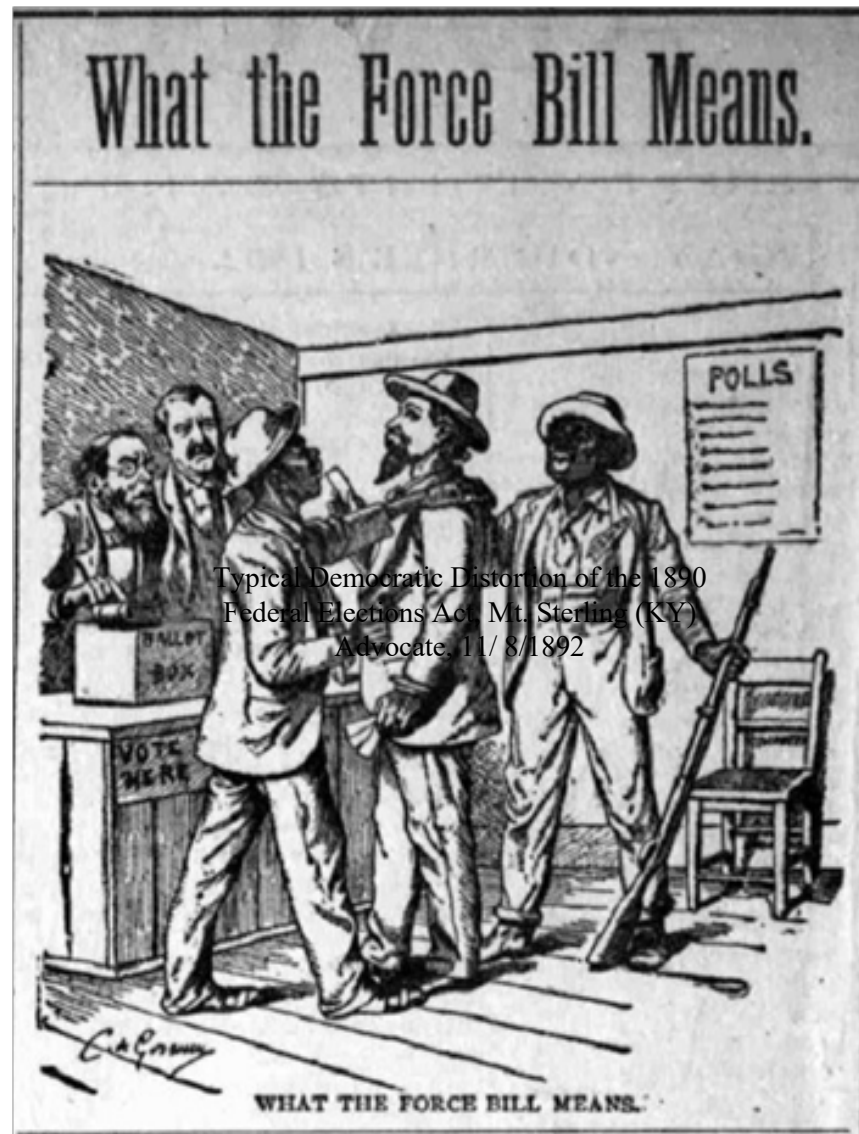
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Why 1890?

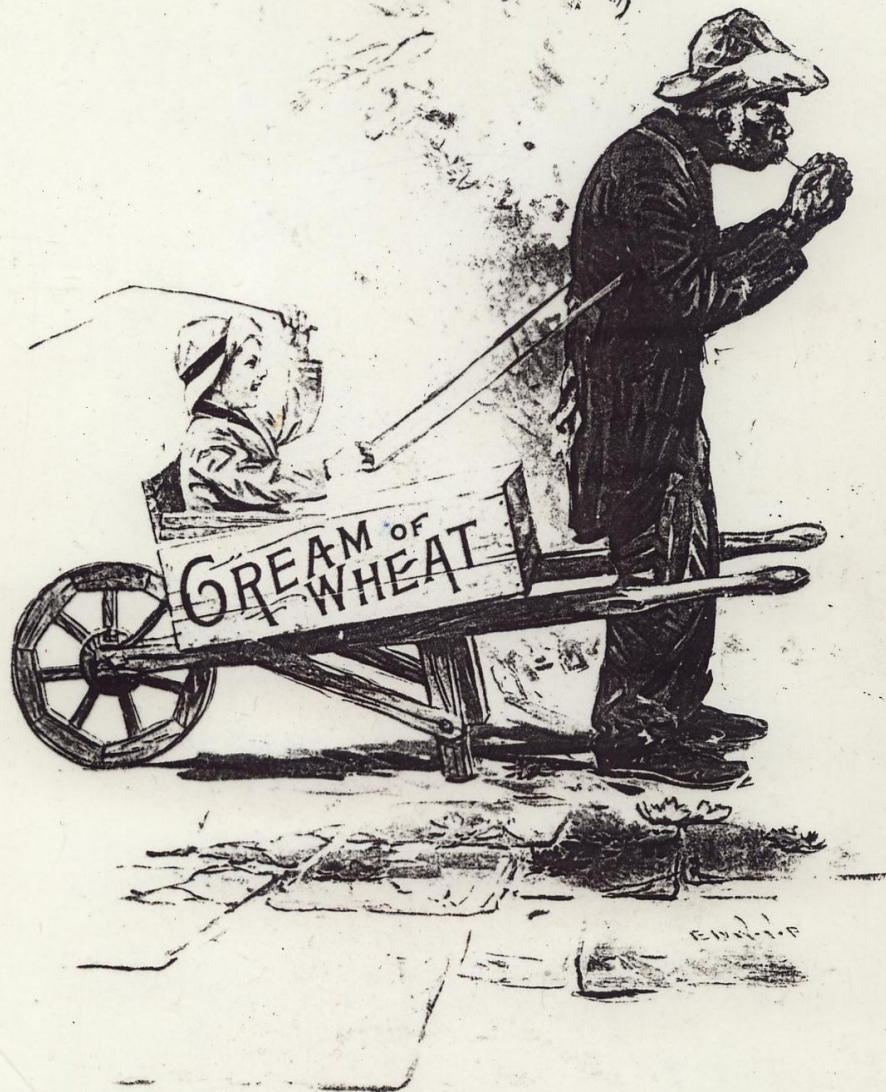
- “Mississippi Plan,” new state constitution disfranchises African Americans
- Massacre at Wounded Knee sends Natives to their nadir
- Democrats defeat Federal Elections Act. Republicans back away from the cause.



Typical Democratic Distortion of the 1890
Federal Elections Act, Mt. Sterling (KY)
Advocate, 11/ 8/1892







"GIDDAP, UNCLE!"

Painted by Edna V. Brown for Cream of Wheat Co.

Copyright 1914 by Cream of Wheat Co.

Three Key Concepts

- Historiography, “the study of history, or of the writing of history.”
- Political efficacy, “a sense that one can have some impact,” hence is a part of the polity.
- Hieratic scale, “use of size, height, materials, etc., to proclaim the importance of the person or cause.”

Twin Legacies of the Nadir Today

1. Distorted History [right in this room]
2. Sundown Towns

Sundown Towns

and what civil rights lawyers
can do about them

MASS MEETING.

A Mass Meeting of the citizens of this place and vicinity will be held at Darby's Hall, on Sunday, Jan. 31, at 2 o'clock P. M., to devise some lawful means of riding Crescent City of Chinese.

R. W. Miller, R. G. Knox, L. F. Coburn and others will address the meeting.

All are invited to attend.



WHITES
ONLY

WITHIN
CITY
LIMITS

AFTER
DARK



Pierce City, Missouri, the morning after it went sundown



DON'T LET THE SUN SET ON YOU HERE, UNDERSTAND?

Norman, Okla., Feb. 10.—Agitation involving Race musicians has become quite widespread since the beating up of Howard's orchestra in Miami, Fla., some weeks ago. The latest instance of intimidation occurred in this city.

An orchestra composed of Race men had been sent for to come from Fort Worth, Texas, to play at a dance given for students of the University of Oklahoma. When it was discovered that the musicians were in town a free-for-all fight was only narrowly averted. Like many Southern towns there is a disposition here to make this a lily-white community





Villa Grove, IL: Can you “see” the ordinance?



Can you “see” the ordinance (TN)?



ANTI-NEGRO CRUSADE

Indiana River Towns Are
Taking Drastic Measures

TO RID THEMSELVES
OF THE OBNOXIOUS

Scores Indicted for Selling Their
Votes—In Many Places No
Negroes Are Allowed
to Live.

Evansville, Ind., Jan. 28.—Cities and towns along the Ohio river have begun a crusade against the negroes. The entire trouble dates back to the lynching of the negroes at Rockport and Boonville for the murder of the white barber, Simmons, at Rockport one night last month. The board of safety of this



Pictured are members of the Pike County Ku Klux Klan in front of a building at 3rd Street and Avenue C, Matamoras, Pa.

LOCAL NURSE CARES FOR POLIO PATIENTS

DEC, 1952

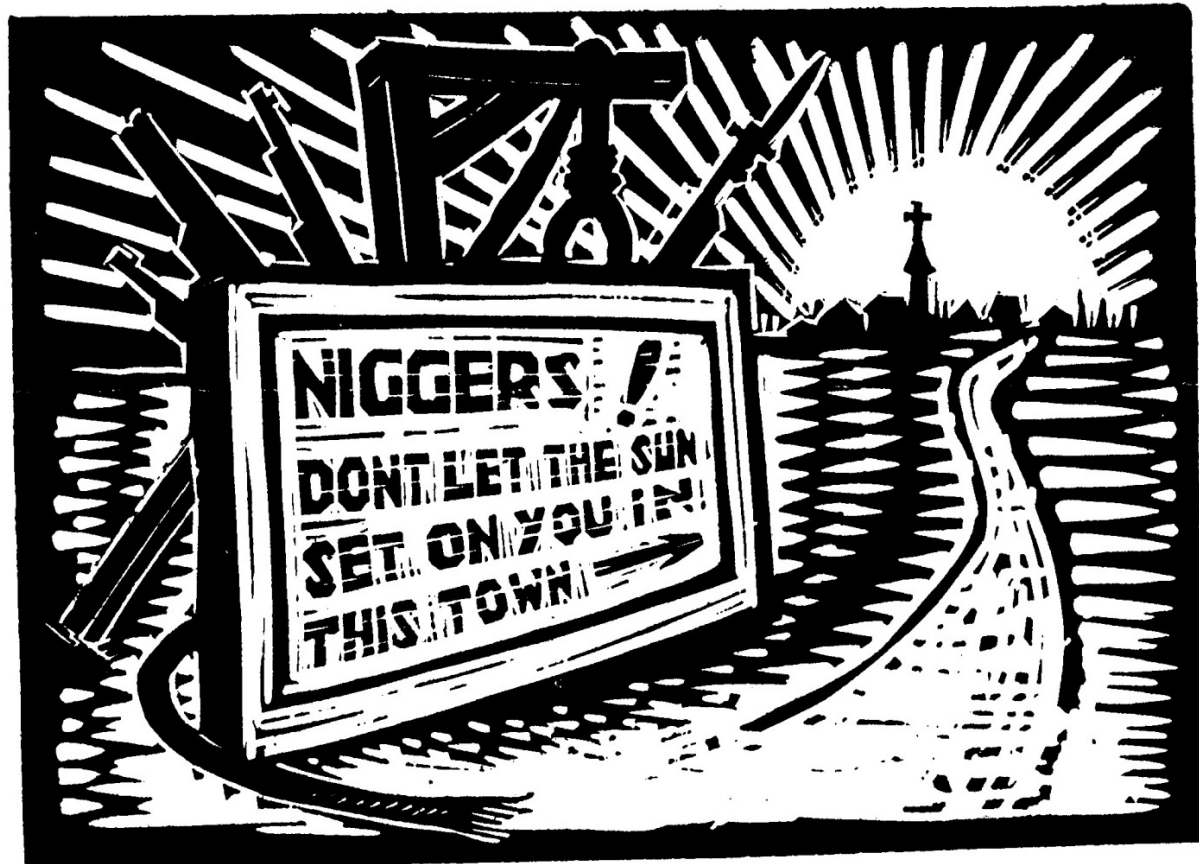


(Contributed)

A Tribute to Miss Davis

Mrs. Charles L. Rich; Neva June

Can you “see” the ordinance (N. AL)?





Kurt Vonnegut's drawing of a sundown town sign in Indiana

IF - YOU - NIGGERS - LET - the - SUN - GO - DOWN - ON
YOUR - HEADS - IN - CLIVE - tonight - Look - out - FOR - A
BAND - OF - WHITE - CAPS - WHO - WILL - COME - to -
STRING - EVERY - ONE - OF - YOU - to - the - FIRST
TREE - THAT - CAN - BE - FOUND.
NOW - TAKE - THIS - AS - A - FAIR - WARNING - AND
GET - OUT - OF - TOWN - NEVER - to - COME - BACK
AND - TELL - YOUR - FRIENDS - THAT - NIGGERS
CAN'T - LIVE - IN - CLIVE

{ SIGNED:

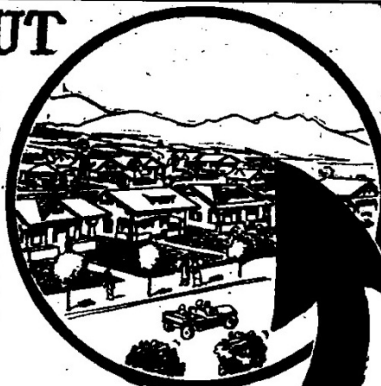
A - WHITE - CAP

Joseph Shepard found this placard on his front door in 1903. Its chilling message reminded Shepard and other members of the black community that they could live in a few areas of town like Center Street, but not in Clive. The incident was talked about in the black community for many years to come. The "white caps," like the Ku Klux Klan, were a white supremacist organization.

COME OUT OF THE SMOKE!

The City

with its big office buildings, stores, industrial plants, factories, apartment houses and thousands of other buildings, large and small, is the place for business.



The place for your permanent home is

Highland Park

where the air is pure and clear



Get in ahead of the pavement

A few choice lots left.

Only \$150 to \$350 each.

Two make a fine homestead.

\$6 to \$14 down and the same monthly

buys a fine pair of lots.

Prices include graded streets, cement sidewalks, shaded trees, city water, terraced front lots. Electric lights, telephones, fine street car service.

Highland Park has reasonable building restrictions, perfect drainage, 45 beautiful modern homes. Many others planned for this year.

If you want ideal living conditions go to Highland Park.

Go out NOW and see for yourself.

Our autos are at your service.

Get in ahead of the pavement.

Phones: Waaatch 963 and 964

Kimball & Richards

56 and 58 Main Street.

"Land Merchants"

Salt Lake City, Utah.

Newspaper ad for Highland Park, 1914.

Only Members of the Caucasian Race

One of the important features of the Building Regulations at Highland Park reads as follows:

"The buyer agrees that no estate in or possession of the said premises shall be sold, transferred or conveyed to any person not of the Caucasian race."

This means that when you buy a homesite in this properly Regulated home place, you will forever be assured of desirable neighbors. Only members of the white race can buy or hold property in this beautiful restricted residence park.

Another provision specifies that only dwelling houses are permitted, and these must cost at least a definite amount.

~~Good neighbors, beautiful surroundings, uniform improvements and a large enough area, or residential zone, to make Building Regulations effective, are only a few of the many advantages of Highland Park.~~

This handsome park, with 350 acres, is the largest restricted home district in Utah. Because of its farighted regulations, all property will become more careful and more valuable each year.

Go in our auto and investigate for yourself the many advantages of locating in a regulated home district.

Phone—Wasmich 983.

Kimball & Richards

"Land Merchants"

54 Main Street,

SALT LAKE CITY.



Can you “see” the FHA regulation?



What is to be Done about Students from Sundown Towns?

- In a sense, nothing. Cf. John Wooden, from Martinsville, IN.
- It's not their fault! They did not choose it.
- Your campus, even if 99% white, is their most diverse experience by far.
- Suggest that they change their town.
- Start by confirming it.

- Today, African Americans are the main targets.
- **When** [1890-1968, peak year 1970]
- **Where** [throughout US, *except* the traditional South]
- **How many** [in many states, *a majority* of all towns]



JESUS
DIED
FOR
BOTH

Rev. George F.
his 30 years a
city's most n
Courtesy of The
April 24, 1947

What is to be Done about College Students from Sundown Towns?

- In a sense, nothing. Cf. John Wooden, from Martinsville, IN.
- It's not their fault! They did not choose it.
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3 Kinds of Racism

- Cultural racism [e.g., textbook treatments of Vasco da Gama, or making Jesus Scandinavian]
- Individual racism [e.g., Dylann Roof]
- Institutional (or structural) racism [e.g., Skymall catalog]

Four Understandings for Judges to Reach

- The Nadir transformed race relations.
- Recognize their racial baggage.
- Lying below the surface is white supremacy.
- Whites think categorically about nonwhites, never about whites.

Four Practices for Judges to Do

- Desegregate their staffs and lives.
- Challenge racial slurs and generalizations.
- Expect a lot.
- Seek social causes for social outcomes.

Sundown Towns in CA

[Anaheim](#)
[Anon](#)
[Antioch](#)
[Arcadia](#)
[Arcata](#)
[Arroyo Grande](#)
[Azusa](#)
[Bakersfield](#)
[Bayshore City](#)
[Bel Air](#)
[Berkeley](#)
[Bishop](#)
[Brea](#)
[Buena Park](#)
[Burbank](#)
[Burlingame](#)
[Cerritos](#)
[Chester](#)
[Chico](#)
[Compton](#)
[Corning](#)
[Costa Mesa](#)
[Crescent City](#)
[Culver City](#)
[Del Norte County](#)
[Dutch Flat](#)
[East Palo Alto](#)
[El Norte](#)
[Escondido](#)
[Eureka](#)
[Fillmore](#)
[Folsom](#)
[Fontana](#)
[Fresno](#)
[Garden Grove](#)
[Glendale](#)
[Gold Run](#)
[Grass Valley](#)
[Hawthorne](#)

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[Hidden Hills](#)
[Holy City](#)
[Humboldt County](#)
[Huntington Beach](#)
[Indian Wells](#)
[Inglewood](#)
[Irvine](#)
[Kernville](#)
[Kingsburg](#)
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[Nevada City](#)
[Newport Beach](#)
[Nicolaus](#)
[Norco](#)
[North Palo Alto](#)
[Oildale](#)
[Orange](#)
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[Orinda](#)
[Oroville](#)
[Palmdale](#)
[Palos Verdes Estates](#)
[Parlier](#)
[Pasadena](#)
[Piedmont](#)
[Placerville](#)
[Porterville](#)

[Red Bluff](#)
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[Rocklin](#)
[Ross](#)
[San Fernando Valley](#)
[San Jacinto](#)
[San Jose](#)
[San Juan Bautista](#)
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[Westminster](#)
[Wheatland](#)
[Whittier](#)
[Yorba Linda](#)

Sundown Towns

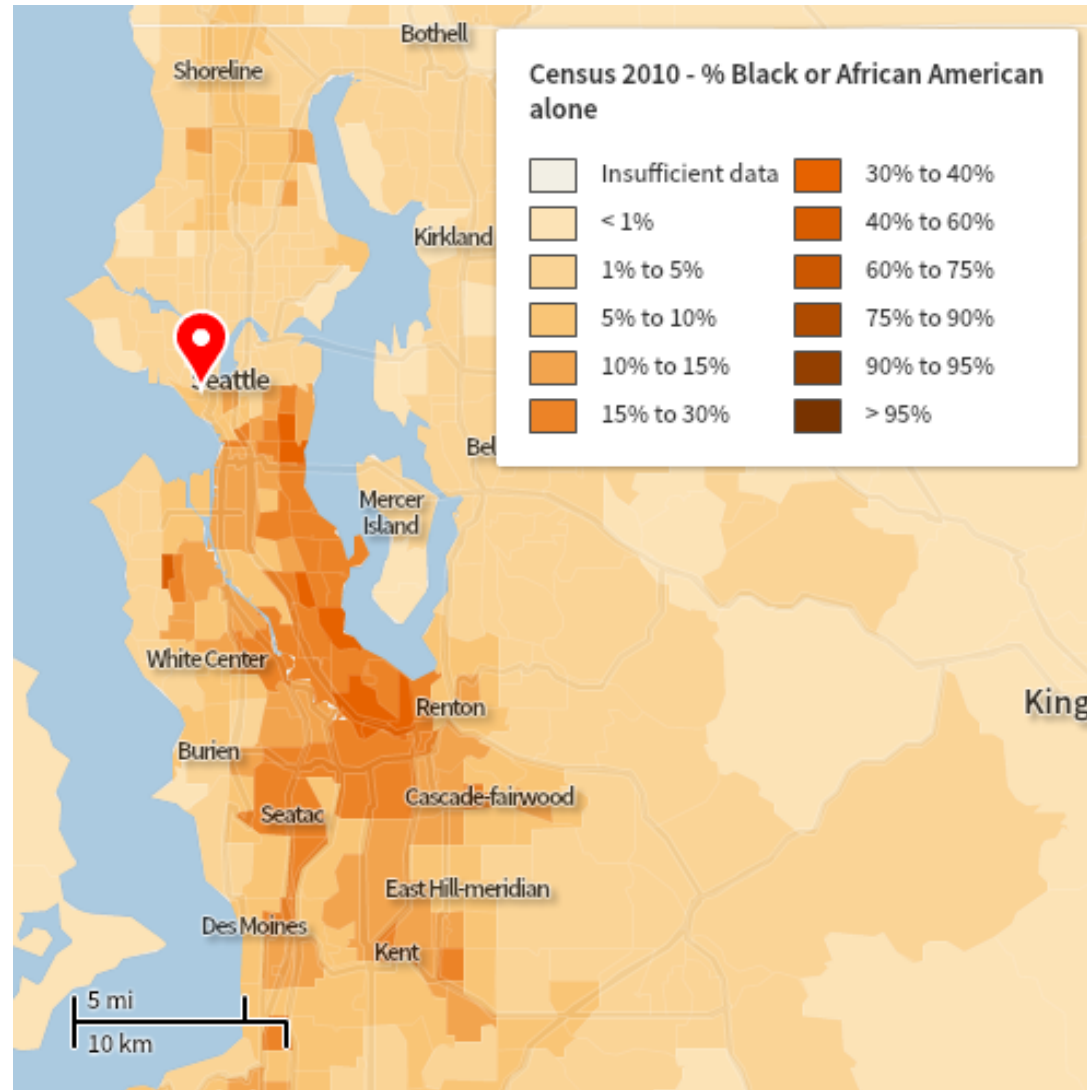
- **When** [1890-1968, peak year 1970]
- **Where** [throughout US, *except* the traditional South]
- **How many** [in many states, *a majority* of all towns!]
- **In Wisconsin:** [common throughout the state, including large cities like Appleton and Janesville; possibly entire counties in NW; maybe the entire Door Peninsula; many suburbs of Milwaukee]

- **When** [1890-1968, peak year 1970]
- **Where** [throughout US, *except* the traditional South]
- **How many** [in many states, *a majority* of all towns]
- **In Illinois:** [common throughout the state except “Egypt,” including entire counties; hypersegregation in cities]





- **When** [1890-1968, peak year 1970]
- **Where** [throughout US, *except* the traditional South]
- **How many** [in many states, *a majority* of all towns!]
- **In Iowa:** [common throughout the state, including possibly entire counties on the Missouri line; hypersegregation in cities]



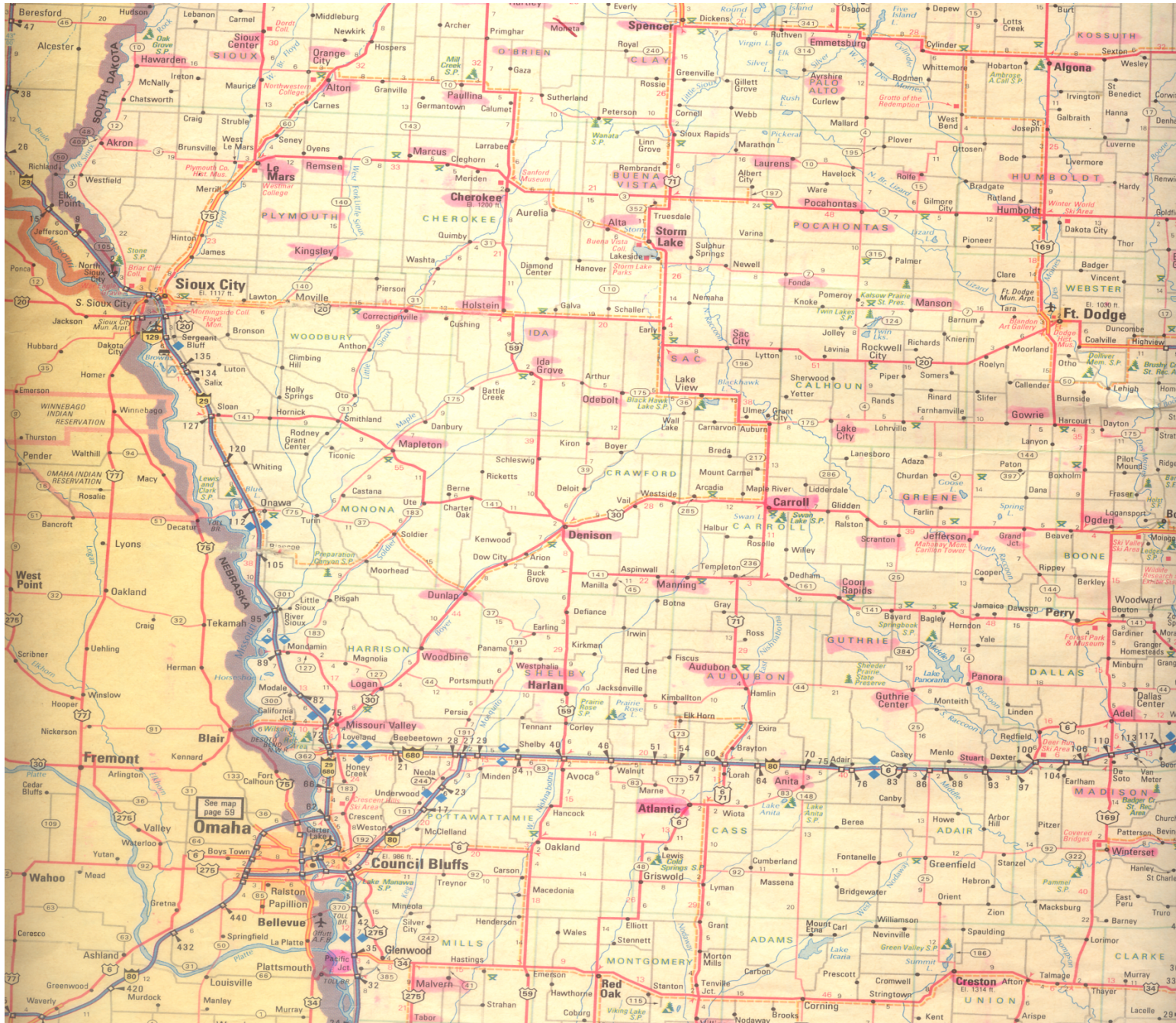
http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/segregation_maps.htm

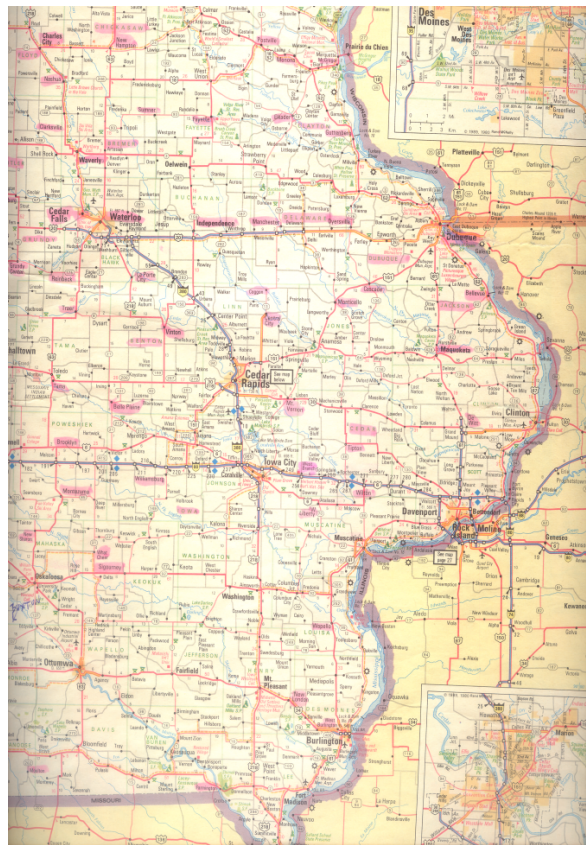
The Nadir in Iowa

From “Bright Radical Star”

to

10.7 / 1 Black Incarceration to White







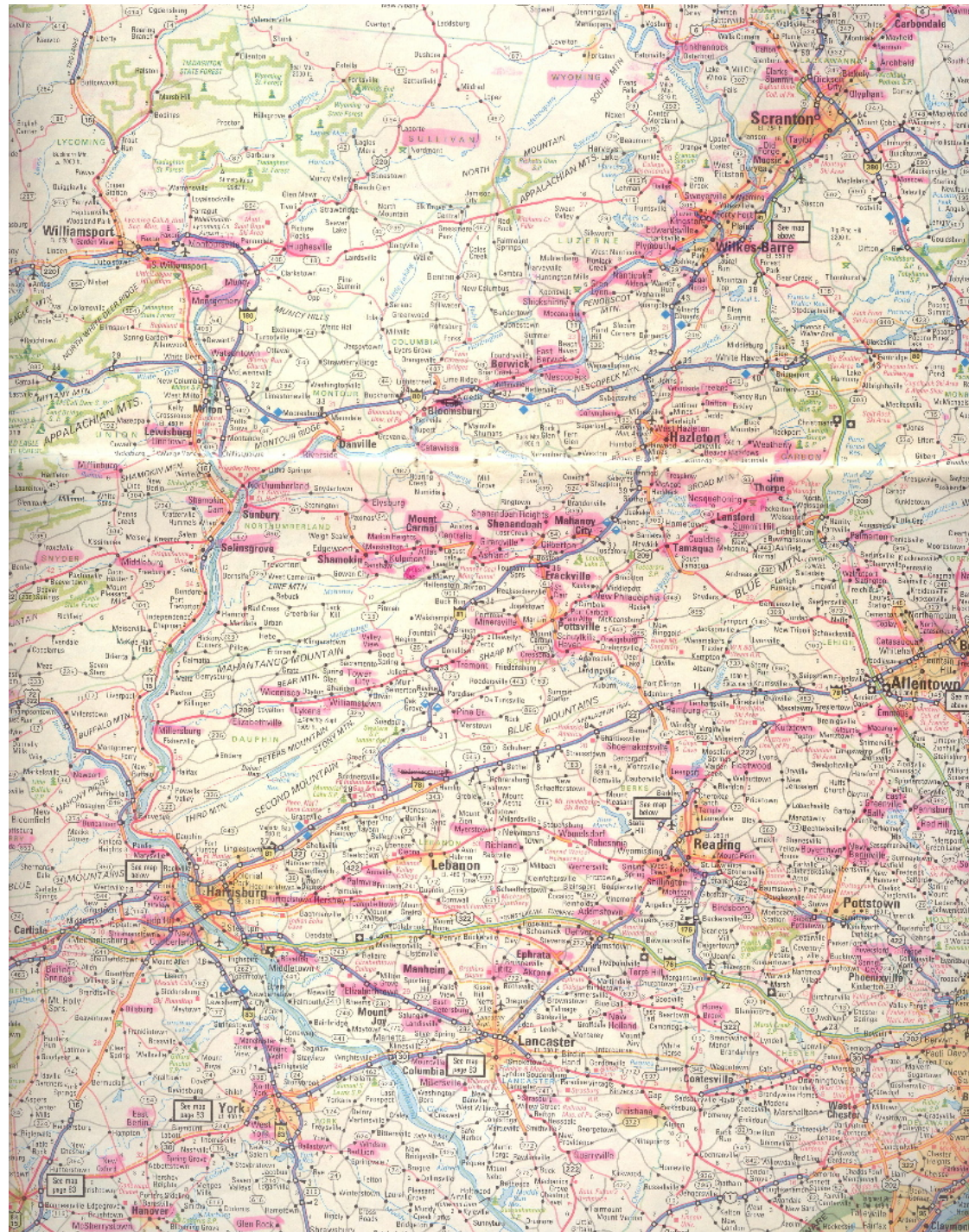


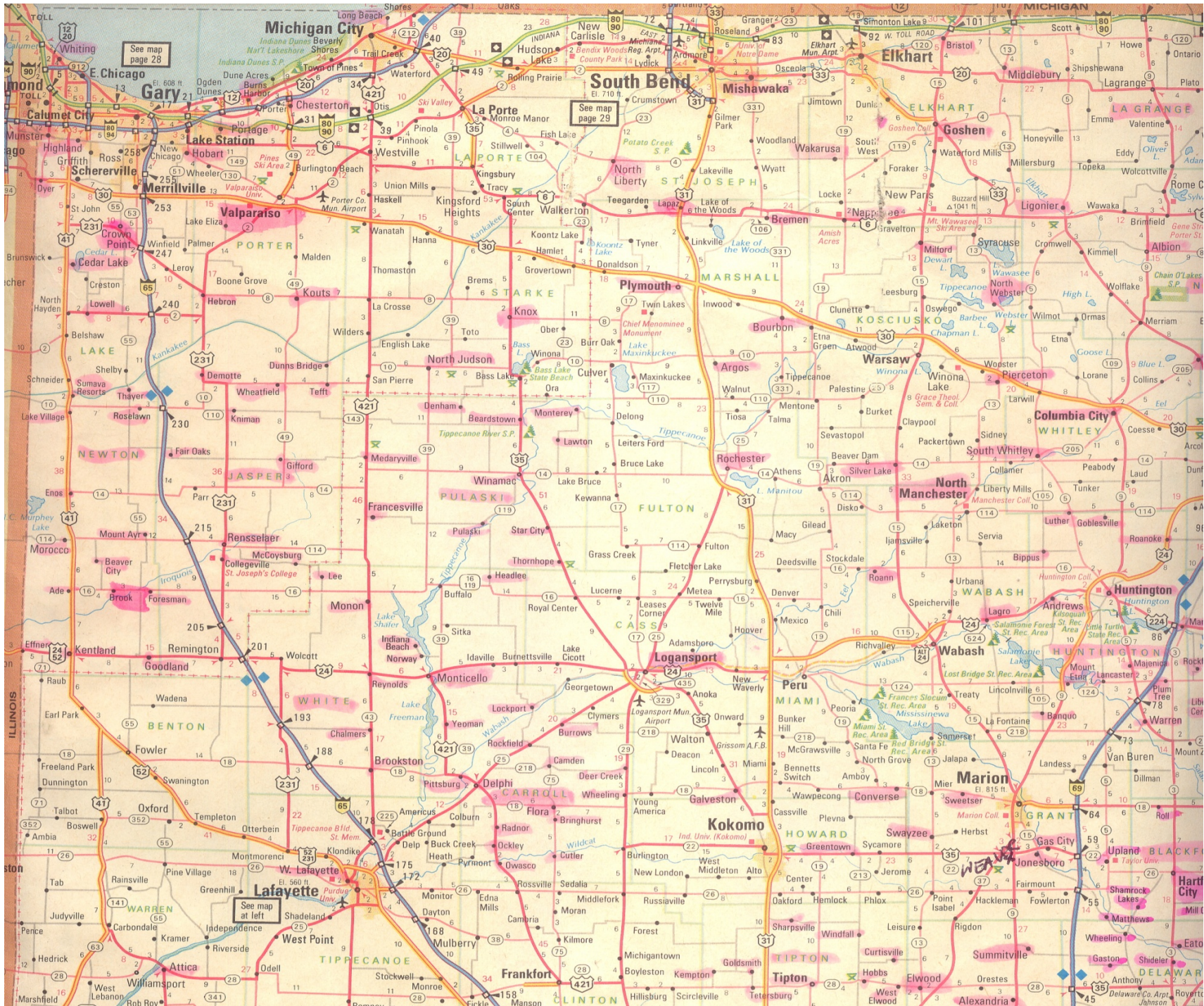


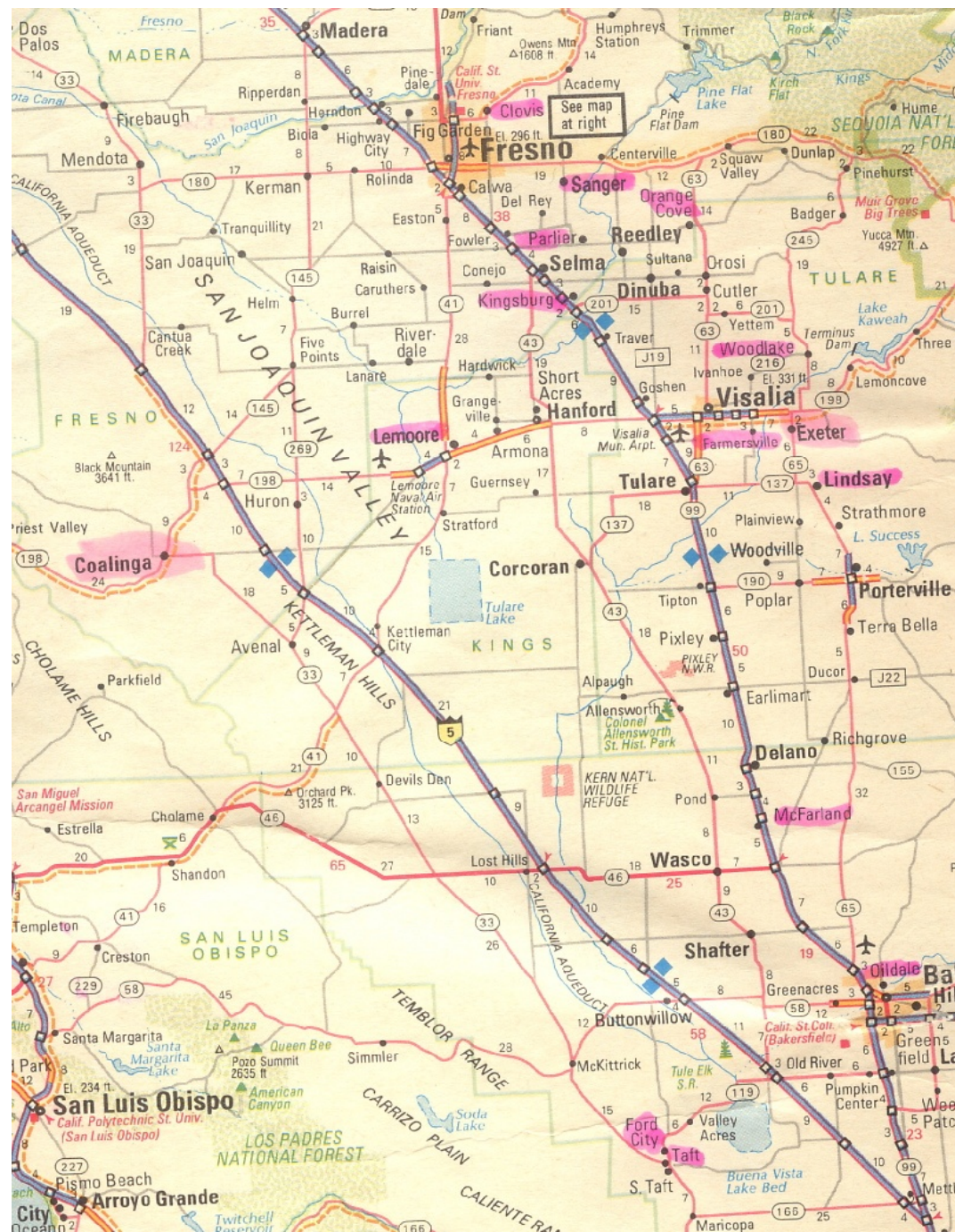
Sundown Towns

- **When** [1890-1968, peak year 1970]
- **Where** [throughout US, *except* the traditional South]
- **How many** [in many states, *a majority* of all towns!]
- **In Wisconsin:** [common throughout the state, including large cities like Appleton and Janesville; possibly entire counties in NW; the “Foxes”; maybe the entire Door Peninsula; many suburbs of Milwaukee]

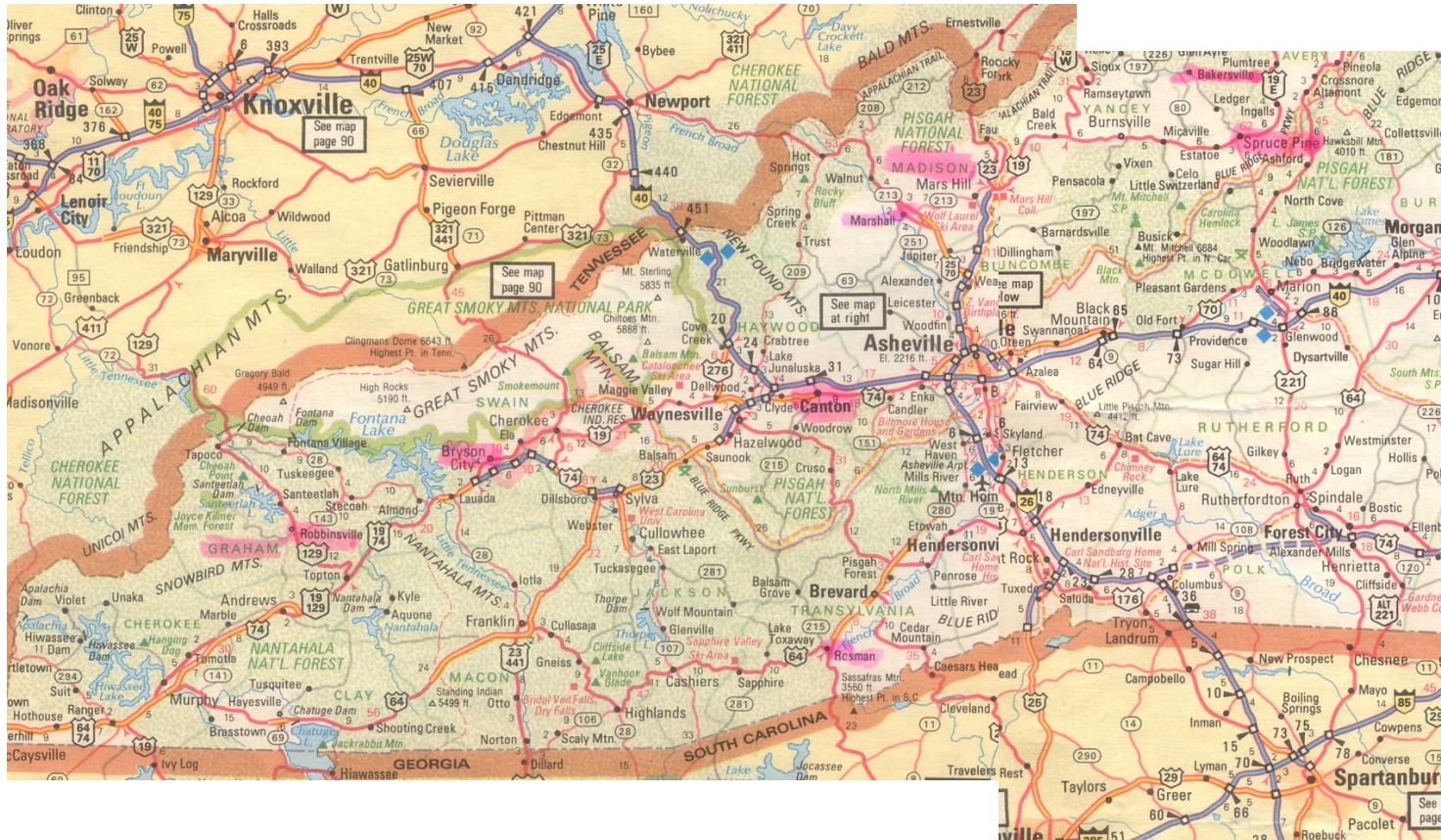








Most NC Sundown Towns are Far West

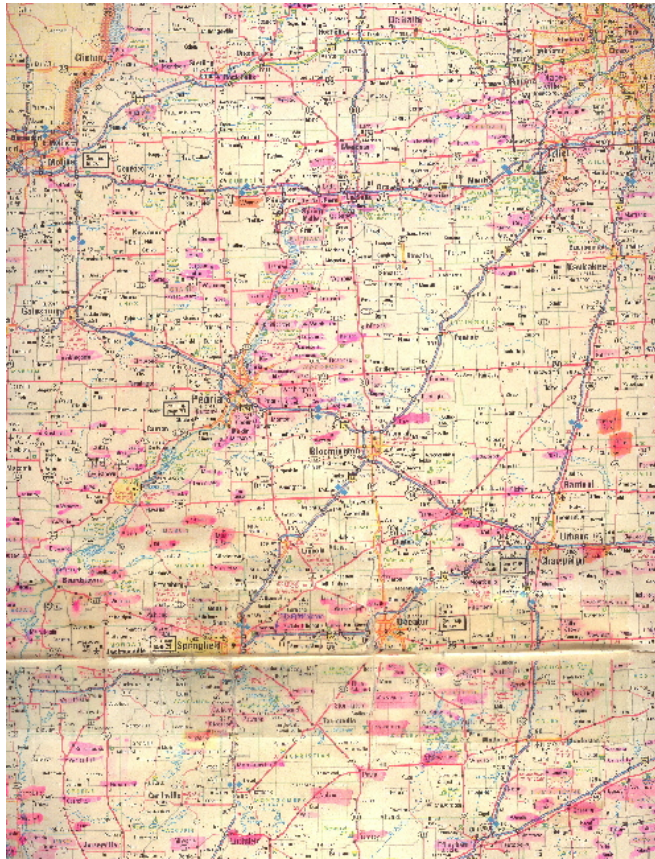


Sundown Towns Near DC

1. Maryland suburbs of DC (from Cheverly around to Potomac)
2. Suburbs of Baltimore?
3. Garrett County
4. Scattered other towns (Rising Sun)
5. Chesapeake Islands

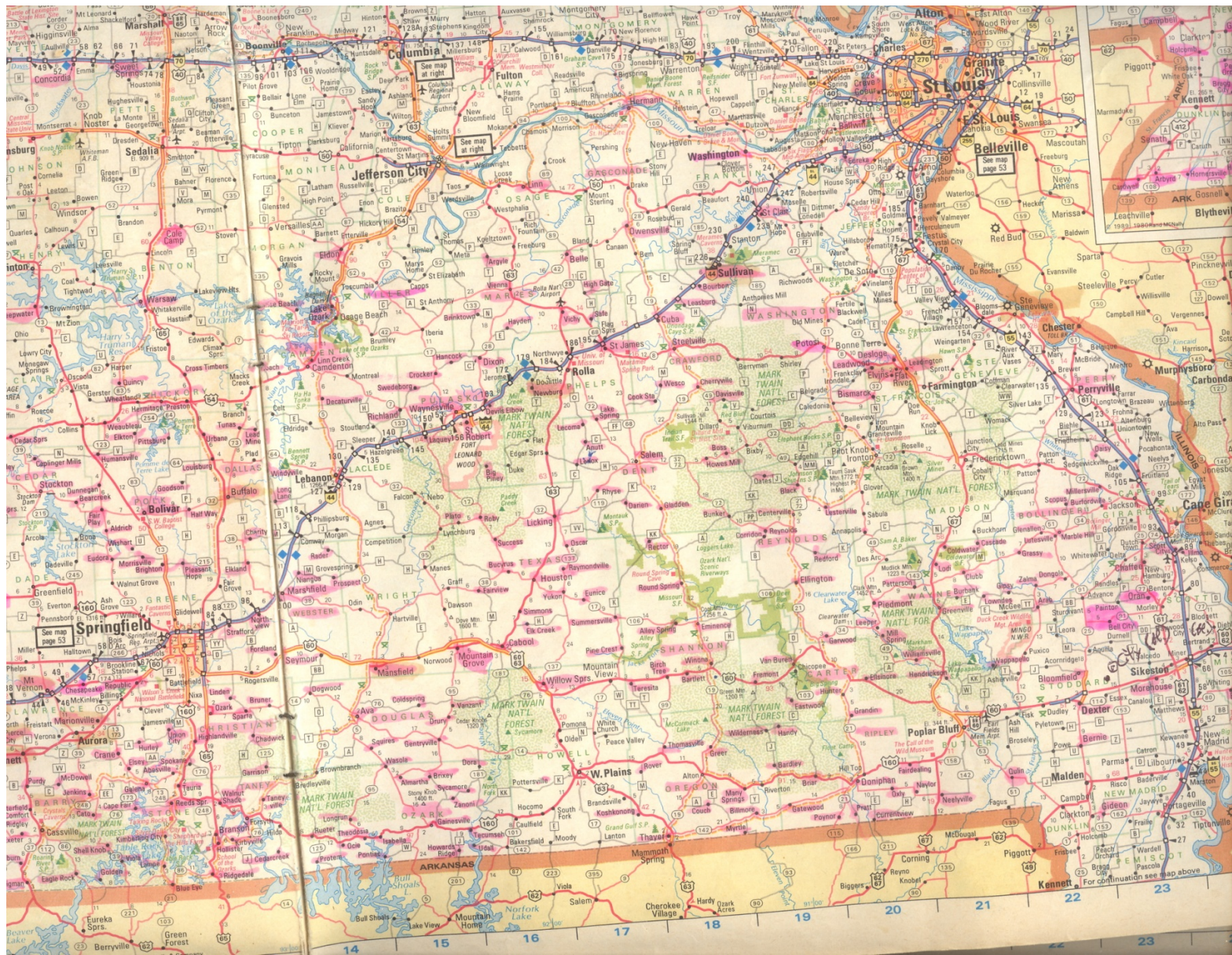
- **When** [1890-1968, peak year 1970]
- **Where** [throughout US, *except* the traditional South]
- **How many** [in many states, *a majority* of all towns!]
- **In Minnesota:** [suspects across the state; confirmed towns include rather large towns such as Austin and Hibbing, and suburbs including Edina and South St. Paul. Also, segregation in cities]

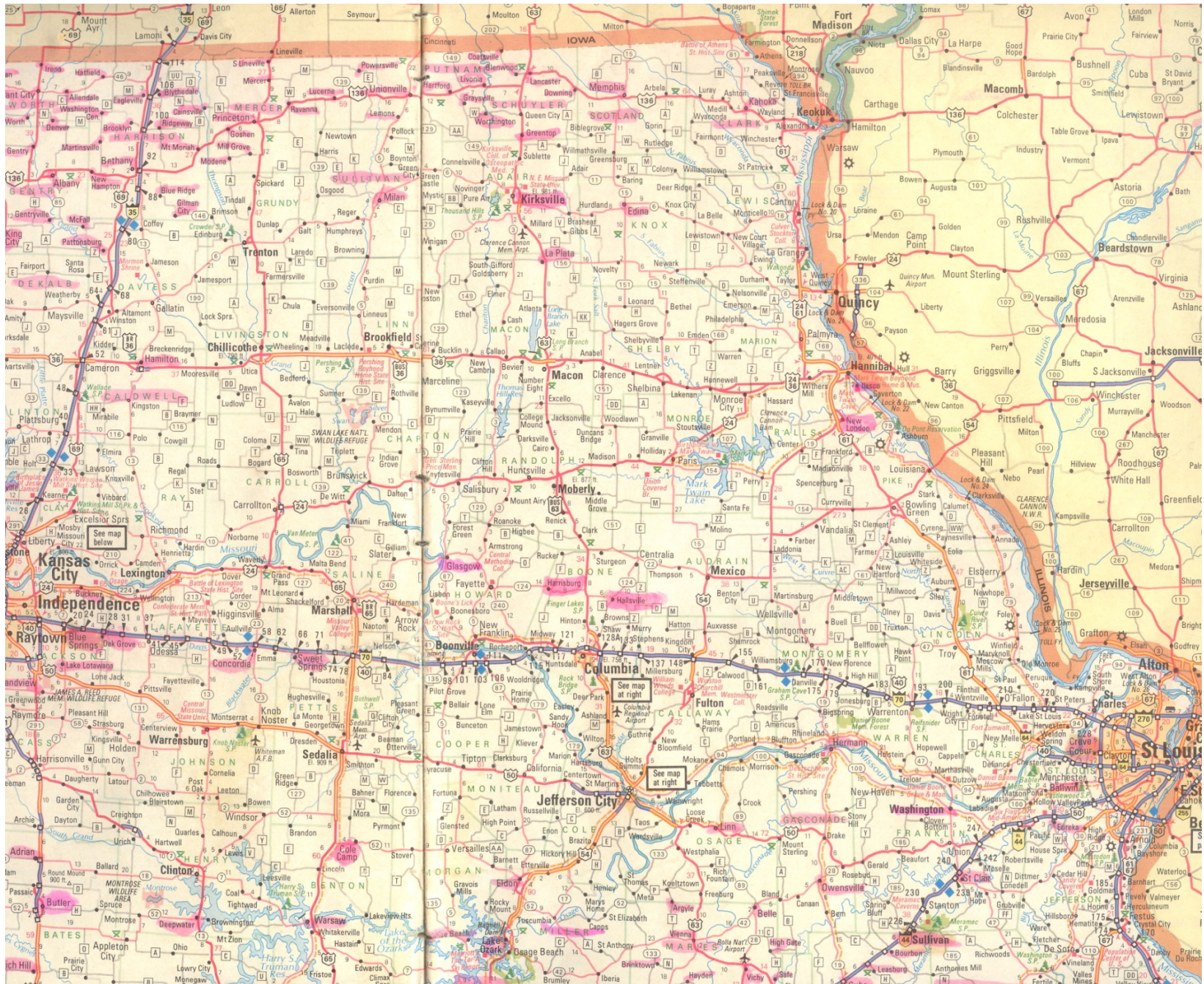
Probable Sundown Towns in Central Illinois

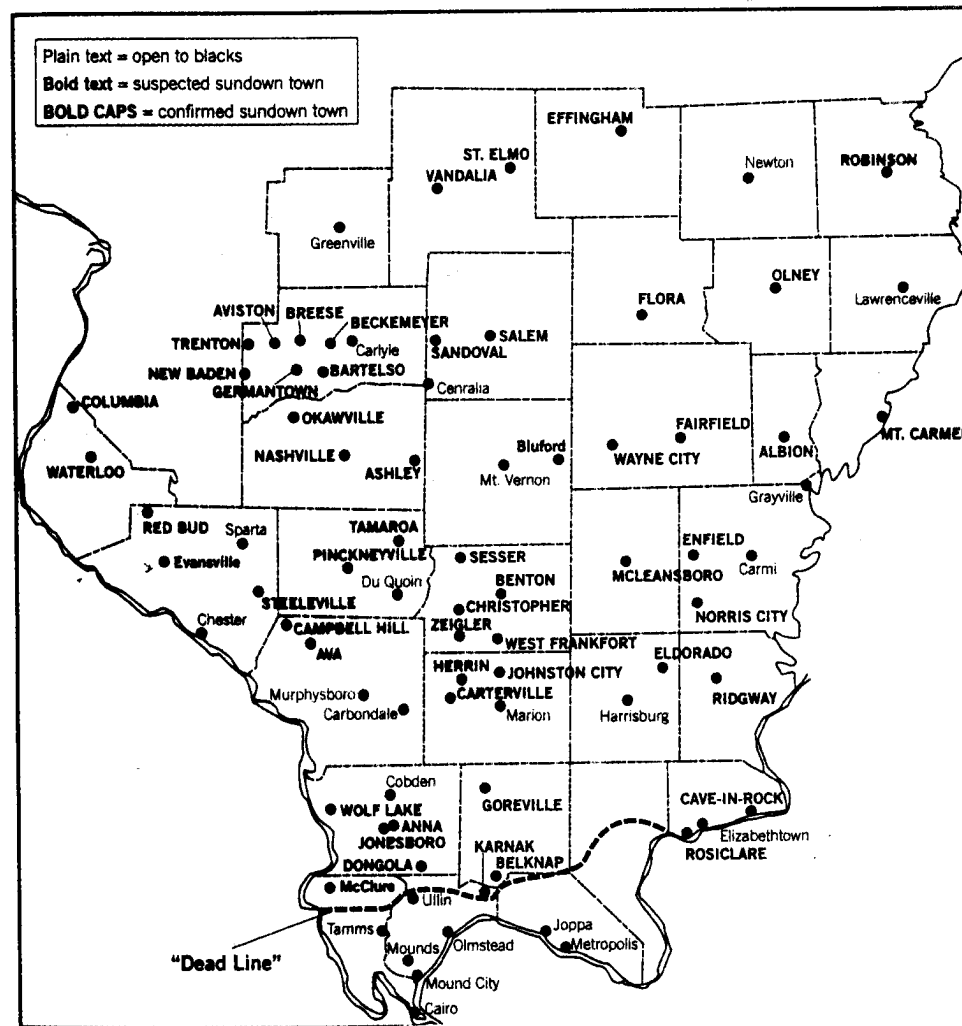


Magenta = Probable Sundown Town









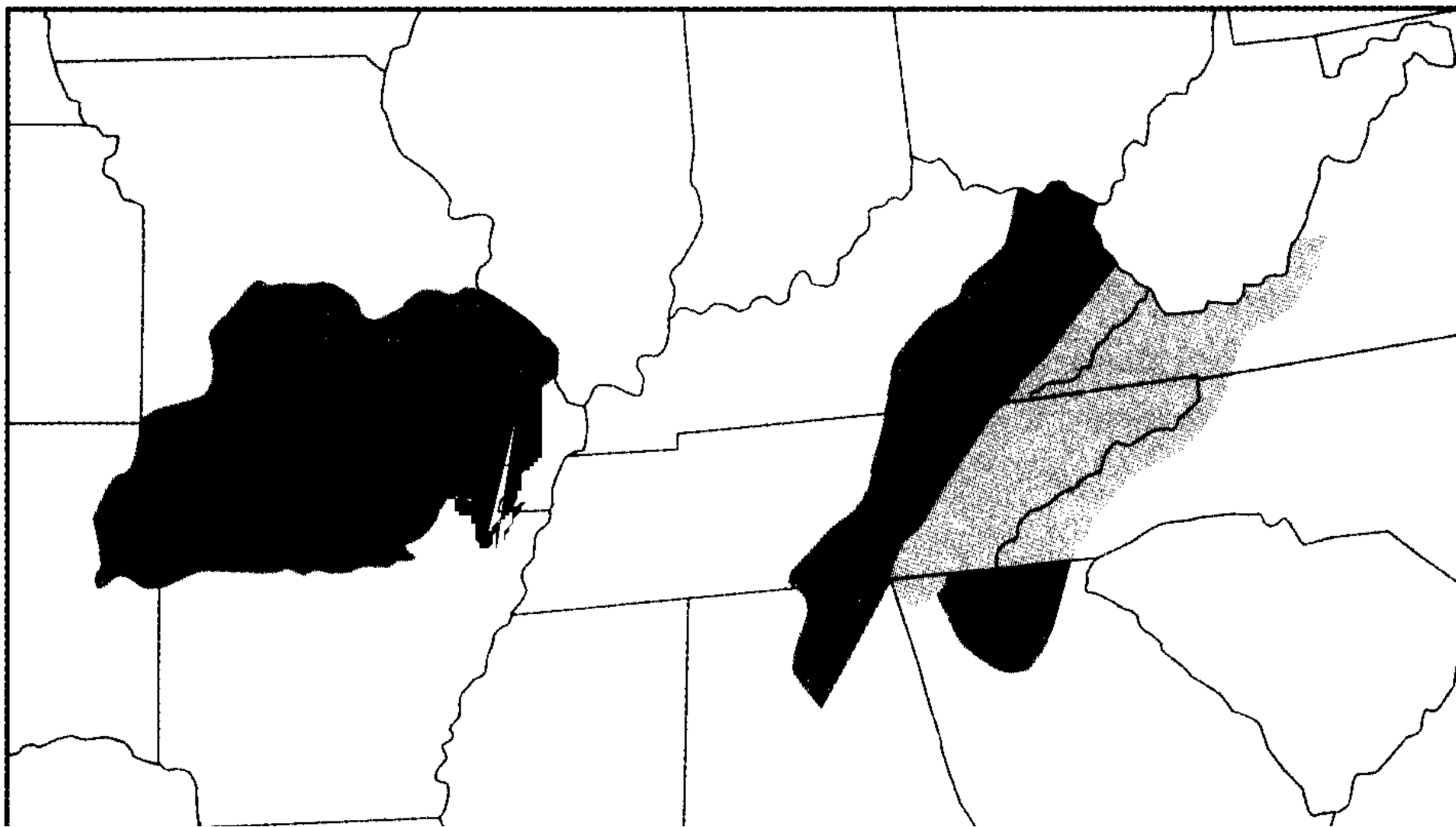


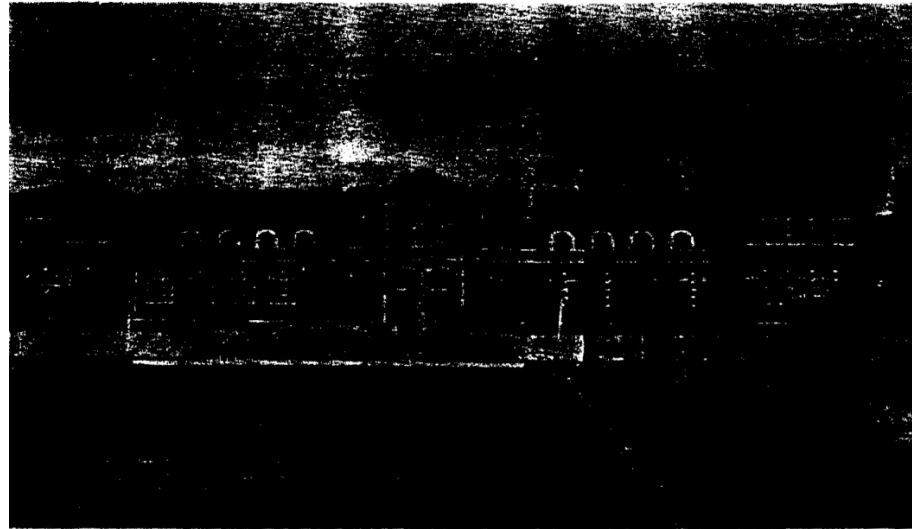
Table 32. **General Characteristics for Places of 1,000 to 2,500: 1970**

[For minimum base for derived figures (percent, median, etc.) and meaning of symbols, see text]

Places	Population					
	Sex		Race			
	Total	Male	Female	White	Negro	Other
Rome City	1 354	674	680	1 353	-	1
St. John	1 757	885	872	1 753	-	4
Seelyville	1 195	571	624	1 185	-	10
Shelburn	1 281	623	658	1 280	-	1
Sheridan	2 137	999	1 138	2 133	2	2
Shools	1 039	489	550	1 039	-	-
Smith Valley (U)	1 679	831	848	1 678	-	1
South Whitley	1 362	639	723	1 360	-	2
Spencer	2 423	1 114	1 309	2 418	3	2
Summitville	1 104	531	573	1 104	-	-
Swayzee	1 073	521	552	1 071	-	2
Sweetser	1 076	520	556	1 075	-	1
Syracuse	1 546	758	788	1 546	-	-
Thorntown	1 399	671	728	1 394	-	5
Town of Pines	1 007	509	498	1 001	-	6
Tri Lakes (U)	1 193	610	583	1 189	1	3
Van Buren	1 057	496	561	1 052	-	5
Veedersburg	1 837	872	965	1 835	1	1
Versailles	1 020	480	540	1 012	-	8
Vevay	1 463	665	798	1 460	-	3
Wakarusa	1 160	558	602	1 153	-	7
Walkerton	2 006	983	1 023	1 996	2	8
Walton	1 054	479	575	1 053	-	1
Warren	1 229	562	667	1 229	-	-
Waterloo	1 876	894	982	1 876	-	-
Westfield	1 837	877	960	1 833	3	1
Westport	1 170	552	618	1 170	-	-
Whiteland	1 492	732	760	1 492	-	-
Williamsport	1 661	810	851	1 659	-	2
Winamac	2 341	1 079	1 262	2 335	2	4
Winslow	1 030	469	561	1 029	-	1
Winslow	1 691	788	903	1 688	-	3
Worthington	1 673	823	850	1 673	-	-
Yorktown	1 857	853	1 004	1 844	1	12
† Zionsville						

The Site

is more important than the floor plan



The Burbank High School

In selecting the site for that new home, consider carefully the requisites and conditions necessary for good living.

GRINNELL HEIGHTS is truly Burbank's finest new Foothill Subdivision. Lying on the southern slopes of the Green Verdugos, its elevation results in virtual freedom from fogs and dust, while enjoying the constant circulation of cooling breezes along the foothills.

Schools—The Elementary, Junior High, and High School are within several blocks of the tract.

Transportation—The red car line is only two blocks away, while bus service is available at the property.

Restrictions—Protective, but not prohibitive, restrictions insure all owners a first-class, single-family residential area. No portion of this tract shall ever at any time be used or occupied by any but the white or Caucasian race.

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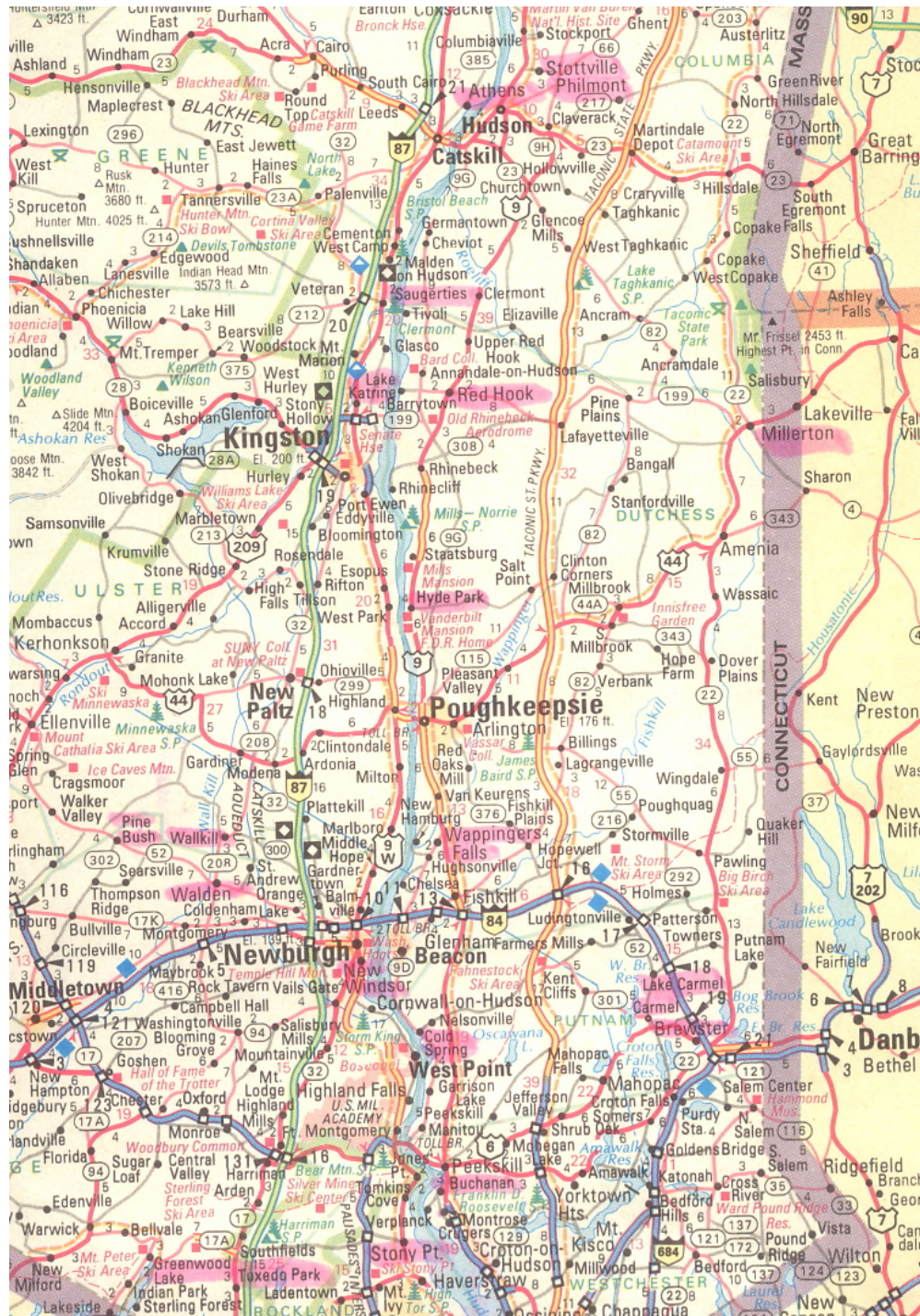
Does your house have a restrictive covenant?

Where is the nearest restrictive covenant?

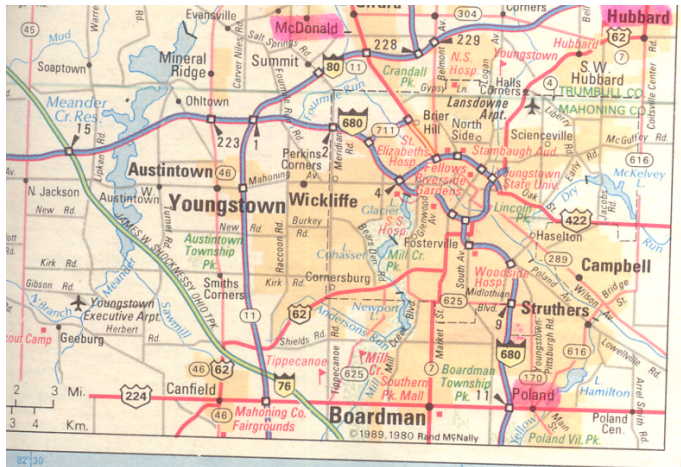


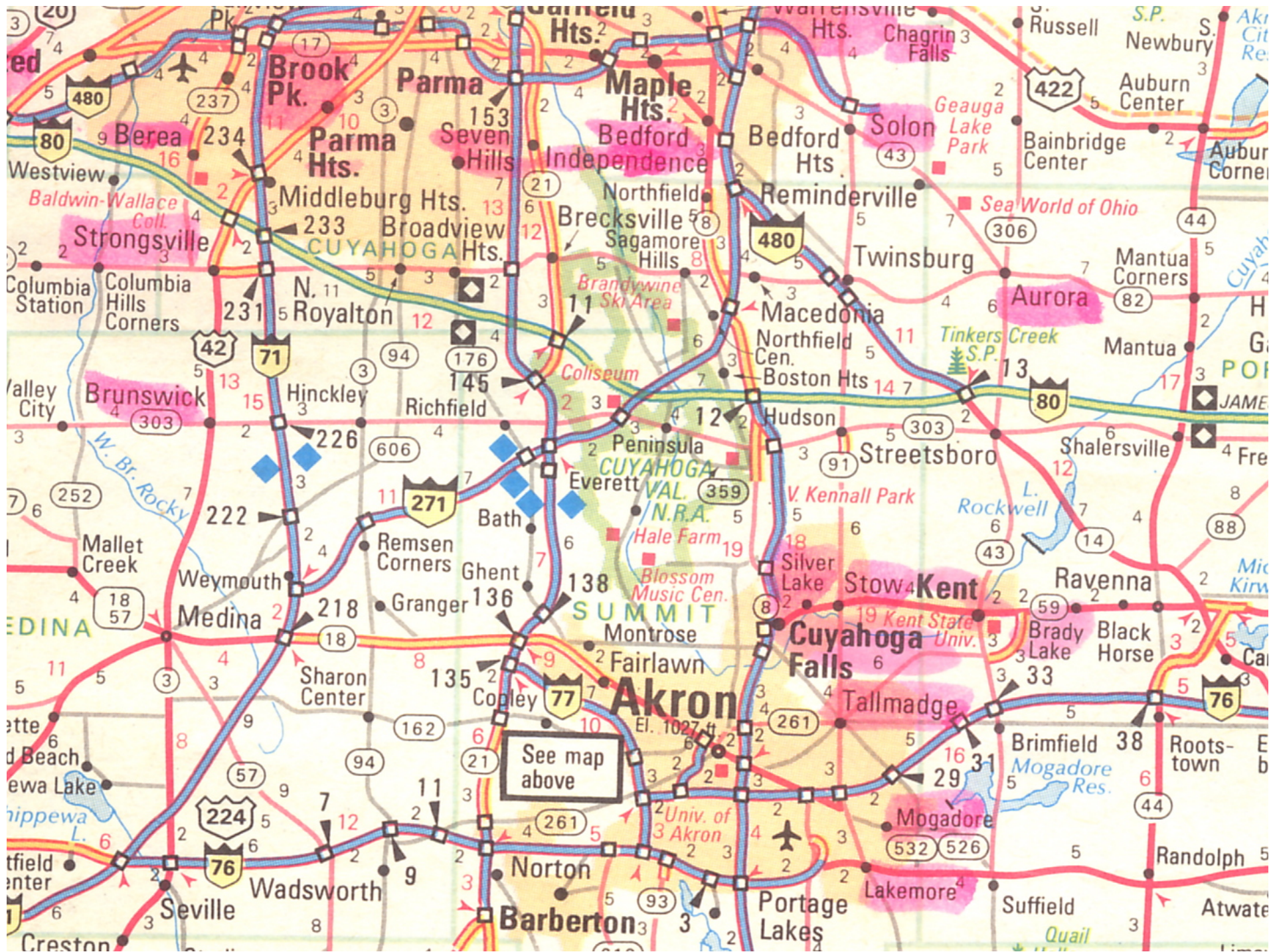
Sundown Towns

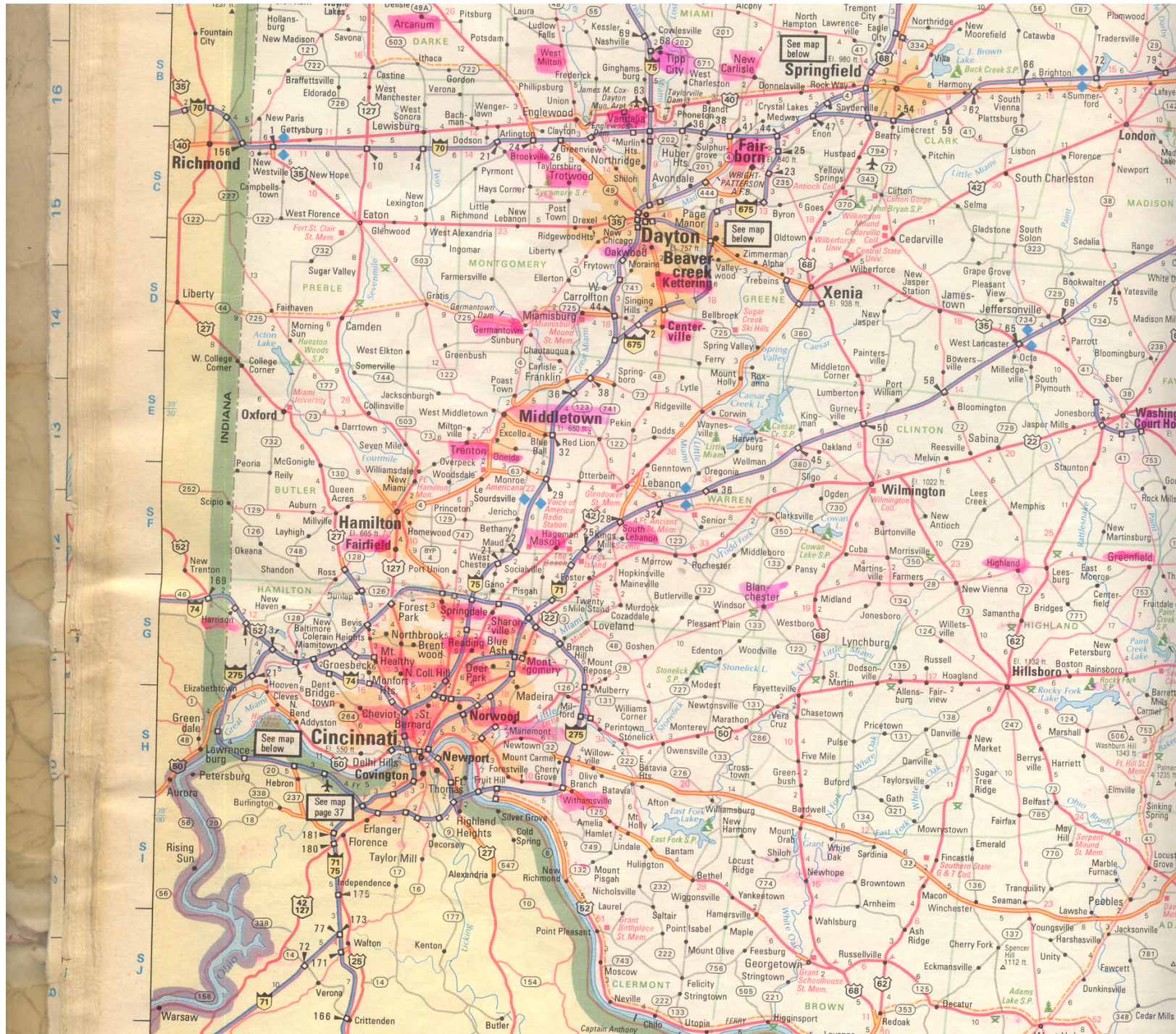
- **When** [1890-1968, peak year 1970]
- **Where** [throughout US, *except* the traditional South]
- **How many** [in many states, *a majority* of all towns!]
- **In New York:** [sprinkled throughout the state; most NYC suburbs; most of Long Island [if you can see water]]

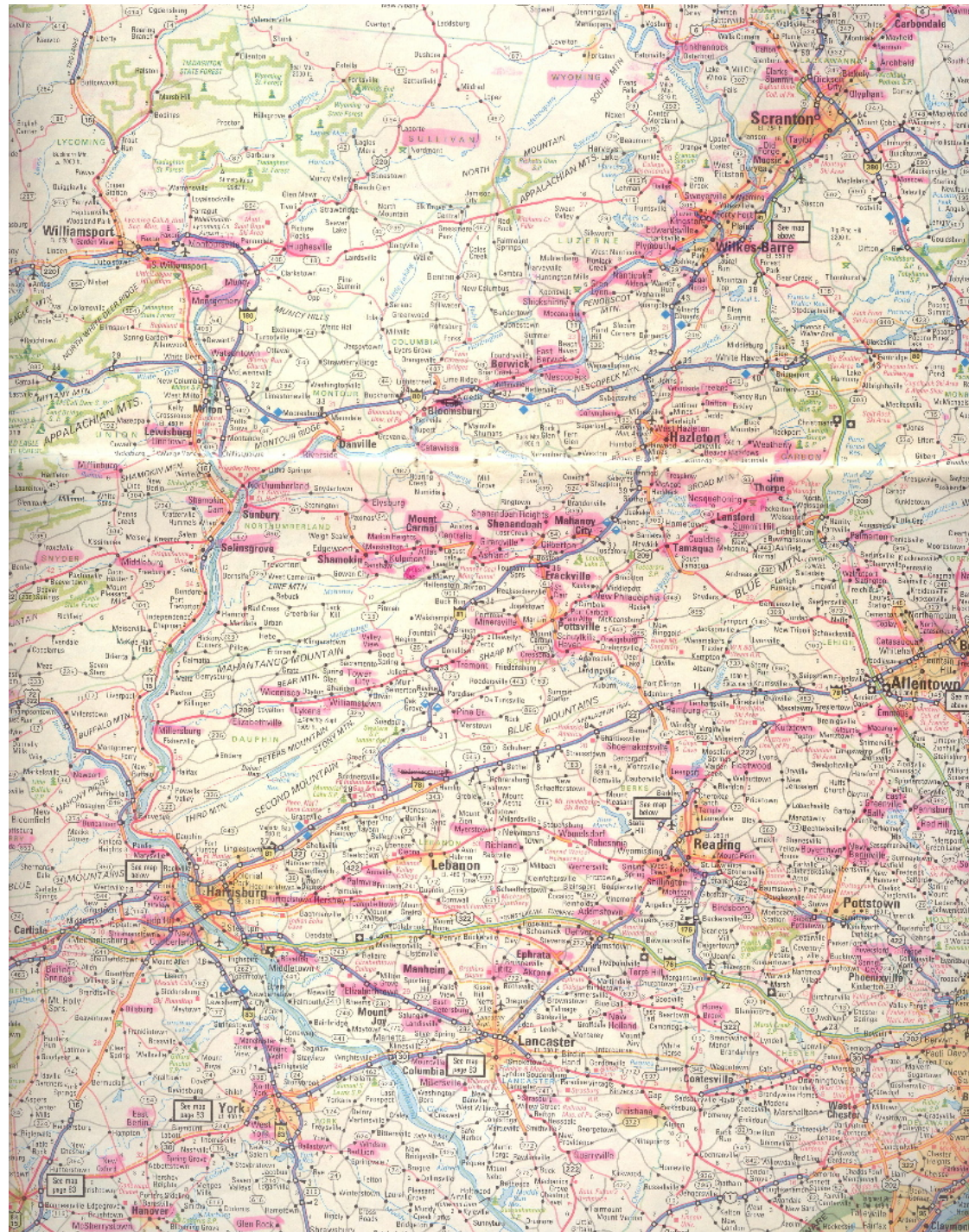


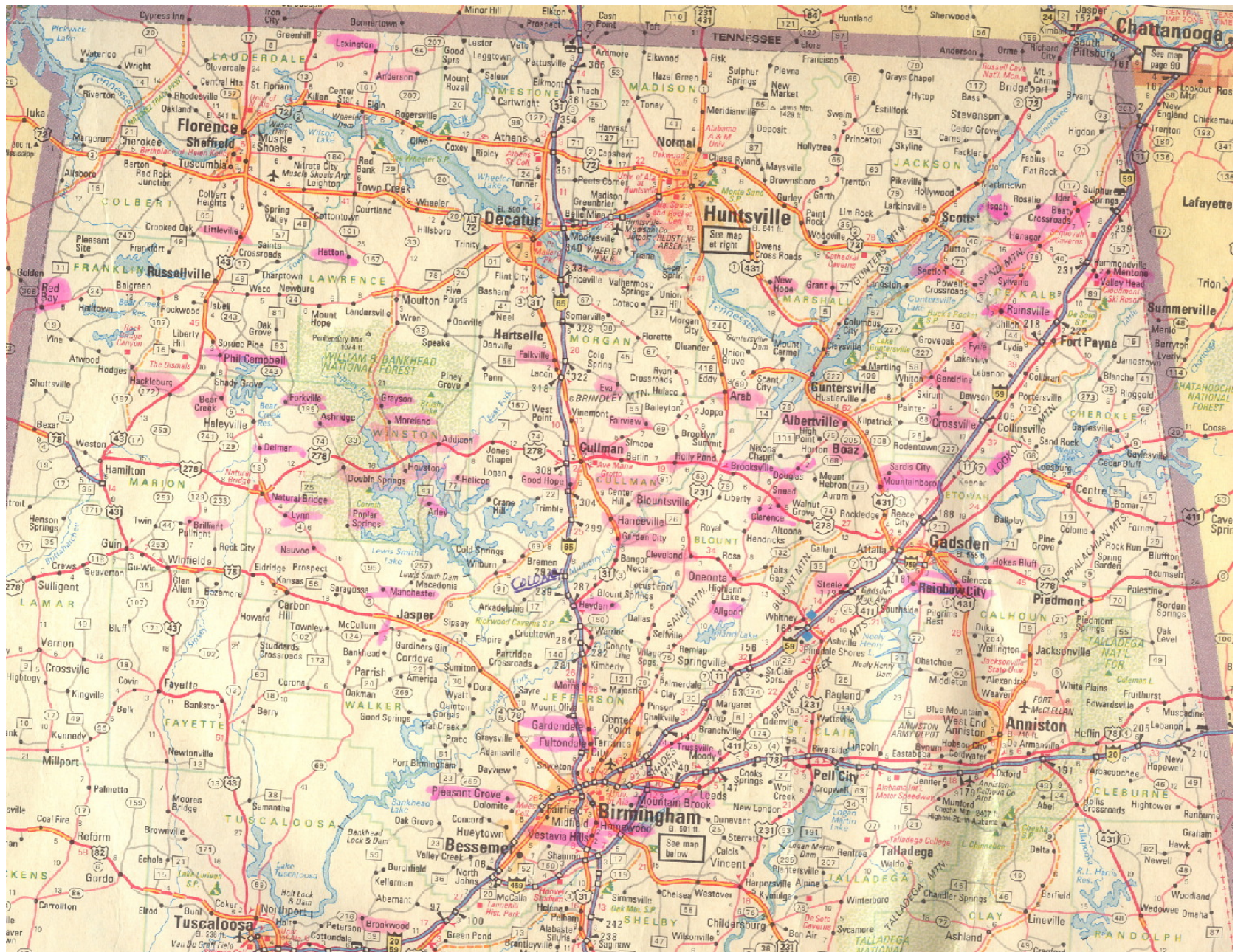
- **When** [1890-1968, peak year 1970]
- **Where** [throughout US, *except* the traditional South]
- **How many** [in many states, *a majority* of all towns!]
- **In Ohio:** [common throughout the state, including entire counties in the NW; many suburbs of Cleveland and Cincinnati; probably many around Columbus, Akron, and Dayton]











Sundown Towns

- **When** [1890-1968, peak year 1970]
- **Where** [throughout US, *except* the traditional South]
- **How many** [in many states, *a majority* of all towns!]
- **In Georgia:** [a V-shaped batch of about eight counties in the NW and NE; also, a few beach towns and suburbs of Atlanta]

How towns stay sundown

- Reputation (their history is known)
- Having done nothing to counter it, the tradition continues
- Business as usual (connections, hiring, school curricula, all are white)
- “Thug minority” acts to enforce the town’s tradition

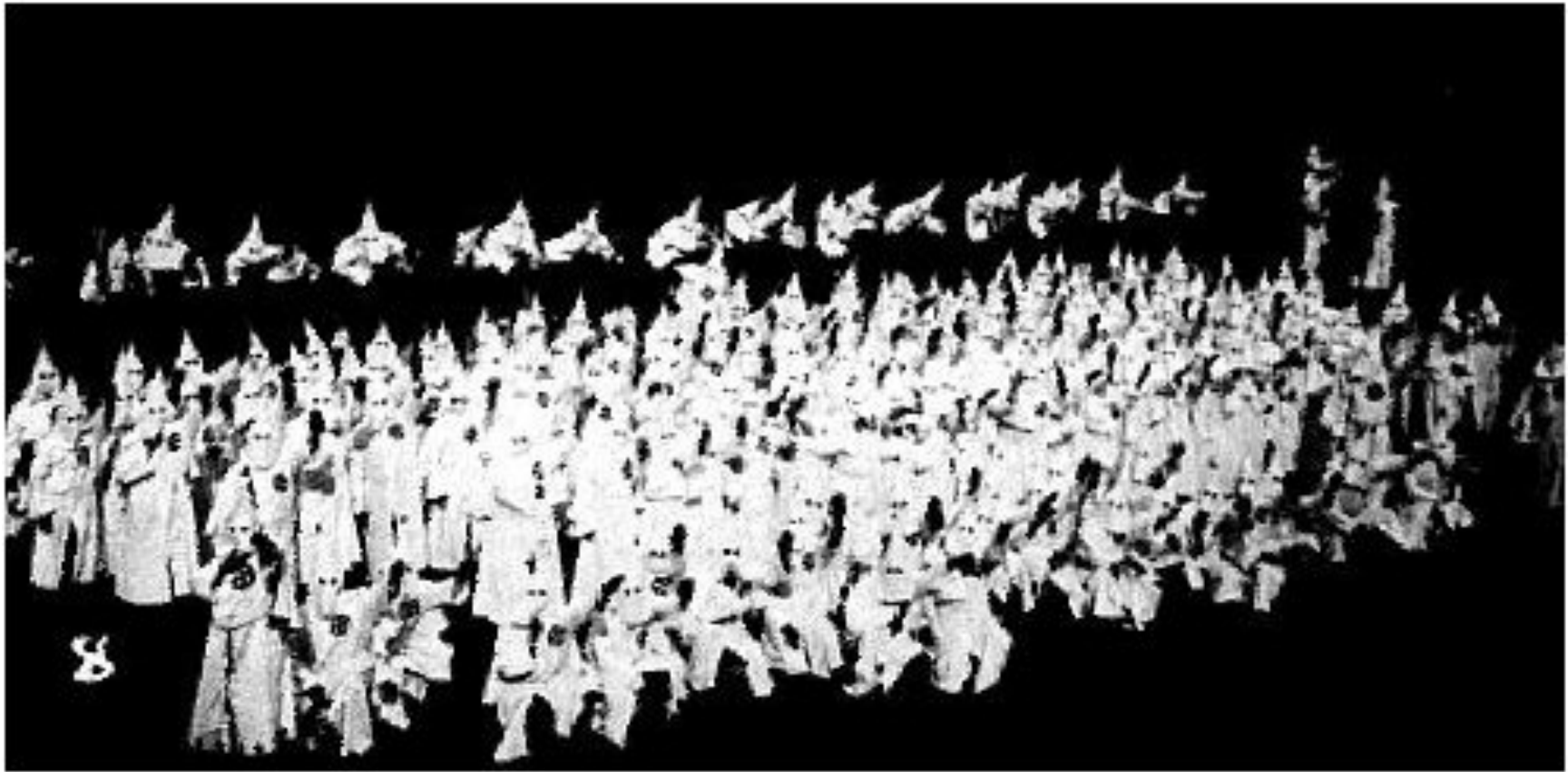


Basic Sundown Town Facts

- **When** [1890-1968, peak year 1970]
- **Where** [throughout US, *except* South]
- **In MD:** Several suburbs of DC; Garrett County; islands in the Chesapeake; various other towns (Rising Sun, Woodland Beach, etc.)
- **How many** [in many states, *a majority* of all towns!]
- Hypersegregation in cities (Baltimore)

In our culture:
“The Green Book”
shows a sundown town
in Mississippi,
where there were 3;
none in Iowa,
where there were
hundreds.

- **When** [1890-1968, peak year 1970]
- **Where** [throughout US, *except* the traditional South; especially common in the Midwest]
- **How many** [in Indiana, *a majority* of all towns!]



KKK in Iowa, c.1923, I believe.

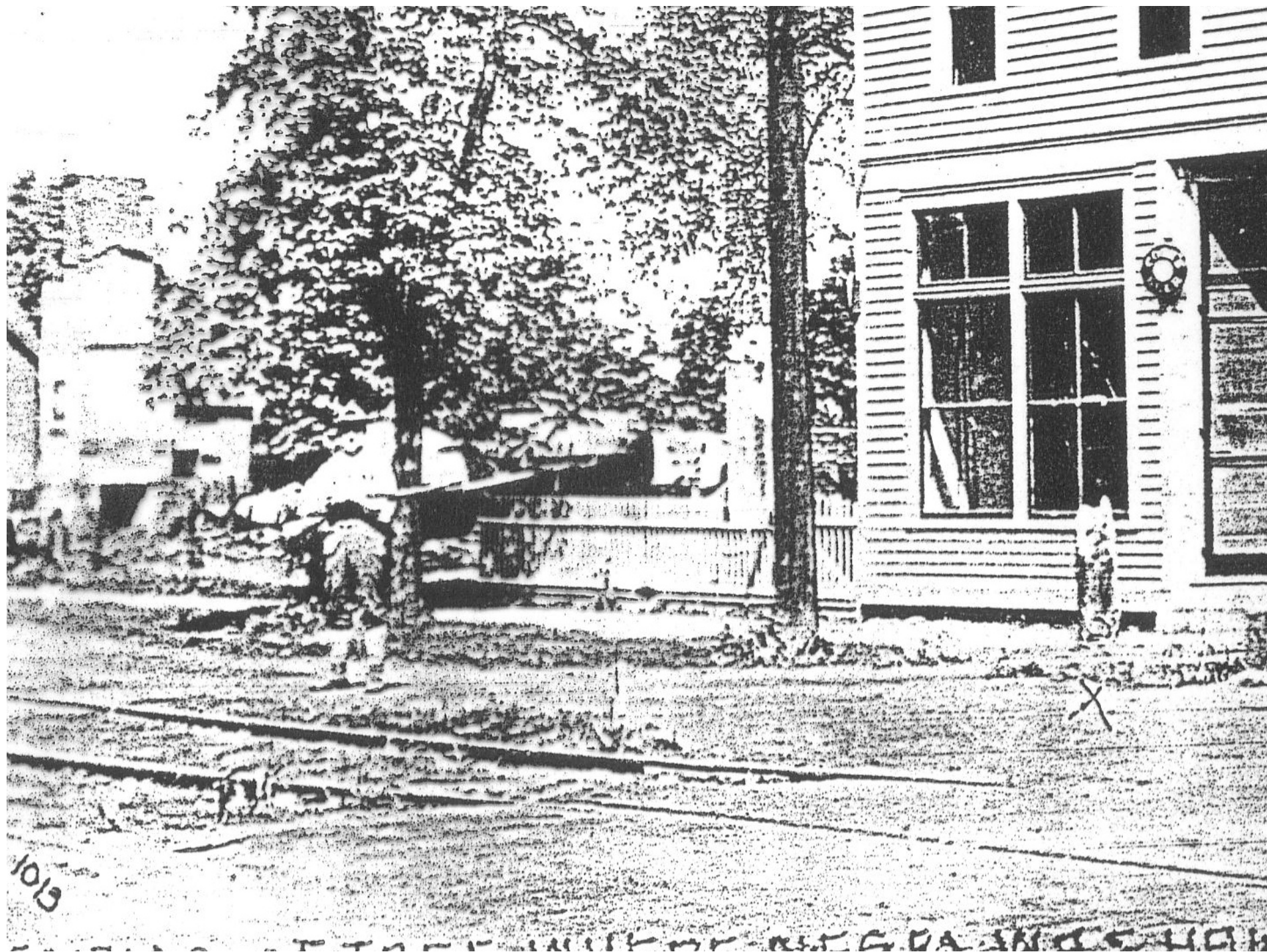


KKK Parade, Washington, DC, August, 1928



KKK Parade, Madison, WI, December, 1924





1013

THE PHOTOGRAPH BY G. DAVIDSON

HE CLIMBED ABOVE THE HUMAN TIDE AND SKIPPED
ALONG THE SHOULDERS OF THE CLOSE-PRESSED
HORDE AS HE MIGHT RACE THROUGH SWAYING TREES.





“The talk” in sundown towns
Farmer City, 8/11/2015

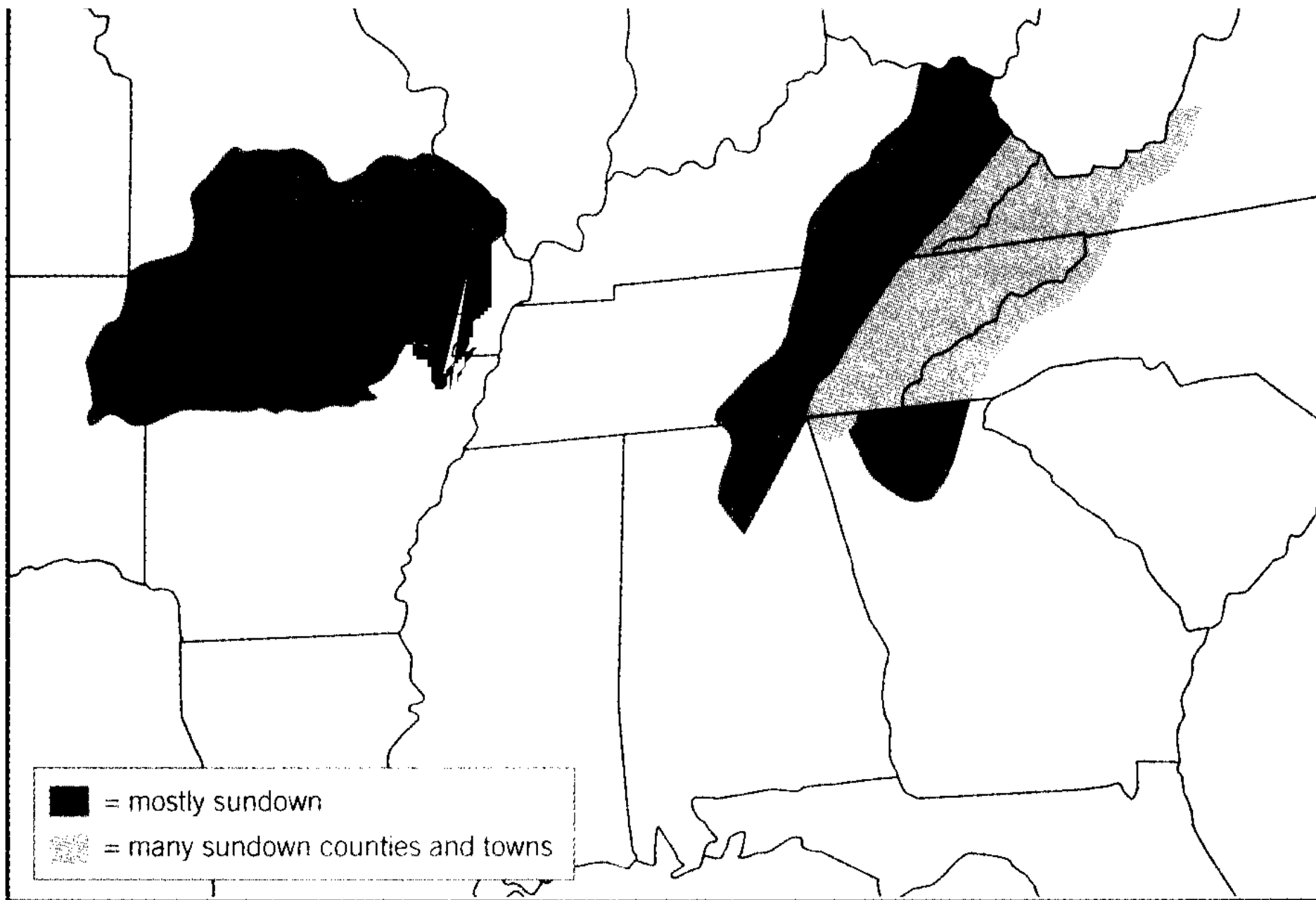
How towns stay sundown

- Reputation (their history is known)
- Having done nothing to counter it, the tradition continues
- Business as usual (connections, hiring, school curricula, all are white)
- “Thug minority” acts to enforce the town’s tradition

Sundown Towns in Appalachia

and what to do about them

- **When** [1890-1968, peak year 1970]
- **Where** [throughout US, *except* the traditional South]
- **How many** [in many states, *a majority* of all towns!]
- **In Appalachia:** [especially common: c.700 in PA, many in E KY, E TN, Western VA, W NC, N GA, Sand Mountain AL]



Map 3. Sundown Areas in the Nontraditional South

- Where in Alabama?
- In northern Alabama
- Suburbs of Birmingham, Mobile, etc.
- On the Gulf Coast

Traditional Enforcement Fails

- We respond to complaints, which requires individual plaintiffs and presumes individual defendants. Little structural enforcement.
- We require statements of compliance, which sundown towns happily sign.
- We choose to ignore “a plain fact known to everyone.”

Sundown Towns

and what HUD must do
about them

Other Effects of the Nadir

- Eugenics [CA sterilization; Davis?]
- SAT [What does it stand for?]
- Residential segregation within cities (D)
- Racial ghettos in large cities

“Prima facie” until proven otherwise

Usual testing misses the point.

Problems “upstream” of the decision to enter
deter would-be residents from looking.

Problems “downstream” of the move deter
would-be residents from staying.

Second-generation sundown town problems
chill race relations.

Why have lawyers done nothing?

- No “traditional” plaintiffs to bring cases.
- Sundown suburbs that remain overwhelmingly white draw no headlines.
- Entire subregions are sundown, so it just seems “normal.”
- Hence sundown towns don’t seem to be anyone’s concern.

Where lawyers have failed

- Sundown suburbs that remain overwhelmingly white
- Independent sundown towns and counties
- Entire subregions
- Prison towns ... TERRIBLE penology!

Why have DOJ and HUD failed?

- DOJ responds to complaints, which requires individual plaintiffs and presumes individual defendants. Little structural enforcement.
- HUD requires statements of compliance, which sundown towns happily sign.
- DOJ chooses to ignore “a plain fact known to everyone.”

Where HUD has Failed

- Sundown suburbs that remain overwhelmingly white
- Independent sundown towns and counties
- Entire subregions

Why HUD has failed

- HUD responds to complaints, which requires individual plaintiffs and presumes individual defendants. Little structural enforcement.
- HUD requires statements of compliance, which sundown towns happily sign.
- HUD chooses to ignore “a plain fact known to everyone.”

“Prima facie” until proven otherwise

Problems “upstream” of the decision to enter deter would-be residents from looking.

Problems “downstream” of the move deter would-be residents from staying.

Second-generation sundown town problems chill race relations.

What HUD Needs to Do

- Set up a task force on sundown towns.
- Solicit information on towns' sundown pasts
- Choose sundown towns whose pasts are most egregious.
- Use towns' recent demography to confirm they still are overwhelmingly white.
- Ask that they take the “three-step program.”
- If not, **cancel all HUD grants and programs.**

What civil rights lawyers need to do

- Set up a task force on sundown towns.
- Solicit information on towns' sundown pasts
- Choose sundown towns whose pasts are most egregious.
- Use towns' recent demography to confirm they still are overwhelmingly white.
- Ask that they take the “three-step program.”
- If not, [You tell ME!]

Three-step Program

1. Admit it. “We did this.” [Truth & Reconciliation]
2. Apologize. “We did this, and it was wrong, and we’re sorry.”
3. Change practice. “... and we don’t do it any more.” Require specifics: interracial police force, teaching staff, etc., housed in the city.

Otherwise, **end U.S. expenditures.**



Three-step Program

1. Admit it. “We did this.” [Truth & Reconciliation]
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Otherwise, **end HUD expenditures.**



Other Effects of the Nadir

- Eugenics [CA sterilization; David Starr Jordan]
- IQ Tests [Lewis Terman, Stanford-Binet]
- SAT [What does it stand for?]
- Residential segregation within cities (D)
- Racial ghettos in large cities

What Caused the Nadir to End?

- “Great Migration” plus sundown towns leads to political representation.
- Imperialism ends. “Third world” nations wind up in the U.N.
- Hitler and Nazi Germany shows us what can happen.

- There is a reciprocal relationship between truth about the past and justice in the present.
- When we achieve justice in the present, then we can face the past more openly
- When we tell the truth about the past, we can see the continuing problems and make it right from here on.

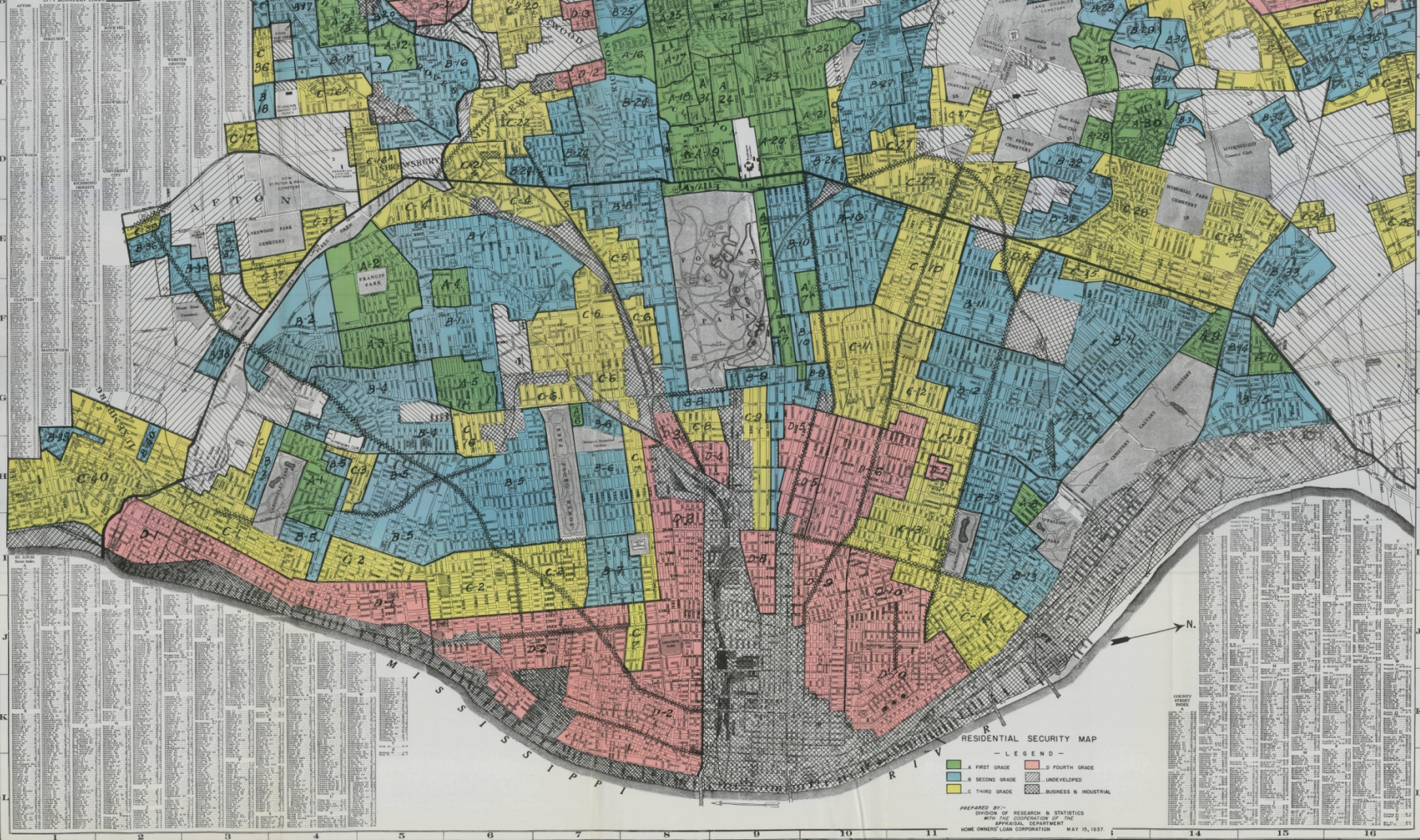
Second-Generation Sundown Town Problems

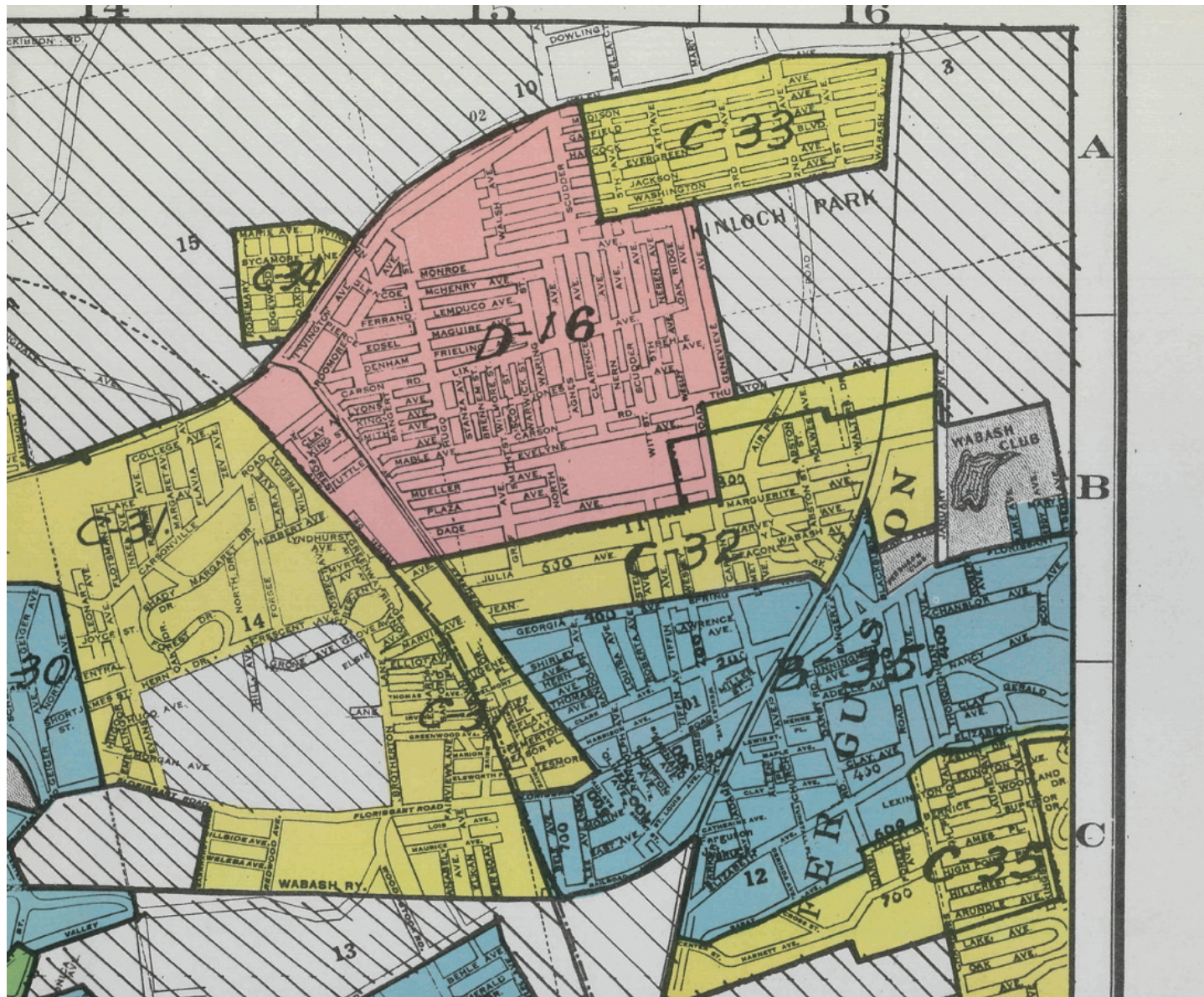
- Continuing DWB policing (e.g., Ferguson, MO)
 - Overwhelmingly white teaching staff and curriculum, leading to performance gap and disproportionate disciplining of minorities.
- Overwhelmingly white road crews, janitors, fire fighters, etc. Denial of equal opportunity.

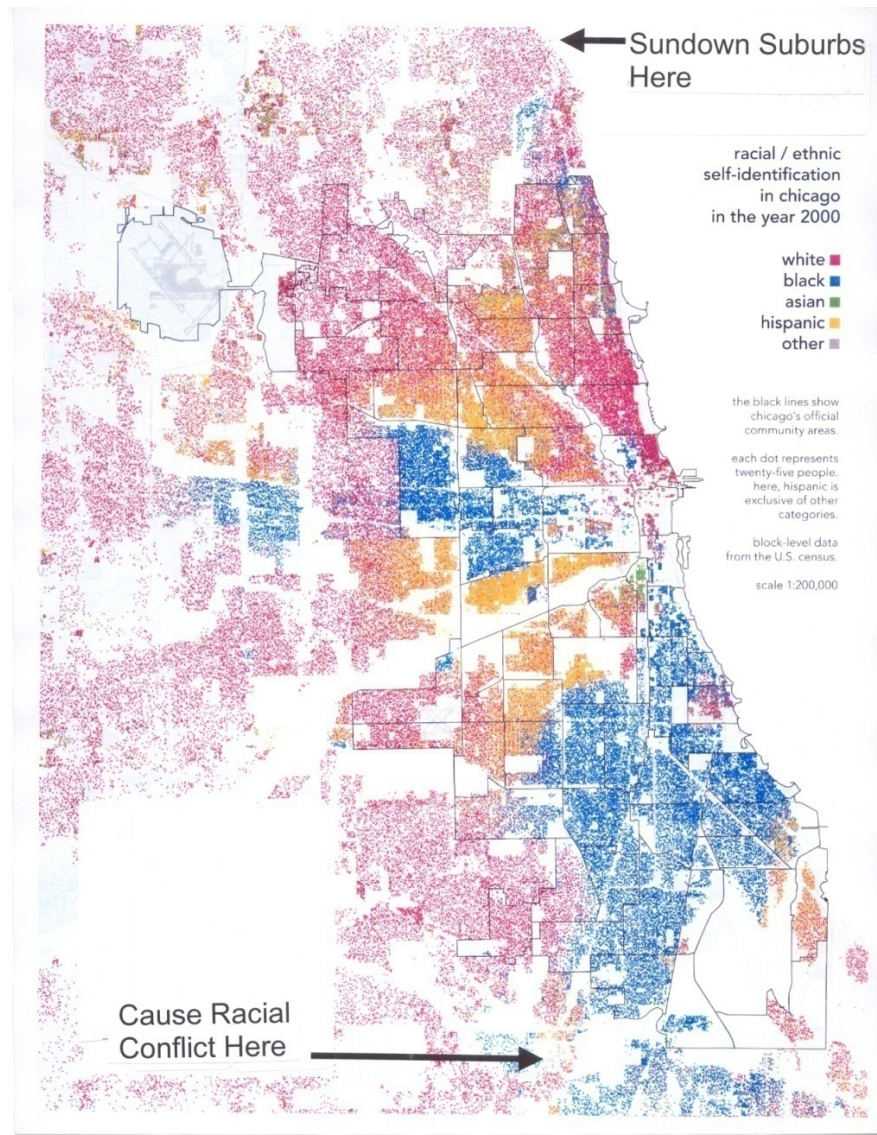
MAP OF GREATER ST. LOUIS AND SUBURBS

CHAS. HOELSCHER
MAPS AND MOUNTING
SCALE 1" = 1/2 MILE
LEGEND

HOUSE NUMBERS — PARKS & GOLF CLUBS
STREET NAMES — RAILROADS
BUS LINES — CITY BOUNDARIES







What is to be Done?

Loewen's 3-Step Program

- 1. Admit it. “We did this.”
- 2. Apologize. “We did this, and it was wrong, and we’re sorry.”
- 3. Change practice. “... and we don’t do it any more.”

What You Can Do About Sundown Towns

- Confirm one.
- Send me the information.
- Connect with people & organizations in the town. Suggest the “three steps:”
 1. Admit it.
 2. Apologize.
 3. “And we don’t do it any more.”

What to do about Sundown Towns

“Out” them.

Tell their exclusion at historic sites.

Get them to change: 3-step program

1. Admit it. [“We did this.”]
2. Apologize. [“and it was wrong, and we’re sorry.”]
3. Change. [“and we don’t do it any more.”]

Add information to the Web

- Change the town's entry in Wikipedia. Then lock it in place.
- Change the entry in the Encyclopedia of Chicago, or of the state.
- Create a Twitter campaign or other places on the Web to increase awareness.

Four Practices for Judges to Do

- Desegregate their staffs and lives.
- Challenge racial slurs and generalizations.
- Expect a lot.
- Seek social causes for social outcomes.

Four Practices for Judges to Do

- Desegregate their staffs and lives.
- Challenge racial slurs and generalizations.
- Expect a lot.
- Seek social causes for social outcomes.

Cause change!

What to do about Sundown Towns

- Confirm “new” towns; tell me.
- Get them to take “3-step program.”
- Disprove economic “explanations” for white suburbs.
- Stop hypersegregation on economic grounds.
- Deny status to those who segregate.

“Otherizing”

- Sundown towns
- Second-generation sundown town problems
- Hypersegregation on economic grounds
- Deny status to those who segregate

Maybe You Need To:

- Set up a task force to confirm sundown towns.
- Solicit information on towns' sundown pasts.
- Use recent demography to confirm that towns remain overwhelmingly white.
- Ask that they take the “three-step program.”

What Museums (et al.) Can Do About Sundown Towns

- Confirm their town and nearby towns. (Use volunteers.)
- Create a buzz: send me the info.; incorporate into Wikipedia entry.
- Create an exhibit, incl. a traveling exhibit.
- Connect with people & orgs in the town. Suggest the “three steps.”

What is to be Done?

- Require admission. “We did this.”
- Require apology.”... and it was wrong, and we apologize.”
- Require changed practice. “... and we don’t do it any more.”

[Or remove federal housing, etc.]

“Prima facie” until proven otherwise

Usual testing misses the point.

Problems “upstream” of the decision to enter
deter would-be residents from looking.

Problems “downstream” of the move deter
would-be residents from staying.

Second-generation sundown town problems
chill race relations.

Why Has DOJ Failed? Part I.

- No “traditional” plaintiffs to bring cases.
- Sundown suburbs that remain overwhelmingly white draw no headlines.
- Entire subregions are sundown, so it just seems “normal.”
- Hence sundown towns don’t seem to be anyone’s “business” at DOJ.

Where DOJ has Failed

- Sundown suburbs that remain overwhelmingly white
- Independent sundown towns and counties
- Entire subregions

What DOJ Needs to Do

- Set up a task force on sundown towns.
- Solicit information on towns' sundown pasts
- Choose sundown towns whose pasts are most egregious.
- Use towns' recent demography to confirm they still are overwhelmingly white.
- Ask that they take the “three-step program.”
- If not, suggest to other U.S. agencies that they **cancel all grants and programs.**

4 Movements about Race Relations:

- BLM
- De-Confederatizing America
- Improving college campuses
- Ending sundown towns

History and the 4 Movements

- BLM ties to slave patrollers, SDTs
- De-Confederatizing America, tied to Nadir
- Campuses: Calhoun College, SAE lynching song, Byrd Stadium (UMD)
- Ending sundown towns: DWB policing, Ferguson, etc.

The Truth Shall Make Us Free

The truth shall make us free.

The truth shall make us free.

The truth shall make us free someday.

Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,

We shall overcome someday.

Patriotism, not Nationalism



“Patriotism” [Frederick Douglass]: “rebukes his country for its sins and does not excuse them.”

“Nationalism”: “always right, never wrong, except by accident, and with the best of intentions.”



Can you “see” the FHA regulation?



Who is kept out?



Other actions to take:

- Seek action to end second-generation sundown town problems.
- Disprove economic “explanations” for white suburbs.
- Stop hypersegregation on economic grounds.
- Deny status to those who segregate.



Basic Premise

Telling the truth about the past helps cause justice in the present. Achieving justice in the present helps us tell the truth about the past.