The Long Hot Summer:

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MAY 16\textsuperscript{th} 2007

Figure 1- Father James Groppi and the Youth Council Commandos marching east up Wisconsin Avenue\textsuperscript{1}

Acknowledgements

Professors James Oberly and Selika Ducksworth-Lawton
in their guidance of my research

The staff at the UW Milwaukee Archives
in retrieving boxes for me for three weeks in a row

The “Starting Six”
For visiting me at the Library

My Parents, Larry and Lea
for my education and undying love and support

And to those who weren’t afraid to act

1 John 2,9—The man who says he is in the light and hates his brother, is in the darkness still
Table of Contents

1. Introduction to the Movement
2. Before the Summer Turned Long and Hot
3. The Long Hot Summer
4. As Summer Fades They Take to the Streets
5. Police Harassment and Brutality
6. “March On”
7. “Niggers Go Home”
8. “Black is a Beautiful Color”
**Introduction to the Movement**

Father James Edmund Groppi and the Commandos of the Milwaukee branch of the NAACP Youth Council confidently march up the steps to the Freedom House, on the North Side of Milwaukee. Cigarettes in their mouths, they open the front door after the first night of marches for open housing. What was a murmur of music coming from the lively house turns into a loud rush of excitement as the group packs into the house. Groppi and the leading members of the Commandos triumphantly command a presence in the small home. A march that led them south across the 16th Street Viaduct Bridge, past a bowling alley that Groppi had worked at 18 years earlier\(^2\), then east to Kosciuszko Park where a rally was held, followed by the three mile return walk.\(^3\) This however, was not time for celebration; it was a time to reflect on the events of the evening and plan for the marches that would dominate the news, conversation and overall sentiment of the city for the next seven months.

With the 1954 decision of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the courts overturned “separate but equal” in a landmark ruling for African Americans. Another victory, yet as history has shown the war was far from won. The very next year America’s eyes were opened with the brutal murder of Emmitt Till and Rosa Parks’ refusal to give up her seat on a Montgomery Bus, which led to the Montgomery Bus Boycotts. In 1957, the “Little Rock Nine” led by Daisy Bates led the charge against Governor Orval Faubus for integration into the all-white Central High School. The “Little Rock Nine” serving as the first example of youth participation in the Civil Rights

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\(^3\) Ibid, 110-111.
Movement, set the stage for the Woolworth sit-ins in Greensboro and the foundation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), in 1960.

In the next three years America would experience the “freedom riders”, sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and SNCC, James Merideth’s enrollment in the University of Mississippi, and Martin Luther King’s “Letter from a Birmingham Jail”. Additionally, America would see the events in Birmingham led by Eugene “Bull” Connor, the murder of Medgar Evers (without punishment until 30 years later), the March on Washington (“I Have a Dream”), and “Bombingham”. After ten years of setbacks mixed with exultation, 1964 proved a year of true progress. In January, the 24th Amendment abolished the poll tax, which was still existent in eleven southern states. In the summer, (COFO), the Council of Federated Organizations, which included CORE and SNCC launched a massive effort to register black voters which became known as “Freedom Summer”. However, the most sweeping change would come in the announcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited discrimination of all kinds based on race, color, religion, or national origin in public accommodations and gave the federal government the power to enforce it.

In 1965, America was faced with the assassination of Malcolm X, and the violent results of marching in Selma, Alabama, widely considered a catalyst for the Voting Rights Act of 1965. With its passing on August 10th the cause of Civil Rights suffered a painful blow the very next day with the eruption of race riots in Watts, California that would span nearly a week. Over the next two years Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panthers and Stokely Carmichael coined the phrase “Black Power” as
a major leader in SNCC. Nonviolent civil disobedience as a tool begins to wane and a new, radical, Black Nationalism pushes its way to the forefront of the movement.4

With all eyes focused on the south during these turbulent times, northern cities remained under the radar. Although Martin Luther King Jr. would push equal employment and housing in Chicago, the operation failed due to the lack of a strong antagonist.5 However, in Milwaukee a movement took shape that aroused national attention. 1965 marks the beginning of direct action movements that would be prevalent in Milwaukee for the next ten years. The movement was called the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC), founded by Lloyd Barbee, an African American attorney and Miss Marilyn J. Morheuser, a former Catholic nun. This movement initiated school boycotts under the premise that Milwaukee Public Schools knowingly practiced segregation. Although change in the public schools would not be realized until 1976 Barbee and Morheuser spent countless hours fighting for the cause.6 Within this struggle for better educational opportunities for African Americans, a prominent figure began to emerge in the Milwaukee community. A Catholic priest named James Edmund Groppi became involved with the youth in Milwaukee and laid the foundations for what would become the most prominent NAACP Youth Council in America (AWARDS). Together, Groppi, the Youth Council and a select group of “Commandos” wrote a new chapter in the Civil Rights Movement in Milwaukee.

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While Milwaukee and the movement have been dubbed “The Selma of the North” by Father Groppi, it has gone widely unpublicized throughout much of the Civil Rights literature since its occurrence. Most troubling to some is the complete absence of these events in the Pulitzer Prize winning works by Taylor Branch. In his landmark novels “Parting the Waters”, “Pillar of Fire” and “At Canaan’s Edge” Branch portrays the Civil Rights Movement from the perspective of Martin Luther King Jr. According to the Chicago Tribune, “Branch has shown us that despite all the darkness… there is reason to hope”. While intricately done, Branch details the open housing push in Chicago without mentioning the struggle that was taking place in Milwaukee. It is possible that Branch fails to mention this because his work focused primarily on the work of Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In addition Henry Hampton and Steve Fayer, co-authors of “Voices of Freedom” similarly bypass the open-housing movement in Milwaukee. Henry Hampton is widely acclaimed for his work on the award winning 14 hour PBS video series “Eyes on the Prize”. Fayer is also accomplished in the field with a series of films entitled “Africans in America”. While the Milwaukee Movement has not been publicized in the mainstream with the attention it deserves there are several works that have “lent a hand” to a story that has been relegated to the background.

The earliest work regarding the open housing movement in Milwaukee was done in a book entitled “City with a Chance”. Frank A. Aukofer, a writer for the Milwaukee Journal during the marches provides the first complete version of Civil Rights in Milwaukee. He begins with the MUSIC movement and in later chapters turns to the

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7 [http://www.pbs.org/breakthrough/resource/biohampton.htm](http://www.pbs.org/breakthrough/resource/biohampton.htm)
events preceding and encompassing the passing of open housing legislation. Another valuable work in the field is the autobiography done by the mayor of Milwaukee during this intense period of Civil Rights. From a very different perspective, the mayor, Henry W. Maier highlights in “The Mayor Who Made Milwaukee Famous” the important events but does so from his perspective. As the mayor of Milwaukee during the turbulent open housing movement he played an important role in the events that took place. There is no doubt that his view of the events differs greatly from those who were seeking change in Milwaukee. While he is renowned for the exceptional restraint and precision he exhibited in controlling the riots, he is often cast in a dark shadow for his unwillingness to support an open housing law. And lastly in a recent work, edited by Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, entitled “Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America”, Damien Patrick Jones writes an insightful essay “Not a Color but an Attitude” which is effective in capturing the movement and the sentiment from both sides in a page-turning account. In addition to primary works from the Groppi Papers, the Barbee Papers and other collections the open housing movement has stories that remain untold, stories that need to be heard. Therefore by examining the activities of Father James Groppi, the Milwaukee Branch Youth Council of the NAACP and the Commandos, it becomes remarkably clear that Milwaukee’s turbulent Civil Rights Movement is too important to be overlooked.

**Before the Summer Turned Long and Hot**

The Milwaukee Branch of the NAACP Youth Council initiated its first Civil Rights campaign in the first months of 1966. The first target of action was the Fraternal Order of Eagles, which was a nation-wide club that restricted its membership to
Caucasians only. The reason for this course of action was that membership in this group was considered a political necessity in the Milwaukee power structure.\(^9\) The focus of the protests was Circuit Judge Robert C. Cannon. They begged the question, how can a man that belongs to a restrictive organization perform his judicial duties in a fair manner? In addition to his prestigious position, he was also well-known for having a liberal record when it came to Civil Rights. The idea was that he could be quickly convinced to withdraw his membership which would set into motion a domino effect.\(^10\) The plan did not work as it was “drawn up”. Cannon agreed that the restrictive nature of the club was a problem, but he thought that he could use his standing in the organization to fight for more positive change. As the issue failed to draw attention nation-wide and in the community, people began to question why they continued to press the issue. More importantly, civil rights advocates questioned the attack on the Eagles Club, when there were more important issues in housing and employment.\(^11\)

After eleven days of picketing outside the home of Cannon, the National Guard had been called by the governor at the request of mayor Maier, but the results were minimal. The only victory they had achieved was the resignation of Probate Judge Michael T. Sullivan, who based his decision on legal, not moral grounds.\(^12\) In a broader sense, however, the picketing of Cannon’s home shaped what the Youth Council and the Commandos, a special group of Youth Council members, became in the next two years.

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\(^12\) Aukofer, Frank A. *City With a Chance.* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1968), 102.
According to Father James Groppi, the Commandos were the NAACP Youth Council, which was part of a national organization, but he maintains, “There’s no commando body in the United States that amounts to what the Milwaukee NAACP Youth Council Does.”

They are a direct action committee, they determine the strategy and they are the picketers. A self-defensive group by nature, their purpose is to defend members of the Youth Council from attack when the police cannot. Furthermore, they are an inspiration to all, because of their courage and their willingness to be leaders in the face of danger. The commandos were out to prove that black should no longer be an unfavorable connotation, “We say blackball, black sheep, black list, all in contrast to, at worst, little white lies. But there is a tremendous white lie in this country, the lie that black is bad. The motto of the Youth Council was “Total Liberation or Death”. Any other world than that was not worth living in.

The violent treatment of protesters by Wauwatosa community members and the bomb blast that rocked the NAACP Headquarters in Milwaukee sparked the organization of the militant Commandos. It was deemed necessary that they have their own protection because the police could not prevent all forms of attack. “Not-violent” in nature, they did not start fights but they were sure not going to back away from an attack.

With the perceived failure of the protests against the Eagles Club, the Youth Council and
the Commandos announced in June of 1967 that they would be turning their attention to a citywide open housing ordinance.

In order to understand the movement for open housing it is essential to know what laws were already in place in the state of Wisconsin and in the Milwaukee area. On March 4th of 1965 Lloyd A. Barbee, Frank L. Nikolay and Mark G. Lipscomb Jr. introduced Assembly Bill 413 to the Committee on Judiciary. Statute 177.02 entitled, EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION A CIVIL RIGHT, was the portion that first set into motion a movement towards open housing.\textsuperscript{18} After minor variations this bill was passed and became effective in December of 1965. Despite being the first step towards open housing, it was widely viewed as a “baby step”. Frank A. Aukofer, a writer for the Milwaukee Journal, called it, “…a weak law, which covered roughly 25 percent of the housing in the state, and perhaps as high as one-third of the housing in Milwaukee.”\textsuperscript{19} It was weak in the sense that it did not cover,

1. One family dwellings
2. Dwellings in which the owner resides and rents rooms to 4 or less people,
3. Dwellings on lots no larger than 60’ to 120’, occupied by owner, having 4 or less family housing units.
4. Buildings having four or less dwelling units, one of which is used by the owner\textsuperscript{20}

These were the limitations that Assembly Bill 865, introduced by assemblymen, Barbee, Lipscomb, Obey and Rogers intended to change. After the Youth Council turned their attention to open housing the city became dominated by the events surrounding the


movement. The stage was set and Groppi and the YC were prepared for a long hot summer.

The Long Hot Summer

The summer started on a rocky note for those seeking a strong open housing law. Just seven days after Assembly Bill 865 was submitted to the Committee on Judiciary, to become a state law, Alderwoman Vel Phillips saw her ordinance for open housing put down by the Common Council for the fourth time. In a *Milwaukee Sentinel* article by Marta Bender, Vel Phillips said the council’s refusal to discuss her ordinance was “indicative of their real deep seated fear in the area of civil rights.” She continued to remark that, “Milwaukee was gaining a reputation as ‘southern’ in racial matters. We are considered bigoted.”

Serving as the only black and female alderperson she was never known for being outspoken on Civil Rights issues. However, as the summer progressed she would become a major factor in the movement.

In the next week, the Youth Council organized protests at the homes of Aldermen Eugene L. Woehrer and Martin J. Schreiber, Common Council President. Woehrer was not at his home while the protest occurred so there was little reaction; however the Youth Council was able to speak with Schreiber during the June 20th visit (Appendix A). In speaking with Schreiber, outspoken Commando representative Prentice McKinney remarked, “You might as well in essence say, ‘Black man you can’t live where you want,’” who continued to say that it was like shooting pool only they were playing

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Another week later the Youth Council, under the advisory of Father Groppi, picketed Alderman Francis E. Dineen’s home. During the visit Commandos spoke with Dineen twice, first when they arrived at his home and then a second time when they returned from the march through the neighborhood (Appendix B). In the first meeting, Fred Bronson, Youth Council President asked Dineen why he had voted against the open housing ordinance four times. Dineen responded by saying that the state had an open housing law and that there were proposals in the legislature (Assembly Bill 865) to amend it. He finished his answer by stating that state legislation supersedes city laws. Dineen believed this because City Attorney, John Fleming had stated that state law superseded city law which initiated the disagreement between the two sides. In a Milwaukee Journal article entitled, “Negroes, Fleming Argue”, Edward L. Thekan, the Youth Council’s Publicity Chairman, recites the last half of a quote by Fleming. The quote read, “…and it is the duty of the local units of government to assist in the orderly prevention or removal of all discrimination in housing through powers granted under…the statues.” This statement was the basis for the pro-open housing debate. Under this language it is apparent that the city can pass ordinances that would prevent or remove discrimination in housing.

The next move for the Youth Council was the picketing of Alderman Ertl’s home.

During this protest about 70 members of the Youth Council marched to Ertl’s house but
he was not there so they returned the next day to find him at home. He came outside of his home to address the crowd and said, “Isn’t freedom wonderful that we can march and protest?” This was met by jeers. When asked why he wouldn’t vote for the open housing act he replied that, “We have a state housing law that will suffice.” He added, “I don’t think that there is a housing problem in Milwaukee,” he was drowned out by boos, shouts and jeers. McKinney then said, “I want to live in suburbia and I can’t.” He continued to say to the crowd, “He (Ertl) says, ‘I’ll come out here and talk to Blackie and Blackie’ll be cool-- well, we won’t be cool.” “We don’t want a riot, we only want a chance to be equal to everybody,” “Do they have rats and roaches? Hell no!”

This type of brash protesting became a norm for the remainder of the summer especially for the more vocal members of the Youth Council.

Alderman James E. Maslowski was the next target that the Youth Council set in their cross-heirs. During their visit with Maslowski, he told Youth Council members that he would respond to the protest of his house by voting against the next proposed housing ordinance. In response Prentice McKinney of the Youth Council said, “I want to pat you on the shoulder, I want to thank you for letting us know that you’re about the stinkingest bigot I ever saw.”

In another Milwaukee Journal article on the same day, Father Groppi hung in the background while McKinney and Bronson were the two leaders of the group. He did however make a short speech when Maslowski went back inside his home. He said that “whites told black people to go kill yellow people in Vietnam and that blacks

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25 The Milwaukee Sentinel (Milwaukee), 7 July 1967, “Protestors Find Ertl Is at Home”, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

26 Buresh, Bernice. The Milwaukee Sentinel (Milwaukee), 18 July 1967, “Maslowski Plans to Protest Too—With Vote”, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
were dying there far out of proportion to their percentage of the population. ‘When they come home,’ he said, ‘the whites say, go live with rats. Well, we ain’t going…. We’re gonna march till we get what we want.’”

It was a major point of emphasis for Groppi and the Youth Council to ensure that people did not think that it was Groppi alone running the show. In fact, as advisor to the group he was more of a mediator than the primary decision maker.

As the picketing efforts began to engulf the city, approval from leading officials only strengthened the resolve of the Youth Council. In a July 20th article entitled, “Barbee Lauds Youth Council for Picketing”, a recent visit to the home of Alderman Robert J. Dwyer is the topic. Youth Council members picketed the home of Alderman Robert J. Dwyer, and five Youth Council members were invited into his home (without the press) to talk about issues. Meanwhile, outside 120 pickets marched and chanted, while about 15 of the Commandos maintained order and protected the group. The aldermen’s written statement said, “I am prepared at any time to vote for a statement of policy opposing discrimination in housing or in any other field but I will not support, now or in the future, an open housing ordinance which contains criminal penalties.”

The question that this beckons is, how was open housing going to be properly enforced if there was not the threat of criminal punishment? The current punishment included a fine and a civil offense. Additional praise and support for the group came from Walter B Hoard, President of the Milwaukee Chapter of the NAACP. He told Youth Council

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28 The Milwaukee Sentinel (Milwaukee), 20 July 1967, “Barbee Lauds Youth Council for Picketing”, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
members that, “the NAACP will be one of the most activist, most radical civil rights
groups in the country. I hope so,” he continued. “And I hope that you young people are
the cause of it. I give you my uncompromising support for the work you are doing here
in Milwaukee. Someone must save this city and I hope the Youth Council will help.”
With the support of the NAACP, Groppi and the Youth Council continued their picketing
efforts.

Another source of inspiration for the Youth Council came from Milwaukee
Alderman Allen R. Calhoun Jr. He became the first alderman to show signs of changing
sentiments among the aldermen on the vote for open housing. It was said that he planned
on introducing an ordinance for open housing, but it was uncertain whether he would
have any more success then alderwoman Vel R. Phillips had in four previous attempts.
In contrast, Aldermen Mark W. Ryan commented, “Most of the cities that had riots had
fair housing ordinances. Ryan said he felt the picketing would have an adverse effect.
He said if aldermen now voted for an ordinance, “it would make it appear they were
buckling under to pressure.” To imply that open housing is the cause of rioting seemed
a stretch to the Youth Council. Rioting had been occurring across the nation largely
because of dissatisfaction with civil rights policies in major cities. If the coming riots
proved nothing else to Alderman Ryan it surely must have convinced him that riots can
take place without open housing legislation.

29 The Milwaukee Sentinel (Milwaukee), 21 July 1967, “NAACP Activism Foreseen in City”, “Groppi,
James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17, Folder 1, Division of
Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
30 Bender, Marta. The Milwaukee Sentinel (Milwaukee), 29 July 1967, “Success Still Unlikely for Open
Housing”, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17,
Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin,
Milwaukee.
With tension mounting on both sides from the picketing efforts, Father Groppi spoke with the Common Council and warned them saying, “Unless something is done about the uninhabitable conditions that the black man has to live in, Milwaukee could become a Holocaust (reference to complete devastation or destruction not the Jewish Holocaust).” Father Groppi was not the only one who saw the riots coming though. His fellow assistant pastor at St. Benefice Church, Father Michael Neuberger warned reporters. He told them, “The seeds are planted. The fire is under the pot.” He continued to say that Milwaukee was primed for “riot, bloodshed, suffering and mayhem.”

Despite rising fear of riots due to the recent events in Detroit and Newark (July 14th-17th), Groppi called rioting a form of revolution and in Milwaukee he saw it as inevitable. Just days after his appearance at the Common Council, the city’s worst fears were realized.

Beginning the night of Sunday July 30th the city of Milwaukee experienced nearly nine days of curfew and other restrictions. Because the worst of the rioting played out the first night and into Monday morning, the next nine days were relatively tame due in part to a quick response plan on the part of Milwaukee Mayor Henry W. Maier. The initial chaos that gripped the city was catalogued in the Milwaukee Journal the next morning. Stemming from radio calls received by police officers a vivid account of the events taking place from approximately 11:30 p.m. until 12:30 a.m. is available.

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the most significant rioting lasted until five in the morning, this is a sample of the chaos that had been unleashed on the city,

11:35 p.m.- Looters entering a Goodyear Store at 1815 W. Fond Du Lac
11:42 p.m.- Rubbish fire N. 3rd st.
11:45 p.m.- Get some help at 3rd and Lloyd; the fire’s out of control.
   - Rubbish fire extinguished at 3rd and McKinley.
11:46 p.m.- Garage fire at 21st and Concordia.
11:50 p.m.- They’re beginning to loot at 3rd and Brown.
11:51 p.m.- We’re pulling the beat man out at 3rd and Wright. We’re getting nailed pretty hard. Watch out!
   - Unconfirmed report of squad car tipped over.
11:52 p.m.- Have Chief Breir call the mayor or his administrator.
11:54 p.m.- Kids throwing stones at passing cars on foot bridge over 6th st. just south of North Av.
   - Notify owner show window broken at appliance store 3356 N. Green Bay.
11:56 p.m.- Man shot at 3rd and Vine. Send ambulance (believed to be a looter).
   - Battalion 2 reported from a fire scene that it needed protection.
11:57 p.m.- Crowds out of control at Meinecke and Wright. Looting going on.
11:58 p.m.- Businessman trapped in building at 2555 N. 3rd st. Being pummeled by rocks.
12:02 a.m.- All shotguns being brought down from headquarters and training school. Taken to command post at 4th and Garfield.
12:03 a.m.- Fire 3rd and Meinecke, Martin service station.
12:05 a.m.- Fires in alley 2300 block of N. 3rd.
12:08 a.m.- See if you can raise some ministers.
12:09 a.m.- Group breaking into convalescent home at 107 E. Garfield.
12:10 a.m.- Box alarm of fire N. 5th and Vliet sts.
12:11 a.m.- Sheriff’s department advises 50 men standing by waiting for chief’s orders.
12:15 a.m.- No. 5 captain advises that four reverends are on the way to the command post.
12:16 a.m.- Burglary in progress at 13th and Burleigh.
   - Merchants police alarm at 2741 N. Teutonia.
12:17 a.m.- Halyard and Lloyd, about 50 youths stoning automobiles.
12:20 a.m.- Burglary in progress at 2401 N. 3rd st.
12:24 a.m.- Wagonload of patrolmen need helmets.
12:25 a.m.- Call for fire department, rear of 2300 N. 3rd st. Also need additional officers.
12:26 a.m.- Group going toward Wisconsin Av.
12:28 a.m.- 1900 N. Buffum, another fire set.
   - Gang beating a white man at 4th and Wright.
   - Fire at National food store, 2354 N. 3rd st.
   - 2741 N. Teutonia. They’ve smashed windows wide open. Notify the owner.
12:30 a.m.- Request Mount Sinai hospital remain open. Keep emergency personnel on.
12:31 a.m.- 3rd and Highland. Eight police confronting a crowd of 50 marching toward

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While a majority of the disturbances took place between 5th and 1st streets (west to east) and Burleigh and State Sts. (north to south) the area that was placed under the curfew was significantly larger.

This zone extended past 5th St. to 27th St. on the west side and extended several blocks north to Capitol Dr. With the imposition of a curfew following the first night of riots Milwaukee turned into a “ghost town”. “Within several hours of an outbreak of rioting in Milwaukee late Sunday Evening, July 30th, Mayor Henry Maier imposed a round-the-clock, city-wide curfew,”36 Almost entirely deserted except for National Guardsmen and police forces the city was quieted (Appendix D).

Serving as some of the first people to be arrested in connection with curfew violation, Father Groppi and seven members of the Youth Council were arrested for curfew violation the next day reportedly on their way to “a meeting of Negro community

34 “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17, Folder 4, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
leaders at Northcott Neighborhood House, a Methodist agency in the inner core (Appendix D). Mayor Maier assured that they were processed quickly and without bail to avoid a backlash in the black community.\(^{37}\)

The results of the rioting in Milwaukee took on several different forms. First, there was the impressive manner with which Mayor Maier reacted to the riots. He clearly had a plan in case rioting did take place. *The Milwaukee Journal* wrote an article entitled, “Maier’s Handling of Rioting Draws Acclaim Across US”.\(^ {38}\) This is further evident with the publication of an article entitled “The Cities” in *Time Magazine*. In this article, it is written that, “Milwaukee Mayor Henry Maier showed that advance planning and determined action could contain violence if not prevent it.” The article continues to detail his plan which consisted of riot control training for his police officers, and an emergency plan that was simply to shut down the city with a “hermetic round-the-clock curfew.”\(^ {39}\)

The second way in which the riots affected Milwaukeans was the effect they had on the black community. “Community leaders and representatives of inner city organizations, and so-called ‘grass roots’ people began meeting behind closed doors.” It seemed as though black people from the community had banded together as a result of the riots and the curfew. It was viewed as being somewhat unusual because the participants represented a broad cross section of the black community, consisting of people from the streets, civil rights militants, and the more moderate men and women.


who were commonly referred to as “Uncle Toms.” This sort of solidarity strengthened the black community and helped to reinforce the determination of the already wide-scale Youth Council movement.

In the wake of the riots, attention had been averted from the open housing movement but was not forgotten. As the curfew ended, Alderman Robert A. Anderson proposed an open housing referendum in a common council resolution. He continued by saying, “In order to better ascertain the feeling of the majority of citizens, and to maintain the best democratic traditions, a difficult question such as that of ‘fair housing’ legislation ought to be put to a referendum vote.” Although a referendum vote never came to fruition, the idea was considered by the Mayor a month later. The Mayor was quoted as saying, “We now have people speaking for the majority. I am told the majority is for open housing and I can’t prove it or disprove it.” While Mayor Maier appeared to be looking out for the best of the city critics were not convinced that he was in support of open housing. One concerned citizen actually went on the offensive in criticizing his efforts in a letter.

“It may appear the easiest course of action for you to prepare for civil war within the city, rather than come out unequivocally for open housing. Your endorsement of open housing would not guarantee passage of open housing legislation, of course, and open housing legislation would not of itself resolve the long-standing grievances of the Negro community in Milwaukee. But if we were to see in the Mayor’s office something of a moral leadership instead of evasion and double talk, there would be at least a ray of light in an otherwise dark picture, something we could pin our faith in the democratic processes to.”

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43 Luce, David Randall to Henry W. Maier, 26 September 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 11, Folder 5, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
David Randall Luce, who was an associate professor of philosophy at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee shared the sentiment of Groppi and the Youth Council. Throughout the movement for open housing he would routinely write Father Groppi and the Youth Council. While they were certainly looking for results in the form of legislation, it was also important to them that the mayor show public-support for the movement. Another reality that was becoming increasingly obvious was that picketing houses of political leaders was not generating the desired outcome for the movement. Prior to the beginning of the marches in Milwaukee the country was divided in its views on the issue of open housing. With this realization, Groppi and the Youth Council began to explore the idea of holding a series of marches for open housing.

*As Summer Fades They Take to the Streets*

On August 28th the plan of taking the open housing crusade into the predominantly white South-Side became a reality. With a group of two hundred civil rights advocates; police officers, Commandos and an abundance of the media, marchers left St. Boniface Church and marched south across the 16th Street Viaduct (now the Father James Edmund Groppi Bridge), which was commonly referred to as Milwaukee’s “Mason-Dixon Line”, because it separated the black and white communities. With a
permit to rally in hand, the marchers moved through a throng of nearly three thousand angry, white residents who were out to observe the march. Upon arrival at Kosciuszko Park the marchers had made it, despite having insults and in some cases objects hurled at them during the procession. The prize for making it to the park was another five thousand angry, white residents. The results of the first march included twenty two injuries and nine arrests (all anti-open housing citizens).\textsuperscript{44} The second night of marches to the South-Side produced an even more violent reaction from the white community. As the marchers moved closer to Kosciuszko Park a large group of angry white people, estimated around one thousand broke through the armed police officers and trampled the marchers. Riot-clad police officers tried to extinguish the disturbance using tear gas and shotgun blasts.\textsuperscript{45} Groppi’s response to the second night of marching was pure outrage. In a transcript of his opening statement to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Groppi relates, “The people over there (south side of Milwaukee) have a problem and they call us niggers and black bastards, and go back to Africa, and throw rocks with the intention of killing people, well, there is something the matter there.”\textsuperscript{46} To make matters worse, Groppi and the Youth Council returned to the “Freedom House” that night to find it burned to the ground. Apparently a canister of tear gas thrown by either police or anti-marchers was the cause of the fire. Evidence points to the fire being police caused, but there was never an admission of this by the MPD. The tear gas canister believed to have started the fire was MPD issued. Groppi’s disgust continued

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid, 275.
\textsuperscript{46} Opening Statement by Father James Groppi to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 22 September 1967, transcript page 1528, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 15, Folder 11, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
when he attended a Common Council meeting with 150 young followers, and said he had more sympathy for white South Siders who had hurled rocks and bottles last week than he had for the aldermen of Milwaukee. “At least they (South Siders) were honest dumb bigots,” he said. “They hate us and they told us so. But in the council I saw dishonest dumb bigots-- that’s worse.”

As marches continued, Groppi and the Youth Council were pleased to see the release of a statement put forth by the Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Race. It was called the Ecumenical Statement on Fair Housing and it read as follows,

- The religious community is required by its commitment as people of God to be aware of the needs of our brothers and to strive to meet those needs in the present situation.
- There is a great need for good housing for minority groups and there is presently much suffering from congestion and consequent exploitation which could be relieved in part by fair housing legislation.
- In Milwaukee the moral issue that has been obscured by the focus on tactics and on personal controversies involving public figures, creating deep divisions within the community.
- The existing state legislation and its enforcement agency have not been adequate to reach into every local municipality and to bring about the changes necessary to relieve the suffering of minority groups.
- The laws of the state of Wisconsin declare “It is the duty of local units of government to assist in the orderly prevention or removal of all discrimination in housing.
- Present state law makes it legally impossible to enact countrywide fair housing laws, desirable as they would be.
- The city of Milwaukee has a unique opportunity and therefore an inescapable moral obligation to give leadership to all municipalities in the metropolitan area by enacting a fair housing ordinance.

However, it is important to note the rebuke of Groppi and other leading figures in the third bullet point that refers to the moral issue being overshadowed by the tactics of personal controversies involving public figures.

The movement received further national attention on probably the most notable march since the opening nights. The 35th day in a row of marching on the South-Side of Milwaukee saw the likes of Father Groppi, comedian Dick Gregory, Alderwoman Vel

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48 Statement on Fair Housing by the Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Race, 15 September 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 15, Folder 13, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
Phillips, and members of the Youth Council of Milwaukee. At the same time as this group of 1,000 people was marching, a group of 70 south side whites opposed to open housing marched to Mrs. Phillips house. Especially influential, comedian Dick Gregory stated that Black Power advocates nationwide were becoming less anti-white because of the Milwaukee Demonstrations. “What we are doing here in Milwaukee, is convincing a lot of cats that black nationalism is not a color, it’s an attitude.”\(^{49}\) This type of exposure while powerful, also contributed heavily to doubters. Gregory was, considered by conservatives of the time as an extremist who had communist leanings.\(^{50}\)

In addition to this endorsement on religious grounds, Groppi and the Youth Council received a strong national backing from the Vice President of the United States. The Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, a long standing battler for open housing, considered issuing a statement urging an open occupancy ordinance for Milwaukee. This was announced by his aides after he met with Father Groppi and five of the Youth Council Commandos during their trip to Washington D.C.\(^{51}\) During this trip there was a vigil held outside of the Methodist Church that Groppi and the Commandos were staying at in Washington D.C. During this event Officials of Pride Inc. told the Commandos that they were letting Father Groppi get too much publicity. In response, Commando Raymond Blathers commented, “Why sell him (Father Groppi) cheap because he’s white? We’re going to make a change whether the color of our leader is black, blue or whatever.” After the vigil concluded however, Marion Barry, a Pride official, said he


was impressed by the Milwaukee commandos. Barry had previously been the first chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and from 1979-1991 he served as the mayor of the District of Columbia. He commented, “I was concerned because the only one I ever saw on television and in the newspapers was Father Groppi,” Barry said. “But I now have seen five guys from Milwaukee. We know what they are doing and are proud of being black.”

This type of endorsement from a leading name in the Black Power Movement played a crucial role in reemphasizing what was going on in Milwaukee.

From October 4th to November 7th the effect of the marches began to crystallize. On October 4th, October 20th, November 1st and November 7th four outlying cities of Milwaukee passed open housing ordinances (Brookfield, Bayside, Mequon and Brown Deer respectively). With the adoption of open housing laws in these outlying cities the pressure was focused directly on Mayor Maier. He had long been preaching that it must be a decision made by Milwaukee and all its municipalities.

With the pressure on in Milwaukee, December 12th saw the passing of a citywide open housing law. Although a minor victory for the movement, the law was considered to be very weak. It was an exact duplicate of the state law, with the exception that it provided local enforcement via complaints to the city attorney’s office. Groppi referred to the Common Council’s action as “tokenism and crumbs”. Alderwoman Phillips, who

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made efforts to amend the law and make it stronger said, “Thanks for nothing. You are very much too late with very much too little.” Furthermore, the Youth Council maintained that Milwaukee now had an open housing ordinance but it was not acceptable in their opinion because it only encompassed an estimated 30% of the housing in Milwaukee. It passed by a vote of 13-6, but did not bring an end to the marching and protesting that had been a mainstay for the last 105 days. In fact, marching would continue for ninety five more days. While not achieving their ultimate goal, seventeen communities that had not previously had open housing ordinances now did.

**Police Brutality and Increased Tensions**

Amidst the activities of Father Groppi, the Youth Council and the Commandos, racial tension was a constant. While the Civil Rights Movement in Milwaukee initially aimed its efforts at the “white only” membership of the Eagles Club, it shifted to the open housing movement during the long, hot summer. Throughout the picketing and marching efforts, there was an underlying resentment of the treatment that the Youth Council and marchers had received from the Milwaukee Police Department at times throughout the movement. While giving praise to the department for numerous acts of protection, they also had become alert to the fact that harassment and brutality were realities.

It is necessary to make clear that the majority of police officers in Milwaukee were doing their job in an unbiased and effective manner. During the initial protests outside of the home of Circuit Court Judge Robert Cannon, Police Officers (Wauwatosa) made their best efforts to protect the protestors despite being called “Nigger Lovers” and

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55 *Catholic Herald*, 15 December 1967, “Council’s Vote Fails to Soothe Pro or Anti-Open Housing Forces”, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 16, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.  
“White Trash” by white antagonists. It was later deemed that their protection was not substantial enough so the National Guard was called in. Furthermore, the night of August 29th 1967, the second night of marching Milwaukee Police Officers were quick to react. Their action was described in this excerpt,

Police continued to shove their way through mobs of white spectators at every intersection. At one corner more than one thousand angry whites broke free, swarming over marchers, reporters, and police, beating huddled and fleeing demonstrators, and battling openly with the Commandos who stepped forward to meet them. Bedlam had erupted on the South Side of the 16th Street Viaduct. Riot-clad police moved quickly to quell the disturbance by pumping shotgun blast after shotgun blast into the air above the crowd. Other officers lobbed tear gas into the crowd and then moved in to disperse them.

While most believed that officers were doing all that they could, Prentice McKinney (19 year-old captain in the Commandos and head of the vice-squad, responsible for gathering intelligence on the South Side anti-march groups and the MPD) saw things differently, stating,

“I want to condemn the police force… man you ain’t got nothing for a police force, you got people out there man, that there’s 200 of us and about 5 or 8,000 of them and you watching us whats wrong with you and your boys you crazy huh, you gonna watch us, we not doing nothing but walkin and talking they throwin the bricks…"

The reality was that the majority of the complaints that Groppi, the YC and the Commandos had with the MPD was not how they dealt with the marches or the riots for that matter. The real problem that they had was the zest with which the Police used in watching their movements. Additionally, they questioned the strict enforcement of laws that were not being enforced when white people were committing seemingly petty crimes.

59 Dirks, Lee E. “Milwaukee is Destined to be North’s Selma: Controversial White Priest Works with Negroes in a Rare Biracial Protest”, 28 September 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
Evidence of this is apparent in two articles from the *Milwaukee Sentinel* and *Milwaukee Journal* respectively. The *Sentinel* article reports that Nathaniel Harwell and four other members of the Youth Council Commandos were arrested for Obstruction of Justice and Littering. The Youth Council claims that this was done because their “freedom house” was under protective coverage by the MPD. Their response to this was a plan to “protect” the house of Police Chief Breier in the same manner.\(^{61}\) In a related article that same day by the *Milwaukee Journal*, the city attorney’s office refused to prosecute the woman charged with littering. While they said that a cigarette butt was indeed litter, the fact that the officer did not enforce this law “with equal zeal everywhere else” made it inappropriate to prosecute this woman. The article continued to call the police officer’s conduct “deliberate harassment, a shocking misapplication of the police power.”\(^{62}\)

Prior to the marches beginning in late August, tensions began to swelter between open housing supporters and the police in the early months of summer. With the arrest of Groppi and the arrest of several Youth Council members, Groppi took the offensive. He pleaded that he had a right to know if there was danger to his life, and that he did not think it was necessary for officers to follow him and his friends around. He asked an officer why he was being followed and the officer reportedly said, “Keep moving or you’ll be arrested”. Groppi responded by saying, “That is not living in a free land, that’s


living under communism.” In an article regarding a sermon given by Father Neuberger (Assistant Pastor at St. Boniface Church with Groppi), Lloyd A. Barbee, assemblyman and noted Civil Rights Activist also spoke out about the police brutality that he had seen in the past. He even hinted that police were encouraging, “disrespect for the law”.

Countless letters regarding police brutality were received by Father James Groppi during the movement. One case, in particular, was that of Sylvester Adams who was arrested for Jay Walking. When the officer attempted to arrest him he resisted and was subsequently charged with Resisting Arrest and Obstruction of Justice. The police reports were reportedly fabricated by the officers according to a majority of the witnesses involved in the situation.

On the night of June 30th 1967 Youth Council Commandos and Father Groppi were followed by an unmarked squad to several different locations including both of the freedom houses and then followed Father Groppi to St. Boniface Church. When young Youth Council Commandos asked why they were being followed they got no answers. When father Groppi asked he got no answer except the officer reportedly flipped his cigarette at his feet and spit.

On another occasion an officer apparently told this “joke” to Youth Council Commandos. “What is a blue and brown station wagon? A white man with niggers.” (Father Groppi drives a blue and brown station wagon). On July 2nd 1967 the police were seen peeking

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64 The Milwaukee Sentinel (Milwaukee), 8 May 1967. “Core Unrest Echoed in Neuberger Sermon”. “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 15, Folder 14, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
65 The Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Race to Father James Groppi, undated, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 15, Folder 14, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
into the “Freedom House” on 11th street. Resulting from this, the YCC protests the fact that as American citizens they cannot live without being followed, observed, and photographed on a regular basis.

In another incident, Lee Pham Jr. claims that police came to his door looking for his brother John Henry, but he was not there. He told his brother Fred to look for him outside but when he went outside he was arrested for profanity which started the entire situation. They were treating him as if he had murdered someone. People began to gather around and disrupt the officers because they were using excessive force. When all was said and done Lee was arrested, along with Fred, and his sister Gloria. Beginning with the search for John Henry three arrests resulted because Fred had said “Mother Fucker”. The arrest itself was an ugly example of brutality. He was repeatedly beaten with a “billy club”, “slap jack”, and the butt of the officer’s gun. He was called a variety of versions of the word Nigger. Ironically enough, Lee had planned to go to the safety building and apply as a police aid the next day. Needless to say Lee did not pursue his dream of becoming a police officer.66

Yet another account of overaggressive behavior by police officers is detailed in the story of Mrs. Ruth Boone and her 16 year old son. Her son was on leave from the state home for boys because of his sisters wedding. On his way to a friend’s house he was stopped by officers on suspicion of burglary. He was beaten by officers for resisting arrest and for reportedly stealing the officer’s night stick. When Ruth arrived to the scene she took the night stick from her son while her other son tried to calm his brother down. After doing so, Ruth was hit in the face and placed under arrest. She was kicked, despite

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66 Memorandum by the Youth Council Commandos, undated, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 15, Folder 14, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
being pregnant and went semi-unconscious during the incident. After talking with Father Groppi and the Commandos she was able to have her voice heard (Appendix E). The summation of these incidents led to the formation of a Police Brutality Hearing that was set for August 10th 1967. Any complaints would be taken with names censored until the day of the hearing to avoid further harassment.

In fact, in a survey entitled Racial Attitudes in 15 American Cities the distrust and threat of police appeared very real in the black community. In these surveys nearly 3,000 people from the black community were surveyed. Their responses included topics such as occurrence of slow police response, occurrence of police insults, occurrence of when they were frisked and occurrence of when police “roughed them up”.


By looking at these numbers it is apparent that many black community members believed that the police often did things unnecessarily when it came to the black community. Though “no” responses to all four questions of unfair police treatment were in the majority, it was very close to even in most of the cases.

“March On”

In order to understand the public opinion of the time period it is important to know that the city was divided in its opinion on open housing in Milwaukee. While there was considerable support for the movement in the city, some did not view the tactics of Groppi, the Youth Council and the Commandos as a proper way to go about achieving change. Others were simply not supportive of open housing, and were especially angered by the publicity that the movement was gaining. A small minority of people on the south side were extremely bigoted in their beliefs, while others were simply ignorant or oblivious to their own bigotry. However, support from the NAACP, community members, and even a letter from a state penitentiary were essential in helping the movement to maintain its momentum.

Initial support for the open housing movement came in the form of a Memorandum from the NAACP Director of Public Relations Henry Lee Moon to the News Media. This memo outlined four important principles: 1) a commitment to racial justice under the democratic process 2) anti-violent methods and repudiation of vigilantism and rioting 3) commitment to integration and the breaking down of all barriers of segregation against the Negro 4) commitment to the goal of integration in
every aspect of national life especially to the common responsibility of all Americans
black and white.\(^{70}\)

Additionally, support for the movement can be seen in the form of letters and
donations which came to the St. Boniface Church Rectory. Often people sent short letters
expressing their gratitude for the work of the Youth Council, such as a letter from Joe
Bard, “I wish this check could have another zero on it. I’ll try to send you a check on a
regular basis hereafter. Best wishes to you and the Youth Council. Sincerely, Joe Bard
(10 dollars enclosed)"\(^{71}\) Another man named Mac expressed similar regrets about not
being able to send more, “Sorry I can’t see my way clear to send two hundred and fifty
but every little bit helps. Your Brother in Christ, Mac (25 dollars enclosed).” On the
same day Bob and June Kohl sent ten dollars conveying their prayers and wishing that
they could send more.\(^{72}\)

In addition to the people who were sending money in support of the movement,
there were a significant number of people who would send money so that Father Groppi
and the Youth Council could use it to pay for tickets that they received as a result
of police harassment and civil disobedience. These letters typically came handwritten and
were often short and to the point. For example, Groppi received a letter from Rosemary
T. that read as follows, “To help you pay your fine, Father,” (5 dollars enclosed).
Another letter said, “Just a little token to help defray your court costs. Nice work your

Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 11, Folder 5, Division of Archives and Special Collections,
Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

\(^{71}\) Bard, Joe to Father James Groppi, 22 July 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee
Manuscript Collection EX, Box 2, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir
Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

\(^{72}\) Letters from Kohl, Bob and June and “Mac” to Father James Groppi, 24 July 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930:
Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 2, Folder 1, Division of Archives and
Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
doing for the children."-unnamed (1 dollar enclosed).\textsuperscript{73} Another letter conveyed that the one-hundred dollars enclosed was for whatever use they saw fit. Though the donations were not always sizable and the letters were often scribbled, these donations and letters of support came flooding into the St. Boniface Rectory at a steady pace from mid July well into September of 1967. In fact, the small donations given by people from across the country (and in some cases other countries) added up to very significant amounts during the summer months of 1967. Donations came from Ohio, New York, California, Texas, Oklahoma, Minnesota, Illinois, Massachusetts, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Arizona, as well as Australia and Peru.

From July 22\textsuperscript{nd} 1967 to August 14\textsuperscript{th} 1967, letters addressed to Father Groppi contained over $1,800 which was an average of about $72/day. While there was no campaign or appeal for donations they continued to come throughout the next couple of months. Then, from September 6\textsuperscript{th} to September 15\textsuperscript{th} of 1967 donations totaled to over $2,000, which was an average daily total of over $200/day.\textsuperscript{74} Considering that these numbers do not include donations sent to NAACP headquarters or the Freedom Houses, it is an extraordinary amount. The dates during which the letters and donations were received are also significant in the sense that they represent two very important time periods in the open housing movement. In July and August, Groppi and the Commandos were experiencing the highest levels of police harassment, and police scrutiny of the movement up to that point. The resulting scrutiny and harassment by the police led to the

\textsuperscript{73} Letters from T., Rosemary and an unnamed supporter to Father James Groppi, 22 July 1967 and 24 July 1967 respectively, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 2, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

\textsuperscript{74} Compilation of letters to Father James Groppi, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 2, Folders 1-6, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
arrests of several YC members, particularly the Commandos and even Father Groppi was arrested several times. Additionally, this time period encompasses the week before rioting broke out and the subsequent curfew that was imposed on Milwaukee, as well as the week following these events. Donations and letters received from the 6th of September to the 15th were abundant in large part to the fact that marching had begun just a week earlier.

Other letters of support came from people who had significant messages to convey to Father Groppi and the Youth Council. One man in particular recalls to Father Groppi, that he used to be an alter boy at St. Veronica’s Church while he was a curate there. He continues to write about how he is always distressed by the antagonism he perceives when he watches Father Groppi confront alderman from the south side of Milwaukee. One passage frankly states,

“I am not proud of the fact that I live in an area which so strongly supported George Wallace and which is so firmly steeped in ignorance and bias as to completely eliminate even tolerance from the ‘minds’ of its inhabitants.

I admire you and what you are doing for the colored people of the area. You have made people, some at least, realize that serious injustices exist, injustices which cry out to be remedied, not just camouflaged.

I know that you do not want the large scale loss of life and property which has recently struck parts of the nation. I trust that you will work to prevent that, Father. But if it does come to Milwaukee I will know that the blame will lie with people like me who have closed their eyes to their fellow human beings.”

“I just want you to know that not everyone around here hates you. Of course, my support, silent as it is, may not be very influential or useful to you, but it is there, nonetheless. Pray that God gives me the grace to gain better understanding of people and their problems, Father. God bless you and guide you.”

This letter is of some significance because it shows that not all members of the south-side community were racist, and it shows his displeasure for those who voted pro-George Wallace in the 1964 election. Some of the same sentiments can be seen in a letter from a

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75 Snyder, Dan to Father James Groppi, date unspecified, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 2, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
Cudahy woman who was appalled by the narrow mindedness of her white community.  

There is no doubt that more people living in the south side of Milwaukee shared the sentiments of these two concerned citizens, however, they were not the citizens that made their voices heard in a positive manner. Still there were other people who were already involved, or trying to get involved in the movement that showed their support and willingness to contribute time through their letters.

Of this breed, the aforementioned Associate Professor of Philosophy at UWM, by the name of David Randall Luce who sent a letter to Groppi and the Youth Council stating that since he had arrived in town two weeks ago that he had taken part in two marches. He continued to lend that if his talents ("odd as they may be") as a philosophy professor could be of help to them that he would be more than happy to volunteer his time. Another letter came from Jeanine Semon from Menomonee Falls, representing a group of people that recognized “the immediacy of the black man’s plight in the ghetto.”

About 60 interested residents (co-signors) went door to door looking for signatures of those people who were in favor of open housing. Their goal was to convey the message that people in Menomonee Falls wanted to help and that there was support there. Their ultimate goal was for Menomonee Falls’ Village Board to approve a housing ordinance in their city.

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76 Stark, Mitzi to Father James Groppi, 30 August 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 2, Folder 2, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

77 Luce, David Randall to Father James Groppi, 26 September 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 11, Folder 5, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

78 Semon, Jeanine to Mr. Bronson, 13 October 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 11, Folder 5, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
Further support came from youth within the inner core and in the surrounding suburbs of Milwaukee. One young member of the Youth Council expressed these sentiments to Father Groppi,

“This to me is what the church should be. It is a place where people of different races and different religions gather together in prayer, sing hymns, talk about our problems the problems of suffering humanity, then from this gathering, as the people of God, we go forth and do something about suffering humanity.”\textsuperscript{79}

Another form of youth support came from a young man named Mike Kryscia (15) who hailed from Greendale, a suburb of Milwaukee that was predominantly white. He wrote that some of the citizens had been working on getting open housing in Greendale and that it had even been getting support from local teens. He continued to state, “I am a Catholic and I could not live with myself if I did not write this letter to you. I am an American too and I would like to see the Constitution work for all races.”\textsuperscript{80}

While support for the movement could be expected more readily from certain demographics, there were those who defied the norms of their age, sex, location and position in life. Brodie Overson, a white American citizen born on September 29\textsuperscript{th} 1890, wrote a very influential letter to Father James Groppi. This letter was from the Missouri State Penitentiary, where Brodie was serving out a life term. His message was not praising the work of Father Groppi and the Commandos, but simply written was this statement, “Since the dawn of history most of the talent and ingenuity of mankind has

\textsuperscript{79} James E. Groppi, “Regarding the Issue of Open Housing”, undated, (photocopy) 11-12. “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 15, Folder 5, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

\textsuperscript{80} Kryscia, Mike to Father James Groppi, undated, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 2, Folder 1. Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
been used to enslave, to oppress, and to exploit his fellow man. Very little effort has
been used to make the world a better place in which to live.”

“Niggers Go Home”

Although support played a vital role in the positive morale of the movement, the
disapproval, hatred and downright bigotry took an immense toll as well. This affected
not only those involved in the movement, but also on the city and the nation as a whole.
While the effects of those opposing open housing was felt chiefly in Milwaukee, it did
not go undetected on the national radar. Called “the Selma of the North” by Patrick
Jones in his article “Not a Color but an Attitude: Father James Groppi and Black Power
Politics in Milwaukee” its stamp on the Civil Rights Movement should forever remind
America that bigots were not limited to south of the Mason-Dixon Line. In fact, Groppi
wrote in a manuscript, regarding open housing, “Having worked primarily in the North,
however, I can see the truth of the statement of Malcolm X—there is only one south in
the United States; it is everything south of the Canadian border.”

Disapproval for the open housing Movement, led by Groppi, the YC and the
Commandos came from several outlets. Though media bias was evident at times,
disgruntled citizens from the Milwaukee area and across the nation comprised the
majority of those who were opposed to the movement and those involved in it. 
Although the media, for the most part, played an unbiased role there were times when
they leaned to one side or the other. For example, in a Channel 6 editorial on September

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81 Overson, Brodie to Father James Groppi, 1 July 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”,
Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 2, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections,
Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
82 James E. Groppi, “Regarding the Issue of Open Housing”, undated, (photocopy) 9. “Groppi, James,
1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 15, Folder 5, Division of Archives
and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
8th 1967, the headline was, “It was not Civil Rights—But the Deliberate Lawlessness of Hoodlums”. To be fair this is an editorial that showcases the opinion of one person, and the event that they are referring to was one that was very controversial at the time. The article continued to say, “About 60 to 70 youths (…denotes a pause)…and some adults…representing the NAACP Youth Council…brought this havoc to the office of Mayor Maier. This is proof…unequivocal proof…of the hoodlum element that exists in Milwaukee’s so-called civil rights movement.”83

In another broadcast just a week prior to this event, by John McCullough of WTMJ Radio and News Broadcasts, a clear distaste for the marches is shown in the broadcast. “Father Groppi and his followers, we repeat, have the right to march peacefully wherever they choose to, without opposition from their detractors. However, they’ll do more good for their cause in the legislative halls of the city and state governments than they will in Kosciuszko Park.”84 In theory, this statement may have been true, however, the Milwaukee Common Council had already voted down open housing ordinances four times. It was becoming quite clear that an ordinance would not pass unless action was taken. Each time a bill reached the council floor, Alderwoman Vel Phillips wound up casting the only “aye” vote.85 In no way was WTMJ or John McCullough at fault for sharing a view, but the feeling for those involved in the movement was that direct action might cause a change in public opinion, which in-turn

83 “It was not Civil Rights—But the Deliberate Lawlessness of Hoodlums”, Channel 6 Editorial--#1471, 8 September 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 15, Folder 11, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
might change the outcome of the previous four votes, 19-1, 18-1, 18-1, 18-1. In that same broadcast McCullough detracts a little by saying that the people who were being treated unfairly in Milwaukee were the “honest, lawful tax-paying Milwaukeeans who were having their lives disrupted by riots from both the north side (Negro community) and the south side (white community). It is however; important to note that WTMJ and the Milwaukee Journal as well as the Milwaukee Sentinel served as the significantly unbiased reporters for the city.

Additional disapproval for the movement came from citizens at home and abroad. A young man, and a devout Catholic stationed in Korea as a part of the American Armed Forces wrote Groppi a letter pleading with him to stop the marches. He mentioned that he knew a lot of people, black and white who did not want to see the race riots because it was bad for morale. There is no question that it must have been difficult for G.I.’s to keep up with the events taking place on the home-front. The black riots in Milwaukee that began on the night of July 30th-31st and ended on August 5th, were nearly a month prior to the commencement of marching in Milwaukee (August 28th). Additionally, there has never been any connection between Groppi and the Commandos with the riots that took place in Milwaukee. In fact, one of Groppi’s staunchest opponents throughout

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86 Opening Statement by Father James Groppi to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 22 September 1967, transcript page 1526, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 15, Folder 11, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.


88 Gary to Father James Groppi, 17 September 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 7, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.


the struggle for open housing, Mayor Henry Maier issued some remarks regarding the riots. He said although the rioters were mostly non-white,

“it must be remembered that the overwhelming percentages of non-whites, like the overwhelming percentage of all whites, are concerned about the safety of their neighborhoods, the quality of their homes, the education of their children and the chance for a good job. The guilty deserve to be punished. They must feel the full penalty of the law. But the majority should not suffer for the deeds of a criminal few.”

In early September however, with the commencement of the marches the violence turned to the south side. Violence of any kind must have been troubling for those who were abroad in any semblance of American Military Forces. Especially for those fighting the war in Vietnam, it must have been difficult to fight for a country that was dealing with its own internal problems. But, those involved in the movement did not see it as a viable solution to stop the marching and essentially cover up the problem.

Sentiment on the home-front was much more heated than it was abroad. Because of the bitter taste that the riots had left in the mouths of citizens of Milwaukee, people were more hostile than they had been prior. A letter from a white Catholic summed up this type of sentiment, “What are you doing for the poor white folks? Hope it is as much as you are extending to the black folks. One thing that you are doing at present is making white people turn against the blacks.”

A Bay View woman reiterates this message in saying that bad housing is bad housing, regardless of which side of Milwaukee you live on. She recalls that she has found rats in her house on the south side and that she has had problems getting approved for new housing. Additionally she finds it difficult to believe that this is only a black problem and feels that the efforts to eliminate prejudice are

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92 A White Catholic to Father James Groppi, 19 September 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 7, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
causing the prejudice to be turned around on white people. While many would not agree that the intention of Groppi, the Youth Council and the Commandos was to create reverse prejudice, their intention certainly was to bring attention to the injustices occurring in Milwaukee. It is a natural reaction for people to go on the offensive when they feel they are being attacked, but it does not justify hatred and bigotry.

However, hatred and bigotry is what the Youth Council and Father Groppi faced in return for marching. A common form of bigoted letters came through racist revisions to common songs and passages. Two examples of this form of bigotry are “De Black Spangled Banner” and “The Twenty-Third Psalm, NAACP and CORE Revised Edition” which are phrased as follows,

**De Black Spangled Banner**
Oh say can you see, by de dawns early light,
How we sit by de creek, fo de fishes to bite.
We is non-working niggers, wid nary a care,
Cause de government sends us dat lovely welfare.
Dey mails us dey money, we don’t give it back,
Dats why we can drive our new Cadilllac.

We live up in heaven each hour of the day,
And don’t have to work cause de white folks pay,
Po white folks must labor between sun and sun,
To pay welfare taxes while we has fun.
We don’t pay no taxes, we don’t make no goods,
Just raise little niggers way back in de woods.
Dey pays us to vote and rewards us for sin,
While dem sweet politicians keep de checks comin in.
We waits every month for de slip of de figgers,
And dats all we do?—We is damned lucky niggers!
An Dats True

**The Twenty-Third Psalm**

**NAACP and CORE Revised Edition**

Groppi is my Shepherd,
I shall not work.
He maketh me to lie down in front of city hall,
He leadeth me into the South Side of Milwaukee,
He restoreth my welfare check,

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93 Bay View woman to Father James Groppi, 19 September 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 7, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
This type of racism tried to portray the laziness of black people and their unwillingness to get jobs and work to improve their lives. It made it seem as though black people were content to live on government “handouts” in “federal housing projects”, driving their “Caddy’s”.

In addition to the sending of racist propaganda there were those who tried to attack Father Groppi and the movement for either being too extreme in their actions or by attacking Father Groppi for not properly doing his job as a Catholic priest. One letter illustrates the opinion of an anonymous Catholic in writing to Father Groppi. “If you are a Catholic, answer this to the public; **Who made and segregated all people?**  A: God  Q: Did God assign anyone to desegregate the people? A: No  Think about this.------------- Respectfully, A Catholic”  

Today there is no question that people would have a difficult time understanding how someone could write a letter, as such with a logical frame of mind, however, in the climate of Civil Rights this opinion was certainly shared by others. Other critics chose to focus on the way that Father Groppi was handling his duties as a Priest in relation to his work as a Civil Rights Activist. One letter stated, “A little more time in the pulpit. A little more time setting an example as a law-abiding citizen—

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94 Unknown Sender to Father James Groppi (both, separate letters), undated, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 15, Folder 15, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

95 A Catholic to Father James Groppi, 17 September 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 7, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
obeying the law. A little less time with Communist agitators like (Dick) Gregory, would give a much better picture of you as a Catholic Priest.” An even angrier citizen writes, “HOW MANY BLACK COCKS DO YOU SUCK. YOU EVEN LOOK LIKE A COCK SUCKER” (Written on a full blank page of paper). On the back side of the paper this person continues to say, “Disgrace to the Church. Make me want to renounce my Catholicism. Go back to your own parish and actually do your job. Don’t teach these black people to be violent they already do a good enough job. Take your hateful communist teachings and beliefs somewhere else. We already have fair or open housing. Its not our fault black people can’t keep their trash off the street. Why would we want to live with people who trash the community.”

Still another letter requests that he attend to his “priestly duties” and build up the negros through education. In addition to the education of “negros” there were plenty of others who believed that they had the solution to the “black problem”.

A woman from Oklahoma suggested that instead of marching and protesting, “If each person involved in the marches would pick up a rake or a hammer and clean up his or her own premises, rid their own place of rats they could accomplish in less than a week what they want the government to do for them.”

Countless people nationwide agreed that the way to help black people was to educate them and get them good jobs, but not to force the mixing of races. These sentiments are apparent in three revealing letters. The first from a woman from Nebraska says that good jobs are the key, not marches and continues to say, “We were not forced to associate with them when we were children why should we force our children. There will be many brokenhearted parents if their white sons and daughters marry black, but how can you prevent it if you force them to mix? I

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96 Unknown Sender to Father James Groppi, undated, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 10, Folder 3, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
97 Unknown Senders to Father James Groppi, 15,14 September 1967 (respectively), “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 7, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
98 Birdsell, Agnes to Father James Groppi, 18 September 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 7, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
prefer them all black or all white.”

In a similar letter the author writes, “Yes, we should help the Negro to better themselves- educate them and assist them in getting positions, etc. But having to live with them and marry them, no. Let them have their society and we ours. I would hate to think that my grandchildren would marry a negro. It would break my heart.”

Yet another letter questions the mixing of races saying, “God made different colored people. Are you God?? Are you making another race?? Integration will mix white and black that is the worst thing that could happen mixed marriages. What will the children be?? What God made race?? I hope God will punish you for trying to improve on his work. You are a trouble maker.”

This type of fear and outrage from the white community should not be surprising. In the wake of the landmark case *Loving et Ux. v. Virginia*, the ruling that struck down laws banning interracial marriages, it is understandable that people were especially hostile to the thought that their children or grandchildren might marry outside of their race. In fact, according to Taylor Branch, in 1967, three-quarters of citizens opposed interracial marriage.

In addition to those who feared a mixing of the races there were others who provided no explanation for their malice. They blamed any perceived problems on black people or those who were supporting black people (Groppi in particular) because they

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99 Smith, Mary to Father James Groppi, 15 September 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 7, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

100 Unknown Sender to Father James Groppi, 8 January 1968, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 7, Folder 6, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

101 Unknown Sender to Father James Groppi, undated, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 10, Folder 3, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

102 Branch, Taylor. *At Canaan’s Edge: America in the King Years 1965-68*. (New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 2006), 622
seemed an obvious scapegoat. In a letter signed by ‘‘The Pope’’ it reads, ‘‘Dear Asshole Groppi, You cock-sucking, nigger loving, prick- drop dead.’’ In another letter Groppi finds himself the victim of a similar attack being called a ‘‘Nigger Lover Priest!’’. The author continues to call black people savages unfit to live with white people because they have contributed nothing and will amount to nothing in society. A final letter comes from a Chicago Resident who insists that all the problems are to be blamed on minorities,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Before Negroes We Did Not Have the Following in Chicago”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>200 school windows broken daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301 assaults on school teachers yearly—47 in one month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No teacher was shoved down a stairs by drop outs with dope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The county hospital was not full of negroes, excluding whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No murders at the Foreman Bros. and Salesman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No need for special teachers to teach 22,831 defectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No 54,954 bastards born to negroes after going on relief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No 586 pregnant girls between 12 and 18 years in special school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190,000 major crimes in 1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95 per cent of fire alarms false</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No need for $2,000,000.00 to kill rats. None 30 years before…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Negroes are not the only problem as the Puerto Ricans have gained from 10,000 to about 100,000 in ten years. This brings the whole subject back to the problem of negroes and Puerto Ricans by the thousands that can not speak English or have the brains or training to fit into Society Smoothly. While it is possible that what this person has written is true, it is unfair to attribute all of the negative events that have occurred in a city to one group or a few groups of people. This is especially true in the situation of Milwaukee. From 1950-1970, the state of Wisconsin saw the urban population of the state increase by nearly one million people, while rural areas saw a population increase of only 60,000 people. As the major urban center in the state of Wisconsin, it is hard to believe that growth like this would come

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103 Unknown Sender to Father James Groppi, 17 September 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 10, Folder 3, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
104 Hudson, E.E. to Father James Groppi, 18 September 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 10, Folder 3, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
105 Chicago Resident to Father James Groppi, 19 September 1967, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 7, Folder 1. Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
without certain problems. Additionally, the increase of the black population during this time period in Milwaukee was over 80,000 people jumping from just over 21,000 in 1950 to over 105,000 in 1970. During the 1960’s it is also interesting to note that the while the black population increases by almost 44,000 people the overall population decreases by 24,000 people. While bigots will maintain that these figures indicate the slum conditions brought on by black people, many historians will call this the beginning of suburban sprawl, brought on by fear (tipping point). Similarly in Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland, each city can see a significant increase in their black populations, followed by slight decreases in total population.

“Black is a Beautiful Color”

Throughout the Civil Rights Movement period in America, the original goal of the movement was simply equality. Black Power and Black Nationalism may have emerged later on, but the true goal was to attain equality with fellow American citizens. Because of the action of Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King Jr., the “Little Rock Nine” and countless others we live in an America that is significantly more equal than it was just forty years ago. However, in our study of the movement we have overlooked Milwaukee and the effect that Father Groppi, the Youth Council and the Commandos had on the nation and more importantly on the climate of the city.

After examining the Civil Rights Movement in Milwaukee it is evident that it is an extremely significant period in the history of Milwaukee and in the greater scope of

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Civil Rights in America. By opening the eyes of Milwaukee and its citizens to the injustices that were being committed everyday, the movement directly affected change. Although the desired results of the movement were not ultimately achieved the Milwaukee Youth Council, advised by Father Groppi served as a beacon to the nation, alerting people that not all was well in Milwaukee and the north as a whole. After the marching stopped in Milwaukee, at St. Boniface Catholic Church in Milwaukee a handwritten sign hung on a basement wall. On it was written,

\[
\begin{align*}
  & U D N I T E \quad + \\
  & D W E \quad = \\
  & S T A N D \\
\end{align*}
\]

Black Power
White Power
Community Power

“The priest asked the question once more. ‘And why am I wearing black today? Tell them again,’ ‘Because it’s a beautiful color,’ the girl said. ‘Because it’s a beautiful color,’ the priest repeated. ‘Wonderful. It is a beautiful color. All colors are beautiful—black, white, red, yellow—all colors. And why is that?’ ‘Because God made them’ said a child. ‘Because God made them,’ said the priest.\(^{110}\)

\(^{110}\) AP Newsfeature, 21 May 1967, page 1, “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 15, Folder 10, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
Appendices

Appendix A:

\[\text{Image of a building with a text overlay:} \text{The NAACP Youth Council's Freedom House, 1316 N. 15th st.}\]

111 “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
Appendix B:

Open Housing Pickets Protest Alderman’s Vote

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112 “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17, Folder 4, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

113 “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17, Folder 4, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
Appendix C:

114 “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
Appendix D:

Prudence Dictates Keeping Curfew: Maier

115 “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17, Folder 4, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

116 “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17, Folder 4, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
Appendix E:

“Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
Appendix: F

118 “Groppi, James, 1930: Papers 1964-1978”, Milwaukee Manuscript Collection EX, Box 17, Folder 1, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
From my personal pictures. Taken March of 2007. Patchwork mural represents the history of black Milwaukee. It is in the heart of the “Inner Core” riot areas. The Second picture is the sign hanging on the James Edmund Groppi Unity Bridge, formerly called the 16th St. Viaduct or Milwaukee’s “Mason Dixon Line” and the final picture is from the north side of the bridge to the south side, where the marchers marched for 200 straight days.
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