

## Rondo Days

Northern Great Plains History Conference

Presented September 18, 2020

The Rondo Days Festival, inaugurated in 1983, is a reunion of the Black community of the Twin Cities. It memorializes and mourns a neighborhood gone, a neighborhood where residents “learned to fill the gaps in American history (Fairbanks 1999, 141), learned about the contributions and tribulations of their people. The celebration remembers when the creation of I-94 meant the destruction of a vibrant neighborhood, moving hundreds of families from a community of truly gracious homes to “substandard housing with bad wiring” (Baker 1994). Rondo Days celebrates a sense of community sustained in defiance of institutional racism and urban planning run amok. Interstate 94 was created to facilitate the movement of people in a time when cars were becoming more plentiful and traffic more congested. The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 promised funding and the cheapest route cut through Rondo. Blacks experienced an otherwise hostile environment in St Paul specifically and Minnesota in general. Rondo Days brings together people who remember Rondo and those who don’t but who come together to build a sense of community. Before I talk about Rondo Days, I must contextualize the festival by briefly outlining the value of Rondo to the residents, the realities of structural racism that made the destruction of this community so devastating, and the story of Interstate 94 and how a Black community was dislocated into a redlined city.

Pullman porters lived on what was called Oatmeal Hill and the poorer end of Rondo was known as Cornmeal Valley, home of factory and packinghouse workers. (Taylor, 1976, 81) *Days of Rondo* memoirist Evelyn Fairbanks described Rondo: “Love flowed in the streets. Sense of

community is not a strong or emotional enough term to describe what we felt. Everyone was your relative.” (McKelvey, 1990 August 15, CN 1-2) Marvin Anderson, the St. Paul State Law Librarian, grew up on the Rondo Avenue of the 1950s and 60s and was one of the co-founders of Rondo Days. He said “The biggest loss of Rondo Avenue is the places where deliberations of people could be seen. Rondo was a hub, a place where military, professional, and streetwise Black people gathered, talked and exchanged ideas. He remembers the city within a city, with an insurance agency, lawyer, doctor, dentist, drugstores and restaurants” (Porter II & Suzukamo, 1990, B1). Another co-founder of Rondo Days, Floyd George Smaller, Jr, said, “My family was outgoing and loving and we'd take in any strangers, anybody” (Smaller, 2004). Evelyn Fairbanks book about Rondo includes stories about “chosen children,” kids taken in as needs dictated, and rent parties, some of the innumerable ways that a community took care of its own (Fairbanks, 1990, 25, 73). Poetically, one journalist wrote “The Rondo weekend comes in softly and touches in a healing way the fading scar of Rondo Avenue. Rondo had soul, and not just in the black sense of the word. Rondo had life, intrigue... it was a walking street, meaning that people walked their homes to their employment. That is something to celebrate in this day and age, when we are on the brink of waging war for gasoline, the quaintness of a neighborhood in which people walked.” (Souchery, 1990 E1). Joyce Williams, a denizen of Rondo, said “Beautiful and gracious homes were destroyed. The ones [with] hardwood floors, beautiful woodwork, hutches, stained glass windows” (Williams 2016). In Rondo, people took care of one another, and had a “cohesiveness” (Patterson, 2004, 38). Fairbanks wrote that-- “At the Hallie (Q. Brown Community Center) we learned to fill the gaps in American history. — The history books spoke only of the menial labor of the slaves. They did not mention the inventions with which these workers improved their production; the skills of the men and women who farmed the land, nor

the crafts that they had brought from their native Africa. They did not mention the music that had to be passed down through work songs and prayer meetings. Nor did the schoolbooks mention the slaves and freedmen who produced an abundance of literature. We read stories written by these black authors” (Fairbanks 141-142).

“[Rondo] provided a safety net” (MacKenzie 2020)...At the time, Nick Davis (also known as Khaliq), one Rondo neighbor, said he didn’t realize his family was poor because it was such a tight-knit community where everyone was looking out for everyone. According to Twin Cities Habitat for Humanity, almost 50% of black folks owned their homes then, compared to less than 25% today. Davis said the “sense of security was fueled by the fact that you could get a good job with a livable wage without a high school diploma at local businesses like the packing house, Whirlpool factory, and the railroad. Rondo felt like a self-contained economic engine” (MacKenzie 2020).

Outside that community, there was hostility a plenty. Some of the evidence of the racism that marked Blacks’ world included not being able to be hired by cities or counties, ambulances’ unwillingness to pick up Blacks, businesses sporting signs such as “Colored trade not solicited,” and Twin Cities papers that used words like pikaninnies and the ‘n’ word. As late as 1951 a Black Urban League executive and his wife were refused dinner at a local restaurant. The NAACP and the Urban League lobbied for jobs, and worked to make Blacks eligible for juries, the National Guard, and blood donations. Black kids were not able to skate at the Harriet Island municipal roller rink until 1943, to name but one small indignity amongst many others. (Baker, 1994, A1). In 2019, a play called “Not in My Neighborhood” recounts how a Rondo couple faced opposition to their move to Groveland Park. He was a lawyer, she a civil rights activist. (Berdan, 2019). There were petitions, demonstrations and cross burnings. Although things

changed and did get better, as Fairbanks noted, it was all relative, “African Americans came from the South to escape the danger of lynching to St Paul where they faced the humiliation of not being able to buy an ice cream cone at Bridgeman’s.” (Baker, 1993, CN1). In Rondo, David Taylor, historian, said, “We were sheltered from the harsher realities of a society that would judge us solely by the color of our skin and not the content of our character ” (Baker, 1995, D3).

The freeway was built to relieve traffic congestion, and plans were made on admittedly crude research -- “unfortunately, no land use, economic base or population studies had recently been carried out” (Millett, 1993, 6A). One city planner proposed a route north of the one chosen, saying that “After all, a city is for people. Their standards and values and way of life should be a first consideration (Millett, 1993, 6A). But locating I-94 through Rondo was wholly paid by the government and the alternative proposed route would have necessitated paying for a parkway (Altshuler, 1965, 48). Constance Raye Jones, a participant in the Rondo History Harvest project, recalls a white highway worker telling her father, “We’re getting rid of niggers.”(Avila, 2014, 105) The author of the *Folklore of the Freeway*, recounts various neighborhoods throughout the US destroyed by city planners, writes, “After the nightmare of slavery, the fiasco of Reconstruction, the indignity of Jim Crow, and the legacy of white violence against black Americans, it is hard to imagine how African Americans could NOT believe that their communities were the deliberate targets of highway construction” (Avila 2014, 105). The real price to be paid was by the Blacks of Rondo, of course, since besides losing a sanctuary, their housing options were limited in a time of housing covenants. By 1958, 435 displaced families had been moved many to substandard structures. The St Paul NAACP learned that 25 neighborhoods had restrictive covenants banning Blacks. (Baker, 1994, A1) Besides elegant and

beautiful homes, the Black community of St. Paul lost more than 100 businesses, most of them owned by Blacks. (Costa, Cattaneo, & Schultz 2018, 3).

“At a picnic in Carty Park on July 4, 1982, Louis Zachary and a group of friends started talking about the need for a distinctive celebration by, for and about the black people of St. Paul. Marvin Roger Anderson, librarian at the Minnesota Law Library, and Robert Lewis, a counselor at St. Paul Technical Vocational Institute, were among the planners” (Porter II, 1985 July 5). The first Rondo Days in 1983 brought 10,000 celebrants. One elder said, ‘I can die now; you gave me something that no one else has given me” (Porter II, 1985, CN1). Rondo Days’ lineup of activities has included, over the years, athletic tournaments of tennis, golf, and various runs and games, parades, picnics, dances and religious services. Rondo Days typically honors someone, from a retired police chief and rector in 1985 to, more recently, Philando Castile. Some years Rondo Days could not happen, as in 1986, when insurance costs prohibited a big event, but tennis, golf and a dance still happened. This is a recounting of notable events in the history of Rondo Days, relying on newspaper articles, since the records I had hoped to use were unavailable to me in the midst of Covid.

In 1989, “Old Rondo Avenue signs were installed along Concordia Avenue, the street dating to the late 1960s which replaced Rondo after the construction of Interstate 94” (Kelly, 1989 August 2, B2), making the old neighborhood markedly visible. In 1990, the author of *Days of Rondo*, Evelyn Fairbanks, signed copies of her memoir. (McKelvey, 1990, CN 1-2) By 1993, Rondo Days had added drill teams to the normal lineup of events. Young people marched with mascots and baton twirlers and would become regular participants at Juneteenth, Rondo Days and the Aquatennial. Drillteams have a positive influence on black youth, said Kwame McDonald, executive director of St. Paul's Inner-City Youth League. (Jackson, 1994, 7b).

Another leader of the drill teams said, "We apply the kind of commitment {they have} to sing, dance, drum to the rest of their life, to their education, their behavior " (Pfister 1998, 1E)

A few years later there were members of the Buffalo Soldiers Re-enactors Association on display, sharing that part of post-Civil War history when all-black 9th and 10th Cavalry and 24th and 25<sup>th</sup> Infantry regiments were sent west to protect settlers. (Baker, 1995, D3). That year David Taylor, historian (*African Americans in Minnesota*) and Janabelle Taylor (Hallie Q. Brown Program Director) were honored. Janabelle started at the Hallie as a participant and said, "I grew up there at Hallie with club groups. You didn't just hang around, not with Miss Carden. I mean you are either going someplace or you're going home. Because she said her philosophy was, someone who's just hanging around is looking for trouble. So, you're here for activity. And it might be just the game room. It didn't have to be a club, but you are going into some activity" (Taylor, 2017). In 1996, Rondo Days was broadening its scope. Two Hmong organizations marched together in the parade. "We thought it would be a good time for us to show our culture, as well as to learn about other communities " said Sai Lee Yang of the Hmong Cultural Center in St. Paul. (Chappel, 1996, 1b) 1996's Rondo Days was sadly marked by violence. One 4-year-old child was killed and two wounded in the crossfire of Rolling Crips Gang warfare as Rondo Days was coming to an end. The defendants were convicted of committing murder in order to join or improve their status in a gang involved in dealing drugs only years later. (Gustafson 2002)

Rev. Kneely Williams, was honored at the 2000 Rondo Days. He was at the March on Washington in 1963 and marched with the Reverend Martin Luther King in protests. Williams served on community boards and led the opening prayer for the Saturday morning Rondo Days parade since it started in 1983. (Her, 2000, 1B) Rondo Days Inc, the organization, tried in some

ways to replace the community benefits of the old Rondo neighborhood. For example, in 2002 they added an adopt-a-family feature to go with the theme --Reach Out, Connect, Embrace Our Community.

In 2003, Marvin Anderson invited all festival organizers to the traditional Friday dinner. "It's for everybody, Red, white, yellow, black, it doesn't matter. We're all a community." Anderson, one of the original organizers said that year that the founders wanted to find a venue to bring people together and honor the elders. That year they honored Gordon Parks with a showing of a film about him. Gordon Parks was a teenager in Rondo and a famous documentary photojournalist. Anderson commented about Parks, "'Even though the body of Rondo has been destroyed, that did not destroy the willingness of the people to make something of the dust of Rondo " (Mathur, 2003, Jul 20).

The Rondo Library and affordable housing complex was opened in 2006. The sidewalk bears the etching, "Though sorrow leaves a print that time cannot wash away, the spirit of Rondo lives on in the minds of the old and imagination of the young" (Orrick, 2006, 1). The library has everything from seed libraries to classes and pictures of it on its website demonstrate diversity of its library users. By 2009, there was a growing awareness of the environmental impact of Rondo Days. The Festival Director Donna Miller that the goal was to "generate zero waste by 2010." Rondo Days in 2009 had many workshops on recycling and composting. Miller talked about the success, "Just to give you an idea, in 2007 it took us eight hours to clean the park and surrounding neighborhood (after the event). Last year it took an hour and a half" (Walker 2009 May 20).

In 2010, the direction changed after some of the organizers were coping with serious health events. Rondo: Healthy Lifestyle 365 was the theme and Rondo days added cycling activities and sessions on building safer communities, embracing healthy lifestyles and contributing to the environmental movements in the Black community (Carew, 2010)

Thirty years after the first Rondo Days celebration, the Minnesota History Center added a permanent exhibit, part of the Twin Cities "Then Now Wow," where visitors can "walk" along Rondo Avenue and visit stores, houses, and churches. The description:" From this neighborhood came Toni Stone, the first woman to play major league baseball with the Negro Leagues, and Pilgrim Baptist Church, which was founded in 1863 by former enslaved and free men, women, and children who made their way to Minnesota in search of better lives" (Friday Opinundo 2013 July 10).

One of the important functions Rondo Days serves, as we have seen, is not only to remember the past but reflect on the present, whether it is the environment or healthy lifestyles. In 2015, Rondo Days served to bring together a mourning community. On what would have been his 33<sup>rd</sup> birthday, Philando Castile's mom was there at Rondo Days which "took a somber tone Saturday, less than two weeks after Castile was fatally shot by a St. Anthony police officer during a traffic stop in Falcon Heights." A day meant to pay homage to the old Rondo neighborhood doubled as a space for mending broken hearts. One participant said she remembers a time, "before the neighborhood was gutted, when residents did not fear police. Officers knew people by name and waved to neighbors, she said, creating a more cohesive community. Now, nearly 60 years later, Hart feels there's a strong separation between police and the communities they serve, particularly those of color" (Sawyer, 2016).



On July 17, 2015, St. Paul Mayor Chris Coleman acknowledged remorse, and delivered a formal apology for the destruction of the Rondo neighborhood, acknowledging the pattern of structural racism” (Eastman, 2015). One oral history with Joyce Williams asks about the Mayor’s apology to which she replies she would “rather not say” what she thinks about it” (Williams, 2014). Anderson, one of the Rondo Days organizers, said “Well, just the apology alone wasn’t enough. We did this in conjunction with the mayor. Our reconciliation for forgiving and accepting was all done at one day. We forgave and they apologized.” Anderson emphasized that it took two hearts to bring about reconciliation and that he asked the Mayor for support for the Rondo Commemorative Plaza. This was proposed in 2015 and installed in 2016 on Old Rondo Avenue (Concordia Avenue) just west of North Fisk Street to commemorate the Rondo community. The Plaza has panels depicting the Karen, the Somali, the Hmong, the Oromo as well as the old Rondo neighbors and is a pocket park with a beautiful pergola shades a platform where singers and musicians can perform, and an installation of chimes can be played.

This year Rondo Days was cancelled, “With a “sad and heavy heart,” organizers on Thursday night announced the cancellation of the Rondo Days Festival in St. Paul, citing concerns about keeping community members safe during the coronavirus pandemic.”

The Rondo Days Celebration is important as it remembers all the ways the neighborhood served the residents. I think the aspect that strikes me the most is the notion of “chosen children”. Several noted how people would take in others’ children in time of need. But the rent parties, the acknowledging people with knowing and friendly greetings and the sense that this was a place, though there were class difference between cornmeal and oatmeal Rondo folks, where folks looked after one another. Blacks learned their history through the NAACP and the Hallie Q. Brown

Community Center (which still exists). Rondo Days remembers a time when the Blacks owned nice homes. “When we talk about having a fulfilling, successful, and productive life that creates a financial foundation for future generations, I think housing is the key. Homeownership is the greatest transfer of wealth in this country for anybody and everybody. That was a large piece of our building block for future generations.” (MacKenzie 2020) Anderson in an interview said “Keep Rondo in mind as an example, as a symbol of a united community. The reason they pick on poor communities is because they know there is some disunity there. So now we’ve formed some coalitions here within the Frogtown Summit-University area and we’re in the process now of trying to teach this message to kids. It’s our hope that the Rondo commemorative plaza will be able to convey this message in a way that they can understand” (Anderson, 2016).

I am just scratching the surface here. Some of the many themes that merit comprehensive treatment include delving into the housing covenants of St. Paul, the history and impact of the Hallie Q. Brown Community Center, the role of churches in the Rondo community through the years, the intersections of different agencies that spring from and support the Black community in St. Paul, the ways that current communities of color intersect—the Hmong, the Karen, African Americans, Somali, Sudanese. All these warrant book-length works themselves. A book that is waiting to be published would bring together some of the threads here— the full story of Rondo is a fascinating story waiting to be told.

## Works Cited

- 106 Group. *St. Paul African American Historic and Cultural Context, 1837- 1975*.  
[https://www.historicsaintpaul.org/sites/default/files/2017-05-19%20St%20Paul%20AA%20Context%20FINAL\\_0.pdf](https://www.historicsaintpaul.org/sites/default/files/2017-05-19%20St%20Paul%20AA%20Context%20FINAL_0.pdf)
- Altshuler, A. (1965). *The city planning process; a political analysis*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press.
- Anderson, M. (2016). Interview with Rondo Resident Marvin R. Anderson.  
<http://omeka.macalester.edu/rondo/items/show/79>
- Avila, E. (2014). *The folklore of the freeway - race and revolt in the modern city*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Baker, A. (1993, April 14). Kid offenders produce ‘Days of Rondo’ play about blacks. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*.
- Baker, A. (1994, July 15). Rondo Days observance to recall civil rights struggle in St. Paul. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*. A1.
- Belcamio, K (2020, May 21). Rondo Days Celebration in St. Paul is cancelled. *Pioneer Press*.  
<https://www.twincities.com/2020/05/21/rondo-days-celebration-in-st-paul-is-canceled-due-to-coronavirus-pandemic/>
- Berdan, K. (2019). Little-known St. Paul cross burning inspires a new Landmark Center play. *Pioneer Press*. <https://www.twincities.com/2019/02/09/play-addresses-a-hate-filled-horrible-incident-in-st-pauls-past/>
- Best entertainment bets for July 14-18. (2013, July 13). *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*.
- Boyd, M. D. and Staff Writer. (2001, July 20) Remembering Rondo: St. Paul's Rondo Neighborhood might be gone, but a celebration this weekend will show that it is not forgotten. *Star Tribune*.18.
- Bream, J. and Staff Writer. (1989, August 9). Despite beefs, RiverFest was a good show: [METRO Edition]." *Star Tribune*, 1E.
- Burckhardt, A. (2004). *A Cook's tour of Minnesota*. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

- Callaghan, P. (2016). Reconciling with Rondo: Could an I-94 Land bridge help heal a 50-year-old civic scar. *Minnpost*. <https://www.minnpost.com/politics-policy/2016/10/reconciling-rondo-could-i-94-land-bridge-help-heal-50-year-old-civic-scar/>
- Carew, E. L. (2010, July 16). Rondo days urging healthy lifestyles: The 27th annual Rondo Days festival includes new active-living events and promotes year-round health. *McClatchy - Tribune Business News*, 2.
- Cavett, K. (2005). *Voices of Rondo: Oral histories of Saint Paul's historic Black community*. Minneapolis: Syren Book Co.
- Chappell, C. and Staff Writer. (1996, Jul 21.) Carrying on traditions of Rondo: [METRO Edition]." *Star Tribune*. 1B.
- Clements, B. (2005, June 2). Land trust helps revitalize St. Paul's Rondo neighborhood. *Finance and Commerce*. <https://finance-commerce.com/2005/06/land-trust-helps-revitalize-rondo/?dmcss=login>
- Costa, K, Cattaneo, L, & Schultz, D. (2018, April 24). When communities didn't have a say: How federal infrastructure dollars were used to bulldoze communities of color. *Center for American Progress*. <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/green/reports/2018/04/24/449961/communities-didnt-say/>
- Costantini, A. (2015, July 15) Rondo neighborhood gets apologies for I-94. *USA Today* <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/local/2015/07/17/rondo-apologies-zelle-coleman/30328463/>
- Curley, A. (2010). Relocating the poor: Social capital and neighborhood resources. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 32(1), 79-103, DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9906.2009.00475.x
- De Fiebre, C. and Staff Writer. (1994, July 10). Nick Davis: He's an activist, agitator and anti-drug crusader. [ST. PAUL Edition]." *Star Tribune*, 01A.
- Ding, Y. (2020, August 3) Pioneering Black photographer and filmmaker Gordon Parks bought his first camera in Minnesota. <https://www.minnpost.com/mnopedia/2020/08/pioneering-black-photographer-and-filmmaker-gordon-parks-bought-his-first-camera-in-minnesota/>
- Eastwood, J. (2015 August 11). Apology offered for destruction of historic African American neighborhood. Racial Equity Alliance. <https://www.racialequityalliance.org/2015/08/11/apology-offered-for-destruction-of-historic-african-american-neighborhood/>

- Fabel, T & Wood, E. (2019). *Not in my Neighborhood*.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xTH-CQvXMrk>
- Fairbanks, E. (1990). *The Days of Rondo*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.
- Foxworth, K. (1991). *The Urban Renewal Devastation of the Rondo Community*. MA Thesis: Minnesota State University, Mankato.
- Frederick, No First Name. (2011, July 15) Rondo Days Festival in St. Paul marks its 28th Year. *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*.
- Friday Opinuerdo: On Rondo, monarchs and more. (2013, July 10) *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*.
- Giles, K. (2015, July 17). Rondos residents are ready to heal. *Star Tribune*. B3.
- Gustafson, P., Chanen, D., & Staff writer. (2002, Jan 10). 3 indicted in girl's killing; 4-year-old caught in '96 gunfire meant for gang rivals: [METRO edition]. *Star Tribune* 1A.
- Havens, C. (2008, July 16). Rondo celebrates glory years that were cut short: It's the 25th anniversary of Rondo Days, and organizers are calling people back for a big reunion in the St. Paul neighborhood. *Star Tribune*.
- Heikkila, L. (2017). *Interstate 94: A History and Its Impact*. Twin Cities PBS.  
<https://www.tpt.org/interstate-94-a-history-and-its-impact/>
- Heise, T. (2016). Remembrance of things imagined: Urban development and the fictions of memory. *American Literary History*, 28(1), 210-222. doi:10.1093/alh/ajv061
- Her, L Y. and Staff Writer. (2000, July 16). Spirit of Rondo community lives on --Festival serves as a reunion, preserves history and heritage: [METRO Edition]." *Star Tribune*, 01B.
- Hoekstra, J. (n.d.). Rondo Commemorative Plaza. Architecture Minnesota. <https://www.aia-mn.org/rondo-commemorative-plaza/>
- Hopfensperger, J. (2009, Jul 19). Ramsey county begins effort to recruit adoptive families. *Star Tribune*.
- Jackson, D. (1994, July 5). Drill teams are positive move for Black youth: [METRO Edition]." *Star Tribune*, 07B.
- Jackson, Z. (2019, July 21). Celebrating pride and place: It rained on their parade, but neighbors still turned out for St. Paul's Rondo Days Celebration. *Star Tribune*, B3.

- Johnson, D. (1993, April 22). Telling Rondo's story. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, A10.
- Jones-Correa, M. (2000) The origins and diffusion of racial restrictive covenants. *Political Science Quarterly* 115(4), 541.
- Kaul, G. (2020, July 17). The number of concentrated-poverty neighborhoods in the Twin Cities has doubled since 1980. <https://www.minnpost.com/metro/2020/07/the-number-of-concentrated-poverty-neighborhoods-in-the-twin-cities-has-doubled-since-1980/>
- Kelly, S. (1989, August 2). Old Rondo Avenue signs are going up. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, B2.
- Kelly, S. (1991, July 17). Festival recalls street that vanished years ago. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*. CN1.
- Lonetree A. (2015, Jun 17). Outspoken teacher steps up criticism: St. Paul troublemaker says district has tried to silence him over his views on suspensions. *Star Tribune* B1.
- MacKenzie, B. (2020 February 14). \_Race and Housing Series: Rondo and I-94—A Conversation with Nick Khaliq. <https://www.tchabitat.org/blog/rondo>
- Mathur, S. L. and Staff Writer. (2003, July 20). Long-departed Rondo lives on in spirit; St. Paul Festival marks 20th Year: [METRO Edition]. *Star Tribune*.
- McAuliffe, B., Prince, P., Walsh, J. & Staff Writers. (1991, October 20). Heartbeat of St. Paul // Marvin Anderson helping restore Rondo area's sense of community: [ST. PAUL Edition]. *Star Tribune*, 01B.
- McKelvey, P. (1990, August 15). Author retraced golden childhood. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, CN 1.
- McWatt, A. (2009). *Crusaders for Justice: A Chronicle of Protest by Agitators, Advocates and Activists in Their Struggle for Civil and Human Rights in St. Paul, Minnesota, 1802-1985*. Brooklyn Park, Minnesota: Papyrus Publishing.
- Melo, F. (2013, September 11). St. Paul: 2 Rondo Avenue historians to be honored with street co-naming. *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*.
- Millett, L. (1993, January 08) 50s visionary was right: Freeways did “muss up” Cities’ neighborhoods. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 6A.

- Montrie, C. (2019). 'A bigoted, prejudiced, hateful little area': The making of an all-white suburb in the deep north. *Journal of Urban History* 45(2): 300–320.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144217702644>.
- Orrick, D. (2006 September 10) Neighbors joyfully check out new library: Rondo's opening carries promise of neighborhood's revitalization. *McClatchy-Tribune Business News*. 1.
- Patterson, O.L.O. (2004, November 18). *Transcript of an oral history interview with Ora Lee O'Neal Patterson at Hand in Hand's Office Saint Paul, Minnesota*. Interviewed by Kateleen Hope Cavett [https://media.mnhs.org/things/cms/10265/413/AV2007\\_22\\_24\\_M.pdf](https://media.mnhs.org/things/cms/10265/413/AV2007_22_24_M.pdf)
- Pfister, D. and Staff Writer. (1998, June 17). Drilling, thrilling, instilling: the funk and freedom that characterize drum and drill teams take determination and discipline. [METRO Edition]." *Star Tribune*, 01E.
- Porter II, L. (1985, July 5). St. Paul Blacks remember days on old Rondo. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*.
- Porter II, L. (1985, July 24). Rondo a hit with 5000 fans. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, CN 1.
- Porter II, L., and Suzukamo, L. (1990 February 24). Rondo: A place in time. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*. B 1.
- Rondo and the will to reconnect. (2018, Jul 11). *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*.
- Rondo festival opens Thursday (1984, June 17). *St. Paul Pioneer Press*. C2.
- Rosenblum, G. (2013, Jul 07). Rondo days tips its hat to union depots red caps. *Star Tribune* B1.
- Sawyer, L. (2016, Jul 17). Rondo days remembers Castile: St. Paul lost one of their family members, uncle says. *Star Tribune* B3
- Smith, H. & Staff Writer. (1993, July 17). They're Fond of Rondo Av. [ST. PAUL Edition]. *Star Tribune*, 01B.
- Souchery, J. (1990, July 17). Rondo Days recall St. Paul heart, soul. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*. E1.
- Staying apart. (2000, July 11). *Economist*. 14.
- Taylor, D. (2002). *African Americans in Minnesota*. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

- Taylor, D. (1976). *Blacks in Minnesota: a preliminary guide to historical sources*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society.
- Taylor, H. J. (2017). H. Janabelle Murphy Taylor. *Voices of Rondo*.  
<https://manifold.umn.edu/projects/voices-of-rondo>
- Taylor, D. V. (1981). The Blacks. In *They Chose Minnesota: A Survey of the State's Ethnic Groups*. Edited by June Drenning Holmquist. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1981, 73-91.
- Tosto, P. (2008, June 12). Rondo Days is about to turn 25. *St Paul Pioneer Press*.
- Villeuve, L. (1986 June 17). Rondo fete canceled this year. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*. D1.
- Volante, A. (2015). *The Rondo Neighborhood & African American History in St. Paul, MN: 1900s to Current*. Retrieved from the University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy, <http://hdl.handle.net/11299/178547>.
- Walker, M. (2009 May 20). Summer festivals: Theme is green as fests get eco-friendly. *Star Tribune*.
- Walsh, J. (2016, October 15). Rondos history finds a home: Memories of a once-thriving Black St. Paul community live on through Rondo Commemorative Plaza." *Star Tribune*, B1.
- Williams, J. (2016). Interview with Rondo Resident, Joyce P. Williams. Remembering Rondo | A History Harvest. <http://omeka.macalester.edu/rondo/items/show/78>
- Williams, O. (2018). Community Control as a relationship between a place-based population and institution of the case a community land trust. *Local Economy* 33 (5), 459-476.
- Windrow, J. and Staff Writer. (1997, July 20). Summer's festivals survive showers. [METRO Edition]. *Star Tribune*.