

RURAL REVOLUTION: A Retrospective on the Kinney Secession



Scott Kuzma

During the spring of 1978, citizens across North America were shocked to learn that war had been declared against the United States from the heart of Minnesota's Iron Range. Headlines screamed: "Kinney Dons Trappings of Nationhood in War for Water" (*Duluth News Tribune*); "Range Town Would Go to 'War' for Aid" (*Minneapolis Star*); "Town Waves Secession Flag" (*Christian Science Monitor*); and "Village 'to Secede'" (*Vancouver Sun*).¹

The impetus for Kinney's revolt?

Its failing water system. The community well had run dry, reducing citywide water pressure to a dangerous drip. Houses had burned down. Residents complained that washing clothes in laundry detergent with bleach yielded "brown shirts, jeans and underclothes." City administrators were tired of watching helplessly as fellow citizens wore brown-stained clothing—a slight, yet noticeable, change from their usual clothes "tinted rust red by the all-permeating iron dust" from the local mines, as a journalist put it.²

Civil unrest was palpable. Something had to give. And finally, on July

13, 1977, in this quiet northeastern part of the state, the City of Kinney boldly declared its independence and the Republic of Kinney was born.

It was a rural revolution so loaded with quirky events and unlikely revolutionaries that, 30 years later, the story seems more folklore than fact. How could such a thing have happened? Is it possible that a feisty, auburn-haired female mayor really led this outlandish insurrection? The answers to these questions are rooted in the history of the region, the temperament of its people, and the revolutionary vibes of the 1970s.



By the mid-1970s the Kinney City Council was struggling to cope with a population that had exploded from 325 in 1970 to an unofficial total of 600 in 1976. This boom was the result of nearby U.S. Steel's \$450 million Minntac Mine expansion, a surge for which Kinney's infrastructure was unprepared. Like other mining locations scattered across the Iron Range, Kinney had been established near the edge of a mine solely to serve the interests of the mining company. Built between 1901 and 1903, it was intended to be a temporary site with an approximate lifespan of 25 years.³ This status fostered little to no emphasis on creating a sustainable infrastructure. By the early 1970s Kinney's water pipes were choked with heavy deposits of iron and manganese. The already taxed 60-year-old system could not handle the increased usage that came with the population boom.

Kinney had not only survived beyond its expected lifespan but had also made history in another way, by electing Mary (Pavlovich) Anderson the first female mayor on the Iron Range. Mayor Anderson's surprising victory in 1973, at age 58, shook things up in Kinney. It also precipitated a significant shift from a male-dominated city to a predominantly female-run municipality in three years. The regional feminist movement recognized this change as an important achievement. As reporter Jacqui Banaszynski asserted in the *Duluth News Tribune*, this development was especially important on

FACING: Kinney, 2007. Main Street, facing west, with Liquid Larry's (formerly Mary's Bar), secession headquarters; updated Republic of Kinney flag—red and blue stripes, gold stars, and black loons.



Mary Pavlovich, about 1950, before she became Mayor Anderson

the Iron Range, a place where “machismo [was] the natural way of life and feminism, [still called] ‘women’s lib,’ [was deemed] irrelevant.”⁴

Anderson was not a typical small-city mayor. An unorthodox figure on the range, she had her own way of getting things done. She was also passionate about the water issue, because her family home had burned down in 1974 due to insufficient water pressure and a nonfunctional fire hydrant.⁵

Between 1973 and 1976, the mayor and city council unsuccessfully attempted to secure the \$186,000 needed to repair the water system. They sought aid from federal agencies such as the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Federal Housing Authority. When these efforts failed, they even requested assistance from Minnesota’s U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey—to no avail.⁶

On their own time, the mayor and council members completed grant applications in triplicate, sent letters, made telephone calls, and pleaded their case to state agencies, such as the Iron Range Resources and Rehabilitation Board (IRRRB) in Eveleth,

which was devoted to “stabilizing and enhancing the economy of northeastern Minnesota’s Taconite Assistance Area.” Their requests were either ignored or denied, based upon an agency’s depleted funds or Kinney’s small size and population. Mayor Anderson summarized her experiences courting government agencies: “I have gone to their offices and waited even though they told me I would have to wait for hours to talk to someone. Those people at the agencies really hate me.” During this tedious and frustrating process, council meetings were replete with provocative conversations about how “foreign countries get more financial aid from the U.S. than [its] own small towns.”⁷

Historically on the Iron Range, most men socialized in bars rather than at social clubs, fraternal organizations, or civic activities. As respected businesspeople and community figures, bar owners were often powerful in city administration.⁸ And so it is not surprising that Kinney’s unofficial revolutionary headquarters became Mary’s Bar, Mayor Anderson’s little family-owned establishment. There, Anderson, council members, and concerned citizens unofficially mulled over what to do for several bleak months.

At this time, “Americans were still coming down off their bicentennial high from 1976,” according to a retrospective in the *Duluth News Tribune*.

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But along with these good vibrations, a revolutionary spirit was growing. Feelings of unrest were birthed from a cornucopia of sources, including the civil rights movement, the rise of black militancy, the anti-Vietnam War movement, second-wave feminism, the Watergate scandal, the oil crisis, and national economic instability—all of which precipitated the rise of neoconservatism as a counterpoint to Cold War liberalism.⁹

Kinney's unofficial revolutionary headquarters became Mary's Bar, Mayor Anderson's little family-owned establishment.

Mary's Bar, about 1985



Secession was a part of the radical vocabulary throughout North America by 1977. In that year, residents of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket sought to secede from Massachusetts to protest political redistricting. The congregation of Saint Paul's Episcopal Church in Columbus, Ohio, voted to leave the national church over the issue of ordaining female priests. And meanwhile, America's neighbor to the north was experiencing similar revolutionary convulsions. The Parti Québécois, the French-speaking separatists in Canada's Quebec province, had won a majority and elected their first premier in 1976.¹⁰

Revolution was in the air. In Kinney, the city council's incendiary conversations regarding the lack of funding escalated over the months. Kinney had a longstanding reputation for being a progressive city. Its voters had supported women's suffrage in 1918, and the rebellious "Kinney

Mothers" had kept their children home to protest a 1944 school-district consolidation. In the words of Minneapolis columnist Jim Klobuchar (who hailed from Ely), the city was "well stocked with combative," patriotic, and politically active citizens.¹¹

As Iron Range historian Marvin G. Lamppa told the *New York Times* in 2004, "People on the Iron Range are intensely aware of their heritage." Like other Rangers, Kinneyites could draw on a heritage of tough, stubborn "Bohemians" who first settled in the 1890s to exploit the region's natural resources. These were not people who would passively accept defeat. Frustrated after years of working long hours for low pay, they eventually revolted against the paternalistic mining companies, participating in major strikes in 1907 and 1916.¹²

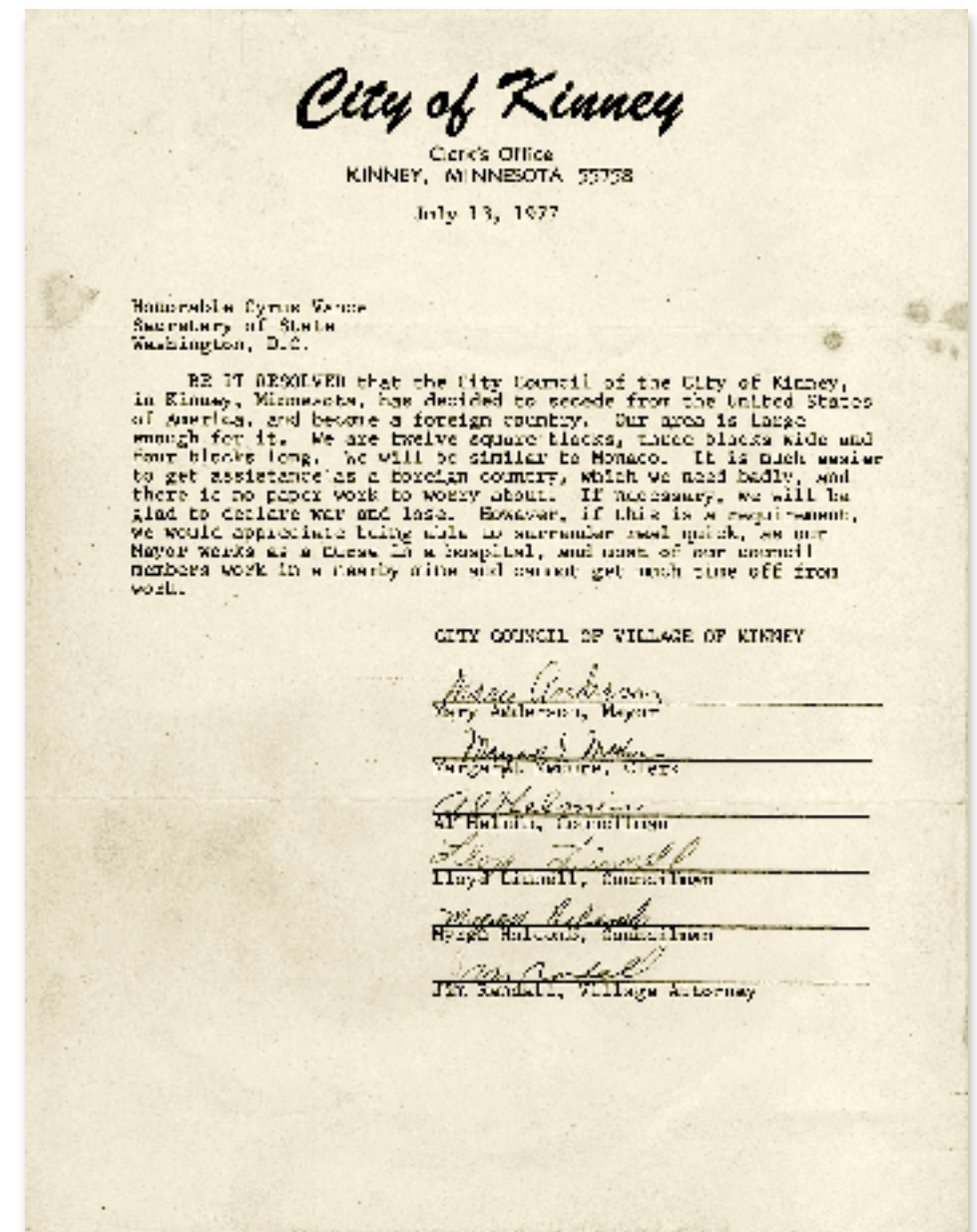
During this turbulent period, the Iron Range resembled the Wild West, with frequent murders, gun and knife fights, and beatings. Inflamed by unionization and radicalism, violence blossomed further with labor-related "acts of sabotage, fights, shootings, beatings and arrests," Lamppa wrote. The Iron Range became known as a hotbed of radical activity; the *New York Times* called it "a historic center of the American labor movement," among the first to organize and sign contracts that "allowed miners to rise into middle-class life." So radical that in 1932, the town of Crosby on the Cuyuna Range became the first in the nation to elect a Communist mayor, Karl Emil Nygard.¹³

This Iron Range willfulness came to a head at Kinney's city council meeting on July 12, 1977. Believing that "the city [had] no other alternative if it [was] to survive,"¹⁴ the exasperated council charged City Attorney Jim Randall with drafting

a letter of secession that established their city as a new country, the Republic of Kinney. The result was a tongue-in-cheek declaration that proclaimed Kinney's independence, requested foreign aid, declared war against the U.S., if necessary, and offered immediate surrender—all in one 134-word paragraph.

BE IT RESOLVED that the City Council of the City of Kinney, in Kinney, Minnesota, has decided to secede from the United States of America, and become a foreign country. Our area is large enough for it. We are twelve square blocks, three blocks wide and four blocks long. We will be similar to Monaco. It is much easier to get assistance as a foreign country, which we need badly, and there is no paper work to worry about. If necessary, we will be glad to declare war and lose. However, if this is a requirement, we would appreciate being able to surrender real quick, as our Mayor works as a nurse in a hospital, and most of our council members work in a nearby mine and cannot get much time off from work.¹⁵

The next day, the council unanimously adopted the letter, which Randall then dispatched to U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance via certified mail (with a return receipt to confirm delivery). Since secession from the Union was not legally viable, Randall knew that there would be no detrimental consequences for Kinney except, perhaps, unfavorable public opinion—or continued failure to receive funding.¹⁶ The secession letter went unanswered by Vance and unnoticed by the media for months but then—suddenly—made local, national, and international news.



City Attorney Jim Randall's copy of the secession letter

Cub reporter **Ginny Wennen** of the *Mesabi Daily News* broke the story. New to her job and learning her beat, Wennen first met Mayor Anderson in early February 1978. During their initial conversation, held at Mary's Bar, Anderson mentioned that Kinney had seceded from the Union the previous summer. The astonished Wennen exclaimed, "You what?" and then listened as the mayor told the story of Kinney's plight.¹⁷

Wennen's article, "Move Over

Monaco, Here Comes Kinney," ran on page one of the *Mesabi Daily News* on February 5, 1978—nearly seven months after the secession letter was sent to Secretary of State Vance. The story was quickly picked up by the wire services. By February 7, Kinney's secession was big news, with coverage that included the *Minneapolis Star*, the *Vancouver Sun*, a televised segment on the *NBC Evening News with David Brinkley*, and a radio segment on *Paul Harvey News and Comment*. Some of Kin-

ney's delighted citizens, still wearing their revolutionary "brown shirts," even changed their mailing addresses to Republic of Kinney, MN 55758.¹⁸

At last, Kinney had captured the local and national spotlight but, still, no funding came. And, to make matters worse, the city's lone squad car had just broken down. Not knowing where to turn, the desperate Mayor Anderson wrote to Duluth businessman and former Iron Ranger, Jeno Paulucci, requesting his assistance. Anderson reportedly thought, "Gee, who'd give us a police car?" and decided to ask Paulucci: "All he [could] do was say no."¹⁹ Paulucci responded with a letter of his own, congratulating Kinney on its chutzpa and requesting a meeting with Anderson to discuss his "foreign aid" proposal.

In respect of what you folks have done in challenging the bureaucratic people in Washington by your wanting to secede from the

union or go into a verbal war, you have helped all of us throughout the United States who are sick and tired of the bureaucrats and the red tape and frustrations they cause. Although you did this in a jocular vein, the shock waves have been heard throughout the nation and for that I congratulate you.²⁰

Progress was swift. On February 14, at a brief ceremony in front of Jeno's Inc. headquarters in Duluth, Kinney delegates—including Mayor Anderson, Police Commissioner Kay Marks, Police Chief Arlene Santi, and Clerk Margaret Medure—were presented with a dark brown 1974 Ford LTD squad car, seven spare tires, and 10 cases of Jeno's Pizza Mix. Paulucci, who had a flare for the dramatic, saw to it that the car doors were emblazoned with the Great Seal of the Republic of Kinney. "Thank you, Jeno, thank you. Oh what a beautiful car," said a teary-eyed Mayor Anderson as she kissed

Paulucci on the cheek and handed him a pan of her homemade potica, "the food of her nation." Well-wishers cheered as the triumphant delegation "formed a mobile battalion" led by their new squad car and, the Hibbing newspaper reported, headed back to their small city.²¹

Just two days before this ceremony, the *Mesabi Daily News* had editorialized in support of Kinney:

When a foreign country needs a loan for a new water project or irrigation system, the U.S. government is the first to offer assistance. Come time for the loans to be paid back, the U.S. sometimes absorbs the loss in the name of diplomacy.

We're always hearing about the plight of the cities. But what about the small towns? Kinney seems to have started something. Perhaps this bold maneuver by a small Northern Minnesota community will lead to a solution of this obvious inequity in the system. An American community shouldn't have to beg its own government for help when it's a matter of survival. It shouldn't have to secede, either. Kinney tried every other approach and got nowhere. At least now, the town has some people listening.²²

Soon after Paulucci's nationally publicized foreign aid, however,

Foreign aid: Jeno Paulucci presents pizza, along with the much-needed squad car, to Mayor Anderson while Kinney representatives (from left) Margaret Medure, Kay Marks, Arlene Santi, and Debbie Bachel watch, 1978.



“That’s when all hell broke loose,” as Mayor Anderson put it. Telephones at City Hall and Mary’s Bar rang off the hook, and letters flooded in from around the world. Between February and April 1978, more than 50 articles about the secession and the upstart republic were published regionally, nationally, and internationally, some as far away as the Philippines and Switzerland.²³

The media coverage surprised Anderson, who later reflected, “We just thought it would give us a little publicity and help us get some money to fix our water system. Got a little out of hand there for a while.”²⁴ Anderson and City Attorney Randall acted as ambassadors from the republic, charming the world with their candor and homespun wit in television, radio, and newspaper interviews.

“Thank you, Jen, thank you. Oh what a beautiful car,” said a teary-eyed Mayor Anderson as she kissed Paulucci on the cheek and handed him a pan of her homemade potica, “the food of her nation.”

Overall, response from the press and general public was favorable—both amused and amazed in tenor. David Brinkley of *NBC Evening News* concluded his report on the secession: “If necessary [Kinney says it] will go to war with the U.S. and lose. They don’t say what would happen if they went to war with the U.S.



Insignia from the 1978 squad car

and won.” The publicity garnered sympathy from Michigan’s U.S. Senator Don Riegle, who called Mayor Anderson to offer moral support. Minnesota Senator Wendell Anderson called the secession a “fine idea,” quipping that Kinney had found the best benefactor in Paulucci, because “he [had] more money than the federal government anyway.”²⁵

There were some, however, who accused the mayor and the city of being unpatriotic or publicity seekers. All of these comments stung but were especially unpalatable when coming from Rangers. In a February 1978 letter to the editor of the *Duluth News Tribune*, for example, a resident of Hibbing stated plainly what had been on the minds of some residents.

The towns on the Range have grown up as spoiled children receiving too many benefits from their mining company fathers without being taught how to care for themselves. The townspeople have frittered their usefulness in the local taverns, spending their time and money on alcohol and cheap talk rather than concern-

ing themselves with the upkeep of their communities. They cry now when their very survival is threatened because of inadequately maintained utility systems.²⁶

The most vehement objection in the press came from Lynn Ashby, a *Houston Post* columnist who suggested that Kinneyites get shovels and dig their own well. In “Aid Charade,” Ashby questioned:

Just why the hell should Washington, or anyone else, give Kinney, Minn., a water system? Where does it say that if you want it, just ask Uncle Sam for it, and if you don’t get it, kick and scream and throw a temper tantrum? . . . But we must wonder just how we got to this point, where we are demanding goodies from our government, and when we don’t get it, we go to pieces—or war. One reason, perhaps, is that for the past 30 years or so Hubert Humphrey would drop by little Minnesota towns like Kinney every election eve and explain how free water systems and the like were their constitutional right.²⁷



City council meeting, February 1978. From left: Margaret Medure, Mary Anderson, Al Helmin, Lloyd Linnell, and Myron Holcomb.

Criticism that Kinney was just another “town greedy for federal funds” did not sit well with Mayor Anderson. She fired back, “That’s not true. This town has never badgered the government for anything. We’ve never asked for any government help, but water is important and now we need it.”²⁸

The Kinney City Council recognized the sudden fame for what it was: an opportunity to raise awareness and, hence, money for repairs. And so, the city began to market its revolution. The council endorsed passports designed by City Attorney Randall, which sold for one dollar through the mail and at Mary’s Bar. Obtaining a passport was simple: any “bona fide Kinney resident” was eligible, and so was “anyone else who appeared to be deserving,” with “decisions on whether an applicant [was] honest and deserving . . . based upon a visual inspection and a handshake,” a Michigan newspaper reported.²⁹

On March 27, 1978, Governor

Rudy Perpich, a Hibbing native, had the honor of being the first non-Kinneyite issued a passport. The letter accompanying the document decreed Perpich to be an “honorary citizen” entitled to all the rights of a “native-born resident” along with “one free slice of potica at Mary’s Bar located on the Avenue of Giants in downtown Kinney.” The delighted governor responded with a letter of support to Anderson, his long-time friend and political ally, “recognizing Kinney as a sovereign nation.” This positive reaction was not isolated. Worldwide, consumer response was overwhelming. The republic sold more than 1,600 passports between March and April 1978 alone, some to such distant countries as Iran, India, and Zambia.³⁰

Seeing the success of the passports, Anderson decided to sell “Honorary Citizen” t-shirts at Mary’s Bar. Soon, secession souvenirs became so popular that unsanctioned merchandise began to pop up across the Range, most notably a yellow-and-black Republic of Kinney bumper sticker. Anderson had no idea

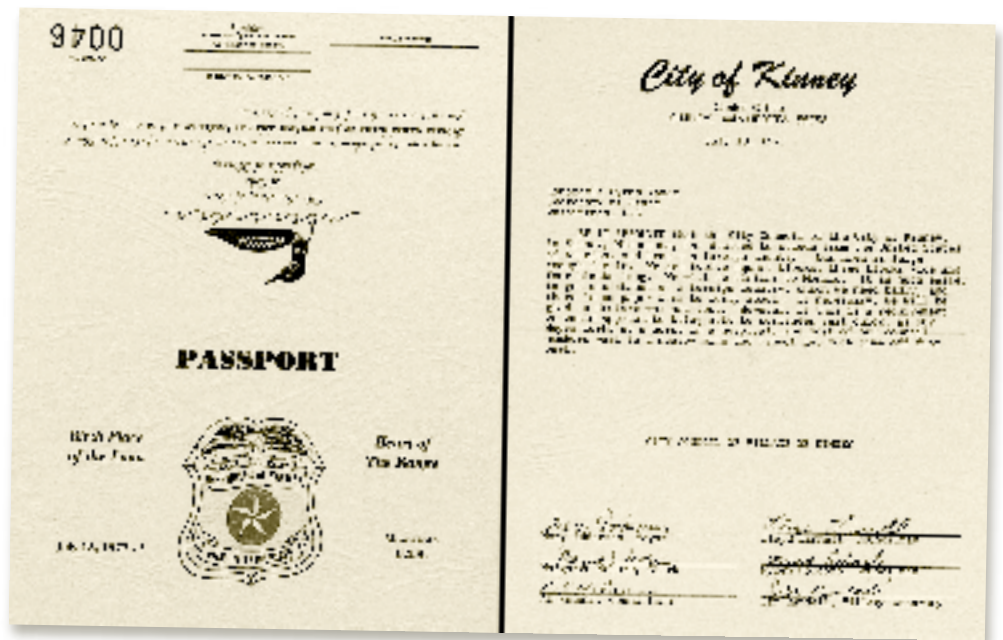
where these were produced and sold, or who was behind the scheme. “They should at least let the city sell the stickers. Maybe that way we could pay for the water system,” she joked.³¹

After issuing passports, Kinney donned additional trappings of nationhood in a series of outlandish public events. It adopted a national flag designed by eighth-grader Kimberly Fierke, the winner of a Buhl School District contest in support of the new republic; formed a navy with one canoe but no sailors; adopted the national motto, “File in Triplicate,” coined by City Attorney Randall, to commemorate the bureaucratic red tape that had inspired secession; and sought to participate in the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow. Kinney also celebrated Jenò Paulucci Pizza Day in honor of its first benefactor (who also supplied the frozen pizzas). It received aid in the form of bocce balls from a new state program created by Governor Perpich. Chisholm Brownie Troop 294 chose the republic as the nation it would represent at a Girl Scout Food and Fun Fair, and Cook resident David Price requested amnesty from Kinney in reaction to a speeding ticket. All of these antics were well publicized, with primary reporting by *Mesabi Daily News* writer Wennen, who subsequently won two first-place awards from the Press Women of Minnesota for her secession coverage.³²

And then the tide turned. Not long after the initial volley of favorable press, the Iron Range Resources and Rehabilitation Board awarded the city \$60,000 from the Taconite Area Environmental Protection Fund to begin updating and repairing its water system. State Senator George Perpich and Representative Peter Fugina, both Rangers, jointly

announced the grant on March 2, 1978.³³ But the IRRRB had not heard the last from the Republic of Kinney.

Between March and November 1978, a powerful combination of bemused public interest and persistent media coverage kept the funding crusade in the spotlight. In the face of local, national, and international support, and in conjunction with mounting political pressure from supportive regional legislators and the governor, the IRRRB in December awarded Kinney a second grant, bringing the total to \$198,000. Almost a year-and-a-half after declaring war, Kinney had enough money to complete all repairs.³⁴



Passport, 1978, opened to show the secession letter reproduced inside



Brownie Troop 294, Chisholm, displaying Republic of Kinney foods, Girl Scout Food and Fun Fair, April 1978

Kinney had won its war. Even though victorious, the media-savvy Mayor Anderson declared that the Republic of Kinney would remain, “because it puts us on the map.” By February 1981, however, the water system was fixed and news of the secession quickly faded,

Fireworks exploded in the night sky above the mine dump and pit lake, as Kinney citizens cheered their independence.

replaced by troubling headlines of local shutdowns and layoffs resulting from the sudden downturn in the steel and automotive industries. The national unemployment rate reached ten percent by November 1980. Four out of eight taconite plants across the

range were closed indefinitely, leaving 4,000 miners on open-ended furlough.³⁵ Devastated Iron Range communities slogged through their worst economic crisis since the 1950s.

In response to this crisis, Kinney citizens rallied to organize Republic of Kinney Day, an arts and crafts festival held in August 1987. As a result of this event, Police Chief Santi and other community stakeholders in March 1988 formed the Old North Society to help reinvigorate Kinney and provide income subsidies to unemployed residents. Another of the society’s charges was to host an annual summer festival to raise funds for community improvements.³⁶

The Old North Society’s first Secession Days festival was held in July 1988. Santi, dressed in full uniform and stationed at a customs booth on the corner of Main Street, cheerfully welcomed all visitors to the Republic of Kinney, inspected their vehicles and passports, and issued new pass-

ports to any unregistered tourists who wanted them. Deemed successful, Secession Days was held annually until the mid-1990s.³⁷

Even as news of the little republic vanished from the public eye, the story was assuming almost mythic proportions on the Iron Range. Mary Anderson and Mary’s Bar were locally lauded for the next 20 years, continuing after her 2002 retirement from politics and business at the age of 87.

This grassroots fame culminated in July 2007 with the thirtieth-anniversary celebration of the secession, an event planned by the Kinney City Council, the Kinney Independence Day Committee, Liquid Larry’s (formerly Mary’s Bar and Kinney’s last corner bar), and Ironworld, Chisholm’s mining museum, research library, and archives. The three-day fete included fireworks, bands, and a parade. Once again, a customs booth greeted visitors who crossed the republic’s border, and new passports and t-shirts were available. Mary Anderson served as grand marshal, presiding over the event, participating in the parade, and greeting people in her former bar. Later Saturday night, fireworks exploded in the night sky above the mine dump and pit lake, as Kinney citizens cheered their independence. Then, depending upon their age, they went home to bed or back to Liquid Larry’s to continue celebrating.³⁸

Sadly, only three months later, Kinney lost its longest-serving mayor when Anderson passed away at the age of 92 on October 24, 2007. Her traditional Serbian funeral, held at St. Vasilije of Ostrog Church in Chisholm, was attended by nearly “100

Retired Mayor Anderson in the seat of honor, preparing for the republic’s 30th anniversary parade, July 14, 2007



blue-collar workers, residents of Kinney and a who's who of DFL political leaders," the *Duluth News Tribune* reported. Anderson was venerated during the funeral service and in the media as the "First Lady of the Range" and an "Iron Range institution."³⁹

Since July 13, 1977, neither the Iron Range's independent spirit nor Kinney's legacy have abated. Secession is still discussed and proposed from time to time around the state, thanks to the upstart city's precedent.

In 2002, in response to the allocation of Minnesota Minerals 21st Century Fund monies, State Representative Dan McElroy of Burnsville glibed that northeastern Minnesota should secede and form the new state of East Dakota, with Hibbing as its capital. The Free Republic of Duluth movement was initiated in 2004 by Jim and Allen Richardson in reaction to the controversial U.S. presidential election.⁴⁰ Most recently, in May 2008, *Politics in Minnesota* proposed that the state secede to bail itself out of its economic and budgetary turmoil.

As another session of the Taxes Conference Committee wound down this week, legislators lovingly shared the story of former

mayor Mary Anderson of Kinney, MN, a tough Iron Ranger who led her city to "unofficially" secede from the United States in July, 1977. . . . Anderson passed away last year, which the legislators lamented since she might have had a few tips to cut this year's legislative Gordian knot.

Admittedly, [secession] is a short-cut answer, but maybe Mary Anderson had it right. That Iron Range logic is so crisp and clear, it's appealing: Minnesota should cut out of the United States, declare our own independence. We've got the minerals; we've got some technology; we've got good relations with Canada and a lot of fresh water.⁴¹

Thirty-some years after secession, the quiet little city of Kinney continues on, business as usual, addressing the needs of the day as they arise. Residents will be celebrating Kinney's centennial in 2010. But will the city survive another 20 or 30 years?

Like other mining locations, Kinney was built to be disposable. When the iron ore was exhausted, the city should have vanished, too. Since the last of Kinney's operational mines have closed, its citizens have had to look to nearby communities, such as Mountain Iron (Minntac Mine) or Hibbing (Hibitac Mine) for employ-

ment—or leave. The city population, which peaked in 1920 at 1,200, had waned to 151 by 2007. The small population and tax base severely limits resources for maintaining the city's infrastructure and providing even basic public services. Kinney is forced to rely on government agencies like the IRRRB for financial support.⁴²

Kinney's physical existence is threatened by the mines themselves. Minntac Mine is slowly claiming the area surrounding the city, as its operations creep closer every day. Overburden explosions regularly rock the little homes, knocking framed pictures off walls and shaking knickknacks from shelves.

Despite any issues that Kinney may face, there is no doubt that its revolution was a success. Secession garnered international attention, secured funding for the water system, reinvigorated the community, and inspired an entire region with its ingenuity. Because of these successes, Kinney's tongue-in-cheek secession has become an inspirational rallying cry. Perhaps more important, it is cited as an example of the Iron Range's unique approach to creative problem solving. Whatever happens to Kinney in the future, the story of the little Minnesota republic will live on in the hearts and minds of its proud citizens, who remember it as a jewel of Minnesota history. ☐

Notes

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features/199912/06_newsroom_irrrb-m/history.shtml (accessed Dec. 29, 2009).

3. *Mesabi Daily News*, Feb. 15, 1976, Progress ed., sec. E, p. 38; MGL & Associates, *Report of the Historical Survey of Iron Range Communities* (1984), 12.

4. Mary Anderson Oral History, 1988, compact disk (1988.1203), Iron Range Research Center, Chisholm; *Duluth News Tribune*, Dec. 12, 1976, p. 1.

5. *Duluth News Tribune*, May 19, 1994,

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6. *Mesabi Daily News*, Feb. 5, 1978, p. 1.

7. Iron Range Resources, "Minnesota Economic Development Incentives for Business," www.irrrb.org (accessed Dec. 29, 2009); *Duluth News Tribune*, Feb. 7, 1978, p. 1A; *Mesabi Daily News*, Feb. 5, 1978, p. 1.

8. Paul Henry Landis, *Three Iron Mining Towns* (New York: Arno Press, 1970), 64.

9. *Duluth News Tribune*, June 11, 2006, p. 1A, 8A; John Ehrman, *The Rise of Neo-*



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10. *New York Times*, Apr. 6, 1977, p. 27, Sept. 4, 1977, p. 35, Nov. 17, 1976, p. 30.

11. "Kinney, Minnesota," *Buhl-Kinney Advertiser*, Oct. 4, 1918, p. 6; *Hibbing Daily Tribune*, Sept. 6, 1944, p. 3; *Minneapolis Star*, Feb. 21, 1978, p. 1B.

12. *New York Times*, Aug. 6, 2004, p. A14. On the strikes, see Donald G. Sofchalk, "Organized Labor and the Iron Ore Miners of Northern Minnesota," *Labor History* 12 (Spring 1971): 214-42.

13. MGL & Associates, *Report*, 12; Marvin G. Lamppa, *Minnesota's Iron Country: Rich Ore, Rich Lives* (Duluth: Lake Superior Port Cities, 2004), 214; *New York Times*, Aug. 6, 2004, p. A14; Pamela A. Brunfelt, "Karl Emil Nygard: Minnesota's Communist Mayor," *Minnesota History* 58 (Fall 2002): 168-86.

14. *Mesabi Daily News*, Feb. 5, 1978, p. 1.

15. City Council to Cyrus Vance, July 13, 1977, copy in Jim Randall's private collection, Center City, MN.

16. R. A. (Jim) Randall Oral History, May 19, 2007, compact disk (2007.0033), Iron Range Research Center.

17. *Hibbing Daily Tribune*, Aug. 31, 1980, p. 1, 28.

18. *Mesabi Daily News*, Feb. 12, 1978, p. 6; Randall oral history.

19. *St. Paul Dispatch*, Feb. 20, 1978, p. 2.

20. *Mesabi Daily News*, Feb. 12, 1978, p. 1.

21. *Minneapolis Tribune*, Feb. 21, 1978, p. 2B; *Duluth News Tribune*, Feb. 21, 1978, p. 7A; *Hibbing Daily Tribune*, Feb. 14, 1978, p. 12 (quote); *Mesabi Daily News*, Feb. 14, 1978, p. 1.

22. *Mesabi Daily News*, Feb. 12, 1978, p. 6.

23. *Hibbing Daily Tribune*, Aug. 31, 1980, p. 28; *Daily News* (Iron Mountain-Kingsford, MI), Mar. 21, 1978, p. 10A.

24. *Hibbing Daily Tribune*, Aug. 31, 1980, p. 28.

25. David Brinkley, *Kinney, Minnesota/Secession*, NBC Evening News, Feb. 7, 1978, videocassette in author's possession; *St. Paul Dispatch*, Feb. 20, 1978, p. 2; *Mesabi Daily News*, Feb. 15, 1978, p. 2.

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28. *Duluth News Tribune*, Feb. 21, 1978, p. 7A.

29. *Daily News* (MI), Mar. 21, 1978, p. 10A.

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39. *Duluth News Tribune*, Oct. 24, 2007, p. 1A, Oct. 30, 2007, p. 1A (quote). For more on Anderson's death and funeral, see *Hibbing Daily Tribune*, Oct. 27, 2007, p. 8A; *Duluth News Tribune*, Oct. 25, 2007, p. A1, A5; *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, Nov. 2, 2007, p. 8B; *Mesabi Daily News*, Oct. 28, 2007, p. 4A, Oct. 29, 2007, p. 1A, 6A.

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