

Paved With Good Intentions: The Rise and Fall of the “Human Relations” Movement in  
Milwaukee, 1934-1980

By

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For Merritt and Jeanney Horn.  
I couldn't ask for more loving and supportive parents.

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## ABSTRACT

“Paved With Good Intentions: The Rise and Fall of the “Human Relations” Movement in Milwaukee” is the first study to analyze human relations, or the educational activities, conferences, and programs designed to modify prejudiced attitudes into accepting ones, as a movement. With good intentions, Milwaukeeans integrated restrained social movement strategies, such as dialogue, negotiation, and education, into the policies of voluntary organizations, schools, and government agencies. Such profound integration and reliance on restrained strategies left potent and damning legacies in Milwaukee. Direct action and legislative movements arose in response to the gradualist methods of the human relations movement. This study demonstrates how the inability of human relations advocates and civil rights activists to work together based on their fundamental disagreement over strategies weakened the overall strength of civil rights legislation and the residential and school desegregation plan. Human relations, as a restrained, consensus oriented social movement shaped the policies, politics, and culture of Milwaukee. Even though Milwaukee civil rights activists delivered on their promise to pass civil rights and school and residential integration legislation, the legislation itself was rarely enforced by local government officials. Well into the 1980s, voluntary organizations, public schools, and government agencies continued to rely on educational tactics and to negotiate for change through dialogue. By integrating the story of the human relations movement into our accepted time line of the civil rights era, we can answer the question: how could such a great civil rights campaign have been mounted in Milwaukee yet so few advances in residential and school integration and social justice have been achieved.

## Introduction

This is the forgotten story of the human relations movement, the cumulative activities surrounding the knowledge production of attitude modification theories and social science research designed to eliminate intergroup conflict and prejudice through education.<sup>1</sup> Organizations like the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), the American Jewish Committee, the National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ), and the National Urban League disseminated human relations theories through programs, conferences, and curriculum. Tactically, human relations (also known as intergroup relations) organizations cooperated with existing institutions, were consensus-driven, and provided a non-confrontational restrained alternative to the conflict-directed civil rights movement. Intellectually, it favored gradualist rather than radical, immediate solutions. According to Sociologist John Lofland, social movements are best understood as a continuum.<sup>2</sup> The human relations movement fell along the consensus end of the spectrum and was characterized by restrained tactics such as negotiation, educational appeals, “avoidance of contention,” and failure to promote social change.<sup>3</sup> Comparatively, the civil rights movement fell toward the conflict end of the continuum and employed contentious strategies like protests, demonstrations, and legislative appeals.

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<sup>1</sup> Psychologist Gordon Allport suggested that that the prejudiced attitudes individuals held about others could be modified into more accepting postures through education about, and contact with, persons of different races, religions, and cultures. For the purpose of this dissertation, “prejudice” can be defined as judging an individual or a group before knowing, or refusing to take the facts into account. If prejudiced persons were left to their own devices, their inward attitudes would manifest themselves in outward discriminatory behaviors. “Discrimination” can be defined as the behavioral acting out of prejudicial feelings, manifested through selective hiring and firing, restrictive housing covenants, segregated school systems, etc. See Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1954).

<sup>2</sup> Lofland designed the continuum to analyze the peace movements of the 1980s, what he called the “polite protesters” or “timid rebels.” John Lofland, *Polite Protesters: The American Peace Movement of the 1980s* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993); Also see Dennis Downey, “Elaborating Consensus: strategic Orientations and Rationales in Wartime Intergroup Relations,” *Mobilization* 11(3), 201.

<sup>3</sup> Downey, “Elaborating Consensus,” 202.

Human relations supporters assumed that dialogue, or open communication between groups, and education about their history and culture would transform prejudiced citizens into accepting ones and bring about peaceful future relations. This long term educational process required the creation of a specialized curriculum for each stage in child development, adult education, and programming designed for voluntary organizations, public and parochial schools, and municipal government agencies. Human relations theories presumed that once Americans learned about, and understood, the histories and cultures of persons of different religions and races, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, whites, and blacks, Germans, and Italians, and every other immigrant group in the nation would voluntarily elect to live side by side and send their children to the same schools.

Human relations theories were first formulated in the 1920s to improve interfaith relations in the United States. However the human relations movement reached the zenith of its power during the Cold War years. To counter Soviet claims that capitalism fostered racism, human relations theorists broadened their scope to include the improvement of race relations. Human relations supporters derived authority from their use of social science and their outspoken devotion to Judeo-Christianity.<sup>4</sup> Based on these credentials, educational solutions to interreligious and interracial strife attracted millions of advocates, engendered thousands of programs, and inspired hundreds of local studies across the United States on the state of

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<sup>4</sup> The Judeo-Christian concept held that the three religions of Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism shared historical roots and common theological foundations in monotheism and democracy. These theologies provided the conceptual framework through which America became a religiously inclusive and accepting nation in the twentieth century. William Hutchison, Kevin Schultz, and Mark Silk note the political uses of this construction, such as monotheism being used to unify and mobilize against Nazi and communist atheism. William R. Hutchison, *Religious Pluralism in America: The Contentious History of a Founding Ideal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Kevin Schultz, *Tri-Faith America: How Catholics and Jews Held Postwar America to Its Protestant Promise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Mark Silk, "Notes on the Judeo-Christian Tradition in America," *American Quarterly* 36 (1984): 65-85.

intergroup relationships and on ways to reduce prejudice through educational and dialogic means. The Cold War context is essential for understanding not only the reason for the expansion in emphasis, but also for explaining the dizzying popularity of the human relations movement and why certain groups were so involved in its dissemination. Human relations theories utilized the versatile tool of anti-communism to influence Cold War politics.

Although one can find much evidence for the impact of the human relations movement across the United States, the widespread success of this restrained educational movement in Milwaukee is connected to the city's history of socialism. Alignment with the human relations movement was a way to legitimize Milwaukee's history of socialism in the context of its Progressive era reform roots. Milwaukee was the only major city to elect three Socialist Mayors (Emil Seidel, Daniel Hoan, and Frank Zeidler) from 1910 through 1960. This political trend is all the more remarkable because it occurred during the height of Red Scare and Cold War while Wisconsin Senator and rabid anti-communist Joseph McCarthy was seated in the Senate. Milwaukee's voluntary organizations, public schools, and government agencies enthusiastically adopted the educational tactics of the human relations movement to demonstrate how restrained their socialism was and how closely related it was to American Progressive era reform.<sup>5</sup> To avoid similar prosecution and Bolshevik association, Milwaukee's socialists affirmed their anti-communism at every opportunity. One way that Milwaukee's Socialist Mayor Frank Zeidler (1948-1960) was able to remain relatively uncontroversial was that he demonstrated his dedication to the human relations movement and its anti-communist cause.<sup>6</sup> This dissertation is organized into three parts in order to reveal Milwaukee's multi-

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<sup>5</sup> For a comparison of Progressive reform to Socialist policies see: Elmer Beck, *Sewer Socialism: A History of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin, 1897-1940* (Fennimore, WI: Westburg Associates, 1982); Peter H. Buckingham, *America Sees Red: Anti-Communism in America, 1870s-1980* (Claremont, CA, Regina Books, 1988).

layered engagement with the human relations movement and to demonstrate the ways in which restrained educational reform protected Milwaukeeans from charges of subversion, radicalism, and communism. Part I analyzes how voluntary organizations translated human relations theories into community development programs, part II focuses on how theories were translated into public education curriculum, and part III describes how government agencies translated human relations theories into negotiation commissions.<sup>7</sup>

In each arena—voluntary organizations, public schools, and government agencies—the human relations movement gained supporters who developed appropriate programs designed to

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<sup>6</sup> See chapter five of this dissertation for a discussion of how Zeidler was race-baited, but not red-baited. Milwaukee's socialists and liberal anti-communists became even more invested in using the human relations movement to prove their dedication to the American constitutional and capitalistic ideals after the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1943 appeared to confirm that Nazism, Communism and Socialism were political kindred ideologies. In his academic writings and speeches, Mayor Frank Zeidler lamented the negative association American socialism had gained: "the word "socialism" to many American ears has a ring of a foreign quality to it. The two most evil dictators of the modern times, Hitler and Stalin, both attempted to use the word to confuse the workers of their own country and other countries into following their schemes. They have distorted the word completely made it easy for propagandists in America to seize it and confuse it with communism." See Alpers for a discussion of the changing meaning of totalitarianism and dictator during the twentieth century. Benjamin L. Alpers, *Dictators, Democracy, and American Public Culture: Envisioning the Totalitarian Enemy, 1920s-1950s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 12, 250; Frank Zeidler, *The Spirit of American Socialism* (New York: Socialist Party, n.d.), 6.

<sup>7</sup> Although human relations theories influenced the policies of these three broad areas most heavily, the human relations movement was not limited to voluntary organizations, schools, and government agencies. Human relations theories were also translated into programs for clergymen, health care service providers, social workers, union organizers, businessmen, employers and employees, librarians, and university-level administrators, educators, and students, among others. For secondary analysis of human relations and management theory see page 22 of this introduction. For archival and published primary source examples of the other sectors the human relations movement touched see: Wisconsin Clergy Human Relations Institutes, Box 29, Folder 18, National Conference of Christians and Jews Papers, Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis (hereafter cited NCCJ Papers); Milwaukee Jewish Council and Health Department Begin Human Relations Institute Series for Nurses, Herman Weil Scrapbook, 1953, Box 3, Herman Weil Scrapbooks, University of Wisconsin Milwaukee Archives (hereafter cited Herman Weil Scrapbooks); Information about the Milwaukee Urban League, November 27, 1961, Box 1, Folder 80, Milwaukee Urban League Papers, Milwaukee Area Research Archives (hereafter cited MUL Papers); What is Fair Employment Practice? Box 4, Folder 5, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division Reports 1949-1972 Part I, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison (hereafter cited WERD Part I Papers); National Conference of Christians and Jews, *Equal Opportunity is Good Labor Practice: Five Labor Leaders Tell How Their Unions Put Principles into Practice* (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1968); Marquette University Human Relations Class of Summer 1953 Workshop for Librarians, Box 25, Folder Workshops 1954, NCCJ Papers; Human Relations Coordinating Council, April 14, 1966, Meeting Transcript, Box 7, Folder 7, MUL Papers.

reduce prejudice and equalize opportunities for all religions and races. With the intention of solving all of Milwaukee's religious and race discrimination problems through the power of dialogue and education, human relations supporters refused to integrate the more radical strategies of the civil rights movement into their protocols.

Due to the deliberately gradualist pace of the human relations movement, the perceived lack of progress in school and residential integration and the equal rights campaign gave rise to immediate solutions proposed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP) by the early 1960s. In spite of common interests, a fundamental difference in understanding regarding the pragmatic potential of dialogue and education to create a more open and equal society frustrated the designs of both the human relations and civil rights movements. The inability of educational or civil rights supporters to work together weakened their ability to build a strong, united, and effective residential and school desegregation plan in Milwaukee.

From the 1930s through the 1980s, the human relations movement in Wisconsin involved dozens of community organizations and hundreds of programs enlisting hundreds of thousands of participants.<sup>8</sup> Wisconsin boasted the only centralized human relations program in the nation, reaching every one of the state's seventy-one counties.<sup>9</sup> The NCCJ raised \$525,000 for Wisconsin Public Schools so that four hundred-forty school systems across the state could

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<sup>8</sup> 98,000 Milwaukee Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women members and 11,000 P.T.A. members are just two of the dozens of organizations that participated in the human relations movement. For example see: Box 7, Folder 2, Milwaukee Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, Archdiocese of Milwaukee (hereafter cited MACCW Papers); Box 1, Folder 37; Box 2, Folder 25, Parent Teachers Association of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Campus Elementary School Records, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Archives. Specific document references available upon request.

<sup>9</sup> NCCJ Wisconsin Region Newsletter February 1959, Box 1, Folder 1, National Conference of Christians and Jews Wisconsin Region, Milwaukee County Historical Society (hereafter cited NCCJW Records).

teach human relations curriculum—or intergroup education—to tens-of-thousands of Wisconsin teachers and some 250,000 school children each year.<sup>10</sup> Milwaukee Mayors Frank Zeidler and Henry Maier committed their offices not only to the human relations movement in principle. The municipal government established a legacy of privileging agencies that utilized restrained strategies—like the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations and the Department of Industry, Labor, and Human Relations—over legislative ones like the Department of Justice. Such practices institutionalized human relations policies as the alternative to the enforcement of civil rights and residential and school desegregation legislation.<sup>11</sup>

### **State of the Field and Periodization of the Human Relations Movement**

The human relations movement has been underappreciated by historians because they tend to interpret a clear break between the religious pluralism movement, also known as the interfaith dialogue movement, of the early twentieth century, and the racial pluralism movement, or the civil rights movement, of the mid-twentieth century.<sup>12</sup> There has never been a

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<sup>10</sup> NCCJ Wisconsin Region Annual Report 1955-56; Letter from Ronald A. Dreschler to Albert Holmquist, January 8, 1960; NCCJ, Wisconsin Region Newsletter, October 1959, Box 1, Folder 1; Director's Report 1961-1962; 1962-1963 NCCJ Wisconsin Region Annual Report, Box 1, Folder 3; NCCJ, Wisconsin Region Newsletter, February 1959, Box 1, Folder 1; National Conference of Christians and Jews, Wisconsin Region Annual Report 1962-1963, Box 1, Folder 3, NCCJ Milwaukee Papers; Also see Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Report 1954-1955, Freestanding Folder MJC Annual Reports 1950-1993, MJC Papers, Milwaukee Jewish Museum.

<sup>11</sup> The Department of Industry, Labor, and Human Relations was founded in 1967 when the State Industrial Commission, the Equal Opportunity Division, and the Governor's Commission on Human Rights merged into the Division of Equal Rights. July 13, 1967, *Milwaukee Journal*, Box 1, Folder 9, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, Case Files Part 3A Papers, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison (Hereafter cited WERD Case Files Part 3A); Ronald Snyder, Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations: A Study, 1968, Box 23, Folder 2, Milwaukee Urban League Papers, Milwaukee Area Research Archives (hereafter cited MUL Papers); Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, Summary of Programs, 1979, Box 56, Folder 10, Records of Henry Maier, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee Archives (hereafter cited Maier Records).

<sup>12</sup> For the purposes of this study, religious, racial, or cultural “pluralism” has three elements. The first element of pluralism is its descriptive nature. On the most basic definitional level, pluralism means the recognition of the fact of diversity, including multiple cultural, ethnic, national, religious, and racial groups living in the same body politic. The second element of pluralism is prescriptive, it includes instructions about how to think and behave

comprehensive study conducted on the theories, programs, policies, or implications of the human relations movement, moreover, nor has any historian outlined the changes that were applied to its theories over time to account for changing social conditions. In the following section, I set out a periodization of the human relations movement. I also propose that two social scientific texts, Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* and Will Herberg's *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, set the tone for how historians would understand attempts to improve interfaith and interracial relations in the twentieth century.<sup>13</sup> Further, historians and sociologists have analyzed the historical significance of the human relations movement only in so far as it fits into the legacies of the civil rights movement.

### *The Origins of the Human Relations Movement*

The earliest origins of human relations theories can be traced to the Progressive era (1890-1920), a period marked by social activism and political reform.<sup>14</sup> Social scientists used

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when living in such a heterogeneous environment. The third element of pluralism is justification. The reasons for why pluralism was necessary and good changed over time and represented responses to particular historical developments. To instill pluralistic values in others, reformers have utilized a number of approaches, including: dialogic and educational-based approaches designed to modify attitudes and teach citizens how to create a prejudice-free and more equal society, direct action approaches that used demonstrations, protests, marches, and sit-ins, and legal approaches that changed behaviors by legislating anti-discrimination practices. For analyses of attempts to institute pluralistic attitudes using dialogic and educational tactics see: Philip Gleason, *Speaking of Diversity: Language and Ethnicity in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Also see: Chris Beneke, *Beyond Toleration: The Religious Origins of American Pluralism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Charles H. Lippy, *Pluralism Comes of Age: American Religious Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2000); Phyllis Palmer, *Living as Equals: How Three White Communities Struggled to Make Interracial Connections During the Civil Rights Era* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2008); Schultz, *Tri-Faith America*, For analyses of attempts to institute pluralism using direct action tactics see: David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, *A Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004); William P Jones, *The March on Washington: Jobs, Freedom, and the Forgotten History of Civil Rights* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013). For legislative approaches see: Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *The Journal of American History* 91(March 2005): 1233-1263; Patrick Jones, *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009)

<sup>13</sup> Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1956); Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944).

<sup>14</sup> For information on the Progressive era see: Robert Crunden, *Ministers of Reform: The Progressives'*

the term “human relations” to generalize and theorize about basic human interactions and best practices for cross cultural and cross racial relationships.<sup>15</sup> The American interreligious and interracial dialogue movements arose as a response to the dramatic rise in hate group membership, itself stimulated by xenophobic reactions to the wave of so-called “new immigrants.”<sup>16</sup> Utilizing the new field of social science, Progressive era reformers created curricula to convince the wider American public to value equality over hierarchy when it came to categories like religion, race, ethnicity, and nationality.<sup>17</sup>

*Phase 1: The Interfaith-Focused Human Relations Movement (1928-1943)*

The first phase of the human relations movement was focused on improving interfaith relations. Founded in response to the rampantly anti-Catholic election of 1928, the

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*Achievement in American Civilization, 1889-1920* (Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 1984); Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform from Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955); Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

<sup>15</sup> Human relations theory was formally articulated in a sociology text book in 1926 at the University of Minnesota; Carl C. Taylor and B.F. Brown, *Human Relations: A College Textbook in Citizenship* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1926). Also see: Byron C. Mathews, “Sociology in Ethical Education,” *Appletons' Popular Science Monthly*, 49 (1896): 373-381

<sup>16</sup> Many feared that the wave of religiously, racially, ethnically, and culturally alien immigrants from Eastern and Southeastern Europe, and the northern migration of African Americans, threatened to degrade the genetic and moral makeup of America’s Anglo-Saxon heritage. Leonard Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in the United States* (New York: Hold, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), 51.

<sup>17</sup> Early twentieth-century social science theory was based on ideas of natural and biological race hierarchies. By the mid-twentieth-century, the view that Anglo-Saxons were superior to other ethnicities and races had largely disappeared from the scientific community. The anthropological theories of “cultural relativity” popularized by Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict convinced the scientific community that racial categories were socially constructed, and denied that any validity to racial hierarchy or social Darwinism. By the 1880s, many scholars argued that all religions, races and ethnicities in the United States were equal in intelligence, morality, and skill. Not only did social scientists argue that individual and group attitudes could be changed using their scientific techniques, but, social scientists also insisted that they could shape institutions and cultural values to reflect American democratic and constitutional ideals. Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), xiv; Jackson, Jr., *Social Scientists for Social Justice*, 6-7, 44; Zoe Burkholder, *Color in the Classroom: How American Schools Taught Race, 1900-1954* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); John Gillin, *Race*, Pamphlet for the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Box 3, Folder 6, WERD Part 4 Papers; Andrew Jewett, *Science, Democracy, and the American University* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

National Conference of Christians and Jews insisted that the restrained strategy of dialogue would “promote justice, amity, understanding and cooperation among Catholics, Jews and Protestants in the United States and to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices.”<sup>18</sup> The NCCJ first transformed human relations theories into educational programs from community development in 1936 at the Williamstown Institute (Williamstown, Massachusetts).<sup>19</sup> The Institute brought together educational, religious, and community leaders to answer the question: “how can people who are unlike, live together harmoniously and cooperatively?”<sup>20</sup> At this first conference, the NCCJ committed themselves to the restrained strategies of education, dialogue and negotiation.

The NCCJ was a national organization with local chapters in almost every major city across the United States.<sup>21</sup> The regional conferences relied initially on Everett Clinchy, the organization’s President, for outreach and contacts.<sup>22</sup> Clinchy petitioned religious and business

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<sup>18</sup> Originally named the Good Will Committee, the NCCJ operated under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches (FCC) from 1924 to 1928. In 1928 the chairmen of the committee decided to form an independent organization called the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The FCC was founded in 1908 in an effort to unite the disparate Protestant denominations through an ecumenical partnership of Social Gospel reform, cooperative publishing, education, and overseas and domestic relief. Robert A. Schneider, “Voices of Many Waters: Church Federation in the Twentieth Century,” in *Between the Times: The Travail of the Protestant Establishment in America, 1900-1960*, ed. William R. Hutchison (New York: Cambridge University, 1989), 117; Samuel McCrea Cavert, *The American Churches in the Ecumenical Movement, 1900-1968* (New York: Association Press, 1968), 36, 264; Also see Sussman, “Toward ‘Better Understanding,” 36; Everett R. Clinchy, *All in the Name of God* (New York: The John Day Company, 1934), 103-104; Maurice Terry, *The Dialogue*, undated (circa 1960), unpublished, Box 3, Folder 6, WERD Part 4 Papers

<sup>19</sup> Human relations theory was formally articulated in a sociology text book in 1926 at the University of Minnesota; Carl C. Taylor and B.F. Brown, *Human Relations: A College Textbook in Citizenship* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1926). Also see: Byron C. Mathews, “Sociology in Ethical Education,” *Appletons’ Popular Science Monthly*, 49(1896): 373-381.

<sup>20</sup> Newton D. Baker, Carlton Hayes, and Roger Williams Straus, *The American Way: A Study of Human Relations among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews* (Chicago: Willett, Clark & Co., 1936) viii.

<sup>21</sup> The national headquarter office in New York had an operational budget of \$2.6 million dollars in 1956. Calculated for inflation, the national NCCJ budget would be \$22.7 million today. Building for Brotherhood Pamphlet, 1956, Box 1 Folder 1, NCCJW Papers; U.S. Inflation Calculator, <http://www.usinflationcalculator.com/>, accessed September 24, 2014.

leaders in cities across the country to convince them of the need to form local chapters.<sup>23</sup> The National headquarters supplied local chapters with bylaws and guidelines but left staffing and fundraising up to the local chapters. According to the bylaws, each regional conference required a director and three chairs, each representing the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths. Chairs were usually male, holding solidly middle-class to upper middle-class jobs; they were well-respected businessmen, business owners, lawyers, politicians, and clergymen. In Milwaukee, mainline Protestant and Jewish clergy, along with middle-class lay men and women were first to join interfaith dialogue groups. Catholics tended to join the human relations movement later because lay Catholic participation depended on the local cardinal's personal attitude toward interfaith dialogue.<sup>24</sup> The rest of the membership was filled by dozens (or in larger cities, hundreds) of men and women holding voluntary offices, many of them having educational or social work backgrounds. The NCCJ utilized local business, religious, and educational units and worked within existing social and political institutions.<sup>25</sup>

The NCCJ introduced the human relations movement to Wisconsin in 1934, focusing its efforts on improving relationships between Protestants, Catholics and Jews in the area.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> The Milwaukee Branch of the NCCJ had an annual working budget of \$67,000, or \$538,489 today. National Conference of Christians and Jews, Wisconsin Region Newsletter, October 1960, Box 1, Folder 2, NCCJW Papers.

<sup>23</sup> Clinchy contacted Rabbi Joseph Baron of Reform Temple Emanu-El' Bne Jeshurun to establish a local conference in Milwaukee. Notice from Everett Clinchy, November 9, 1934, Box 8, Folder 2, Joseph Baron Papers, Milwaukee Area Research Archives (hereafter cited Baron Papers).

<sup>24</sup> In 1935, NCCJ Educational Secretary Dr. Robert Ashworth advised William Rasche of Milwaukee Vocational Schools how to solicit lay Catholic support of NCCJ activities in Milwaukee. Ashworth insisted that Rasche tell Catholics that the goals of interfaith dialogue were not "common worship," theology, or debate. Rather, dialogue emphasized the "common duties as citizens and cooperation for public welfare." Letter from Robert Ashworth to William Rasche, January 28, 1935, Box 8, Folder 2, Baron Papers; Louis J. Switchkow and Lloyd P. Gartner, *The History of the Jews in Milwaukee* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1963), 205, 320.

<sup>25</sup> How to Run a Successful Speakers Bureau, ~1960, Box 21, NCCJ Records.

<sup>26</sup> Milwaukee has been religiously diverse since its founding and interreligious tensions started to fester as soon as

During the first ten years of operation, the NCCJ focused on improving local interfaith relations. Even as America's attention veered away from internal divisions to the danger of external foes in Nazi Germany during World War II, the focus of the human relations movement remained largely centered on problems of religion.<sup>27</sup> In the face of a Nazi enemy that made Jewish extermination a political platform, in the United States, religious diversity itself was lauded as one of the country's great strengths, a positive byproduct of the five hundred-year history of immigration. The goal of the human relations movement at this time of world war was to create religious "unity without uniformity."<sup>28</sup>

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the different groups came into contact. The first European settlers in eighteenth-century Milwaukee, French Catholic Jesuit missionaries and fur traders, encountered Menominee, Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi Native Americans. The Federal government later expelled Wisconsin's Native American population to Iowa and Missouri in 1831 and 1833 when large numbers of Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Baptist, Methodist, and Unitarian, land-seekers from New England joined the Catholic interlopers. While Lutherans constituted Milwaukee's largest Protestant denomination in the nineteenth century, Catholics dominated Milwaukee's religious scene. Protestant-Catholic animosity ran deep in Milwaukee. However, the influx of Jewish immigrants would stretch the limits of the community's tolerance. The first Jews to settle in Milwaukee fled from Germany, with other German Catholics, Lutherans, Christian Reformed, Freethinkers, and Socialists because of the European revolutions of 1848 and religious persecution. The arrival of working-class Jewish and Catholic Eastern and Southeastern immigrants in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century created more pronounced inter- and intra-group tensions. World War I affected Milwaukee to a greater extent than most American cities. The Socialist-led Deutsche Athens was singled out as being pro-German, Bolshevik, and pacifist. German Catholics, Lutherans and Jews all felt persecuted for preserving their linguistic and cultural heritage. Additionally, the Southern resurgent Ku Klux Klan sent a representative up to Milwaukee in 1920 to establish a local Klavern. John Gurda, *The Making of Milwaukee* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee County Historical Society, 2006), 20, 61, 181, 134, 225-230, 235. Walter Kloetzli, *Milwaukee Lutheran Planning Study* (Chicago: National Lutheran Council, 1962), 16-13; Kevin David Smith, "In God We Trust: Religion, the Cold War, and Civil Rights in Milwaukee: 1947-1963" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1999), 11; John Buenker, "Cream City Electoral Politics: A Play in Four Acts," in *Perspectives on Milwaukee's Past*, ed. Margo Anderson and Victor Greene (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 33-34; Robert W. Wells, *This Is Milwaukee* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & company, 1970), 206.

<sup>27</sup> The Women's Committee of the NCCJ, Wisconsin Region and Federated Church Women of Milwaukee County organized human relations programs at the First Baptist Church to keep America "safe for differences in beliefs" in defense against the rising Nazi threat in 1937. According to these church women, such interfaith interactions were for the "glory of America. We are engaged in a constructive and patriotic service which is most timely and necessary." See Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Report 1954-1955, Milwaukee Jewish Council Free Standing Folder, MJC Annual Reports 1950-1993, Milwaukee Jewish Council Papers, Jewish Museum Milwaukee (hereafter cited MJC Papers); "Tolerance Talk Heard by Women," *Milwaukee Journal*, November 16, 1937; Letter from Herbert Laflin, May 7, 1942, Box 2, Folder 4, Box 2, Folder 4, Marian Silveus Papers, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee Archives.

<sup>28</sup> Robert D. Murphy, "Unity without Uniformity," October 27, 1960, unpublished, Box 21, Folder 5, NCCJ Papers; Also see NCCJ Statement, for release to Newspaper, February 15, 1942, Box 88, Folder 24, National

*Phase II: Race Riots at Home Prompt the Inclusion of Race Relations in Human Relations Theory (1943-1945)*

The only phase of the human relations movement that has received attention from scholars is the period directly after the Detroit and Los Angeles race riots of 1943. As a major national news story, the riots brought race relations to the forefront of American consciousness for a brief period. The African American population in Milwaukee exploded in the 1950s, several decades later than other major Northern urban centers further south.<sup>29</sup> Many Northern cities experienced an increase in African American population from the 1910s through the 1930s as many fled the declining Southern agricultural economy and moved northward to take advantage of the industrial boom. Many African Americans stopped in the larger cities of Chicago or Detroit, which had deep-rooted, established black communities, rather than continuing the journey north to Milwaukee. Improving race relations in both the North and South became a hot button issue and a topic that human relations advocates integrated more

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Broadcasting Company Records Part 4 Central Files 1921-1969, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison (hereafter cited NBC Records); Wall, *Inventing the "American Way,"* 86.

<sup>29</sup> Although African Americans numbered among the first settlers of Milwaukee in 1818 (city founder Solomon Juneau's cook Joe Oliver was African American), the total population of African Americans remained small compared to other Northern cities. In 1910, less than 1000 African Americans lived in Milwaukee. By 1920, their numbers had doubled to over 2000. By 1940 a clearly demarcated "black district," later called the inner core had emerged on the Near North Side where, according to housing covenant and red lining practices, ninety percent of the black community was forced to live. In the 1950s, the black population reached 60,000. Tension among Milwaukee's ethnic neighborhoods rose as the African American population boomed in the 1950s. Irish, Polish, and Russian Jewish immigrants no longer looked that different from each other compared to a highly visible, racial minority. William V. Kelley, Director of the Milwaukee Urban League noted: "[w]hereas, in the early days of the migration, the average Milwaukeean was possessed of a kindly interest in Negroes born of curiosity, this soon gave way under the impact of economic pressure to a quiet, but telling indifference and in many instances to open resentment and unmistakable color prejudice." Overt prejudice and discrimination superseded outright physical violence. Many white-owned restaurants and theaters refused to serve African Americans and many employers, realtors, health care providers, and government agencies discriminated against them. By 1970, over 100,000 African Americans called Milwaukee home. Jack Dougherty, "African Americans, Civil Rights, and Race-Making in Milwaukee," in *Perspectives on Milwaukee's Past* eds. Margo Anderson and Victor Greene (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 131; Jack Dougherty, *More than One Struggle: The Evolution of Black School Reform in Milwaukee* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 53; As cited in Joe William Trotter, *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915-1945* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 116, 55; Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 18-23.

heavily into their agendas. During this phase, historians usually refer to the movement by its other name, the intergroup relations movement. Nicholas Montalto notes the “veritable explosion of interest in intergroup relations programs that occurred.”<sup>30</sup> From 1943 to 1949 some 1,100 intergroup relations organizations were established across the country.<sup>31</sup>

Historians have mined the human relations movement for early signs of rights-based rhetoric and civil rights activism. Stuart Svonkin studies the intergroup relations activities of the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, and the Anti-Defamation League. He argues that early involvement in the intergroup relations movement and educational strategies paved the way for organizational adoption of more contentious tactics like social and legal action to fight for civil liberties.<sup>32</sup> Historians Jennifer Delton, Jenna Feltey Alden, and Tom August have written groundbreaking works which analyze Human Relations Management Theory. These studies discuss the ways in which big business harnessed human relations theories to justify workplace racial integration—to a limited degree—before federally mandated affirmative action legislation was created in the late 1960s.<sup>33</sup> Kevin Schultz argues

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<sup>30</sup> Nicolas Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement, 1924-1941* (New York: Garland Pub. Co., 1982), 271; For a description of the Detroit riot see: Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 2005; Kevin Allen Leonard, *The Battle for Los Angeles: Racial Ideology and World War II* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006).

<sup>31</sup> Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 83. Additionally, historian John T. McGreevy recognizes how Catholics employed dialogic techniques to improve intergroup relations in the inner-city. McGreevy argues: “Concerns about racial change ushered in a new generation of Catholic liberals. Instead of depression era priests marching alongside a union organizer, the typical left-leaning Catholic of the 1950s was an “intergroup relations” professional, often a layperson, and interested in a broad range of social and theological issues.” He also cites, but does not analyze the implications of, human relations programs in Boston, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Trumbull County, Ohio. John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth Century Urban North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 85.

<sup>32</sup> Svonkin, *Jews Against Prejudice*, 2-4.

<sup>33</sup> Jennifer Delton, *Racial Integration in Corporate America, 1940-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Jenna Feltey Alden, “Bottom-Up Management: Participative Philosophy and Humanistic Psychology in American Organizational Culture, 1930-1970,” PhD diss., Columbia University, 2012; Tom August, *From Assimilation to Multiculturalism: Managing Ethnic Diversity in Milwaukee* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 2013).

that the language of universal brotherhood used by the NCCJ “helped soften the ground for the civil rights movement.”<sup>34</sup> Daryl Michael Scott advises that the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* Supreme Court decision (1954)—which established that the practice of separate but equal segregated public schools was unconstitutional—“has its roots in the postwar pluralist, integrationist, therapeutic ideals” cultivated by human relations organizations like the NCCJ.<sup>35</sup> Additionally, Phyllis Palmer investigates how the NCCJ Brotherhood Camps (1957-1974), which invited Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, white and black adolescents to discuss ways to improve interfaith and interracial relations using dialogic and educational tactics, changed adolescent perceptions about their peers. She argues that these sleepaway camps were not only sites of temporary integration but were institutions that challenged the superiority of whiteness, complicated white identity, and even helped build early understandings of black power.<sup>36</sup>

Some historians of American education likewise try to connect the legacies of the intergroup education movement to the rights-focused curriculum of multicultural education.<sup>37</sup> Cherry McGee Banks argues that the intergroup curricula—which she insists was employed by educators from the 1930s until only the 1950s—was an “important antecedent” to the multicultural education, a curriculum heavily influenced by the civil rights, women’s rights,

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<sup>34</sup> Schultz, *Tri-Faith America*, 180.

<sup>35</sup> Daryl Michael Scott, “Postwar Pluralism, *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the Origins of Multicultural Education,” *The Journal of American History* 91 (2004): 69-82.

<sup>36</sup> Palmer, *Living as Equals*, 2008.

<sup>37</sup> Nicholas Montalto also noticed that educators’ interest in the human relations movement spiked after the 1943 race riots as well. Entire issues of *The American Teacher*, *Childhood Education*, and *Educational Leadership* were devoted to the subject of intergroup education. See citation in Montalto: *The American Teacher*, XXXIX (April, 1944); *Childhood Education*, XX (April, 1944); and *Educational Leadership*, II (April, 1944). Nicolas V. Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Educational Movement*, 271; Also see Wall, *Inventing the “American Way*, 282.

and minority rights rhetoric of the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>38</sup> Additionally, Diana Selig analyzes the intercultural curricular movement during the interwar period. Intercultural education aimed to expose school children to different ethnic groups and some of their most exotic cultural practices.<sup>39</sup> Selig ends her analysis with the onset of World War II with the argument that intercultural (and intergroup education) failed because it did not capture the African American experience.<sup>40</sup> Dennis Downey contends that scholars shift their focus in favor of “organizations and events that served as direct precursors to—or which subsequently played a role in—the civil rights movement.”<sup>41</sup> The human relations movement is interesting to scholars during this period only in so far as it answers questions about the origins of the civil rights movement.

Gunnar Myrdal wrote his famous social scientific text during this period and its influence explains why so many historians have honed in on this two year span as a remarkable age for the improvement of race relations. Myrdal proposed that Americans believed wholeheartedly in the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, but, as “practical idealists,” they were able to justify the day-to-day denial of equality and justice to African Americans.<sup>42</sup> Myrdal concluded that the only way to force idealists to be realists—and to eliminate white discrimination toward blacks—was to administer a massive Reconstruction-

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<sup>38</sup> Cherry A. McGee Banks, *Improving Multicultural Education: Lessons from the Intergroup Education Movement* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2005).

<sup>39</sup> Selig is one of the few scholars who recognizes the difference between intercultural education and intergroup education. Intercultural educators relied heavily on assemblies and focused on cultural practices. Intergroup educators integrated human relations lessons into their plans throughout the school day, and taught about religious, racial, and ethnic groups.

<sup>40</sup> Selig, *Americans All*, 268.

<sup>41</sup> Downey, “Elaborating Consensus,” 204.

<sup>42</sup> Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, Vol 1, lxxviii.

style federal and municipal-level judicial and legislative campaign in the twentieth century.<sup>43</sup> *An American Dilemma* received massive attention at its first release in 1944.<sup>44</sup> *The New York Times*, *The New York Republic*, and *The Saturday Review* reviewed the study favorably for its demand of social and political equality.<sup>45</sup>

Myrdal's work has spawned a field of scholarly inquiry in its own right. Every serious scholar of the history of race cites *An American Dilemma* as a great call for legislative action.<sup>46</sup> Robert A. Dentler proclaimed that it "stands as a monumental achievement in the annals of social scientific reporting on race relations."<sup>47</sup> Sociologist Martin Bulmer called it "the most important single study of race relations to have appeared in the first half of the twentieth century."<sup>48</sup> Historians assume that human relations advocates—religious and racial pluralists—

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<sup>43</sup> Myrdal said: "[d]eeds are called for...she [America] cannot wait and see. She has to do something big and do it soon." Gunnar Myrdal, *American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, Volume II* (New York: Harper Torchbooks: 1962), 1021-1022.

<sup>44</sup> Lewis Gannett of *The New York Herald Tribune* and sociologist Robert Lynd compared *An American Dilemma* to Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* As cited in Stephen Graubard, "An American Dilemma Revisited," in *An American Dilemma Revisited: Race Relations in a Changing World*, ed. Obie Clayton, Jr. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996), 9; Walter A. Jackson, *Gunnar Myrdal and America's Conscience: Social Engineering and Racial Liberalism, 1938-1987* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), xii;

<sup>45</sup> Black intellectuals like W.E.B. Du Bois and E. Franklin Frazier also praised *An American Dilemma*. As cited in Graubard, "An American Dilemma Revisited," 9. For more discussions on how Myrdal's work was received in 1944 see: Jackson, *Gunnar Myrdal and America's Conscience*, 241-271; David W. Southern, *Gunnar Myrdal and Black-White Relations: The Use and Abuse of An American Dilemma, 1944-1969* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 71-99.

<sup>46</sup> Dudziak further insists President Johnson was influenced by Myrdal's call to reconcile American ideals with American realities. See: Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 232-233; Patricia Sullivan, *Lift Every Voice: The NAACP and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: The New York Press, 2009), 281-282; Also see Nancy MacLean, *Freedom is not Enough: The Opening of the American Work Place* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 27; Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and the Nationalism the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 4, 46-47, 193, 276.

<sup>47</sup> Robert A. Dentler, "The Political Situation and Power Prospects of African Americans in Gunnar Myrdal's Era and Today," in *An American Dilemma Revisited: Race Relations in a Changing World*, ed. Obie Clayton, Jr. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996), 25.

<sup>48</sup> As cited in John P. Jackson, Jr., *Social Scientists for Social Justice: Making the Case against Segregation* (New

and their use of restrained social movement tactics like education, dialogue, and negotiation, were overshadowed and replaced by civil rights activists—race pluralists—and rights rhetoric by the 1950s. The human relations movement rarely, if ever, appears in the indexes of the major works of the history of American religion or civil rights.<sup>49</sup> Additionally, historians of American religion have not realized how human relations theory influenced campaigns to promote religious pluralism.

According to historians, Myrdal’s treatise spurred personal and institutional transformations by calling for direct action and legislation. Walter Jackson declared that Myrdal’s work lent legitimacy to civil rights. He argues: “[a]s the civil rights movement gained momentum, many educated white Americans turned to Myrdal’s book...most significantly, Chief Justice Earl Warren cited *An American Dilemma* in the Supreme Court’s *Brown V. Board of Education* decision to support the view that segregated schools were inherently unequal.”<sup>50</sup> John P. Jackson, Jr. claims that “*An American Dilemma* provided the scientific imprimatur upon many calls for civil rights” including the Truman administration’s report *To Secure These Rights*.<sup>51</sup> David W. Southern placed Myrdal’s work firmly in the legacy of civil rights activism, echoing Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.’s insistence that by the 1960s, “Myrdalism” provided “a kind of

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York: New York University Press, 2001), 55.

<sup>49</sup> None of the following major reference texts, to name a few, make reference to the human relations movement: Patrick Allitt, *Religion in America since 1945: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); Jule Buckner Armstrong ed., *Teaching the American Civil Rights Movement: Freedom’s Bittersweet Song* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Daniel Greene, *The Jewish Origins of Cultural Pluralism: The Menorah Association and American Diversity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011); Hutchison, *Religious Pluralism in America*; Charles H. Lippy, *Pluralism Comes of Age: American Religious Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2000); Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Equality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

<sup>50</sup> Jackson, *Gunnar Myrdal and America’s Conscience*, xi.

<sup>51</sup> Jackson, Jr., *Social Scientists for Social Justice*, 55.

background music for the civil rights effort.”<sup>52</sup> Southern also claims powerful statesmen of the 1950s and 1960s, like Frederick G. Dutton, advisor to Presidents Kennedy and Dutton, remembered *An American Dilemma* as a powerful indictment against the unequal American system which spurred them to respond with legislative action.<sup>53</sup> Informed by Myrdal’s model, historians have associated racial pluralism as an isolated social movement, characterized by rights based rhetoric.<sup>54</sup>

*Phase III: The Cold War Period: The Human Relations Movement Limits the Spread of Communism (1945-1980)*

During the Cold War, the Soviet Union’s propaganda charged that American capitalism fostered racism, economic inequalities, and nullified the freedoms and ideals outlined in America’s most precious founding documents.<sup>55</sup> American politicians and social scientists looked to educational theories, like the human relations movement, to help overcome internal intergroup divisions and prove to communists that Americans lived up to their democratic promise.<sup>56</sup> Ironically, human relations theory specified that the easiest way to teach

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 226.

<sup>53</sup> “Frederick G. Dutton, who advised both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson on racial matters, recalled that Myrdal and his book “were so towering in the intellectual and . . . political climate of that period and the preceding years that its influence [was] more fundamental than just immediate policy decisions.”” Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Thomas Sugrue’s interpretation of *An American Dilemma* represents a noteworthy exception. Honing in on Myrdal’s faith in American “Judeo-Christian understanding of the unity of humanity under God,” Sugrue argues that Myrdal invested in education and moral suasion tactics above all others. Sugrue understands “intergroup relations” as a legacy of Myrdal’s work, not civil rights. Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008), 60, 61, 80.

<sup>55</sup> Refer to: Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001); For scholarship on the use of Judeo-Christian discourse in Cold War America see: William Inboden III, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: The Soul of Containment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); T. Jeremy Gunn, *Spiritual Weapons: The Cold War and the Forging of an American National Religion* (Westport: Praeger, 2009); Jonathan P. Herzog, *The Spiritual-industrial Complex: America’s Religious Battle Against Communism the Early Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>56</sup> Recognizing the inherent value of capitalism, Maurice Terry, Director of NCCJ Milwaukee, explained that

Americans to accept all religions and races was to stoke prejudice toward the communist enemy.<sup>57</sup> By emphasizing the stereotype that communism sought to make man “a creature of absolutism,” differences between Americans would seem trivial. According to human relations theorists, once American citizens and the U.S. government made it clear that they valued everyone as human beings—regardless of their religious or racial background—the world would be made up of democrats, not communists.<sup>58</sup> Donald Frey of the Foundation for Freedom and Democracy in Community Life intoned, “If America solves the race relations problem, citizens of all nations will support American democracy and world peace will be near.”<sup>59</sup> Conversely, a Mr. Travis of the Milwaukee Fair Employment Commission claimed that discrimination “encouraged communism among those against who the discrimination was directed.”<sup>60</sup> Mrs. Hyman Israel, representative of the Wisconsin Governor’s Commission on Human Rights, expanded on this theme by placing Wisconsin’s cities at the center of the global

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human relations’ “frontal attack for understanding to end intolerance gives industry the know-how to resolve conflicts cooperatively and with partnership, stimulating moral and increasing production...not frustrated by racial and creedal conflicts.” Jerry Rosenthal, “Memo to Joseph Stalin” (Reprint from *Milwaukee Sentinel* n.d.), Box 11, Folder 17, NCCJ Papers.

<sup>57</sup> Kurt R. Spillmann and Kati Spillmann, “Some Sociobiological and Psychological Aspects of “Images of the Enemy,”” in *Enemy Images in American History* eds. Ragnhind Fiebig-von Hase and Ursula Lehmkuhl (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1997): 43-64.

<sup>58</sup> “Dramatize the Efforts to Aid Human Rights,” *Milwaukee Journal* April 29, 1953, Milwaukee Jewish Council Freestanding Folder, Annual City Wide Meeting 1950-1953, MJC Papers; Brotherhood Week Television Spot, Announcement 2, 1952, Box 164, Folder 18, NBC Records Part 7.

<sup>59</sup> Donald Frey, *The American Age of Human Relations*, 1964, page 1, unpublished, Box, Folder 2, Helen Barnhill Papers, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee Archives (hereafter cited Barnhill Papers). For more information on the Foundation for Freedom and Democracy in Community Life see: Box 1, Folder 2, Barnhill Papers.

<sup>60</sup> Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University warned the Milwaukee’s NAACP that India, having learned of “segregation, humiliation and deprivation” from the British, could turn communist and “swing the balance of world powers.” If America equalized opportunity for all, India would more likely turn to democracy and “the world will have 150 billion democrats.” See “Racial Bias Aiding Reds, Group Told,” *Milwaukee Sentinel*, December 16, 1955, Box 2, Folder 8, NAACP Milwaukee Branch, Milwaukee Area Research Archives (hereafter cited NAACP Milwaukee Papers). Minutes of the Mayor’s Commission on Human Relations, June 9, 1948, Box 89, Folder 2, Frank Zeidler Papers, Milwaukee Public Library (hereafter cited Zeidler Papers).

tug of war for ideological allegiance. Israel insisted that the world took note of “what is happening in Wisconsin. They want to see whether we practice what we preach about democracy in Milwaukee, in Muskego, in Green Bay, in Platteville. They read about the Negro student who finds it hard to get a haircut or a place to sleep, or the migrant children working long hours in the fields with little chance for an education.”<sup>61</sup> Americans, Israel maintained, were under a microscope. At every opportunity, Americans needed to prove to communists that they were fair towards, and accepting of, different races.

Yet even in this race-conscious, postwar United States, religious philosophy was central to the human relations movement. Everett Clinchy insisted that “the idea of the value and dignity of the individual man...basic to all true democracy...is a religious conception.” Unlike governments founded on the “selfish” or atheistic values of Friedrich Nietzsche, Nazism, or communism, the American government “must be actuated by the ideals of the theist.”<sup>62</sup> Especially in the South, where integration was a legal, not just social and cultural issue, the NCCJ’s emphasis on interfaith relations first and race relations second enabled the NCCJ to remain a well-respected, safe, centrist, and apolitical organization. More so than in the North, leaders of Southern chapters of the NCCJ, like Virginius Dabney of the Virginia chapter, focused on Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish dialogue programming over improving black/white relations so as not to “embarrass those in the South...trying to work with you [the NCCJ].”<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Mrs. Hyman Israel, *Improving Human Rights in Your Community: A Handbook for Wisconsin Youth*, unpublished, Box 49, Folder 2, Wisconsin Governors’ Commission on Human Rights, Series 997, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison (hereafter cited GCHR Records).

<sup>62</sup> Everett Ross Clinchy, *The World We Want to Live In* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1943), 87,88,91,93.

<sup>63</sup> Letter from Virginius Dabney to Everett Clinchy, September 18, 1956, Out of the Box, Notes from the Archives @ the Library of Virginia, [http://www.virginiamemory.com/blogs/out\\_of\\_the\\_box/2010/06/09/im-not-sure-that-i-ought-to-say-all-these-things/](http://www.virginiamemory.com/blogs/out_of_the_box/2010/06/09/im-not-sure-that-i-ought-to-say-all-these-things/), accessed by author, November 22, 2014; also see Letter from Gordon Lovejoy to Herbert Seamans, June 2, 1955, Box 23, Folder 31, NCCJ Papers.

According to leading officials of the NCCJ, religious ideals would guide America's political leaders to govern justly and create a more open society, both religiously and racially.

Will Herberg published his social scientific examination of religion in the United States during this early age of Cold War. His scholarship's influence on historians is undisputed.<sup>64</sup> James Fischer argues that *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* became the "central text in accounts of postwar American religion."<sup>65</sup> Martin Marty attests that, "because so many people believed [Herberg's thesis] to be the case, in a way, there it was."<sup>66</sup> David Hollinger contends that a "major...indicator of... religious pluralism was the enormously favorable reception Protestant leaders gave to Will Herberg's *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*."<sup>67</sup> Sarah Barringer Gordon proclaims that "Herberg's treatise was a huge hit, and is quoted and relied upon to this day to explain how faith could flourish amid the change and mobility of the post-World War II era."<sup>68</sup> Furthermore Stephen Prothero calls *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* a "landmark," and Robert Putnam names it a "classic."<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> For representative examples of scholarship that cite Herberg as a central text in the evolution of twentieth-century American religious pluralism see: Charles L. Cohen and Ronald L. Numbers eds., *Gods in America: Religious Pluralism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Diana Eck, *A New Religious America: How a "Christian Country" Has Now Become the World's Most Religiously Diverse Nation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2001); William R. Hutchison, *Religious Pluralism in American*; "Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*."

<sup>65</sup> James Fischer, "American Religion Since 1945," in *A Companion to Post-1945 America*, eds. Jean-Christophe Agnew and Roy Rosenzweig (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2002), 50.

<sup>66</sup> As cited in *Ibid*, 50.

<sup>67</sup> David Hollinger, "Jewish Intellectuals and the De-Christianization of American Public Culture in the Twentieth Century," in *Jews, and Secular Culture: Studies in mid-Twentieth-century American Intellectual History*, ed. David Hollinger (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 34.

<sup>68</sup> Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Spirit of the Law: Religious Voices and the Constitution in Modern America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 76.

<sup>69</sup> Stephen R. Prothero, *American Jesus: How the Son of God Became a National Icon* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2003), 260; Robert D. Putnam, *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012), 89.

Herberg's argument influenced how scholars understood American religion and interfaith relations. Herberg associated the interfaith movement with the tactical approaches of dialogue and education: "Interfaith [dialogue] in this country is the device that American experience has elaborated for bringing some measure of harmony among the religious communities and in some degree mitigating their tensions and suspicions."<sup>70</sup> He argued that the goal of interfaith dialogue was mutual understanding between Protestants, Catholics and Jews. Herberg's text itself operates as an interfaith educational tool, supplying demographic and sociological data on the three "democratic" American religions. By learning about Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism, and by talking to persons of different faiths, Herberg implied that Americans would become less prejudiced and more accepting of other religions.

Herberg emphasized the centrality of the National Conference of Christians and Jews to the interfaith dialogue movement, especially the exploits and national fame of the NCCJ's Tolerance Trio Tours of the 1930s.<sup>71</sup> A Protestant minister, a Catholic priest, and a Jewish rabbi would travel across the country, and make public appearances in which they would speak about the "Brotherhood of Man under the Fatherhood of God," and the benefits of interfaith understanding to the nation.<sup>72</sup> Picking up on Herberg's theme, historians have portrayed interfaith dialogue as an exercise practiced between clergyman and not something that

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<sup>70</sup> Most known for his triple-melting pot thesis, Herberg contended that immigrants to the U.S. had abandoned their ethnic identities but held on to their religious ones by identifying as Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish. Herberg argued: "Not to be a Catholic, a Protestant, or a Jew today is, for increasing numbers of American people, not to be anything, not to have a name." See Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, 53; In-text quote: 275.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, 259-268.

<sup>72</sup> The original Trio included Rev. Everett Clinchy, Father J. Elliott Ross, C.P.S. Ph.D., and Rabbi Morris Lazaron. First Trio Tour, Trio Program, Box 1, NCCJ Papers; Also see James E. Pitt, *Adventures in Brotherhood* (New York: Farrar, 1955); Victoria Barnett, "Fault Lines: An Analysis of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1933-1948," (PhD diss., George Mason University, 2012).

concerned the average layman or laywoman.<sup>73</sup> In their discussions of early Jewish participation in interfaith dialogue, historians Lance Sussman, Mia Sara Bruch, and Lila Corwin Berman focus on the key leadership roles of Rabbis Isaac Landman, Mordecai Kaplan, and Julius Morgenstern.<sup>74</sup> Kevin Schultz and Diana Selig also give the impression that the NCCJ membership was made up entirely of clergyman.<sup>75</sup>

Herberg's thesis also persuaded scholars' that the influence of the interfaith movement had been fleeting, its supporters half-heartedly dedicated, and its success limited compared to the direct action or legislative tactics used by civil rights activists.<sup>76</sup> Mark Silk emphasizes the limits of mid-century Judeo-Christian pluralism: "The Judeo-Christian concept had arisen in a search for consensus, and consensus itself, after the sixties, was a bad word... So it was in *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, for example, Herberg both blessed and cursed the consensus that neo-

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<sup>73</sup> Chapters one and two of this study demonstrates that the human relations movement empowered laymen and women working with voluntary organizations to improve intergroup relations. Clergymen were less central to the human relations mission. Doris Boyd, a member of the NCCJ, argued: "You just expect that a priest will love his fellowmen, but when a business or professional man will take time from a busy schedule to talk to Junior High students on the same subject, it is news." Thus, clergymen, stalwarts in religious devotion and ethical behavior, did not inspire the type of transformation required to fundamentally revolutionize a world scarred by religious hatred and racial bigotry. Doris I. Boyd, *Expanding Horizons: Adventures in Intergroup Education with Young People* (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews), 49; National Conference of Christians and Jews, *Why I Am a Member of the National Conference of Christians and Jews* (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, n.d.).

<sup>74</sup> Lance Sussman, "Toward 'Better Understanding: the Rise of the Interfaith Movement in America and the Role of Rabbi Isaac Landman," *American Jewish Archives* 34 (1982); Mia Sara Bruch, "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man: American Jews and American Religious Pluralism, 1939-1960" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2006); Lila Corwin Berman, *Speaking of Jews: Rabbis, Intellectuals, and the Creation of an American Public Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

<sup>75</sup> Schultz, *Tri-Faith America*, 35-42; Diana Selig, *Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2008), 113-234.

<sup>76</sup> Historian William R. Hutchison quotes the satirist Tom Lehrer to illustrate this point. Lehrer lampooned those who quietly despised persons of other religions three hundred and fifty-eight days a year but touted their tolerance and dedication to religious good will seven days each year during National Brotherhood Week: "The Protestants hate the Catholics; And the Catholics hat the Protestants, And the Hindus hate the Moslems, And everybody hates the Jews...During National Brotherhood Week, National Brotherhood Week, National Everyone-Smile-at-One-Another-hood Week...Step up and shake the hand; Of someone you can't stand; You can tolerate him if you try." Hutchison, *Religious Pluralism in America*, 205.

orthodoxy was helping to create.”<sup>77</sup> According to historians, the dialogic tactics that worked for a time to create a more inclusive society for religious minorities were not radical enough to foster a society that was also racially pluralistic. Wendy Wall contends that “race proved time and again to be more of a stumbling block.”<sup>78</sup>

Influenced by such landmark texts, sociologists and historians discount the significance of the human relations movement because they insist on fitting its contributions into the narrative of the “contentious” movements of the civil rights era. Dennis Downey acknowledges that human relations organizations “have attracted little systematic research. That is understandable, given the scant tangible gains that wartime activities left for the civil rights movement to build upon.”<sup>79</sup> In John P. Jackson’s opinion, negotiating for change through education and dialogue might have worked during the interwar period, but after the war, social scientists realized that more radical remedies were needed to address racial inequalities.<sup>80</sup> Harold Wenschler argues that, as civil rights activists challenged the assertion “that social and legal action could produce more and faster change than education... the NCCJ would not or could not keep up with the times.”<sup>81</sup> As a result, he argues that members the NCCJ, left the group and its educational tactics behind in the 1960s. In a similar vein, historians of Jewish

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<sup>77</sup> Similarly, Wendy Wall insists that the interfaith movement was a business-friendly venture that did not push the boundaries of accepted conventions. Wendy L. Wall, *Inventing the “American Way:” The Politics of Consensus from the New Deal to the Civil Rights Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 85-86.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 284.

<sup>79</sup> Downey, “Elaborating Consensus,” 204.

<sup>80</sup> Before World War II, laws, like the people who drafted them, were imperfect and up until that point, had fostered inequality. After the war, however, Jackson argues social scientists “built an argument that it was not necessary to wait and do nothing while society “evolved” more egalitarian racial mores; rather, the law could change racial attitudes.” Jackson Jr., *Social Scientists for Social Justice*, 8-9

<sup>81</sup> Harold Wechsler, “Making a Religion of Intergroup Education: The National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1927-1957,” *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 47(2012): 3-40.

thought assume that all Jews involved in improving intergroup relations in the early and mid-twentieth century broke ties with restrained social movements in favor of more contentious ones during the civil rights era. Accordingly, Stuart Svonkin argues that educational tactics became outdated in the 1960s, and that legislative and direct action techniques became the only accepted means to force equal rights.<sup>82</sup>

Historians are not the only scholars who have ignored the negative and positive contributions of the human relations movement. Sociologists Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison insist that social movements “provide a challenge to the dominant assumptions of the social order.”<sup>83</sup> By starting with a definition which assumes that a social movement must challenge the social order directly, scholars preclude the human relations movement from having any influence on society, for good or ill. The human relations movement worked with existing institutions, did not challenge the status quo, and used educational tactics which aimed to modify attitudes on an individual basis rather than change behaviors on a societal level.

By “negotiated for social change” through dialogue and persuasion through education, restrained or consensus-driven movements have been portrayed as a “stepping stone” to more radical and direct protests for change.<sup>84</sup> According to Dennis Downey,

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<sup>82</sup> Likewise, Marc Dollinger argues Northern Jews abandoned educational tactics and initiated the most productive phase of the civil rights era in the early 1960s. Northern Jewish organizations “waged legislative battles on Capitol Hill” and supported chapters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the NAACP around the country. According to Dollinger, the restrained educational tactics previously embraced by the American Jewish Committee no longer suited this age of action. Marc Dollinger, *Quest for Inclusion: Jews and Liberalism in Modern America* (Princeton University Press, 2000), 169, 173; Stuart Svonkin, *Jews Against Prejudice: American Jews and the Fight for Civil Liberties* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 84.

<sup>83</sup> Thomas Rochon adds that this challenge fosters “a debate about new ideas... that serve to articulate, publicize, and disseminate critiques of existing institutions, practices and values.” As cited in Thomas R. Rochon, *Culture Moves: Ideas, Activism, and Changing Values* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 33; Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991).

<sup>84</sup> Downey, “Elaborating a Consensus,” 204, 210.

sociologists like Lofland and McKee “present intergroup relations as a timid and naive reform movement that failed to promote the kind of direct action and mass movement upon which social change ultimately depended. As such, they seemingly confirm the crowding effect of non-contentious strategies as well as their ineffectiveness in promoting social change.”<sup>85</sup> In other words, human relations advocates pleaded only for change some time in the future; the protest and legislative tactics used by civil rights activists demanded action now. Dennis Downey himself treats the intergroup relations movement more seriously by focusing on the movement’s efforts at capacity-building, community organizing, and use of eclectic strategies. However, Downey himself concludes that “[t]he impact of negotiated change strategies [education, dialogue, persuasion] was limited without the leverage provided by direct action tactics in the context of mass mobilization.”<sup>86</sup> Since the human relations movement used educational tactics and never adopted the direct action techniques employed by civil rights activists, sociologists have portrayed the human relations movement as an episode of no consequence and a movement with no leverage to demand social change.<sup>87</sup>

This dissertation, however, comes to very different conclusions about the human relations movement. I contend that the restrained, educational-based human relations movement was not the early, uncontroversial “stepping stone” stage of the civil rights movement or a conservative, alternative dead-end. In Milwaukee, civil rights activities and

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid, 205.

<sup>86</sup> Downey’s final point is that restrained social movements are worth studying because: “less contentious strategies may be effective in cultivating political opportunities, even as they are ineffective in generating social change.” Ibid, 214-215.

<sup>87</sup> Implicit, or even explicit in many cases, to any sociological analysis of restrained social movements is a criticism of the failure of race relations theorists to address institutional racism or anticipate the black power movement of the 1960s. James McKee calls this disregard of institutional racism in favor of individual prejudice and white attitudes a “failure of perspective. James B. McKee, *Sociology and the Race Problem: The Failure of a Perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

activists rose in protest of the gradualists' approaches of the human relations movement, but in spite of protest actions to push society forward, more quickly on civil rights, human relations theories and policies remained solidly in power, limiting the influence of civil rights legislation and retarding the rate of residential and school integration. The human relations movement was effective in exactly the way it was designed; it did not force anyone to integrate residentially or go to school with persons of different races before they wanted to. Theorists even anticipated that it might take centuries to encourage Americans to integrate voluntarily. Sociologists and historians have dismissed restrained social movements for not changing society. I argue that their influence is exactly why they are important and why we should study them. Milwaukee, a Northern city which experienced direct action demonstrations, civil rights, and desegregation legislation, is the second most racially segregated city in the nation in 2015. The wide-ranging influence of a restrained social movement contributed to that social fact.

### **Chapter Description**

This dissertation is organized into three parts: how the human relations movement influenced the policies of voluntary organizations (part I), public schools (part II), and government agencies (part III). There are two reasons for arranging my study in this way. The historical reason for this structure is that human relations theorists believed that prejudice could be completely eradicated from American culture only if the human relations movement were supported by multiple institutions. According to the NCCJ, the cooperation of voluntary organizations, public school systems, and municipal government agencies constituted a “massive educational program—one designed to remind and educate anew the vast multitude of Americans of the true meaning of democracy, equality, and justice.”<sup>88</sup> Therefore, one can get a

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<sup>88</sup> Herbert Seamans, Educational Director of the NCCJ, further articulated: “The preservation of our democracy

sense for the scope and range of the human relations movement only by looking at more than one site of knowledge production and dissemination.

The NCCJ, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the American Jewish Committee, and the National Urban League translated human relations theories into programs for voluntary organizations to improve relationships between religious and racial groups in their own neighborhoods.<sup>89</sup> Human relations theorists chose voluntary organizations as one of the major populations to target attitude modification curricula, because voluntary organizations flourished in twentieth-century urban America and cultivated considerable cultural, social, and political capital.<sup>90</sup> Human relations theorists at the NCCJ, the ADL, and the Urban League postulated that a three-step program would build unity among different religious, racial and ethnic groups in American cities. First, community members mastered the rules of respectful dialogue as drafted by the Milwaukee NCCJ or like human relations organizations.<sup>91</sup> Second, members of

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depends largely upon the creation of common sentiments and purposes, translated into good human relations among all the peoples comprising our nation.” Herbert Seamans, “Forward,” in *Expanding Horizons*, 1; In-text quote: Ben Chernov, Twenty Years of Progress, December 8, 1959, page 2, Box 21, Folder Milwaukee Jewish Council, Committee for Community Relations, MJC Papers.

<sup>89</sup> Big Ideas on Brotherhood, Box 1, Folder 2, NCCJ Milwaukee Papers; National Conference of Christians and Jews, *What Can Our Communities Do?* (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, circa 1933-1937).

<sup>90</sup> For discussions of voluntary organizations in the early- to mid-twentieth century America see: Paul S. Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1978); Elisabeth S. Clemens and Doug Guthrie eds., *Politics and Partnerships: The Role of Voluntary Associations in America's Political Past and Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2010); Susan J. Ellis, *By the People: A History of Americans as Volunteers* (Philadelphia: Energize, 2005); For how voluntary organizations could be employed in the service of the human relations movement see: Lucy Corliss Phinney Gregg, *New Relationships with Jews and Catholics* (New York City: Association Press, 1934).

<sup>91</sup> The rules of respectful dialogue included: 1) Dialogue groups should consist of repeat participants so that members get to know and trust one another over time. 2) Participants should be well-versed in their own tradition, theologically and historically. 3) During dialogue meetings “each participant must listen sympathetically and genuinely to others...each must be willing to interpret other participants in the “best light” rather than the “worst light.” 4) Each participant must be willing to “accept responsibility in humility and penitence for what his group has done and is doing to foster and perpetuate misunderstanding, suspicion and distrust, as well as that which contributes to understanding and cooperation.” 5) Lastly, each participant must be willing to trust persons of other traditions over the course of the meeting sessions. Maurice Terry, *The Dialogue*, (circa 1960), unpublished, Box 3,

the community needed access to “a body of facts” about the historical, political, social, and cultural characteristics of the population. Armed with the “truth,” human relations theorists believed that citizens would voluntarily elect to improve the lot of their neighbors.<sup>92</sup> Third, citizens practiced applying the rules of dialogue and leadership skills by designing community improvement projects. By working together to improve the neighborhood through park beautification, playground clean-ups, or a joint bake sale fundraiser for refugee relief, persons of different religions and races would get to know one another and learn that they were very much alike. Human relations theories endowed laymen and women with the power to modify attitudes, improve the quality of intergroup interactions, and change the behavior and culture of the entire community. Gertrude Hart Day, an NCCJ member, articulated her experience with the human relations movement in this way:

No one need say in regard to neighborhood projects, “oh, I am not trained to help there” or “you need an educator or a clergyman. I’m just housewife...” Educators and clergymen are presumed to have the specialized knowledge to point the way but it is for you and me, the Mary’s and Ida’s and Joe’s and Tom’s—just everyday people—to act to bring about a feeling of togetherness. So it comes down to the homemaker...to begin to extend love, loyalty, generosity, friendliness...outward to our neighbors.<sup>93</sup>

In public schools human relations theories took a structured, curricular form, called intergroup education. The NCCJ and the Anti-Defamation League partnered with the American

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Folder 6, WERD Part 4 Papers.

<sup>92</sup> The Milwaukee Urban League trained white lay men and women how to poll and interview African Americans respectfully. Such structured interactions were designed to transform misconceptions or ignorance into acceptance and knowledge. One Milwaukeean described her time at the human relations’ program this way: “they [Negroes] are not true to the stereotype we once had of them ...probably the greatest thing I received from this survey was an appreciation that the Negroes are people much like ourselves... [I] received a very favorable impression of the colored people... my entire opinion and attitude of the colored race was completely changed after I became acquainted with their environment.” As cited in Gordon William Blackwell, *Toward Community Understanding* (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1943), 40.

<sup>93</sup> Gertrude Hart Day, *Building Today for Tomorrow in Our Neighborhoods* (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1948), 5.

Council on Education (ACE) to extend the reach of the human relations movement to public schools.<sup>94</sup> Centered in Washington D.C. to conduct research, advocate public policy to the federal government, and develop leadership in higher education, the ACE worked with the American government on many major educational programs, including intergroup education.<sup>95</sup> Professional educators translated human relations theories into curriculum for each stage in child development (nursery, primary, secondary, collegiate, teacher training) and adult education. Hilda Taba, a student of John Dewey's, founded the Center for Intergroup Education at the University of Chicago and was considered the nation's foremost authority on human relations education in public schools.<sup>96</sup>

For the complicated and bureaucratic realm of municipal government, the human relations movement catered to two major government employee groups: civil servants and

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<sup>94</sup> Human relations (intergroup education) found educational audiences all over the United States. NCCJ claimed that forty universities held human relations workshops across the country in 1958 alone and nationwide, one thousand colleges and twelve thousand public and private schools engaged in human relations programming. In 1945, the NCCJ awarded ACE a substantial grant, and staff support, to establish the project, Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools to formulate curricula, draft new materials, and develop new ways to approach, and immunize against, prejudice and discrimination in public schools. The Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools Project involved school systems in thirteen states across the Northern, Midwestern, and Western United States. The ACE/NCCJ partnered in another intergroup education project, the College Study in Intergroup Relations from 1945 through 1949. These twenty-four institutions of higher education were scattered across the entire US (North, West, and South). Lloyd Allen Cook ed., *College Programs in Intergroup Relations: A Report by Twenty-Four Colleges Participating in the College Study in Intergroup Relations, 1945-49* (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1950), 3, 62, 282-83; *Educating For Brotherhood*, 1957, Box 1, Folder 1, NCCJ Papers. For other regions see Box 33, Folder 10 (NCCJ Northeastern Division) Box 33, Folder 12 (New York Area), Box 33, Folder 13 (Central and Western Division), Box 11, Folder 1 (Southwestern Division), Box 11, Folder 2 (Southeastern Division), Box 11, Folder 3 (Western Division), NCCJ Papers; Bonita Valien, *The St. Louis Story: A Study of Desegregation* (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1956).

<sup>95</sup> ACE programs include the GED program in 1942, the Higher Education Act of 1965, and the establishment of the U.S. Department of Education in 1979. American Council on Education, *The History and Activities of the American Council on Education* (Washington, D.C.: The American Council on Education, 1940), 9.

<sup>96</sup> See Various Authors, "Intergroup Education Review," *Harvard Educational Review* 15(1945): 74-155; Werner Eugene Stickel, "Effects of the Hilda Taba Teaching Strategies Program on Verbal Behavior and Attitudes of Teachers" "PhD diss., United States International University, School of Education, San Diego Campus, 1972); Elizabeth Hall Brady, "Hilda Taba: The Congruity of Professing and Doing," in *Teachers and Mentors: Profiles of Distinguished Twentieth-Century Professors of Education*, eds. Craig Kridel and Robert Bullough (New York: Garland Pub., 1996): 59-70.

peace officers. The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO) and the American Jewish Congress translated human relations theories into programs for these professionals working for the municipal government (just like the NCCJ functioned on the neighborhood level and the American Council on Education functioned in public schools).<sup>97</sup> NAIRO insisted that municipal governments, closer to the people than the federal government, offered many opportunities to improve intergroup relations. Further, NAIRO officials argued that “the establishment of a municipal human relations agency sets an official tone—a public policy—signifying that the community is concerned about and committed to peaceful, rational methods of resolving differences among its citizens.”<sup>98</sup> Mayors across the U.S., including Mayors Zeidler and Maier of Milwaukee, backed dialogic and educational tactics—over more confrontational tactics like direct action and legislation—to address religious and racial tension in cities.

Secondly, by presenting how the human relations movement operated in these three areas individually, I can demonstrate the deep dedication of Milwaukeeans to educational approaches. Put together, these three stories reveal a competing movement, one more widely recognized and supported in Milwaukee than civil rights. Additionally, this three-part structure allows me to tell three stories along multiple chronologies. Human relations theories reached the height of their influence on the policies of voluntary organizations, public schools, and governmental agencies at different times. Correspondingly, dissatisfaction bubbled up against the gradualist approach in these areas at different times. These three stories reveal how

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<sup>97</sup> Amended National Intergroup Relations Officials Bylaws, Box 3, Folder 4, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, Part 4; NAIRO Activities: NAIRO Purpose, Box 4, Folder 27, WERD Reports 1949-1972.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 4; Also see Community Relations Program 1965, Box 44, Folder 12, Records of Henry Maier, University of Wisconsin Milwaukee Archives (hereafter cited Maier Records).

thoroughly integrated the human relations movement was in Milwaukee's culture.

*Part 1 (Chapters 1 and 2): Voluntary Organizations*

Chapter one describes how human relations theories were translated into programs utilized by voluntary organizations. Affiliation with the human relations movement attracted many women's, Jewish, and African American advocate groups because it empowered them to be leaders in their communities' anti-prejudice campaigns. The implications were far greater than grassroots empowerment. The restrained tactics of education, dialogue, and persuasion protected them from charges of radicalism, subversion and communist influence. Interest groups, so often under the suspicion of communism, demonstrated their commitment to American capitalism and democracy by participating in the human relations movement. Jewish organizations such as the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the Milwaukee Jewish Council, African American advocate agencies like the National Urban League, and the Women's Committee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Parent Teachers' Organizations, and the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations joined the human relations movement to influence public policy safely. Aligning with the human relations movement involved a close working relationship with the premier human relations organization, the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Based on Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish moral foundations and avowedly anti-communist, the NCCJ had the presidential backing of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and Richard Nixon.<sup>99</sup> Unlike many reform organizations, the NCCJ

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<sup>99</sup> Kevin Schultz notes that "every President between FDR and Lyndon Johnson served as honorary chairman of Brotherhood Week." I found reference to Nixon's participation with NCCJ on the Online Archive of California "Guide to the National Conference of Christians and Jews Records," [http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/sdsu/spcoll/natl\\_conf.pdf](http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/sdsu/spcoll/natl_conf.pdf), accessed November 22, 2014. Schultz, *Tri Faith America*, 75; Also see: Martin Marty, *Modern American Religion: Under God, Indivisible* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 204; Edward S. Shapiro, *A Time for Healing American Jewry Since World War II* (Baltimore: John

was never investigated by the House Un-American Activities Commission.<sup>100</sup>

In chapter two, I discuss the problems connected with affiliating with the human relations movement. I argue that the allure of protection against charges of communist influence made voluntary organizations—empowered by the social and political capital of human relations and social scientific affiliation—reticent to work with any direct action groups, like the NAACP, or become associated with “contentious” social movements. In the case of Milwaukee, this continued dedication to educational tactics and liberal anticommunism limited the influence the NAACP could have on the policies of Milwaukee’s voluntary organizations and municipal government agencies. In 1961, the Milwaukee Branch of the NAACP adopted direct action in response to the gradualist methods of human relations organizations. Not only did demand for immediate direct action strain relationships between middle-class African American human relations supporters and working-class civil rights activists, the disagreement over method also broke ties between so-called “whites of good will” and the working-class African American community.<sup>101</sup> The phrase “whites of good will” referred to Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish reformers who advocated improving race relations through education.

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Hopkins University Press, 1992), 160; Messages from the White House to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Box 16, Folder 17, MUL Papers.

<sup>100</sup> Confirmed with the archivist, Rodney Ross, from the National Archives in Washington D.C., that: “In the latter folder there are copies of two letters of note, one written by Chairman Francis E. Walters on March 16, 1959, to Representative W. M. Abbit: “The above organization [the National Conference of Christians and Jews] has never been cited in any manner by any Federal authority, has not been the subject of hearings held by this Committee, and no references to the organization appear in any of the Committee publications.” Also there is a copy of a letter from Chairman Richard H. Ichord, November 19, 1969, to Representative James B. Utt: “The National Conference of Christians and Jews and its Women’s Committee have not been the subject of an inquiry by this committee, and the committee has made no official statement concerning them.” Rodney Ross, email message to author, November 7.2014. For additional archival information see page 44 and footnote 116 in chapter one of this dissertation.

<sup>101</sup> Summary of the National Conference on Community Values and Conflict May 16, 1967, Box 46, Folder 4, Maier Records). Also see Thomas Johnson, “Violence Termed Negro’s Only Way,” *New York Times*, May 4, 1967.

Scholars have isolated a number of reasons why the strong “alliance” between African Americans and American Jews deteriorated in the late 1960s, including disagreements over Affirmative Action, Black Power, the state of Israel and the Six Days War. While these contentions certainly did weaken a once strong connection, an analysis of the human relations movement reveals another factor contributing to this well-documented rift. In spite of common interests, a fundamental difference in understanding regarding the pragmatic potential of dialogue split the liberal equal rights and desegregation coalition. This chapter demonstrates that Martin Luther King Jr.’s accusation, that human relations advocates posed a greater threat to the civil rights cause than bigots, has some cogency.<sup>102</sup>

*Part II (Chapters 3 and 4): Public Schools*

Chapter 3 describes how the NCCJ and the Anti-Defamation League partnered with the American Council on Education (ACE) to extend the reach of human relations theories to public schools.<sup>103</sup> In public schools human relations theories took a structured, curricular form, called intergroup education. Curriculum assessments and testimonials convinced school administrators that intergroup education would teach children to understand persons of other religious, racial and ethnic backgrounds. Intergroup education maintained that understanding led to acceptance and eventually would lead to voluntary school integration. Civic organizations like the NCCJ, and Jewish human relations organizations like the ADL and the

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<sup>102</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr. “Letter From Birmingham Jail, April 16, 1963,” in *God's New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny* ed. Conrad Cherry (Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971):352-353.

<sup>103</sup> Human relations (intergroup education) found educational audiences all over the United States. NCCJ claimed that forty universities held human relations workshops across the country in 1958 alone and nationwide, one thousand colleges and twelve thousand public and private schools engaged in human relations programming. *Educating For Brotherhood*, 1957, Box 1, Folder 1, NCCJ Milwaukee Papers. For other regions see Box 33, Folder 10 (NCCJ Northeastern Division) Box 33, Folder 12 (New York Area), Box 33, Folder 13 (Central and Western Division), Box 11, Folder 1 (Southwestern Division), Box 11, Folder 2 (Southeastern Division), Box 11, Folder 3 (Western Division), NCCJ Papers; Valien, *The St. Louis Story*, 1956.

Milwaukee Jewish Council, used their political and cultural capital to institutionalize human relations curricula in Milwaukee public schools. By investing in human relations curriculum committees, they were able to influence how superintendents, public school administrations, and school board candidates handled intergroup conflict and desegregation issues. Educators and administrators, convinced of the persuasive power of education, fully integrated human relations theories into Milwaukee public schools by mandate of the Department of Public Instruction.

Chapter four illustrates the consequences of the institutionalization of human relations tactics in Milwaukee Public Schools. Ordinary citizens, civic leaders, educators and administrators used the language of human relations to resist direct action tactics, like the Freedom school boycotts in the 1960s and the school desegregation court order in 1976 (*Craig Amos et al. v. The School Board of Directors*). Direct action and legislation advocates like Lloyd Barbee faulted the human relations movement for standing in the way of boycotts and forced busing. Rather than joining together as racial pluralists, human relations supporters and civil rights activists sparred over which tactics would succeed in transforming Milwaukee from a segregated into an integrated school community. The two groups frustrated their common ends by warring over the means, further securing the deep roots of school segregation in Milwaukee.

### *Part III (Chapters 5, 6, and 7): Government Agencies*

Chapter five analyzes how civil servants working for government agencies utilized educational tactics to address issues of housing discrimination. Mayors Frank Zeidler and Henry Maier put the weight of their office behind the human relations movement through their transformation of the Milwaukee Human Rights Commission into the Milwaukee Commission

on Community Relations and their appointment of key human relations supporters to leadership positions on important municipal commissions.

Zeidler and Maier utilized human relations procedures like “interfaith and interracial membership” and placed their faith in education as the instrument of “orderly change.”<sup>104</sup> Human relations policies became the de facto means by which the municipal government attempted to slowly and voluntarily desegregate residential areas. The institutionalization of human relations approaches in government agencies encouraged voluntary administration of the Wisconsin Fair Housing Laws. Responding to the gradualist approach endorsed by the Mayor’s office, civil rights activists like Alderwoman Vel Phillips, Father James Groppi, and the NAACP rallied behind direct action and legislative techniques, causing tension in government. However, the majority of Milwaukeeans were not moved by the civil rights activists’ demands. Directly citing education as the best means to alleviate neighborhood housing conflicts, human relations supporters silenced attempts to use direct action to accelerate residential integration.

Chapter six describes how government peace officers translated human relations theories into practical programs that taught police officers about the demographics, culture, and values of the minority population in their jurisdiction. However, the Fire and Police Commission, a body with no enforcing power to prosecute or cite instances of police brutality, controlled the agency. The Commission adopted the persuasive policies of human relations theories and refused to integrate the legislative policies of civil rights activists. Posturing toward dialogic and education, the Commission gave the Police-Community Relations

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<sup>104</sup> National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, *A Memorandum to Municipalities: Guidelines for Municipal Human Relations Committees* (Washington D.C.: National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, 1964), ii.

Commission no real power to monitor police behavior, censure instances of police brutality, or improve relationships with the community.

The chapter ends with an analysis of the so-called Milwaukee “civil disturbance” of 1967, the ultimate physical expression of frustration over police-community tensions and Milwaukee’s continued loyalty to the human relations movement. Up until the riot, high-profile protesters, including Vel Phillips, Father James Groppi, and his NAACP Youth Commandos, demonstrated across the city. To education advocates, the civil disturbance proved the righteousness of their dialogic tactics and the error behind forcing persons of different religions and races to live side by side against their will. To direct action supporters, the ill will with which so many Milwaukeeans met the protesters proved that human relations education had not converted prejudiced citizens into accepting ones. The civil disturbance in 1967 proved that Police-Community relations dialogue techniques were not working. Yet the Common Council and the Mayor continued to flood extensive resources into Police-Community dialogue, believing communication would bring about peaceful future relations.

In chapter 7, I describe how Mayor Henry Maier emerged from the civil disturbance more dedicated to the human relations movement than ever before, doubling down on his commitment to his “War on Prejudice.” Orchestrated through the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations from 1965 through 1979, the War on Prejudice proposed to “wage” year-round educational programming “to help change the distorted image that some people have of members of minority groups” by “show[ing] that that prejudice and discrimination are as un-American as communism.<sup>105</sup>” Latching on to human relations theories, Mayor Maier asked

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<sup>105</sup> *A Plan to Reduce Prejudice and Discrimination in the Greater Milwaukee Area* (New York: Greenleigh Associates, 1967), 1.

Milwaukeeans to “go slow” on civil rights by using “long term programming.”<sup>106</sup> In spite of good intentions, dialogue between the police and community did not improve relationships in Milwaukee. The ironic legacy of the human relations movement was that it fostered more tensions than it diffused. Dialogue, more often than not, was seen as a token gesture, an empty concession in place of employment sanctions or legal repercussions. The Mayor of Milwaukee wholeheartedly believed in the efficacy of the human relations movement.

In the conclusion, I discuss the lingering effects and legacies of the human relations movement in voluntary organizations, public schools, and government agencies. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, human relations theories and intergroup education curriculum evolved from tactics which treated prejudice using methods similar to how the Center for Disease Control would use to contain disease, to urban affairs-centered concepts in which the problems of the “poverty stricken” inner-city were isolated from the wider community. The human relations movement of the 1930s through 1960s asked for the equal participation of both majority and minority group members. Poverty and urban affairs language placed the burden of education, improvement, and reform squarely on the shoulders of inner-city minority group members. I also take a preliminary look at how human relations theories were translated into programs in other cities and small towns across the United States. The human relations movement influenced the policies of voluntary organizations, public schools, and government agencies in Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, St. Louis, and Springfield, Massachusetts, to name just a few. The conflict between the gradualist human relations approach and the immediatist civil rights approach frustrated the achievement of their common goals and limited the influence of civil rights and the integration policies.

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<sup>106</sup> Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 51.

By analyzing human relations theories, programs, institutes, activities, and those who participated in them as a movement, this dissertation demonstrates that the stories of American religious and racial pluralism are inextricably linked. Restrained movements that used educational tactics, like the human relations movement, achieved a measure of “mutual understanding” in the community, but they also had perceptible and negative influences on policies that shaped the urban landscape.

The human relations movement left a tragic and highly ironic legacy. Human relations advocates intended to create a society in which prejudice and discrimination were unacceptable, and a community in which religions and races lived side by side. However, the movement’s nearly exclusive use of educational and dialogic tactics created deep divisions between practical and idealistic human relations supporters on the one side and radical and realist civil rights activists on the other side. Contrary to its designs, dialogue did not achieve its goal of facilitating understanding and trust between different religious, racial, ethnic, and economic groups in Milwaukee. In actuality, educational tactics exacerbated tensions and obstructed many attempts to accelerate civil rights and school and residential integration by legislative means.

**Part I:**  
**The Human Relations Movement and Voluntary Organization Policy**  
 Chapter 1:  
 “A Beneficial yet Compromising Alliance 1934-1980”

The human relations movement reached the zenith of its power during the Cold War years. To counter Soviet claims that capitalism fostered racism, human relations theorists broadened its scope to include the improvement of race relations. Human relations theory assumed six things about free society: 1) mankind is basically good; 2) persons of different religions, races, and ethnicities can live peaceably together; 3) a truly democratic society is achievable; 4) group cooperation yields greater results than individual accomplishment; 5) members of a free democratic society must accept the responsibility of maintaining freedoms for others, and 6) this desire to uphold the freedoms of others can be nurtured only through education and dialogue, not forced through direct action or legislation.<sup>107</sup>

The Cold War context is essential to understanding not only the reason for the expansion in emphasis from interfaith to interfaith and interracial relations, but also explains the popularity of the human relations movement among certain groups. Human relations advocates utilized the versatile tool of anti-communism to influence Cold War politics. Paul G. Hoffman, an NCCJ spokesperson, contended that “free men have never in history been threatened by a more resolute, determined and treacherous foe than Soviet Communism.” Hoffman supported the “positive program” of improving human relationship outlined by the National Conference of Christians and Jews because it conveyed “the essentiality of unity

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<sup>107</sup> Third Annual Milwaukee County Leadership Conference on Human Relations Announcement, 1950, Box 47, Folder 13, GCHR Records, Series 997; Education Project In Community Living Proposal, 1954, Box 155, Folder 7, Zeidler Papers; Paul G. Hoffman Address, NCCJ Los Angeles, February 28, 1952, Box 10, Folder, H-I, NCCJ Papers.

among people of very divergent points of view and strongly held faiths.”<sup>108</sup> Historians like Jennifer Denton and Mary Dudziak have argued that liberals used the fear of domestic and international Communist infiltration to justify advancement of social justice reform.<sup>109</sup> Historians have noted that conservative anti-communists connected “communism and integration” with “radicalism” and “feminism” in order to delegitimize the NAACP, the desegregation campaign, and the Equal Rights Amendment.<sup>110</sup> Linking protest against the status quo with communism was the easiest way to maintain traditional gender roles, Jim Crow laws, and de facto segregation. A contemporary American anti-communist insisted that “[t]he communists have developed one of the greatest propaganda machines the world has ever known. They have been able to penetrate and infiltrate many respectable and reputable public opinion mediums. Communists infiltrated labor unions, churches, school boards, and voluntary organizations to quietly destroy the American Way of Life and subversively replace it with the Communist way.”<sup>111</sup> In the early to mid-twentieth century, a whisper of communist infiltration derailed the momentum of any reform movement and cast suspicion over any organization even rumored to be in contact with communist sympathizers.

In this chapter, I argue that middle-class women’s, Jewish, and African American

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<sup>108</sup> Remarks by Paul G. Hoffman, National Conference of Christians and Jews, November 15, 1951, Box 10, Folder, H-I, NCCJ Papers.

<sup>109</sup> Jennifer Denton insists that “the fear of Communism made Americans more willing to use the state” to invest in reform movements to create a more equal society. Mary Dudziak argues that the possibility of shifting global alliances based on the promise of racial equality under communist rule led “reluctant presidential administrations to advance the causes of racial equality and to enhance the success of civil rights struggles.” Jennifer Delton, *Rethinking the 1950s: How Anticommunism and the Cold War Made America Liberal* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 3; Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 250.

<sup>110</sup> Yasuhiro Katagiri, *Black Freedom, White Resistance, and Red Menace: Civil Rights and Anti-Communism in the Jim Crow South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014), 58; Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Rights* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001).

<sup>111</sup> As cited in Caroline Emmons, *Cold War and the McCarthy Era: People and Perspectives* (Santa Barbara, CA.: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 163.

voluntary organizations utilized the human relations movement to avoid charges of radicalism and communism themselves while at the same time advancing a mission of intergroup understanding and measured, gradual equality through the non-controversial tactic of education. Interest groups, so often under the suspicion of radicalism, demonstrated their commitment to American capitalism and democracy by participating in the human relations movement. The Women's Committee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Parent Teachers' Association, the American Jewish Committee, the Milwaukee Jewish Council, and the Urban League joined the human relations movement to influence public policy safely.<sup>112</sup> Aligning with the human relations movement involved a close working relationship with the premier human relations organization, the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Based on Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish moral foundations and avowedly anti-communist, the NCCJ had the backing of Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> The Women's Division was active as a separate body in the NCCJ until 1960 when it disbanded. Female members continued to operate as central figures in the main organization in Milwaukee into the 1990s when the National Conference of Christians and Jews became the National Conference of Community Justice to reflect the organization's dedication to the most broad social justice agenda, including all issues of "race, class, gender equity, sexual orientation, and the rights of people with different abilities." Letter from Mrs. George Steinmetz to Virginia Huebner, November 4, 1960, Box 4, Folder 13, WERD Reports Part I; "Our Story," National Conference of Community Justice, <http://www.nccj.org/>, accessed January 16, 2015.

<sup>113</sup> Former President Franklin Roosevelt called for the implementation of the "new science of human relations" in the post-World War II era. For a slightly different rendition of FDR's quote: "Today we are faced with the preeminent fact that if civilization is to survive we must cultivate the science of human relationships." President Truman also called on Americans to advance "greater justice in human relation." Truman's Republican Presidential challenger, New York Governor Thomas Dewey's faith in the human relations movement and its educational tactics were connected strongly to his anticommunist agenda. Dewey insisted the "NCCJ is the most high-minded and effective human relations program in this country and in the world." At the same time he red-baited his political opponents and argued the communist and radical elements needed to be exercised entirely from American government. As cited in Donald Frey, *The American Age of Human Relations*, page 1, March 31, 1964, Box 1, Folder 2, Barnhill Papers; For FDR support of the human relations movement see: *Blueprint for Freedom*, page 20, Dane County Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, February 18, 1953, Box 4, Folder *Blueprint for Freedom*, MJC Papers; For Truman see: As cited in Bruch, *The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man*, 116; *Educating for Brotherhood*, 1958, Box 1, Folder 1, NCCJW Papers; Richard M. Fried, "Voting the Hammer and Sickle: Communism as an Issue in *American Politics*," in *The Achievement of American Liberalism: The New Deal and Its Legacies*, ed. William H. Chafe (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 105-106; For

The fear that Soviet propaganda converted free-thinking individuals and intelligent capitalistic consumers into brainwashed automatons towing the Party line was so pervasive that the federal government established two agencies the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to uncover radicals and foil subversive plots. The NCCJ was so well-respected that even its Women's Committee was above reproach and remained unassailed from HUAC's energetic and exhaustive instigations. Multiple official endorsements of the NCCJ reiterate this protective statement issued by HUAC chairman Richard H. Ichord to James B. Utt of the U.S. House of Representatives: "[t]he National Conference of Christians and Jews and its Women's Committee have not been the subject of an inquiry by this committee, and the committee has made no official statement concerning them."<sup>114</sup> Few other interfaith and interracial organizations could rely on this steadfast faith from the federal government during the Cold War.

In spite of repeated reassurances to constituents that the NCCJ was above reproach, one anonymous committee member contemplated the possible damning influence such a hugely influential organization could exercise over American society.<sup>115</sup> Jotted onto the top of one of

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Truman's support of the NCCJ see Address by Revered Edward V. Cardinal, "The Leprosy of Hatred," February 20, 1949, Box 10, Folder C-D, NCCJ Papers; For Eisenhower refer to the introduction of this study on page 34. Also see: Address by General Lucius D. Clay, "Peace, Justice, and Brotherhood" (in honor of Generals Clay and Eisenhower, sponsored by NCCJ), June 18, 1962, Box 10, Folder, C-D, NCCJ Papers; For Johnson see: Schultz, *Tri Faith America*, 75; For Nixon's support of NCCJ see: "Guide to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, San Diego," Online Archive of California, [http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/sdsu/spcoll/natl\\_conf.pdf](http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/sdsu/spcoll/natl_conf.pdf), accessed November 22, 2014.

<sup>114</sup> Letter from Chairman Richard H. Ichord to Representative James B. Utt November 19, 1969; Also see: Memo to Mr. Smith from Files and Reference concerning the Oklahoma Federation for Constitutional Rights; National Conference of Christians and Jews, October 31, 1968, from the HUAC Files and References unit's file for the National Conference of Christians and Jews, House Committee on Un-American Activities, Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233, Record Group 233, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited Record Group 233 HUAC Files and References) Form of citation recommended by Archivist Rodney Ross.

<sup>115</sup> Superintendent of Dunkirk Public Schools, New York, Thomas E. Harney, was convinced that the NCCJ was a communist front. Harney included a copy of his manifesto, "Communist exploitation Publications of National Conference of Christians and Jews to Introduce Red Literature into Your Classroom," in his correspondence with

NCCJ's own pamphlets, "Lighting Lamps: In Schools and Colleges in Industry...through World Brotherhood," the alarmist author wondered "how great is the potential for Communist subversion in the schools through this organization? Here is an estimate based on one of their own estimates."<sup>116</sup> The NCCJ published the pamphlet to demonstrate the remarkable degree to which the human relations movement had been institutionalized in public schools and universities: "more than 12,590 schools and colleges annually use NCCJ programs, films and printed materials. Millions of children and their teachers are being helped to learn the facts about the different groups that make up America."<sup>117</sup> In this one isolated instance, a HUAC member articulated an imagined scenario in which the power wielded by the NCCJ, if subverted by a radical organization, would have the potential to corrupt the vulnerable minds of children, indoctrinate voluntary organizations into the ranks of communism, and rot the very fabric of American institutions and ideals.

Milwaukee's voluntary organizations practiced the educational tactics of the human relations movement to demonstrate that Milwaukee's socialism was connected to Progressive-era reform, not radical Bolshevism.<sup>118</sup> The policies and political platform of Milwaukee's

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HUAC. HUAC assured Harney that there was NO evidence to support his suspicions. For correspondence between Americans and HUAC staff in which HUAC assures concerned citizens that the NCCJ has NEVER been subversive see: Letter from Harold H. Velde, Chairman HUAC R.E. inquiry from Thomas Harney, August 6, 1954 and relevant correspondence with Representative Daniel Reed, April 2, 1954; June, 1956; Letter from Richard Arens Staff Director HUAC R.E. inquiry from William M. Tuck, March 16, 1959; Letter from Francis E. Walter, Chairman HUAC R.E. inquiry from W.M. Abbitt, March 16, 1959; Letter from the Chairman Francis Walter R.E. inquiry from Mrs. Joseph H. Lilly April 21, 1960; Letter from Francis J. McNamara, Director HUAC R.E. inquiry from Oto E. Albright, September 11, 1963, 27, Record Group 233 HUAC Files and References.

<sup>116</sup> Lighting Lamps Pamphlet, National Conference of Christians and Jews, filed by HUAC March 1955, Record Group 233 HUAC Files and References.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> For a comparison of Progressive reform compared to Socialist policies see: Elmer Beck, *The Sewer Socialists: A History of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin, 1897-1940* (Fennimore, WI.: Westburg Associates, 1982); Peter H. Buckingham, *America Sees Red: Anti-Communism in America, 1870s-1980* (Claremont, CA.: Regina Books,

Socialists were very similar to Wisconsin's Progressive Party. Milwaukee's Socialists were called "sewer socialists" because they focused on public works projects, urban planning, and public health. Their platform also included practical political reform for transparent and ethical government and a balanced budget.<sup>119</sup> The Wisconsin Progressive Party supported the installation of a strong and active federal government in order to establish centralized public works and economic programs, regulate business and prevent capitalist exploitation.<sup>120</sup> Both Progressive Party members and the sewer socialists were routinely accused of communism and subversion due to their reforming agendas and radical suggestions of institutional change.<sup>121</sup> Choosing to ally with a restrained social movement and the tactic of education, many women's, Jewish, and African American organizations in Milwaukee mobilized around the idea that the modification of attitudes, not the establishment of laws, would change social conventions. The legacy of the Socialist Party in Milwaukee and their platform of women's rights limited the range of acceptable activism of club women and mothers.<sup>122</sup>

Comparatively, immediate, rights-based solutions to gender inequality opened women's organizations to charges of radicalism and subversion. Since the Communist Party theoretically

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1988); John Bunker, *The History of Wisconsin, Vol. 4, The Progressive Era, 1893-1914* (Madison, WI.: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1998); Paul W. Glad, *History of Wisconsin, Vol. 5, War, a New Era, and Depression, 1914-1940* (Madison, WI.: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1990).

<sup>119</sup> For an extended discussion of the Milwaukee Sewer Socialists and the Wisconsin Progressive Party see Chapter five, page 133 of this dissertation.

<sup>120</sup> For a summary of "sewer socialism" see: Ely, *Socialism and Social Reform*, 253; John Nichols, *S Word: A Short History of an American Tradition* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Verso, 2011); Beck, *Sewer Socialism*, 1-3; Russel B. Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics: A Historical Study of Its Origins and Development 1870-1958* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1959), 183, 184, 187.

<sup>121</sup> In chapter five, I will expand on how Milwaukee's elected and appointed officials used the human relations movement to temper Milwaukee's socialism and demonstrate their commitment to liberal anticommunism see pages 133-136 in chapter 5 of this dissertation.

<sup>122</sup> Mary Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

supported racial and women's equality, anti-communists feared that minorities and women were more susceptible than white men to Communist propaganda.<sup>123</sup> Women involved in the Suffrage Movement during the first Red Scare and the feminist movement during the Cold War were characterized as "Pink Ladies."<sup>124</sup> Historians have noted that conservative women's organizations, like Phyllis Schlafly's "Stop ERA," and the Daughters of the American Revolution, attacked progressive and feminist women using the anti-communist crusade and defense of the family to justify their involvement in politics.<sup>125</sup> Right-wing activist Elizabeth Dilling wrote the famous *Red Network*, which sought to expose the League of Women Voters, the NAACP, and the ACLU among others, as "Communist fronts."<sup>126</sup> Dilling alleged that these organizations' demand for world peace and equality between the sexes and races through direct action demonstrations like strikes and rioting, their use of "legal battles," and rights-based rhetoric indicated Communist influence.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> For example the Religious News Service reported that Catholic Bishop Palmer recognized that churches and ministers "particularly those who preach the social gospel" and who "preach against racial bigotry or for disarmament and peace find themselves charged with being pro-Communist." See Religious News Service November 2, 1961, Box 27, Folder USSR, NCCJ Papers; Landon R. Y. Storrs, *The Second Red Scare and the Unmaking of the New Deal Left* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 97.

<sup>124</sup> Storrs, *The Second Red Scare*, 89, 97.

<sup>125</sup> "Stop ERA" referred to the movement created to oppose the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005); Mary Brennan, *Wives, Mothers, and the Red Menace: Conservative Women and the Crusade Against Communism* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2008); June Melby Benowitz, *Days of Discontent: American Women and Right Wing Politics, 1933-1945* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002); Eric Crouse, *An American Stand: Senator Margaret Chase Smith and the Communist Menace, 1948-1972* (Lanham, MD.: Lexington Books, 2010); Glenn Jeansonne, *Women of the Far Right: The Mothers; Movement and World War II* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 179.

<sup>126</sup> Dilling charged the League of Women Voters was an "organization formed by Carrie Chapman Catt, a co-worker with Jane Addams, to educate women to take part in political life. It serves a good purpose and is fair enough in presenting various sides of public questions to render the great majority of its innocent and non-radical members unaware that they are also fed radical propaganda in regular doses." Jeansonne, *Women of the Far Right*, 15; Elizabeth Dilling, *The Red Network: a "Who's Who" and Handbook of Radicalism for Patriots* (Kenilworth, IL.: self-published, 1935) 189.

<sup>127</sup> Dilling argued that the NAACP "emulated the A.C.L.U. among Negroes. In fighting for "Negro rights"

Liberal women also used anti-communism to protect themselves from charges of radicalism. According to respected social scientists and politicians, the educational tactics utilized by the human relations movement were uncontroversial and completely safe for patriotic mothers to employ in service of their country against the “Red Menace.”<sup>128</sup> While human relations theories directed mothers to teach their children to accept Americans of all religions and races, they also instructed mothers to teach their children to hate communism. Organizations associated with the human relations movement—like the Federation of Jewish Women’s Organizations—proudly touted their anti-communism.<sup>129</sup> In an atmosphere of radical anti-communism, any reforming voluntary organization was prone to allegations of communism. In order to undermine such accusations, human relations organizations adopted and effectively employed anti-communist rhetoric themselves.

### **Women’s Organizations and the Human Relations Movement**

As drafted by the NCCJ, human relations theories maintained traditional gender roles by assigning black, white, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish women to “rear children of good will” and train young Cold Warriors.<sup>130</sup> According to human relations teachings, mothers had jurisdiction over the home and the social world immediately surrounding the home, including

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naturally it has won the friendship of many Negroes, themselves opposed to the Red movement, who believe it to be a purely altruistic agency without radical or political motivation.” Dilling, *The Red Network*, 194.

<sup>128</sup> For a study of the postwar family and gender roles see Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1988).

<sup>129</sup> “Crusade for Freedom” Membership, 1951, Document 176, Reel 1, Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations Microfilm, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison (hereafter cited FJWO Microfilm).

<sup>130</sup> Human relations theories taught mothers that if a child received approval from their parents and felt a sense of self-worth they were more likely to see the worth and value in others. Conversely, if a child was treated harshly or poorly by their parents, the child saw little worth in themselves or others. The unloved child would blame those who were different from themselves for their feelings of failure and insecurity. If a mother was strict and domineering in the home, the child became fearful and treated others with suspicion and distrust. Edith G. Neisser, *Rearing Children of Goodwill* (New York: The National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1953?), 10-14, 16; Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, 297-299.

neighborhood welfare and neighbor relations. Mothers had moral and patriotic obligations to fulfill for their country; they were responsible for teaching their children how to be devoted Protestants, Catholics, or Jews, and good Americans. In fact, the defense of American democracy depended on the guiding influence of the loving and pious mothers. The human relations movement followed in the august tradition of Republican Motherhood and the Cult of Domesticity by justifying women's role in reform and philanthropic work in the public sphere through the tropes of women's moral authority in the home, their role as primary caregivers, and their potential as ideal educators of children.<sup>131</sup>

During the Cold War, the nuclear family itself took on political significance with the mother, in theory, defending the sanctity of the American home by training her children in democratic values. Social science experts hoped that with their professional guidance and instructional help mothers could change the attitudes of their children. In 1946 psychologist and best-selling author Benjamin Spock insisted that "useful, well-adjusted citizens are the most valuable possessions a country has, and good mother care during early childhood is the surest

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<sup>131</sup> Republican Motherhood is a term first formulated by historian Linda Kerber in the 1970s. She argued that, according to the ideology of Republican Motherhood, it was women's civic duty to teach her children about American republican values. The ideology insisted that the survival of the new and vulnerable nation depended on mothers instilling a sense of patriotism in their offspring. Penny Edgell Becker defines True Womanhood as "the true destiny of woman is the making of homes and the training up of children in the knowledge, love, and fear of God." Robyn Muncy describes how women used the rhetoric of the Cult of True Womanhood to justify their role in reform and philanthropic work outside the home. Additionally, Susan Lynn locates a continuous link between Progressive Era reformers at settlement houses and religious organizations to the "postwar progressive coalition" of civil rights organizations such as the American Association of University Women, the League of Women Voters, the National Council of Jewish Women, the NAACP, and the YWCA. Penny Edgell Becker, "Rational Amusement and Sound Instruction: Constructing the True Catholic Woman in the Ave Maria, 1865-1889," *Religion and American Culture* 8 (1998): 65; Ruth Bloch, *Gender and Morality in Anglo-American Culture, 1650-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Rosemarie Zagari, "Morals, Manners, and the Republican Mother," *American Quarterly* 44 (June 1992): 192-215; Colleen McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); Jenna Weissman Joselit, *The Wonders of America: Reinventing Jewish Culture 1880-1950*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1994; Susan Lynn, "Gender and Progressive Politics: A Bridge to Social Activism of the 1960s," in *Not June Cleaver*, ed. Joanne Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 105; Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

way to produce them.”<sup>132</sup> Mothers were charged with these duties largely because it was thought that children learned prejudices from their parents.<sup>133</sup> A child either “adopted” tolerant or prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviors toward others based on their mother’s example.<sup>134</sup> Rhonda McCulloch, spokesperson for the Women’s Committee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, argued that: “[w]omen are pattern-makers and are in large part responsible for patterns of intolerance...women also condition neighborly and otherwise desirable attitudes.”<sup>135</sup> With the guidance and instructional help of social science experts, mothers could not only change the attitudes of their children, their benevolent example might also stimulate dramatic shifts in community relations.

Beginning in 1949 the NCCJ, with the help of local women’s and civil organizations, organized “Rearing Children of Good Will Institutes” to fulfill a grand mission: make sure that the “[t]hirty-four million babies [are] born every year throughout the world...without prejudice” remained prejudice-free.<sup>136</sup> These institutes—constituting workshops meeting

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<sup>132</sup> As cited in Fred Matthews, “The Utopia of Human Relations: The Conflict-Free Family in American Social Thought, 1930-1960,” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* October 1988: 358; Benjamin Spock, *Raising Children in a Difficult Time: A Philosophy of Parental Leadership and High Ideals* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974), 113-114.

<sup>133</sup> Specifically, the Milwaukee Jewish Council maintained that “all too often what is learned in school is only transitory when subjected to the manifestations of prejudiced thinking by the parents in the home. To further strengthen the concepts of equality, freedom and dignity which a child learns in school, there must be reinforcement of those ideas in the community, church, and school. We cannot risk the unlearning of the precious ideals over the dinner table...”Accent on Democracy, Box 4, Folder Blueprint for Democracy 1954, MJC Papers.

<sup>134</sup> Historian Ruth Felton demonstrates that social scientists and psychologists in the mid-twentieth century maintained that mothers either taught their children prejudiced attitudes thereby producing bad citizens, or taught their children acceptance thereby creating good citizens. Ruth Feldstein, *Motherhood in Black and White: Race and Sex in American Liberalism, 1930-1965* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000).

<sup>135</sup> Rhoda McCulloch “Women's Organizations” in *The American Way: A Study in Human Relations among Protestants, Catholics and Jews*, ed. Newton Diehl Baker, Carlton J.H. Hayes, Roger Williams Straus (Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, 1936), 69-70.; Also see: Saundrah Clark Greivous, *Teaching Children and Adults to Understand Human and Race Relations: A Study in Depth* (Minneapolis: T.S. Denison, 1968,) 160.

<sup>136</sup> Building for Brotherhood Pamphlet 1956, Box 1, Folder 1, NCCJW Papers.

weekly or bi-weekly for a six to eight week period—were designed to teach good will toward other religions and races to mothers first so that they could instruct their own children in the lessons of the human relations movement.<sup>137</sup> Mothers “learn[ed] the truth about other groups,” “develop[ed] a set of moral and spiritual values,” and trained their children to be Cold Warriors.<sup>138</sup> Rearing Children of Good Will Institutes took mothers on field trips around the city in the hope of reprogramming exclusive ideas of who constituted a neighbor into a more inclusive conception. Ideally, the institutes would show Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, white, and black mothers that they could work together for the common cause of achieving mutual understanding. Weekly meetings would correct stereotypes and foster friendships.<sup>139</sup> The NCCJ offered over 400 Rearing Children of Good Will Institutes from 1956 through 1958 in some seventy-seven cities across the U.S.<sup>140</sup>

Based on the success of the Rearing Children of Good Will Institutes, the Parent Teachers’ Associations (P.T.A.) eagerly adopted the human relations movement into their programming.<sup>141</sup> Beginning in 1941, P.T.As all across Milwaukee convened special meetings

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<sup>137</sup> The NCCJ Wisconsin Region modeled their “rearing children of good will” institute off of Chicago’s highly successful program. The two offices shared steering and planning committees. Ibid; National Conference of Christians and Jews to Mrs. Wilson Phillips, December 16, 1964, Reel 2, Document 246; NCCJ Rearing Children of Good Will Development Meeting, January 18, 1965, Reel 2 Document 253, FJWO Microfilm.

<sup>138</sup> Rearing Children of Good Will, Third Annual Border City Conference February 17, 1955, Detroit Roundtable of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in cooperation with the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, Box 6, Folder 20, NCCJ Papers.

<sup>139</sup> Presidents Report, Summer 1945, Reel 1; Report of the President June 12, 1951, Reel 1, FJWO Microfilm.

<sup>140</sup> Among many other cities, Rearing Children of Good Will Institutes took place in: Atlanta, Birmingham, Boston, Buffalo, Charlotte, Cleveland, Des Moines, Detroit, Duluth, East St. Louis, Fargo, Greensboro, N.C., Hartford, Houston, Lexington, Kentucky; Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Nashville, New Orleans, Oklahoma City, Philadelphia, Phoenix, Portland, Providence, Reading, Richmond, San Antonio, San Francisco, Savannah, Seattle, Shreveport, Tampa, Tulsa, Washington, D.C., Wichita, and Winston-Salem. Building for Brotherhood Pamphlet 1956; Educating for Brotherhood, National Conference of Christians and Jews pamphlet, page 10, 1957; Educating for Brotherhood 30th Year Anniversary Pamphlet, 1958; Box 1, Folder 1, NCCJW Papers.

in partnership with the NCCJ, the Milwaukee Jewish Council, and the Milwaukee Urban League to “build tolerance and understanding for minority groups.”<sup>142</sup> The Milwaukee Jewish Council insisted that, “in some form or another, almost every P.T.A. in the community has made use of our [human relations] materials.”<sup>143</sup> The NCCJ reported that 11,000 P.T.A. members in sixty-five Milwaukee area chapters had received human relations how-to-manuals and engaged in 4000 human relations programs by 1963.<sup>144</sup>

Milwaukee’s mothers applauded the human relations movement for its attitudinally transformative powers. At a 1966 Rearing Children of Good Will Institute, a white suburban mother declared that “[m]y attitude was changed.”<sup>145</sup> Another white mother put the value of the human relations movement in concrete terms of learning how to accept African Americans as neighbors. “Having always lived in an all-white neighborhood, I would not be so disturbed

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<sup>141</sup> Announcement, Role of the P.T.A. in the Campus School, April 11, 1960, Box 1, Folder 17, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee Campus Elementary School Records, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Archives (hereafter cited Campus Elementary School Records).

<sup>142</sup> The participating P.T.A.s included: the Atwater, Campus Laboratory School, Cumberland, E.L. Phillips School, Fernwood School, Fox Point, Green Tree School, Hartford, Hawley School, Hillcrest-Glenwood, Lincoln, Marquette School, McKinley School, Silver Springs, and Wauwatosa. Defense of Democracy, A Challenge to Education; P.T.A. Newsletter, ca 1944, Box 1, Scrapbook 1944; Hartford P.T.A. Program 1946-1947, Box 2, Herman Weil Scrapbook 1946-1947; Lincoln School P.T.A. Announcement, February 4, 1946, Box 2, Herman Weil Scrapbook 1946-1947; Fox Point P.T.A. Tells Programs for this Season, *Milwaukee Journal*, October 23, 1949, Box 3, Herman Weil Scrapbook 1949; Democracy Begins at Home, Fox Point P.T.A. Meeting Announcement, 1950, Box 3, Scrapbook 1950, Herman Weil Scrapbooks; Also see Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Report 1953-1954; Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Report 1954-1955, Free standing folder Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Reports 1950-1993; Cumberland PTA on June 17, 1945, the Atwater School PTA and Silver Springs PTA Cumberland PTA Activities, *Milwaukee Journal*, June 17, 1945; Annual Report 1951-1952, Milwaukee Jewish Council, Folder Annual Reports, MJC Papers.

<sup>143</sup> Additionally, the Milwaukee Jewish Council estimated that their 194 film showings in 1955-1956 had exposed 10,000 Milwaukeeans to human relations guidelines and topics. Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Report 1955-1956 page 9; Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Report 1955-1956 page 4; Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Report 1954-1955 page 11, Freestanding Folder MJC Annual Reports 1950-1993, MJC Papers.

<sup>144</sup> NCCJ Wisconsin Region Newsletter, October 1960, Box 1, Folder 2; NCCJ Wisconsin Region Annual Report 1962-1963, Box 1, Folder 3; Annual Meeting NCCJ Wisconsin Region, June 2, 1960, Folder 2, Box 1; Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Report 1955-1956; Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Report 1954-1955 page 3, Free standing folder Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Reports 1950-1993, MJC Papers.

<sup>145</sup> Project Understanding Pamphlet 1966, Box 2 Scrapbook 1959-1971, MACCW Papers.

now by Negroes moving in, as I might have been before attending this workshop.”<sup>146</sup> Still another white mother professed “I thoroughly enjoyed the Workshop. I was glad to have [had] opportunity to meet and talk with mothers of different races and religions. After every session I come home feeling stimulated and anxious to discuss what I had learned.”<sup>147</sup> Lastly, an African American participant described the positive experience she had at the institute: “I certainly feel now that there are many persons of good will in this city.”<sup>148</sup> Based on these responses, the institutes achieved their basic goal of improving interfaith and interracial relations among mothers in Milwaukee.

Many of the faculty members of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Education Department were dedicated to the human relations movement and received grants from the NCCJ and the American Council on Education to translate this anecdotal evidence of attitude transformation into quantifiable data. Faculty members Russell D. Robinson and Ernst Spaight polled forty-one participants at the beginning of the six-week program and again at the end of the institute and then applied Milton Rokeach’s “Dogmatism Scale” to determine if working through the Raising Children of Good Will curriculum itself made a person more “open-minded” or less prejudiced. The Rokeach scale assigned values to sample questions about participant’s attitudes. The mean purportedly measured the degree to which a person was “open-minded” or the degree to which a person is “close-minded.” The closer a person scored to 120 the more open-minded they were. The closer a person scored to 160, the more closed-minded they were.<sup>149</sup> After tabulating the results, Robinson and Spaight claimed to “show that

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> NCCJ Wisconsin Region Newsletter, April 1966, Reel 2, Document 264, FJWO Microfilm.

<sup>148</sup> Project Understanding Pamphlet 1966, Box 2 Scrapbook 1959-1971, MACCW Papers.

attitudes can be changed through the kind of discussion and sharing which the women experienced.”<sup>150</sup> On the basis of such research, human relations advocates subsequently believed they possessed social scientific data that Rearing Children of Goodwill Institutes made mothers more open-minded toward persons other religions, races, and ethnicities. So many women’s groups had become involved in the human relations movement because they believed that improving neighborhood relationships was the most important social issue facing a nation under the threat of Soviet infiltration.<sup>151</sup> Mrs. Norbert Klein, the first historian of the National Conference of Christians and Jews argued that most reputable women’s organizations participated in the human relations movement and, “as women realize the importance to their children and their communities of this program for good human relations, their cooperation increases.”<sup>152</sup> Rearing Children of Good Will Institutes and the greater human relations movement allowed Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, black, and white mothers to influence, direct, and shape the policies of community organizations. By using educational tactics, these women’s organizations remained safe from charges of subversion in a culture wary of activism.

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<sup>149</sup> See Milton Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind* (New York: Basic Books, 1960).

<sup>150</sup> Robinson and Spaight concluded that a number of factors influenced their results. Those who were over 35 were more open-minded and became more open-minded than those under 35. Those who had a college education were more likely to become more open-minded over the course of the institute than those who did not have college educations. Those with household incomes over \$11,000 were more open-minded than those with incomes less than \$11,000. Although Protestants came into the workshops more open-minded than Catholics, Catholics were greatly influenced by the programming and made a 10 point move toward open-mindedness (a significant post program improvement over Protestants. Russell D. Robinson and Ernest Spaight, “A Study of Attitudinal Change Through Lecture-Discussion Workshops,” *Adult Education Journal* XIX(1969),167-169. For in-text quote see: Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations Annual Report 1967, May 1, Document 453, Reel 1, FJWO Microfilm.

<sup>151</sup> Mrs. Norbert Klein of the General Federation of Women’s Clubs contended that there was no time to “fritter away [their] time and energies. This period is far too serious and every thinking woman is touched by it [human relations].” “Women Note Clubs' Roles,” *The Milwaukee Journal*, May 6, 1959, Box 24, Folder Community Relations Committee, 1954-1960, MJC Papers

<sup>152</sup> Robert Ashworth, History of the NCCJ, Box 1, Folder 7, NCCJ Papers.

## Jewish Organizations and the Human Relations Movement

Like women's organizations, Milwaukee's Jewish organizations was able to integrate more fully into the cultural, political, and intellectual mainstream by strongly supporting the anticommunist crusade. Jews—haunted by the pernicious and almost always baseless charge of Bolshevism since the early twentieth century—saw the anticommunist cause and the human relations movement as the prime opportunity to once and for all assert their staunch commitment to the democratic system.<sup>153</sup> The famous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, fabricated in Russia around the turn of the century and popularized in America by Henry Ford's newspaper, *The Dearborn Independent*, linked Judaism with conspiracies for international overthrow and domination.<sup>154</sup> According to the diatribes of Ford, Father Coughlin, and Gerald L.K. Smith, American Jews, like their radical brothers and sisters in Russia, desired to establish a socialist revolution in the United States.<sup>155</sup> The anti-Semites of Milwaukee likewise conflated Judaism, Socialism, and Communism in handbills entitled "The Jewish Menace," and "Don't be a Sucker! Jews Promote Communism to Make Themselves Masters and The Gentiles Slaves!"<sup>156</sup> As a result of the negative conflation of Judaism, socialism and communism, many American Jews were eager to disassociate with communism and to demonstrate their commitment to democracy, liberalism, and capitalism.<sup>157</sup> Historian Edward Shapiro notes that

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<sup>153</sup> Henry L. Feingold, *A Time for Searching: Entering the Mainstream, 1920-1945* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 7; Dollinger, *Quest for Inclusion*, 5.

<sup>154</sup> Leonard Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 80-81.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid*, 111; Svonkin, *Jews Against Prejudice*, 114.

<sup>156</sup> "Jewish Menace," March 26 1940; "Communism is Jewish," Box 3, Folder Anti-Semitism 1938-1940, MJC Papers.

<sup>157</sup> The conventional historiography of American Jewish history explains Jewish dedication to improving intergroup relations and civil rights through the context of the diaspora. As a result of the expulsion of Jews from the Kingdom of Judea in the sixth century BCE, Jews historically had been a minority religious, cultural, and

“the Jewish establishment was careful to distance itself from the Jewish Left and to make sure that Jewish communal leadership rested safely in the hands of staunch anticommunism.”<sup>158</sup>

Milwaukee’s Jewish advocate agencies, under suspicion because of their religion, ethnicity and the city’s history of socialism, avoided radical tactics and devoted themselves to the human relations movement and its uncontroversial educational methods.<sup>159</sup> Milwaukee’s Jews established the Milwaukee Jewish Council (MJC) in 1938 to facilitate interfaith dialogue and to “deal effectively with the problems created by man in his everyday relationship with his fellow man.”<sup>160</sup> The Council was a centralizing agency that coordinated the human relations movement among the local chapters of the American Jewish Committee (AJC), the American Jewish Congress, the ADL, and the Federation of Jewish Women’s Organizations.<sup>161</sup> Members

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ethnic group everywhere they resided. Protecting the basic rights, security, and wellbeing of the community was more important than the economic success of any one individual. Some scholars of American Jewish immigration history argue that American Jews identified with the plight of other minority groups because they were historically denied civil rights themselves. After they had established their own religious and cultural communities in the United States and legitimated their inclusion in American society, Jews sought to extend the protections, securities, and rights to other vulnerable minority groups. Additionally, scholars claim that Jewish communal values paired perfectly with the ideals of twentieth-century American liberalism. Other scholars, like Sol Roth insist that, *Zedakah*, or righteousness, in the Torah predisposed Jews to value community welfare, government spending, and protecting minority rights. Jews utilized the ideals and language of liberalism and democracy to legitimize their equal status in American society alongside other, more populous religions (like Protestantism and Catholicism) or ethno/racial groups (like white Anglo-Saxons or African Americans). Seth Forman, *Blacks in the Jewish Mind: A Crisis of Liberalism* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 17; Dollinger, *Quest for Inclusion*, 132-133, 63; Sol Roth, *The Jewish Idea of Community* (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1977).

<sup>158</sup> Shapiro, *A Time for Healing American Jewry Since World War II*, 25, 36; also see: Svonkin, *Jews Against Prejudice*, 162.

<sup>159</sup> By divesting themselves of radicalism (like interest in socialism or communism) and adapting to mainstream American values (like liberalism), Jews “acculturated” and secured their position in American society. The leaders of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League were united in using the human relations movement to further instigate Jewish “social mobility.” Dollinger, *Quest for Inclusion*, 142; Shapiro, *A Time for Healing American Jewry Since World War II*, 25, 36.

<sup>160</sup> Milwaukee Jewish Council Meeting Minutes, December 15, 1970, Box 21, Folder Council for Community Relations; History of Milwaukee Jewish Council July 21, 1942, Box 21, Folder History 1939-1942; Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Report 1954-1955, Freestanding Folder Reports 1950-1993, MJC Papers.

<sup>161</sup> Individually, these groups had missions more focused on philanthropy and welfare of the defense of the Jewish community. Specifically, the American Jewish Committee helped Jews participate fully in American society and politics while preserving their Jewish identity and heritage. In the 1940s, the agencies chief activities focused on

of the MJC, ADL, and AJC thought that engagement in the human relations movement and utilization of its educational tactics was the best way to reduce anti-Semitism and avoid charges of political radicalism.<sup>162</sup> In 1950, the AJC and the ADL resolved that “together with other community agencies, our national organization and regional office shall help to expel Communist groups from organized Jewish life.”<sup>163</sup> By taking up the anti-communist cause, Jewish advocate agencies were able to work toward the eradication of anti-Semitism and the inclusion of Jews economically, politically, and socially into local communities.<sup>164</sup>

Will Herberg insisted American Jews had a mission to fulfill for their country during the Cold War. Herberg’s scholarship was taken so seriously by Jewish and Gentile academics and lay readers alike because he was a converted Communist. Marxism had been a “vessel of Truth” for the young Herberg, and it had been a kind of “religion, an ethic, and a theology, a vast, all embracing doctrine of man and the universe, a passionate faith endowing life with

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Jews relations to other groups (intergroup relations). B'nai B'rith Leaders Manual, Blueprint of Leadership Development, Box 1, Folder 5; This Is B'nai B'rith: A Book of Facts 1947-1948, Box, Folder 6, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Milwaukee Papers, Jewish Museum Milwaukee (hereafter cited B'nai B'rith Papers).

<sup>162</sup> Jewish religious organizations, like the Temple Brother- and Sisterhoods of Congregation Emanu El B'ne Jeshurun occasionally participated in the human relations movement in Milwaukee. However, the majority of Milwaukee's Jewish population did not officially join congregations in either the nineteenth- or early twentieth centuries. Rabbi Swichkow insisted that high membership dues and indifference kept most Milwaukee Jews away from religious services, except on High Holidays (Rabbi Swichkow was Rabbi of Temple Beth El Ner Tamid). By World War II, synagogue membership reached record levels because of a heightened concern for Jewish cultural survival due to the Holocaust and the creation of the state of Israel. Temple Brotherhood, October 1941, Box 5, Folder 7; Letter from Louis Egelson, Temple Sisterhoods 1948, Box 8, Folder 3, Joseph Baron Papers, Milwaukee Area Research Archives (hereafter cited Baron Papers); Also see Minutes 1960-1963, 1963-1966, 1966-1969, 1969-1971, 1972-1974, Congregation Emanu El B'ne Jeshurun Papers, Jewish Museum Milwaukee (hereafter cited Congregation Emanu El Papers); John Gurda, *One People, Many Paths: A History of Jewish Milwaukee* (Milwaukee: Jewish Museum Milwaukee, 2009), 38, 45-50, 161, 175; Louis Swichkow and Lloyd P. Gartner, *The History of the Jews of Milwaukee* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1963), 175.

<sup>163</sup> Svonkin, *Jews Against Prejudice*, 165.

<sup>164</sup> Benjamin Ringer, *The Edge of Friendliness: A Study of Jewish-Gentile Relations* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), 218, 241; For a short description of Jewish involvement in “Community Relations” programming see: Steven Windmueller, “Defenders”: National Jewish Community Relations Agencies,” in *Jewish Polity and American Civil Society* eds. Alan Mittleman and Jonathan Sarna (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 18.

meaning.”<sup>165</sup> Marxism represented an atheistic ideology persuasive enough to completely replace religion. Later in life, Herberg was won over by religion and officially broke ties with Communism and converted back to Judaism. Herberg personally attested to the extent to which interfaith dialogue and educational programming could temper radical impulses and prevent the mass infiltration of communist ideology into the American Way of Life.<sup>166</sup> As Herberg demonstrated, aligning with educational theories and the interfaith movement provided an opportunity to join a powerful and influential network of Protestant and Catholic anti-prejudice organizations.

The human relations movement was so central to the mission of the AJC that the organization debated changing its name to the Institute of Human Relations in the late 1960s.<sup>167</sup> The organization’s identity as a non-denominational, anti-communist educational organization was, for a time, more important than its identity as a Jewish self-preservation organization.<sup>168</sup> In Milwaukee, the AJC and the ADL shared staff and offices with the solidly human relations—oriented Milwaukee Jewish Council. This centralization of resources limited the acceptable range of activism to education.<sup>169</sup> While Milwaukee did have a chapter of the

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<sup>165</sup> As cited in John Diggins, *Up from Communism: Conservative Odysseys in American Intellectual History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 122, 289; For example see: Will Herberg, “From Marxism to Judaism,” in *From Marxism to Judaism: The Collected Essays of Will Herberg*, ed. David G. Dalin (New York: M. Wiener Pub, 1989), 30; Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, 26

<sup>166</sup> The premier Jewish intellectual periodical *Commentary* also took a clearly anticommunist stance because its editor Elliot E. Cohen desired to end “the alienation of the Jewish intelligentsia from the American mainstream.” Shapiro, *A Time for Healing American Jewry Since World War II*, 25.

<sup>167</sup> As cited in Lawrence Grossman, “Transformation through Crisis: The American Jewish Committee and the Six-Day War,” *American Jewish History* 1(1998):27-54.

<sup>168</sup> Reflecting the power of the human relations movement, the National Conference of Christians and Jews also contemplated changing the name of their organization to “American Brotherhood,” “World Brotherhood” or the “National Conference of Human Relations.” Change of Name Study, Box 7, Folder 11, NCCJ Records.

<sup>169</sup> Sol Sorrin was the President of the Milwaukee Jewish Council and decided what organizations the MJC would

American Jewish Congress from 1933 through 1945, an organization that routinely integrated legislative and direct action tactics into its tactical repertoire, the Congress had few members and little influence in the city because of the dangers associated with rights-based activism.<sup>170</sup> The Milwaukee Jewish Council, comparatively, was very powerful and had support of the establishment because of its non-controversial educational tactics.<sup>171</sup> Sarah Ettenheim, a well-respected club woman, President of the Federation of Jewish Women and member of the MJC, articulated the reasons why Milwaukee's Jews invested in the human relations movement to eliminate anti-Semitism and solve intergroup tensions: "Human Relations is the most important thing in the country today. My children and grandchildren have to live in a world with all kinds of people. And they have to be considerate of other persons."<sup>172</sup> Ettenheim believed that educational tactics were "positive" and fostered good will among religious and racial groups.<sup>173</sup>

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work with and what programs the MJC would participate in and fund. As a member of the Human Relations Coordinating Council, the Greater Milwaukee Conference of Religion and Race, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and President of the Human Relations Radio-TV Council, Sorrin coordinated programs with these human relations organizations most often. Sol Sorrin Biography; "Sorrin Leaves Job Will Still Be Heard," *Milwaukee Journal*, June 30, 1984, Box 28, Folder Sol Sorrin, MJC Papers.

<sup>170</sup> Damon Strichert argued Milwaukee's chapter of the American Jewish Congress failed due to lack of funds and community participation. Damon Stichert, "The Milwaukee Division of the American Jewish Congress, 1933-1945: The Limits of a Local Jewish Organization During a Period of International Crisis," (M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, ?); Also see Boxes 1 and 2, Nathan Sands Papers, Milwaukee Area Research Archives.

<sup>171</sup> The human relations movement was so popular that groups battled over the origin story. A number of influential Jewish educators and social scientists insisted that Kurt Lewin, a European immigrant Jew,—not the NCCJ—invented the educational tactics used by the human relations movement in 1946 at the State Teachers College in New Britain, Connecticut. In 1950, Lewin founded the National Training Laboratories, where social scientists trained T-groups, or small dialogue groups, to examine their feelings, communicate honestly, openly criticize, and learn to function in a group. Lewin maintained that by "develop[ing] intensive interpersonal relationships" persons learned how they behave in response to others and vice versa." Much like NCCJ programs, Lewin's laboratory trained T-groups over short intensive periods, usually two weeks. T-groups are still trained today. Palmer, *Living as Equals*, 29-31; John Slawson, *Unequal Americans: Practices and Politics of Intergroup Relations* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), 184-187.

<sup>172</sup> "Civil Rights, Cookbook Demand Time From Busy Mrs. George Ettenheim," *Milwaukee Journal*, March 22, 1960, Box 24, Folder Community Relations Committee 1954-1960, MJC Papers.

<sup>173</sup> Sarah Ettenheim was a Temple Emanu-El congregant, City Planning Commissioner, and member of the Milwaukee Jewish Council, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Women's Division, Milwaukee Human Relations Television Council, the National Council of Jewish Women, and the Milwaukee Citizens for

Contrarily, she thought that contentious social movements that utilized direct action and legislative tactics challenged social conventions and weakened community bonds.

### **African American Organizations and the Human Relations Movement**

African American advocacy organizations, like women's, and Jewish organizations, were also under constant suspicion of radicalism in the twentieth century. Black militancy was supposedly an indication of communist influence. According to the most virulent anti-communists and bigots, African Americans were easily manipulated by communists, who were determined to use minorities' dissatisfaction with Jim Crowism and economic inequality to instigate domestic unrest. Historian Robbie Lieberman demonstrates that the combination of Red Scares and race riots that followed World War I enabled opponents of civil rights to "use the Red label to delegitimize blacks' desire for peace, security, and liberation from the racial status quo as they brutally suppressed attempts to organize around these issues."<sup>174</sup>

Direct challenges to, and protests against, legally endorsed and de facto forms of racism opened up African American advocate organizations to charges of subversion. Any minority who gained a reputation as radical, revolutionary, or militant was charged with communism and ran the risk of being "excommunicated" from mainstream political influence.<sup>175</sup> Red-baiting of African American leaders did not end with the first Red Scare. J

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Equal Opportunity. She also held a position on the Advisory Committee of the Institute of Human Relations at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. See Box 5, Folder 6, Baron Papers; Box 8 Folder 6, MUL Papers; Box 1, Folder 1, University of Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Archives (hereafter cited Institute of Human Relations Papers).

<sup>174</sup> At the height of the first Red Scare in 1919, the FBI tried to prove that Bolsheviks were responsible for inciting the race riots in Chicago and Washington. Robbie Lieberman, "The Long Black and Red Scare: Anti-Communism and the African American Freedom Struggle," in *Little "Red Scares": Anti-Communism and Political Repression in the United States, 1921-1946* ed. Robert Justin Goldstein (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2014), 262, 265.

<sup>175</sup> Theodore Kornweibel, *Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns Against Black Militancy, 1919-1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 21.

Edgar Hoover and Joseph McCarthy targeted black activists and organizations as Communist-inspired for calling for an immediate rights-based solution to racial inequality during the interwar period and throughout the Cold War.<sup>176</sup> Historian Jeffrey Bass argues that “[t]he most effective tactic employed to mute black critics of racial inequality was the public humiliation of major figures. Such spectacles functioned not only to intimidate the particular person under scrutiny but, as educational theater, demonstrating to the public the dangers of Communism and the perils of collaborating with “reds.”<sup>177</sup> The successful infiltration of Communists into the National Negro Congress in 1940 seemed to confirm the greatest fears of Cold Warriors.<sup>178</sup> Using this precedent, patriotic organizations, like the Patrick Henry Group, concluded that the NAACP and its leaders, such as Roy Wilkins, W.E.B. DuBois, A. Philip Randolph, and Thurgood Marshall, among many others, were connected to communist organizations and constituted a danger to American democratic society.<sup>179</sup>

Such charges of communism led some African American leaders to condemn any degree of radical tactics, association with contentious social movements, or communism influence. To avoid suspicion, NAACP National Director Roy Wilkins took an aggressively anti-communist stance and banned all members of the Communist party from joining the

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<sup>176</sup> Jeff Woods demonstrates how, in the South, politicians used fear of communism and the minority rights movement to delegitimize calls for civil rights to launch localized Red Scares and HUAC investigations. Jeff Woods, *Black Struggle, Red Scare: Segregation and Anti-Communism in the South, 1948-1968* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2004); Also see: Lieberman, “The Long Black and Red Scare,” 264.

<sup>177</sup> Jeffery Bass, *Cold War and the McCarthy Era*, 101.

<sup>178</sup> Delton, *Rethinking the 1950s*, 19.

<sup>179</sup> High profile black leaders, like Bayard Rustin was rumored to be a “communist NAACP organizer[s].” Even Martin Luther King Jr. was classified as a communist leader by Hoover in 1962 and was watched by the FBI until his death in 1967 for his involvement in the civil rights movement. As cited in Jones, *The March on Washington*, 107; Peter H. Buckingham, *America Sees Red*, 113; The Patrick Henry Group, *Is the NAACP Subversive?* (Richmond, VA: The Group, 1963); Letter from Gloster Current to All NAACP Branches, July 18, 1951, Box 6, Folder 3, Milwaukee Branch of the NAACP Papers, Milwaukee Area Research Archives.

NAACP in 1951.<sup>180</sup> In spite of Wilkins' and Randolph's efforts to maintain a strict anti-communist stance, the NAACP came under investigation of HUAC because of its controversial direct action tactics and demand for immediate, radical change to existing institutions.<sup>181</sup> The association of communism and the African American leadership had grave implications for the civil rights movement: direct action, protest, and legislative demands for equal rights were characterized as transgressive and extremist. Leaders who used these controversial tactics ran the certain risk of being marginalized.

Yet there was another way for African Americans to avoid marginalization, one largely unexplored by historians. The educational tactics of the human relations movement created a safe form of interracial activism protected from communist suspicion because it worked toward equal treatment and opportunity from within existing institutional structures. Historian Jack Dougherty argues that middle-class African Americans in Milwaukee favored "education rather than legislation" and "believed that they could be most effective in achieving their objective through quiet negotiations rather than public protests."<sup>182</sup> Some middle-class African Americans saw engagement in the human relations movement as a way to achieve non-

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<sup>180</sup> Wilkins argued that Communists tried to capitalize on every instance of racial discrimination, persecution, and injustice—like the Scottsboro case—to draft African Americans to the Soviet cause. Wilkins insisted, that each and every solicitation ended with blacks refusing to compromise democratic values for promises of quick equality under communist rule. Communists' abject failure was due to the strength of the African American Church, their complete faith in Jesus Christ—not Joseph Stalin—and because "the Negro wants to be a good American, get a good job, own a home, rear a family, educate his children, and enjoy life as a free citizen. All evidence points to his desire for reform, not revolution under Kremlin leadership. He wants to become a fully integrated American, not a segregated segment of a Soviet Promised Land." Roy Wilkins, "Stalin's Greatest Defeat," *American Magazine*, December 1951, Box 1, Folder 10, Milwaukee Branch of the NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>181</sup> The president of the American Council of Christian Churches called the 1963 March on Washington "the largest company of Communists and communist-sympathizers ever to meet in one place in America." As cited in Jones, *The March on Washington*, 178; Also see: Alfred Baker Lewis, "Is the NAACP Communist?" *The Christian Century*, October 7, 1959, Box 8, Folder 20, MUL Papers.

<sup>182</sup> For an in-depth description of the intra-group tension among established, middle-class and "newcomer" African Americans, see Jack Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle: The Evolution of Black School Reform in Milwaukee* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 10; Trotter, *Black Milwaukee*, 80-107.

controversial political and social influence.

The Milwaukee Urban League (MUL) linked its mission directly to the human relations movement.<sup>183</sup> In 1964, the Directors specified that the MUL “does not take part in sit-ins, does not go on freedom rides, does not picket, and does not supply funds to those who do.”<sup>184</sup> Nationally, the Urban League utilized the tools of “negotiation, persuasion, and education” and “organize[d] with white men where it is possible and where conditions [are] favorable.”<sup>185</sup>

By aligning with the human relations movement, the Urban League positioned itself as partners with the most well-respected and politically centrist voluntary organizations in the city. As Directors of the Milwaukee Urban League, William V. Kelley (1928-1959) and Wesley Scott (1959-1981) directed the restrained course of the social movements of the African American community.<sup>186</sup> The MUL organized, participated in, and funded dialogic and

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<sup>183</sup> Influenced by the “accommodationist approach” of Booker T Washington, the Urban League was founded in 1905 in New York City by a board of black and white progressive reformers and educators, to improve the social and economic conditions of urban African Americans. Washington insisted African Americans would make a place for themselves in American society through “self-help,” education, and vocational training. Once African Americans proved themselves reliable, responsible, contributing members of society, they would be fully accepted by mainstream, white America. In Milwaukee, the Urban League linked their mission directly to human relations ideology. Nancy Weiss, *The National Urban League, 1910-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 68, 59, 208; Information about the Milwaukee Urban League, November 27, 1961, Box 1, Folder 80, MUL Papers.

<sup>184</sup> Further, the MUL uses “human relations education to secure the climate necessary for social progress to [meet] the challenges of your school and of the community.” Annual Report Milwaukee Urban League 1964, Box 1, Folder 7, MUL Papers; Information about the Milwaukee Urban League, November 27, 1961, Box 1, Folder 80, MUL Papers.

<sup>185</sup> Weiss, *The National Urban League*, 68, 208.

<sup>186</sup> William V. Kelley was also Director of the Interracial Federation of Milwaukee County (1943-1945), member of the General Committee, College Programs in Intergroup Relations (Milwaukee 1945), Mayor’s Commission on Human Rights (1948), and YMCA. Wesley Scott, Catholic parishioner of St. Francis was also member of the Anti-Defamation League, Institute for Human Relations, Community Representative (1968), Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, the Milwaukee Human Relations Television Council, Human Relations Coordinating Council (1966), National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, Police and Community Relations Planning Committee, Project Understanding Participant (1968), YMCA, and the NAACP. William V. Kelley, Champion of Democracy, Box 3, Folder 17, MUL Papers; Also see: Box 3, Folder 18, MUL Papers; Wesley L. Scott Obituary, FindAGrave.com, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=21009439>, accessed September 10,

educational programs almost exclusively. Operating within the accepted range of activism of white, middle-class America, the Urban League and its leaders were safe from charges of subversion in Milwaukee.

The Urban League was not the only African American advocate agency that took advantage of the human relations movement in order to avoid associations with radicalism in the early- to mid-twentieth century. While the headquarters branch in Washington D.C. called upon Congress to enact civil rights legislation, the mission of the individual NAACP branches varied by region.<sup>187</sup> In 1955, the Wisconsin State NAACP Constitution stated that the objective of the organization was to “wipe out conditions of discrimination and injustices against minority peoples and to cooperate with organizations engaged in the field of human relations.”<sup>188</sup> The Educational Committee of the Milwaukee NAACP further reveals the influence of the human relations movement:

“[p]rejudice is often the result of a lack of communication between people. Many white people are prejudiced against the Negro even tho [sic] they have never known one or spoken to one. Our Education Committee consists of Negroes and Whites who are working together to promote a better understanding between races.”<sup>189</sup>

In these early years of the NAACP in Wisconsin, the organization invested in “a vigorous program of

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<sup>187</sup> Founded in 1909 by W.E.B. Du Bois, Ida B. Wells, John Dewey, and Jane Addams among others, the national platform of the NAACP focused on achieving “political, educational, social, and economic equality of minority group citizens of [the] United States.” Among the organization’s main concerns in the early- and mid-twentieth century were eradicating residential and school segregation, passing a Fair Employment law with enforcing powers, integrating the armed services, ensuring voting rights, abolishing Jim Crowism, and removing discrimination in recreation and travel. See “NAACP: 100 Years of History,” <http://www.naacp.org/pages/naacp-history> accessed March 9, 2014; 1952 NAACP National Platform, Box 6, Folder 4, NAACP Milwaukee Branch Papers.

<sup>188</sup> This document is undated. However, it is filed alongside documents dating from 1955 through 1967. Because the Milwaukee NAACP branch did not adopt direct action techniques until 1961, I can tentatively date this document between 1955 and 1960. Constitution of NAACP, Wisconsin State Conference, Box 2, Folder 1, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>189</sup> Letter from K. Wunrow, NAACP, 1960, Box 2, Folder 14, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

education” to realize equal opportunity in jobs, housing, and education.<sup>190</sup> The Central Long Island, New York, branch also followed this trend.<sup>191</sup> NAACP branches responded to local conditions, and their individual missions varied according to community needs.<sup>192</sup>

The human relations movement protected Jewish, African American, and women’s groups from charges of communism and allowed them to align with the most powerful and influential voluntary organizations in the city. Through training and education, laypersons became the community’s social science experts in modifying intolerant attitudes into accepting ones. The benefits of aligning with the human relations movement, however, convinced many Milwaukeeans that long-term educational programming was sufficient to handle all prejudice and discrimination issues in the city. Human relations educational advocates were reticent to support contentious social movements and their direct action tactics.

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<sup>190</sup> From 1951 to 1961 the NAACP partnered with other organizations involved in the human relations movement, like the MUL, the NCCJ, the YWCA, the Lutheran Human Relations Association, the ADL, and the MJC, among others to organize educational programs and Brotherhood Week activities. See NAACP Meeting Minutes, January 15, 1951, Box 2, Folder 15; In-text quote: Resolutions Passed by Wisconsin State Conference 1953, Box 1, Folder 10, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>191</sup> The Long Island branch insisted that the NAACP was not “a racial organization” but a “patriotic organization” designed to demonstrate that “segregation and discrimination are un-American and un-patriotic.” “Hooray For All Americans,” *New York Age*, February 15, 1958, Box 2, Folder 16, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>192</sup> For example see: Department of Branches, September 23, 1949, Box 6, Folder 2, NAACP Milwaukee Papers; Memo to Branch Presidents, January 29, 1951; Program for Civil Rights Action, Box 6, Folder 3; MUL Papers; Dougherty, *More than One Struggle*, 24.

Chapter 2:  
Conflict of Consequence, 1961-1980

Historians like Patricia Sullivan and Leah Gordon demonstrate that white Southerners used educational tactics to placate segregationists and work toward racial equality from within the constraints of the Jim Crow South.<sup>193</sup> In 1919, Will Alexander founded the Atlanta-based Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC) to find purely dialogic solutions to religious and racial tensions. Utilizing the tactics of persuasion and education, the CIC “indirectly challenged the status quo.”<sup>194</sup> Sullivan argues that the CIC had little impact on the political and social world of the South because persuasive education did not attack the fundamental problem of legal segregation head on. Leah Gordon argues that educational programs designed to improve race relations in the South in the 1950s “allowed reformers to avoid redistributing social policies while simultaneously claiming to confront racial inequality.”<sup>195</sup> To avoid alienating conservative elites, Gordon Lovejoy, Educational Consultant of the NCCJ, argued that the organization needed to maintain its distance from direct action and legislative tactics. Because the NCCJ had not engaged in radicalism themselves, they were “safe” to work with. Appearing “too advanced” had greatly handicapped the efforts of the NAACP, the Southern Regional Council, and the ADL in the South. As long as NCCJ kept to “the total field of human relations instead of a pro-integration basis,” the NCCJ would be able to “maintain our lead and our contacts.”<sup>196</sup> Lovejoy admitted that the NCCJ membership represented the Southern “power

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<sup>193</sup> Leah Gordon, “The Question of Prejudice: Social Science, Education, and the Struggle to Define “the Race Problem” in mid-century America, 1935-1965” (Ph. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2012); Patricia Sullivan, *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

<sup>194</sup> Sullivan, *Days of Hope*, 32, 33-37.

<sup>195</sup> Leah Gordon, “A Question of Prejudice,” 8.

<sup>196</sup> Letter from Gordon Lovejoy to Herbert Seamans, June 2, 1955, Box 23, Folder 31, NCCJ Papers.

structure... and by moving slowly as we have, these people are still with us...No other organization has such ready access to opinion makers in the South as does NCCJ. To me the only course of wisdom is to work with these people at the point they have now reached. If the price we must pay is to drag our heels a bit, it is a cheap price considering the ultimate good we can do.”<sup>197</sup> Gordon argues that the human relations movement provided a way for Southerners to engage in the larger movement for racial and religious equality without challenging the traditional power structure and while avoiding confrontation.<sup>198</sup>

While white moderates “reaffirmed their commitment to slow, carefully moderated change” through World War II, Sullivan insists that African Americans in the South gained confidence in rights-based demands for equality.<sup>199</sup> To prove this racially motivated turn toward protest and legislative tactics, Sullivan searches for the earliest signs of protest against Jim Crow laws. She argues that New Deal-era legislation—which addressed economic hardship and even racial discrimination in unions—demonstrated to African Americans that “reform could be achieved through legal action.”<sup>200</sup> Sullivan insists that geographic location and membership demographics informed what tactics a reform organizations employed. White Southerners continued to invest in educational tactics because they still had much to gain, politically and socially, from Jim Crow. African Americans, conversely, invested in

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> Likewise, Alfred Hero analyzes the “quiet” moderation of Jews in the context of Southern conventions in the 1960s: “...compared with Northern Jews, Southern Jews were considerably more conservative on race relations.” Hero regards the reservations of Southern Jews as a regional phenomenon, aware of their place as a religious minority and negotiating a space among the white racial hierarchy. Leah Gordon, “The Question of Prejudice,” 325-328; Alfred O. Hero, Jr. “Southern Jews and Public Policy,” in *Turn To The South: Essays on Southern Jewry*, eds. Nathan M. Kaganoff and Melvin I. Urofsky (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979), 145-147; Also see Dollinger, *Quest for Inclusion*, 173.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid, 163.

<sup>200</sup> “New Deal legislation fundamentally altered the relationship between the government and the individual citizen and invested the newly revived labor movement with strength and confidence. Ibid, 49, 59.

direct action and legislative tactics, which promised to unseat the unfair policies of segregation more quickly.

In addition to the examples of Will Alexander of the CIC and Gordon Lovejoy of the NCCJ, the case of Martin Luther King Jr. of the NAACP seems to support the racial and geographical explanations for why reform organizations implemented different social movement strategies. In his early career in Montgomery, King worked for both the Montgomery Human Relations Council and the local chapter of the NAACP. Before the Montgomery bus boycott, King insisted that education and direct action approaches were not “diametrically opposed.”<sup>201</sup> King insisted that “I felt that both approaches were necessary.” Education changed attitudes and broke down “spiritual barriers to integration,” while legislation and court orders broke down “physical barriers to integration.”<sup>202</sup>

After the boycott, however, King was frustrated by the “appalling silence of the people of good will [the Montgomery Human Relations Council].”<sup>203</sup> Based on his experience with the human relations movement and its supporters’ die-hard dedication to educational tactics, King decided that “if the Negro is to achieve the goal of integration, he must organize himself into a militant and nonviolent mass movement. Movement for equality and justice can only be a success if it has both a mass and militant character.”<sup>204</sup> As the civil rights movement matured in the 1960s, King’s disappointment with his “Christian and Jewish brothers” associated with the NCCJ only increased. While jailed for mobilizing demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963, King penned one of his most famous proclamations. In his opinion, supporters of the human relations movement posed a greater threat to

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<sup>201</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom* (New York: Perennial Library, 1954), 5.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 102-107.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 178, 191.

the civil rights movement than Ku Klux Klansmen because they “paternalistically...set the timetable for another man’s freedom; [they] live by a mythical concept of time and constantly advise the Negro to wait for a “more convenient season.”<sup>205</sup> King is a compelling example who follows Sullivan’s and Gordon’s depictions of tactical choice being determined by race and geographical region. King did not subscribe to the human relations movement because its slow-paced educational tactics did not challenge the status quo. Such policies did not benefit the Southern African American community.

However, this chapter demonstrates that the debate over tactics was not bound by religion, race, or geographical region. Northerners—white, black, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish—also chose to invest in educational tactics, even though the same formal legislative restrictions did not exist.<sup>206</sup> The allure of protection against charges of subversion made many women’s, Jewish, and African American voluntary organizations reticent to work with direct action groups, like the NAACP, or to become associated with “contentious” social movements. On the one hand, educational advocates characterized the civil rights movement and its direct

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<sup>205</sup> King, “Letter From Birmingham Jail,” 352-353.

<sup>206</sup> Gallup Poll surveys reveal that Americans across the nation were concerned about the potential impact that immediate solutions and radical strategies proposed by the NAACP would have on the socio-political environment. In a 1963 Gallup Poll, sixty percent of respondents replied that mass demonstrations were “more likely to hurt” the “Negro cause” (twenty-seven percent believed mass demonstrations would be “more likely to help” the “Negro cause.” These statistics were not skewed by Southern segregationist sentiments. Parsed by region and race, sixty-five percent of “whites outside the South” thought mass demonstrations were “more likely to hurt” the civil rights cause compared to twenty-five percent that thought it was “more likely to help.” For Southern Whites the numbers become even starker: seventy-three percent believed mass demonstrations would hurt civil rights while only eleven percent thought it would help. In 1964, the Gallup Pollsters asked the same question, resulting in an even more hostile general attitude toward direct action. Seventy-four percent of respondents insisted mass demonstrations would “hurt” the “Negro cause for racial equality.” Only fifteen percent thought it would help the civil rights cause. That year, pollsters provided data from the African American and Caucasian perspective: eighty-one percent of “whites” believed mass demonstration would “hurt” the “Negro cause” and only ten percent thought it would “help.” Comparatively, fifty-five percent of “non-whites” thought direct action would “help,” while only twenty-two percent of “non-whites” thought direct action would “hurt” civil rights. For an analysis of how social science surveys shaped the way Americans thought about themselves see: Sarah E. Igo, *The Averaged American: Surveys, Citizens, and the Making of a Mass Public* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2007); Survey #674-K, Survey #691-K, George Gallup, *The Gallup Poll* (Wilmington, Del: Scholarly Resources, 1980), 1828-1884.

action and legislative tactics as diametrically opposed to measured, judicial, voluntary progress toward equal opportunity and treatment. According to human relations advocates, the NAACP and their protest strategies threatened to alienate those who might otherwise be persuaded to accept others through slow-paced, non-confrontational educational programming. Further, legislation forced citizens to live next to, or go to school with, persons with which they were not yet psychologically prepared to mix.<sup>207</sup> On the other hand, the NAACP accused human relations advocates of being disingenuous and half-hearted supporters of equal rights. This basic disagreement over how to approach and instigate social change was so fundamental that it frustrated both movements' efforts. In the end, the dominant position of education and dialogue as the *de facto* tactics to improve interfaith and interracial relations and address civil rights concerns in Milwaukee severely limited the ability of contentious voluntary organizations to influence municipal policy.<sup>208</sup> In 1954, the Madison chapter of the ADL insisted that: "the eradication of prejudice is basically an educational process and not a legal one."<sup>209</sup> The proclamations of the Constitution alone did not guarantee liberties, freedoms or rights, the spokesperson continued; rights were guaranteed only "when they have the full weight of public

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<sup>207</sup> Human relations advocates cited evidence, like the following one articulated by an African American NCCJ member, to support the argument that legislated integration threatened the progress made by educational tactics: many white people, "already prejudiced and frightened," tended to "quickly disassociate[d] with any mistreated minority concept and reinforce[d] in his mind as a stereotyped violent ghetto dweller who is a danger to the calm quiet accumulation of wealth in the rest of the community" when they use "any direct action." Project Understanding Workshop 3: "Here and Now in Milwaukee" Box 4, Folder 11, WERD Series 1003.

<sup>208</sup> The articulation of this argument was inspired by Kim Nielsen. She insists that the association of women's activism and communism "severely limited the ability of progressive women to promote social welfare legislation throughout the 1920s." Kim Nielsen, *Un-American Womanhood: Anti-radicalism, Anti-feminism and the First Red Scare* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2001), 3, 6. Also see: Emmons, *Cold War and the McCarthy Era*, 141.

<sup>209</sup> Anti-Defamation League, Blueprint for Freedom, Dane County February 18, 1953, page 25, Box 4, Folder Blueprint for Freedom Program 1954, MJC Papers.

conscience behind them.”<sup>210</sup> Reflecting their commitment to anti-communism and anti-radicalism, Wisconsinites continued to believe in 1966 that “Human Relations means more than Civil Rights.”<sup>211</sup> In the 1960s, Wisconsinites had not placed total confidence in the contentious social movement of civil rights. Some, granted, held racist beliefs. Many others, however, were still convinced that the human relations movement would remedy racial inequality slowly, yet more surely and peaceably, than protests narrowly directed against the “establishment.”

Beginning in 1961, the Milwaukee NAACP began to integrate direct action and legislative tactics into their mission.<sup>212</sup> This new generation of African American leaders coming to the forefront of the civil rights movement were no longer pacified by the promise of future equality.<sup>213</sup> The Wisconsin branch of the NAACP extended its use of “direct action techniques” in 1964 to “sit-ins, sleep-ins, picketing, selective buying, and legal boycotts” in order to demand the end of de facto residential and school segregation and equal civil rights.<sup>214</sup> The new NAACP leadership was attracted to a contentious social movement precisely because they presumed that the controversial, dramatic tactics would demand immediate attention. Sociologists Vera Taylor and Nella Van Dyke assert that “[b]y attacking established institutions and the status quo, contentious social movements sought to

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> Teenage Human Relations Workshop, 1966, page 6, Box 5, Folder 8, WERD Case Files, Part 3A.

<sup>212</sup> Letter from W. Dale Phillips, President to John Doe Chairmen, April 1953, Box 6, Folder 4, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>213</sup> Resolutions Wisconsin Conference of the NAACP 1961, Box 1, Folder 14, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>214</sup> The NAACP further argued that “[pu]blic reaction to such action [direct action demonstration] brings positive results far quicker than any alternative to solving the problem under attack, presently in use.” State Conference Proceedings, October 21, 1961, Box 2, Folder 4, NAACP Milwaukee Papers; Wisconsin Conference of Branches of the NAACP, October 1964, Box 3, Folder 2, WERD Part 4.

push social and legal reform forward quickly if not immediately.”<sup>215</sup> Frustrated by Milwaukee’s most powerful reform organizations’ stubborn dedication to the human relations movement, the Milwaukee NAACP turned to boycott tactics and refused to participate in the 1966 “Teenage Human Relations Workshop” because they “believed a more militant stance was required” than “relat[ing] on a personal basis to discuss the main issues on their minds in the area of human relationships.”<sup>216</sup>

Time and time again, human relations affiliate organizations refused to integrate protest strategies or demand immediate change. Historian Patrick Jones recognizes that “[t]hose advocating more forceful and aggressive action to achieve racial justice in the city remained a relatively small group” in the 1960s.<sup>217</sup> Even as the threat of communism cooled in the mid-1960s, the NAACP was deemed subversive because the radical tactics of protest and demonstration threatened to unseat tradition American social values and hierarchy. The lingering dedication of Milwaukeeans to liberal anticommunism and the human relations movement coupled with the city’s particular socialist past stigmatized and alienated efforts to radicalize the civil rights movement.

### **The National Conference of Christians and Jews and Tactical Conflict**

In the previous chapter, I described how the NCCJ and its Women’s Committee created Rearing Children of Good Will Institutes in order to train mothers how to raise prejudice-free Cold Warriors. In the effort to reach a wider co-ed audience and to make the case that eradicating religious and racial prejudices was a job for the entire community, not just mothers and children, the NCCJ

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<sup>215</sup> A NCCJ member understood that “new black leaders” utilized “marches” and other “militant direct action to achieve full social justice in order to get the right to participate and share in the fruits of an affluent full employment cycle, without delay.” Project Understanding Workshop 3: “Here and Now in Milwaukee” Box 4, Folder 11, WERD Series 1003; In-text quote: Vera Taylor and Nella Van Dyke, “Get up, Stand up: Tactical Repertoires of Social Movements,” in *A Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* eds. David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004), 263.

<sup>216</sup> Teenage Human Relations Workshop 1966, pages 1-2, Box 5, Folder 8, WERD Case Files Part 3A.

<sup>217</sup> Jones, *Selma of the North*, 44.

transformed the Institutes into generalized programming for both men and women in 1967.<sup>218</sup> Even after the Women's Committee disbanded and Project Understanding programs became gender unspecific in 1968, women continued to constitute the majority of NCCJ members.<sup>219</sup> Rearing Children of Good Will Institutes emphasized teaching mothers how to prepare prejudice-free children for integration in the near future. While their neighborhoods or schools might not be integrated tomorrow or even in the next decade, the institutes taught mothers to think about a diversified workforce or community in their child's or grandchild's lifetime. Project Understanding, conversely, avoided the question of integration entirely because it had become entangled with the controversial subject of direct action. The goal of Project Understanding was to bring the geographically separate communities of white Milwaukeeans living in the suburbs and outer-core into communication with black Milwaukeeans living in the inner-core.<sup>220</sup> By facilitating dialogue, human relations supporters

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<sup>218</sup> From 1965 to 1967 Project Understanding was run as part of the Rearing Children of Good Will Institutes. The program sponsors were mainly women's organizations, such as: Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, Christian Family Movement, City Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations, League of Home and School Associations, League of Women Voters, Links Inc., Metropolitan Baptist Church, Mt. Zion Baptist Church, St. James Methodist, Church Women United, Phyllis Wheatley Young Adult Club, Women's Improvement Club, and YWCA among others. Project Understanding Pamphlet 1967, Box 1, Folder 7 Church Women United Papers, Milwaukee County Historical Society (hereafter cited CWU Papers); Project Understanding Pamphlet 1967, Box 1, Folder 7, CWU Papers; Project Understanding: A Workshop on Rearing Children of Goodwill, February 9, 1966, Reel 2, Document 257; National Conference of Christians and Jews Wisconsin Region Newsletter, April 1966, Reel 2, Document 261; Board Meeting, May 12, 1966, Reel 1, Document 418, FJWO Microfilm; Annual Meeting Minutes, Human Relations Television Council, October 1 1968, Box 8, Folder 6, MUL Papers; Letter from John Arey to Helen Barnhill, January 1969, Box 4, Folder 11, WERD Series 1003; Project Understanding Pamphlet, Box 4, Folder 11, WERD Series 1003; Project Understanding Pamphlet 1970, Box 1, Folder 7, CWU Papers.

<sup>219</sup> To illustrate: the Director of the NCCJ Wisconsin Region (Maurice Terry) was male, but the supporting staff were all women. Program Assistant (later Assistant Director) was Trudy Stimmel, Minnie Childs was the Secretary, and the Bookkeeper was Oretha Haile. See Annual Meeting National Conference of Christians and Jews, Wisconsin Region, June 2, 1960, Folder 2, Box 1, NCCJW Papers; Marie Laberge, "Seeking a Place to Stand: Political Power and Activism among Wisconsin Women" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1995), 19; Also see: Cynthia Ellen Harrison, *On Account of Sex: The Politics of Women's Issues, 1945-1968* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Lynn, "Gender and Progressive Politics": 103-127; Sylvie Murray, *The Progressive Housewife: Community Activism in Suburban Queens, 1945-1965* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

<sup>220</sup> In 1969 and 1970, Project Understanding organizers refined the focus of the sessions from general prejudice and discrimination to problems arising from Milwaukee's Inner Core. Segregation as the cause of interracial problems was avoided. Instead, organizers focused on issues of delinquency, attitudes, the funding of schools, and

maintained that the two, separate communities would reach understanding and avoid an urban riot.<sup>221</sup>

Participation at Project Understanding skyrocketed to 3000 Milwaukeeans in 1968. The Milwaukee proper series was so popular that the NCCJ organized similar six-week workshop series for Milwaukee's Bayside, Cudahy, Elm Groove, Fox Point, Menomonee Falls, Pewaukee, Wauwatosa, and West Allis suburbs.<sup>222</sup> Interest had grown to such an extent that in March 1969, the State Radio Network requested to join the project and broadcast the sessions on TV Channel 10. In order to make the experience more interactive, Channel 10 and NCCJ organized viewing posts at private residents, schools, churches, and other public places so that small groups could discuss the content of the televised sessions and phone in questions to the studio.<sup>223</sup> The 1969 Project Understanding broadcast alone attracted some 4000 participants at 300 viewing posts with an estimated additional 100,000 TV viewers locally and nationally.<sup>224</sup>

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police-community relations. The 1969 and 1970 programs were funded, in part, by a grant from Title I, Higher Education Act of 1965, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Organizers involved included: the NCCJW, the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Department of Educational Administration (Adult Education and Institute of Human Relations), University Extension, Milwaukee Area Technical College, and WMVS Channel 10. Project Understanding Pamphlet 1970, Box 1, Folder 7, CWU Papers.

<sup>221</sup> Male and female participants would identify, through self-reflection, how their own attitudes toward others formed and influenced everyday interactions, and second, to facilitate the creation of new, trusting and meaningful friendships across racial, religious, ethnic, and class lines through small group discussions with individuals of different backgrounds. Ideally, each person graduated from the training workshop with an plan for a community education project that they could take back to their own families, religious and civic groups, and neighborhoods to "combat and break down the barriers" of prejudice and discrimination. Project Understanding Pamphlet 1967, Box 1, Folder 7, CWU Papers; Project Understanding Pamphlet, Box 4, Folder 11, WERD Series 1003.

<sup>222</sup> What is Project Understanding?; West Allis Project Understanding Program 1968; Project Understanding Program Cudahy, Box 4, Folder 11, WERD Series 1003.

<sup>223</sup> Unfortunately, if any of the broadcasts survived, they are inaccessible. Christopher, Milwaukee Public Television Volunteer, email message to author, April 5, 2013. "MP-TV's Community Relations department is currently undergoing remodeling; the very old local program files are in storage and inaccessible. It is highly unlikely that any Project Understanding programs still exist. They would have been recorded on two-inch videotape; MP-TV no longer has any machines capable of playing these tapes and does not have the resources to convert them to DVD." Also see: Letter From Trudy Stimmel to Corneff Taylor, Box 23, Folder 7, MUL Papers; "Project Understanding Goes on Television," *The Chronicle*, February, 1969.

<sup>224</sup> Project Understanding Pamphlet 1970, Box 1, Folder 7, CWU Papers.

At Project Understanding, predominantly middle-class white and black Milwaukeeans reestablished their commitment to educational tactics over protest and direct action strategies. Joseph Fagan, keynote speaker and Catholic Priest, described to participants the perils of radical direct action. Black leaders, he claimed, "...capitalizing on [the] impatience," and had turned to "militant direct action" strategies like marching, boycotting, and organizing.<sup>225</sup> Fagan commented that these tactics, while justifiable and understandable, tended to alienate white people. To avoid the circulation of such hostile perceptions, Fagan recommended organizing tutor programs, "support[ing] youth human relations work," and "local human relations councils" which would help white Milwaukeeans understand that some African Americans' choice to turn to militant tactics did not equate to minority "separatism."<sup>226</sup> Rather than directly challenging unequal treatment, Fagan called on NCCJ members to dialogue with community members and talk through their differences.<sup>227</sup> As demonstrated by the popularity of Project Understanding, many middle-class men and women—white, black, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish—still believed the prediction of Maurice Terry (Director of NCCJ Wisconsin Region:) "[w]hen demonstrations have passed, when the legislation that is now demanded is enacted[,] the underlying prejudices that have long operated to produce and support bigotry and discrimination will remain in large measure and must still be fought."<sup>228</sup> Education "is not only sound but in the long run a most needed and highly effective approach toward bringing about needed changes in public

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<sup>225</sup> Project Understanding Workshop 3, John Fagan "Here and Now in Milwaukee," November 10, 1968, Box 4, Folder 11, WERD Series 1003.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>227</sup> Confidential Staff Bulletin, Excerpts from Semi-Annual Programs Reports, September 15, 1968-June 15 1969, Box 40, Unsorted Documents, NCCJ Papers.

<sup>228</sup> Similarly NCCJ National Director, Lewis Webster Jones, insisted: "[I]aws, direct action, even force can accomplish certain things... But in the complex and subtle areas of human relations, lasting improvement also requires the slower, more difficult but more fundamental kind of education..." Letter From Lewis Webster Jones to all NCCJ Board Members, April 11, 1962; Letter from Maurice Terry to the Wisconsin Region Board, October 1963, Box 1, Folder 3, NCCJW Papers.

attitudes.”<sup>229</sup>

Much like black and white communities in the South, Milwaukeeans debated the merits of educational tactics against the potential of direct action to instigate social change. In 1967, a number of Milwaukee representatives attended the National Conference on Community Values and Conflict in New York City to “determine the methods of dealing with “constructive” and “destructive protest.”<sup>230</sup> Omaha militant leader Ernest Chambers was also present. He said: “[w]hites of goodwill, you are the problem.”<sup>231</sup> Chicagoan Ruthella Hara echoed “White liberals,” she charged to “be all for integration and equality for the Negro, yet inside, most still see the Negro as being black, dirty, and somewhat less human than they, themselves, even if it is unconscious and they deny it.”<sup>232</sup> Some radicalized African Americans, involved in Milwaukee’s NAACP by the mid- to late- 1960s, agreed with Martin Luther King’s assessment. By endorsing only education, “whites of goodwill” endorsed a pseudo-equality, a value that made them look virtuous and progressive but was actually a half-hearted commitment to civil rights. In spite of common goals, each group maintained that the other was the threat to the realization of racial equality.

### **Jewish Organizations and Tactical Conflict**

While Jews were a religious minority in Milwaukee, by the 1950s, they considered themselves a part of the racial majority along with Milwaukee’s white Protestants and Catholics. Milwaukee’s middle-class Jews protected themselves from charges of subversion

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<sup>229</sup> Letter from Maurice Terry to the Wisconsin Region Board, October 1963, Box 1, Folder 3, NCCJW Papers.

<sup>230</sup> The Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations sent four representatives to this event. Summary of the National Conference on Community Values and Conflict May 16, 1967, Box 46, Folder 4, Maier Records.

<sup>231</sup> Summary of the National Conference on Community Values and Conflict May 16, 1967, Box 46, Folder 4, Maier Records; Also see: Thomas Johnson, “Violence Termed Negro’s Only Way,” *New York Times*, May 4, 1967.

<sup>232</sup> Letter from Ruthella Hara to Father James Groppi, April 3, 1967, Box 1, Folder 2, Father James Groppi Papers, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee Archives (hereafter cited Groppi Papers).

and carved a place for themselves among the political mainstream by engaging in the human relations movement. Sol Sorrin, Director of the Milwaukee Jewish Council, repeatedly insisted that Milwaukee Jews were vital and contributing members of the “white community.”<sup>233</sup> Further, Jewish participation in the human relations movement had persuaded Milwaukeeans that middle-class Jews were not communist threats but rather allies in not only the human relations movement, but also in the restrained social movement against contentious social movements for social change. Correspondingly, civil rights activists placed Milwaukee’s middle-class Jews in the ignoble category of “whites of good will” along with Protestants and Catholics.

The scholarship documenting the deteriorating relationship between African Americans and American Jews in the late 1960s includes disagreements over Affirmative Action, Black Power, the state of Israel, and the Six Days War. While these contentions certainly did weaken a once strong connection, an analysis of the human relations movement reveals another factor contributing to this well-documented rift. In spite of common goals, a fundamental difference in understanding regarding the potential of education to solve race relations and civil rights issues placed “whites of good will”—which included Milwaukee’s Jews—and the NAACP on rival camps.

Scholars argue that the civil rights alliance between African Americans and Jews crumbled over Affirmative Action. In the early twentieth-century, millions of Jews immigrated to the United States from Eastern and Southeastern Europe and Russia. The overall demographic increase was reflected in the proportion of Jews in elite college matriculation statistics. Beginning in 1910, some

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<sup>233</sup> Milwaukee Jewish Council Ad hoc Race Relations Meeting, January 9, 1968; Milwaukee Jewish Council Committee on Urban Affairs, July 18, 1968, Box1, Folder Race Relations 1968-1970, MJC Papers.

university administrators feared that a “Jewish invasion” would degrade the character of American Protestant higher education. To limit the number of Jewish students admitted into historically Protestant Ivy League universities, the admission process was changed from being entirely-merit process to one that included face-to-face interviews, background questionnaires, and an “increased value placed on extracurricular activities—all measures designed to limit the Jewish student population.”<sup>234</sup>

As a result, equal and unbiased access to education based on merit alone became a rallying point for American Jews. Many American Jews understood President Johnson’s Executive Order 11246 for affirmative action in the workplace and higher education as the reinstatement of a quota system. Rather than rewarding minority applicants based on merit, affirmative action reversely discriminated against otherwise deserving white and Jewish applicants.<sup>235</sup> Nathan Glazer insisted that affirmative action constituted “preferential hiring,” and “the reinstatement of discriminatory measures against the Jews.” Norman Podhoretz called it “a symptom of a fearsome new anti-Semitism by which Jews must inevitably be harmed.”<sup>236</sup> Arguing instead for a colorblind approach to admissions and hiring, the neoconservatives portrayed affirmative action as a radical turn in the civil rights movement, which threatened the welfare of the American Jewish community.<sup>237</sup> Generally, neoconservatives were politicians and intellectuals who were disenchanted with the Democratic Party of the mid-twentieth

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<sup>234</sup> Greene, *The Jewish Origins of Cultural Pluralism*, 20.

<sup>235</sup> Forman, *Blacks in the Jewish Mind*, 150; MacLean, *Freedom is Not Enough*, 185.

<sup>236</sup> MacLean also argues that the divide between American Jews and African Americans deepened after Educational Amendment to Title IX charged universities to hire more women and minority faculty members in 1972. In-text quote: As cited in MacLean, *Freedom is Not Enough*, 198; Also see pages 187, 203, 221.

<sup>237</sup> MacLean argues that Glazer, Podhoretz, and the other neoconservative writers of *Commentary* “falsely portray[ed] a unified Jewish front against affirmative action” and filtered the way the civil rights movement of the 1960s was remembered: “They now made affirmative action a key theater of battle against “false ideas of social justice.” Ibid, 221, 203.

century. Neocons turned away from their liberal or even radical roots and served the Presidential administrations of Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, and George W. Bush.

Historians claim that the “liberation” language of Black Power further divided African Americans and American Jews. Seth Forman insists that, for Black Power advocates, communal “self-interests always took precedence over ideals of equality and brotherly love.”<sup>238</sup> While African American civil rights activists did prioritize black and white communal integration in the 1950s and early 1960s, they emphasized self-help, consolidation, and liberation in the late 1960s.<sup>239</sup> Activist Eldridge Cleaver claimed that the “white mother country [the American government]” exploited and controlled “black colon[ies] [inner cities].”<sup>240</sup> Additionally, African Americans like Cleaver and Stokeley Carmichael saw Black Power as the opportunity for “self-determination.” Conversely, the American Jewish Committee characterized Black Power as “racist,” “violent,” “irrational,” and rejecting of “cooperative efforts.”<sup>241</sup> According to this portrayal of the rift, American Jews understood self-determination as a betrayal of the long-standing, mutually-beneficial alliance African Americans and Jews shared as historically discriminated groups among co-nationalists that would never recognize them as full American.

Contemporaries and scholars also cite the 1967 Six Days War as the culminating event that broke the once strong alliance between African Americans and American Jews. After World War II,

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<sup>238</sup> Forman, *Blacks in the Jewish Mind*, 140.

<sup>239</sup> In 1967, Harry Fleishmann, the Race Relations Director of the American Jewish Committee, said: “slogans of “Jobs and Freedom Now” and “integrate” were replaced with “Black Control of the Ghetto.” See Harry Fleishmann, “Negroes and Jews: Brotherhood or Bias?” Box 1, Folder 3, WERD Reports, Part 3.

<sup>240</sup> As cited in Robert Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003), 217.

<sup>241</sup> For Stokeley Carmichael see: As cited in Self, *American Babylon*, 219; for American Jewish Committee see: As cited in Marc Dollinger, “A Different Kind of Freedom Ride,” in *Inventory of Promises: Essays on American Jewish History, in honor of Moses Rischin*, eds. Jeffrey S. Gurock and Marc Lee Raphael (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson, 1995), 67.

and under recommendations of the United Nations, Palestine was split into the Jewish state of Israel and the Arab state of Palestine.<sup>242</sup> The Six Days War represented the second genocidal threat to the Jewish people in two decades.<sup>243</sup> Nancy MacLean argues that American Jews embraced the idea of a Jewish state as a central part of their identity, while African Americans connected “racial injustice in the United States to neocolonialism in the Third World.”<sup>244</sup> The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) saw the relationship of the Jewish state to Arabs as an imperial and exploitive one, similar to the white/minority relationships in America.<sup>245</sup>

While the “alliance” between African Americans and American Jews might have been weakened by Affirmative Action, Black Power, and the Six Days War, disagreement over social movement strategies greatly contributed to the breakdown of their relationship in Milwaukee.<sup>246</sup> At the 1964 Race Relations conference convened by the ADL, the Milwaukee Jewish Council, and the Urban League small group leaders were instructed to discuss the problems created by “direct action.” Middle-

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<sup>242</sup> Zionists had supported the idea of creating a national state for Jews in Palestine since the late nineteenth century. The homeland project received extra-Jewish support after World War I when the British assumed control of the Ottoman Empire possessions, including Palestine. The Balfour Declaration announced Britain’s intention to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The Anti-Defamation League noted Arab opposition to the 1936 Peel Commission’s recommendation to “partition [of] the country between Arabs and Jews.” “Creation of the State of Israel,” Anti-Defamation League, [achive.adl.org/israel/record/creation/html](http://achive.adl.org/israel/record/creation/html), accessed March 28, 2014.

<sup>243</sup> Forman, *Blacks in the Jewish Mind*, 158.

<sup>244</sup> MacLean, *Freedom is Not Enough*, 195.

<sup>245</sup> See Harry Fleischmann, “Negro Anti-Semitism and the White Backlash,” *Pioneer Women*, February 1968, Box 22, Folder 45, MUL Papers.

<sup>246</sup> Arguments over affirmative action did not overly occupy Milwaukee’s Jewish population or exacerbate the rift. One highly publicized charge of “reverse discrimination” did involve human relations advocate, and Presbyterian, Virginia Huebner, who quit her twenty-five year tenure at the Equal Rights Division (1946-1967) over “privilege and special treatment” of minority staff members under Chairman Joseph Fagan of the Industry, Labor and Human Relations Commission. Huebner insisted that the Equal Rights Division “practiced reverse discrimination both in its own staffing policies and in its enforcement of the state’s fair employment and open housing laws.” Huebner had been cited by the Congress of Race Equality for defending employers over racial minorities. For a discussion of Huebner’s other human relations activities see chapter five. For quotations see: “Task to Equip Negroes Told, Employers ‘Co-operate,’” *Milwaukee Journal*, November 29, 1951; “Many Plants Lower Bars, Hiring More Equal,” *Milwaukee Journal*, May 26, 1960; “CORE Criticizes ‘Fair Jobs’ Head,” *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 17, 1964.

class African Americans and Jews were greatly preoccupied by the following questions:

1. It has been said that sit-ins, economic boycotts, picketing by Negroes, and sympathizers have lost Negroes many friends. Do you agree? Why or why not?
2. Do you believe that the direct action methods employed by Negro civil rights groups (sit-ins, school boycotts, protest marches, etc.) have advanced or hindered the cause of human rights?
3. Shall Jewish community organizations support and participate in direct action for human rights?<sup>247</sup>

While the discussion questions indicate that members of the ADL, MJC, and MUL had not made up their minds regarding the potential of direct action, *The Milwaukee Sentinel's* coverage of this Race Relations Conference reflects that middle-class Jews and African Americans were worried that the growing popularity of direct action demonstrations jeopardized the progress made by the human relations movement. The staff writer argued that restrained social movements like human relations and contentious social movements like civil rights used “two approaches” that were “apparent[ly] irreconcilab[le].”<sup>248</sup> He further portrayed direct action as a destabilizing influence in the city: “The path to progress, in Wisconsin, at least, is not to be found in the noisy, and often pointless, public demonstrations in streets and in public buildings. Such demonstrations might be appropriate, even necessary, in Alabama—but not in Wisconsin.”<sup>249</sup> Both human relations advocates and direct action activists leveled the same criticisms at one another; each insisted that the other’s tactics had the potential to weaken interracial relations and derail the equal rights campaign.

At the conference, Elmer L. Winter, President of Manpower Inc., a local Milwaukee

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<sup>247</sup> Discussion Group Leaders, March 15, 1964, Box 1, Folder Race Relations Conference 1963-64, MJC Papers.

<sup>248</sup> To quote directly, the staff writer said that there was “apparent irreconcilability between these two approaches” of education and direct action. “Best Approach,” March 18, 1964, *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Box 1, Folder Race Relations Conference 1963-64, MJC Papers.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

business, warned fellow panelist and NAACP Milwaukee Branch member Thomas Jacobson, that “caution” and “patience” were needed in the civil rights movement. He insisted that the elimination of discrimination in housing and employment “aren’t going to happen overnight. I can understand your impatience, but I don’t think we need all the pressure. I think there are going to be some reverse attitudes as a result of the pressure.”<sup>250</sup> Winter feared that if Milwaukeeans turned away from educational tactics and toward confrontational direct action tactics, freshly “modified” Milwaukeeans might revert back to their prejudiced selves.

As the Milwaukee NAACP showed no indication of abandoning “militancy” and black power” in the late 1960s, the MJC convened an “Ad hoc Committee on Race Relations” (later the Committee on Urban Affairs) in 1968.<sup>251</sup> Repeating ideals espoused at the height of the human relations movement twenty years earlier, the committee proposed to “educate” and sensitize Milwaukee’s Jews to the “problem of urban unrest” and the “virulence of racism.”<sup>252</sup> In the view of most of Milwaukee’s Jewish leaders, Americans would discriminate against those who were different from them until they were educated, over time, to the basic commonality of all groups. Law had to be prudently, thoughtfully, selectively applied.<sup>253</sup>

Even after violence broke out in the form of Milwaukee’s own urban riot in 1967, the Milwaukee Jewish Council and the National Conference of Christians and Jews refused to

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<sup>250</sup> “Businessman Urges Caution in Race Acts,” *Milwaukee Sentinel*, March 16, 1964, Box 1, Folder Race Relations Conference 1964, Milwaukee Jewish Council Papers, Jewish Museum Milwaukee.

<sup>251</sup> I discuss the transition from human relations language to “urban affairs” in the conclusion of this dissertation.

<sup>252</sup> Milwaukee Jewish Council Committee on Urban Affairs July 18, 1968, Box 1, Folder Race Relations 1968-70, MJC Papers.

<sup>253</sup> “Prejudice cannot be obliterated by legislative fiat.” Laws “must be judiciously applied to mold a society in which one would hesitate to discriminate.” Accent on Democracy, Box 4, Folder Blueprint for Freedom Program 1954, MJC Papers.

work with organizations that used contentious strategies.<sup>254</sup> The Director of the Milwaukee Jewish Council lamented that the middle-class African American leaders of the Urban League had been “eclipsed”<sup>255</sup> and that

a new leadership has merged. The new leaders do not want to talk with us in the white community. The new leaders are sufficiently secure in their positions because they are more clearly emerging out of the masses of the poor and can therefore communicate with the poor. They are not communicating with us and even actively reject any suggestion of our meeting with them.<sup>256</sup>

Paradoxically, a human relations organization, dedicated to the use of dialogue and education to reach understanding, ordered its members to “not dialogue with black militants.”<sup>257</sup>

Recognizing that their social and political cachet was attached to the human relations movement, Milwaukee’s Jewish organizations refused to adopt protest strategies or affiliate with contentious social movements. The once strong alliance between African Americans and American Jews was strained because of the conflict over tactics in Milwaukee, not just because of the national debates over affirmative action, black power, and the Six Days War.

### **The Milwaukee Urban League vs. the NAACP**

Not only did affiliation with the human relations movement protect women’s, Jewish, and African American organizations from charges of subversion; involvement with educational programming offered benefits in social and political status that involvement in contentious social movements did not. Historian Jack Dougherty argues that the established black middle class

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<sup>254</sup> See chapter six for a discussion of the 1967 “civil disturbance.”

<sup>255</sup> Specifically: “middle-class Negro people, such as Wesley Scott, Corneff Taylor, Dr. William Finylason, [and] Dr. George Hilliard.” Milwaukee Jewish Council Ad hoc Race Relations Committee, January 9, 1968, Box 1, Folder Race Relations 1968-70, MJC Papers.

<sup>256</sup> Milwaukee Jewish Council Ad hoc Race Relations Committee, January 9, 1968, Box 1, Folder Race Relations 1968-70, MJC Papers.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid. Also see: Harry Fleishmann, “Negroes and Jews: Brotherhood or Bias?” Box 1, Folder 3, WERD Part 3.

“continued to hold fast to the hopeful idea that steady progress through negotiation and accommodation was preferable to confrontation and demand.”<sup>258</sup> Loyalty to the human relations movement exacerbated class divisions. Dougherty further demonstrates that “Milwaukee’s established black middle class desperately sought to avoid the stigma that linked them to the disreputable behavior of lower-class migrants... [they] undermined their status and opportunities...they opposed the unskilled, uneducated, and poor.”<sup>259</sup>

The NAACP lost some of its middle-class African American membership over the organization’s turn to direct action tactics and association with “working-class” protest strategies. James Dorsey, former director of the Milwaukee NAACP, insisted that direct action tactics, including the Freedom School boycott, would “leave scars and bad feeling in [the] community” and would set back white-Negro relations ten years or more.<sup>260</sup> He insisted that “other groups have accomplished a full measure of citizenship without demonstrations.”<sup>261</sup> On May 20, 1964 Dorsey resigned, charging that by demonstrating the boycott leaders gave Milwaukee a bad “image,” making “it another Birmingham, Alabama, or Jackson, Mississippi.”<sup>262</sup> Individuals loyal to the human relations movement were convinced that the contentious strategies of the NAACP were too risky for Milwaukee. Protests against the

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<sup>258</sup> Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 24. Also see Patrick Jones, *Selma of the North*, 44, 56.

<sup>259</sup> Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 53. Trotter, *Black Milwaukee*, 129.

<sup>260</sup> See Chapter 4 for a full discussion of the Milwaukee School Boycotts. Dorsey was an active member of the NCCJ, President of the Milwaukee branch of the Catholic Interracial Council, and 1958 recipient of the B’nai B’rith Interfaith Award for Outstanding Work in the Field of Human Relations. He was also Chairman of the Advisory Commission of the Fair Employment Practices Division of the State Industrial Commission and Chairman of the Governor’s Commission on Human Rights. National Conference of Christians and Jews, Wisconsin Region Annual Report, 1966, Box 1, Folder 3, NCCJW Papers; Tenth Annual Interfaith Awards, March 14, 1958, Box 2, Folder 1957-1958, MJC Papers; “Boycott Will Leave Scars and Bad Feeling in Community,” May 10, 1964 Box 44, Folder 10, Maier Records.

<sup>261</sup> “Dorsey Protests, Quits NAACP,” *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 20, 1964.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*

establishment, Dorsey postulated, were likely to backfire, damage interracial relations, and weaken the power African Americans had in Milwaukee politics. Such devotion to the educational tactics of the human relations movement stirred frustration among some members of the black community. Clare Benford called Milwaukeeans like James Dorsey, “moderate Negroes with a slave mentality.”<sup>263</sup>

Some middle-class African American leaders in Milwaukee who began their careers as human relations advocates evolved into civil rights activists. Helen Barnhill and Vel Phillips gradually gravitated toward the contentious end of the social movement spectrum only after the human relations movement and its use of educational tactics failed, in their opinions, to make substantial progress toward the goal of equal treatment and rights. Specifically, Helen Barnhill integrated the restrained social movement strategies of education and the contentious methods of legislation into a philosophy of “good will” and “voluntary action” for the organization, Milwaukee Citizens for Equal Opportunity (MCEO). The MCEO proffered a “Good Neighbor Pledge,” which used the attitude-modification concept, to enlist Milwaukee’s real estate agents, renters, and private home-owners in a voluntary vow not to discriminate by race.<sup>264</sup> The concept of “voluntary action” was devised by Donald Frey and the Foundation for Freedom and Democracy in Community Life in Chicago: “Voluntary action remolded citizens’ attitudes through education and legislation. Voluntary action, as opposed to direct action, relied on the whole community cooperating to eliminate school and residential segregation without disruptive demonstrations and without “violence.”<sup>265</sup> While Barnhill and the MCEO recognized that

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<sup>263</sup> Letter from Clare Beneford to Father James Groppi, June 26, 1967, Box 1, Folder 6; Also see Letter from Louise Nelson to Father James Groppi, October 31, 1967, Box 4, Folder 3, Groppi Papers.

<sup>264</sup> Milwaukee Citizen's for Equal Opportunity Statement of Purpose; From Milwaukee Citizens' for Equal Opportunity to “Good Neighbor Pledge Signer,” March 1, 1965, Box 1, Folder 3, Barnhill Papers.

<sup>265</sup> Donald S. Frey, *The American Age of Human Relations*, page 22, March 31, 1964, Box 1, Folder 2, Barnhill Papers.

educational tactics were “worthwhile” and demonstrated “measurable success,” they also were “convinced that fair housing legislation is necessary in Wisconsin” in order to get “our teeth into” the struggle against housing discrimination.<sup>266</sup> In the mid-1960s, Barnhill embraced tactics further left along the contentious range of the social movement spectrum, and the MCEO joined the ranks of “militant civil rights groups” engaging in “picketing, [and] boycotting the schools.”<sup>267</sup>

Like Helen Barnhill, Vel Phillips evolved her position on the restrained/contentious social movement spectrum over time. Historians usually portray Phillips, the first female African American Alderwoman of Milwaukee’s Common Council (1956-1972), as a clear-cut civil rights activist.<sup>268</sup> Yet, early in her career she depended on, and heavily benefited from, the exposure and respectability affiliation with the human relations movement gave her. Phillips gained her influential standing in Milwaukee by being affiliated with respectable and uncontroversial human relations organizations. Phillips was a member of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Milwaukee Human Relations Television Council, United Church Women, League of Women Voters, and a Community Representative of the Institute for Human Relations.<sup>269</sup>

Only after she had been elected to the Common Council did Phillips abandon her ties to the restrained social movement of human relations. Based on the Common Council’s record of supporting human relations programming while refusing to enact Open Housing and school desegregation legislation in the late 1950s, Phillips argued that more contentious strategies were needed. As a result,

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<sup>266</sup> From Milwaukee Citizens' for Equal Opportunity to "Good Neighbor Pledge Signer," March 1, 1965, Box 1, Folder 3, Barnhill Papers.

<sup>267</sup> Letter from Helen Barnhill to Ted Warshafsky, March 10, 1965, Box 1, Folder 1, Barnhill Papers.

<sup>268</sup> See: Jones, *Selma of the North*, 170-214; Dougherty, *More than One Struggle*, 34-35.

<sup>269</sup> Phillips was an attorney (and later a confirmed judge). She was congregant of St. Mark African Methodist Episcopal Church. See Annual Meeting Minutes Human Relations Television Council, October 27, 1964, Box 8, Folder 6, MUL; Also see Laberge, “Seeking a Place to Stand,” 1995.

she associated with direct action organizations like the NAACP and the Wisconsin Citizens for Fair Housing in the 1960s.

While Vel Phillips pushed the Milwaukee branch of the NAACP to adopt the contentious strategies of demonstration and legislative action, Wisconsin State Assemblyman, Lloyd Barbee pushed the agenda of civil rights on the state level. Barbee was also the Wisconsin NAACP President, founder of the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee, and the legal consultant and chairman Governor's Commission on Human Rights.<sup>270</sup> On June 15, 1961 Barbee organized some 200 demonstrators at the Wisconsin State Capitol in Madison to “pressure the Senate and Assembly to enact good Human Rights Laws.”<sup>271</sup> After the demonstration, Barbee urged NAACP members to organize follow up action, like contacting legislators and staging sit-ins at the Capitol. Helen Barnhill, Vel Phillips, and Lloyd Barbee came to believe that direct action and legislation promised to spur social change, and that education did not.<sup>272</sup>

The dispute among Milwaukee's community leaders over whether to invest in restrained or contentious social movement strategies came to a head on April 23, 1965. Barbee insisted that a state-level civil rights bill was needed even after Congress passed a federal-level bill in 1964, because federal laws were hard to enforce on the ground. The full civil rights bill would create an Equal Opportunities Commission that would administer discrimination claims in housing, public accommodations, employment, and unions.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> Letter from Ben Barkin to Helen Barnhill, August, 25, 1965, Box 1, Folder 1, Barnhill Papers; Also see Box 65, Folder 6, and Box 124, Folder 7, Lloyd Barbee Papers, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Archives (hereafter cited Barbee Papers); Box 10, Folder 3 Governor's Commission on Human Rights, Barbee Papers.

<sup>271</sup> Follow Up Action in Drive for Human Rights Legislation, June 15, 1961, Box 6, Folder 7, NAACP Milwaukee Papers. Also see Resolutions 1960, Box 1, Folder 14, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>272</sup> See Box 5, Folder 9, NAACP Milwaukee Papers; Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 35.

<sup>273</sup> See Letter from Lloyd Barbee to the Milwaukee Urban League, April 9, 1965; Assembly Bill 413 Summary, Box 10, Folder 17, MUL Papers.

Defending the human relations position that demands for dramatic and immediate social change would exacerbate feelings of ill-will toward African Americans, the Urban League recommended that Milwaukeeans take it slow on civil rights legislation.<sup>274</sup> The MUL recommended that the Wisconsin State Assembly pass a single Open Housing bill before considering the more “comprehensive” Civil Rights Bill drafted by Barbee.<sup>275</sup> The MUL claimed that the establishment of such a commission could ignite fraught debates about public policy and budget allocations in addition to augmenting prejudice and discrimination.<sup>276</sup>

Lloyd Barbee responded with outrage to the MUL’s cautious and conditional endorsement of civil rights legislation.<sup>277</sup>

Your position further clarifies for me and many others the consistent failure of MUL to take a strong, principled stand on matters of social justice. Such a position has become a source of embarrassment and shame for community members as they watch the League fail to defend the needs of the victims of discrimination, the very victims your organization was founded to

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<sup>274</sup> Similar conversations were happening across the country. President Johnson insisted that citizens must “remold” their hearts in accordance with the new laws in order to reform society. If Americans were unwilling to change their hearts and minds, the mandates of the laws would be empty gestures.” Msgr. George Higgins, Director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, recognized that the Civil Rights Bill: “is not the final answer to the problem of racial injustice...and that, in practice, it will be of little avail unless the great mass of America people are prepared to go beyond the letter of the law and to help create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and racial brotherhood in their neighborhoods and communities.” Religious News Service, “Civil Rights Law Poses New Challenges to the Churches,” *The Week in Religion*, July 4 1964, page 3, NCCP Papers.

<sup>275</sup> The Single Open Housing Bill was called Housing Bill 310S. The Comprehensive Civil Rights Bill was known as Civil Rights Bill 413A. Milwaukee Urban League Memorandum, From Lucinda Gordon to Wesley Scott, April 13, 1965; Summary of Fair Housing Bill 310-S; Assembly Bill 413 Summary, Box 10, Folder 17, MUL Papers; Letter from Wesley Scott to Lloyd Barbee, April 26, 1965, Attachment Policy Statement of the Milwaukee Urban League Respecting Bill 413A, Box 52, Folder 9, Barbee Papers.

<sup>276</sup> The Milwaukee Archdiocese also had reservations about a comprehensive Civil Rights Bill: “[O]ne would be childishly naive to expect that the enactment of the civil rights law will change minds and hearts...the racist will continue his diabolically inspired contempt and hatred for those with darker skin...others will insist that no law can make them love Negroes...and keep on harboring their racial prejudices, giving the lie to the name of Christian.” The Milwaukee Archdiocese insisted that the federal Civil Rights Bill was powerless in a city if the prejudiced were left unexposed to the transformative educational influence of the human relations movement. Religious News Service, “Civil Rights Law Poses New Challenges to the Churches,” *The Week in Religion*, July 4 1964, page 5, NCCJ Papers; Letter from Wesley Scott to Lloyd Barbee, April 26, 1965, Attachment Policy Statement of the Milwaukee Urban League Respecting Bill 413A, page 2, Box 52, Folder 9, Barbee Papers; (Policy Statement also included in Box 10, Folder 17, MUL Papers.)

<sup>277</sup> See Memo to Roy Wilkins from J. Francis Pohlhaus, Box 5, Folder 30, MUL Papers.

assist. The League does not realize that the day of white man's dictating the policy and practice of discrimination solutions has passed. Your failure to (educate [the] League of this fact) will result in Milwaukee Revolutions.<sup>278</sup>

In no uncertain terms, Barbee charged that human relations supporters had overstayed their welcome at the Urban League. If the League was going to be relevant and join the new phase of direct action, they had to abandon the "step by step" process that resembled an "illicit alliance[s] with the enemy" more than a solution.<sup>279</sup>

Barbee called the work the League had done in the Joint Housing Commission "emasculating" and akin to "selling our birthright for a mess of pottage or a pat on the head."<sup>280</sup> Using dialogic techniques to teach about the benefits of integration and selling regardless of race, religion, or ethnicity were token gestures.<sup>281</sup> Middle-class African Americans involved in the human relations movement subjugated what was best for the black community to the wishes of those "condescending white fathers." Barbee claimed he was in the business of overcoming bigots and moderates through direct action and legislation: "[i]n the revolution for justice, which can only become more fiery, I sincerely hope that well-wishing, ineffective whites and self-serving, incompetent Negroes will not become so maimed that their chance for future effectiveness will be totally nullified."<sup>282</sup>

The rift between the NAACP's Lloyd Barbee and the Urban League's Wesley Scott was a public rupture. Barbee made his dissatisfaction with the MUL widely known in the hope of spurring

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<sup>278</sup> Letter from Lloyd Barbee to Wesley Scott, May 4, 1965, Box 52, Folder 9, Barbee Papers. (Copy of Letter also located in Box 10, Folder 17, MUL Papers.)

<sup>279</sup> Ibid.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> For an explanation of the Joint Housing Committee's use of educational, rather than legislative tactics, see Box 15, Folders 31, 32, 34, MUL Papers.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid.

the organization to move toward the contentious end of the social movement spectrum.<sup>283</sup> The affair became so infamous and damaging to the civil rights cause in Milwaukee that the National Urban League's Director, Whitney Young, tried to bridge the cavern separating the ideological positions of Scott and Barbee. Pleading with Barbee, Leo Bohanon, NAACP regional Director, conceded, "I am certain[,] however, that your disagreement with Mr. Scott and MUL comes not from any difference in goals sought but rather in directions, methods, and emphases employed to attain these goals."<sup>284</sup> Bohanon identified the problem rightly. Scott and Barbee desired equal treatment and rights for minorities, but they disagreed on the means so vehemently that they refused to work together in pursuit of those common ends.

The Milwaukee white political elite responded to the clash by circling their wagons around Wesley Scott and proclaiming their allegiance to the human relations movement. The Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations saw fit to pass a formal "Resolution" concerning the affair, affirming their conviction "of the benefits and correctness of their [the MUL's] approach [human relations]" and of the "excellence and work and dedication of...Executive Director Wesley Scott."<sup>285</sup> The MCCR was an official government committee empowered by the Mayor and the Common Council to handle Milwaukee's intergroup problems using education and dialogue in the city.

In response to the Commission's defense of Scott and the human relations movement, Barbee barbed, "Birds of a feather flock together, frightened and ineffective though they may be. Rest in peace apostates if you can. The fight for freedom will continue as it always has without you."<sup>286</sup> In this battle

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<sup>283</sup> Letter from Lloyd Barbee to Whitney Young, May 6, 1965; Letter from Lloyd Barbee to Richard Cudahy, May 7, 1965, Box 52, Folder 9, Barbee Papers.

<sup>284</sup> Letter from Director Leo Bohanon to Lloyd Barbee, May 14, 1965, Box 52, Folder 9, Barbee Papers

<sup>285</sup> Resolution Passed by the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, May 12, 1965, Box 52, Folder 9, Barbee Papers.

over tactics, a person's dedication to the cause had become synonymous with his/her position along the restrained/contentious social movement spectrum. According to Barbee, a true civil rights activist embraced direct action and legislative tactics and demanded immediate change. A person like Wesley Scott, who advocated educational tactics and incremental change, stood in the way of civil rights.<sup>287</sup> Further, Barbee contended that if the Urban League continued to ally itself with the human relations movement, it would find itself on the wrong side of history, an ignoble footnote to the noble cause of civil rights.<sup>288</sup>

Neither the Urban League's restrained approach nor the NAACP's aggressive push for legislation paid off. The Wisconsin Senate Judiciary Committee voted 5-0 to reject Open Housing Bill 310-S.<sup>289</sup> Neither a fair housing bill nor a comprehensive equal rights bill passed the Wisconsin State Legislature in 1965. The feud between Wesley Scott and Lloyd Barbee demonstrates that rather than working together to achieve their common goal of equal opportunity and rights for minorities, human relations advocates and civil rights activists frustrated each other's efforts. Because the NAACP utilized contentious strategies, it failed to influence the policies of the Urban League or force the Wisconsin State Legislature to move on the issue of civil rights.

At the beginning of the Cold War era, dialogue and education were seen as the cutting edge of

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<sup>286</sup> Letter from Lloyd Barbee to the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, June 4, 1965, Box 52, Folder 9, Barbee Papers.

<sup>287</sup> National figures were also disillusioned with the Urban League's attachment to educational strategies. For example see Letter from Irving Mollison to Robert Dowling, June 21, 1954, Box 6, Folder 4, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>288</sup> Demonstrating the remarkable interplay between memory and political correctness, Wesley Scott remembered being a "quiet supporter" of Barbee in a 1995 oral interview with historian Jack Dougherty. Yet he also agreed with Dougherty's assessment that he, like National Urban League Director Whitney Young, was "a mediator between the white business community and Black militants." Wesley L. Scott, interview by Jack Dougherty, July 25, 1995, transcript, <http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/march/id/1593/rec/14>, accessed September 19, 2014.

<sup>289</sup> Important Notice, May 4, 1965, Box 10, Folder 17, Milwaukee Urban League Papers, Milwaukee Area Research Archives.

social science and social justice. By 1965, people like Lloyd Barbee saw it as a hindrance, handcuffing middle-class blacks of no consequence to liberal white do-gooders. Educational techniques, he charged, promised equality in some vague future. Barbee believed that direct action demanded equality now. In this case, dialogue did not achieve its goal of facilitating understanding and trust between different religious, racial, ethnic, and economic groups in Milwaukee. In actuality, the tactic of dialogue exacerbated tensions. Middle class women's, Jewish, and African American organizations, which had been protected from charges of communism and had gained access to Milwaukee's political mainstream by engaging in the human relations movement, refused to work with civil rights activists; as an NCCJ member said in 1964, "Only education can end or diminish racial fears and hatred. There lies the answer to war and to cold war."<sup>290</sup> The liberal anticommunist cold war mentality of the human relations movement limited the influence the civil rights activists had on the policies of the voluntary organizations in Milwaukee.

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<sup>290</sup> Summary of Second Annual Conference on Religion and Race, May 17-19, 1964, Box 315, Folder 1, Frank Zeidler Papers, Milwaukee Public Library.

**Part II:  
The Human Relations Movement and Public School Policy**

Chapter 3:

Institutionalizing Intergroup Education in Milwaukee Public Schools, 1944-1968

Human relations theorists crafted a structured curriculum, called intergroup education, in order to spread the human relations movement into public schools. Intergroup education curriculum writers sought guidance from earlier twentieth-century education reform movements. Educators modeled human relations curricula on Progressive education (1919 - 1950), which professionalized and expanded collegiate teacher training and focused on “child-centered” rather than “subject-centered” pedagogy.<sup>291</sup> Progressive educators experimented with the new fields of child psychology, child development, and social science. John Dewey, the central figure of Progressive education, emphasized the connection between the community and the school, insisting that education should be useful and vocational and build off the interests of the child.<sup>292</sup>

Rachel Davis DuBois, a student of John Dewey’s, formulated a specialized Progressive curriculum in the early 1930s called “cultural gifts,” or intercultural education, to draw attention to the subject of minority cultural and national groups in American society.<sup>293</sup> The cultural gifts curriculum separated immigrant groups into units and distilled the major contributions of an immigrant group to Western civilization into an innate ethnic talent.<sup>294</sup>

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<sup>291</sup> Progressive education also emphasized that the teacher was a guide rather than a “task-master.” Patricia Graham, *Progressive Education: From Arcady to Academe, A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), 1-11, 15, 29.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid, 14. Also see John Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York: First Free Press, 1966); John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct: An Introduction to Social Psychology* (New York: Random House, 1930); John Dewey, *The School and Society: And the Child and the Curriculum* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, Inc., 2001).

<sup>293</sup> The Progressive Education Association established a “Committee on Intercultural Education” on December 7, 1935. Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Educational Movement*, 130-131.

Educator Rachel Davis DuBois and the ACE published guides for intercultural assembly programs in which the entire school would gather to celebrate the greatest cultural contribution of an immigrant groups—like Japanese flower arranging or African American jazz music. These assemblies were the extent of the cross-cultural exposure. Educational historian Diana Selig argues that the cultural gifts curriculum only cemented cultural stereotypes.<sup>295</sup> Likewise, historian Zoe Burkholder insists that cultural gifts curriculum reflected larger Progressive-era reform efforts to homogenize Irish, Italian, Polish, and German immigrants into the general racial category of “white” using settlement houses and Americanization education. While settlement houses and Americanization education were guided by moral and social welfare principles, their main goal was to teach immigrants how to abandon their foreign cultural practices and adopt American values. Burkholder contends that this practice might have minimized differences between cultures and ethnic groups, but it maximized differences between racial groups.<sup>296</sup>

During the Cold War, conservatives portrayed Progressive education as “Red-ucation” and characterized John Dewey as a radical communist agitator.<sup>297</sup> Elizabeth Dilling,

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<sup>294</sup> DuBois created curriculum guides to aid teachers in program execution. DuBois also participated in the “Americans All—Immigrants All” Federal Radio Project of the United State Office of Education. Airing for 26 half-hour programs on more than 100 CBS-affiliated radio stations from 1933 to 1939, the program was a “milestone” in the history of educational radio. Ibid, 150-151. Also see: Burkholder, *Color in the Classroom*, 27-30.

<sup>295</sup> Selig, *Americans All*, 77.

<sup>296</sup> Burkholder goes as far as to argue that culture and race were conflated in the interwar classroom. A group's “cultural gift” (particular achievement stereotypical of their group) was an antidote to its racial deficiency. Historian Nicolas Montalto locates evidence that Selig’s and Burkholder’s concerns were reflected in teacher testimony from 1940: “...teachers are fearful that programs built on themes of cultural contributions of various groups will bring about an increased consciousness of differences among children.” Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Educational Movement*, 243; Burkholder, *Color in the Classroom*, 13-17, 33.

<sup>297</sup> Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War: The Battle for the American School* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2008), 96.

author of *The Red Network*, alleged that the Progressive Education Association—staffed by “John Dewey and other radicals”—were “pro-revolutionary” communists because they challenged the social order, the justice of unbridled capitalism, and supported academic freedom.<sup>298</sup> Historian Andrew Hartman argues that conservatives launched a smear campaign against Progressive Education and Dewey’s pragmatist philosophy. Former communists turned anti-communists Bella Todd and Louis Budenz insisted that Progressive education was used by communist educators in the Soviet Union and the United States.<sup>299</sup> Based on this evidence, Hartman concludes that “[t]he idea that progressive education allowed for communist subversion permeated conservative thought, diffusing to the grassroots, where it was accepted on faith by many anxious parents and the local school board.”<sup>300</sup> The House Un-American Activities Committee held many public hearings and widely published the alleged connections between Progressive educators and curriculum to international communist infiltration plots.<sup>301</sup> Many educators across the country were subjected to loyalty oaths and investigations, “pedagogical purges” of textbooks and syllabi, “inflammatory media coverage,” and accusations of subversion.<sup>302</sup>

Allegations of communist influence compromised the reputation of Progressive education in Milwaukee as well. Historians James G. Cibulka and Frederick I. Olson argue that

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<sup>298</sup> Dilling, *The Red Network*, 217.

<sup>299</sup> Hartman, *Education and the Cold War*, 96, 100.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*, 103; Also see John J. Heinisch, “Anti-communism at the Local Level: Prelude to McCarthyism,” (M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1995), 3.

<sup>302</sup> Stuart Foster, *Red Alert: Educators Confront the Red Scare in American Public Schools, 1947-1954* (New York: P. Lang, 2000), 17; M.J. Heale, “Citizens versus Outsiders: Anti-communist at State and Local Levels, 1921-1946,” in *Little Red Scares: Anti-Communist and Political Repression in the United States, 1921-1946*, ed. Robert Justice Goldstein (Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2014), 133.

Progressive-era reform intended “to divorce the public school system from politics.”<sup>303</sup> The community associated the larger Progressive era reform movement and Progressive Education. In 1907, the Wisconsin state legislature created an independent body of fifteen school board members who would be elected separately from Milwaukee Common Council members. School board member terms were staggered, so that five members were elected every two years. Before 1907, school board members had been appointed by partisan members of the Common Council. During the First Red Scare in the 1920s and 1930s the school board splintered over rumors concerning members’ formal or informal affiliation with the Socialist Party.<sup>304</sup> Meta Berger, wife of Socialist Congressman Victor Berger, was the first woman voted to be President of a School Board in the nation. First elected in 1915, she served on the Milwaukee school board until 1939. Berger remembered in her autobiography that opponents ran on the platform, “Do not let the Socialists control the schools!”<sup>305</sup> Unlike many Milwaukee Socialists, Meta Berger actually praised communism after a trip to the Soviet Union in 1936, contrary to Socialist Party protocols.<sup>306</sup> Berger’s leftward turn represented the realization of early Cold Warriors’ greatest fear. The association of Progressive education, socialism, and communist influence persisted until the 1950s when the Progressive education movement unraveled in Milwaukee Public Schools under the weight of Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy’s communist witch-hunt.<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> James G. Cibulka and Frederick I. Olson, “The Organization and Politics of the Milwaukee Public School System, 1920-1986,” in *Seeds of Crisis: Public Schooling in Milwaukee since 1920*, eds. John L. Rury and Frank A. Cassell (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 75.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid*, 83.

<sup>305</sup> Meta Berger, *A Milwaukee Woman’s Life on the Left: The Autobiography of Meta Berger* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 2001), 28.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid*, 183.

To avoid being stained with the same brush as Progressive educators, intergroup education specialists divested their curriculum of any radical challenges to the established political and educational system. Intergroup relations curriculum writers, funded by the National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ), the American Council on Education (ACE), and the American Jewish Committee (AJC), took many of Dewey's pedagogical ideas and cloaked them in respectability, consensus, and the strategies of restrained social movements. Even the Progressive Education Association abandoned intercultural education in favor of the human relations movement by creating the Commission on Human Relations in 1934.<sup>308</sup>

Intergroup educators pledged to make education and the schools apolitical, something that Progressive educators had, from the anticommunist point of view, failed to do. Educators and administrators, convinced of the persuasive power of education, institutionalized human relations education in the Milwaukee Public School administration and curriculum. Aided by their social and political capital, the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Milwaukee Jewish Council succeeded in establishing education as the de facto tactic to modify students' attitudes and the human relations movement to establish so-called "voluntary" forms of integrating public schools. Unsurprisingly, the institutionalization of intergroup education and its tactics in Milwaukee Public Schools and the School Board had profound political

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<sup>307</sup> Rolland Callaway and Steven Baruch, "The Milwaukee Curriculum," in *Seeds of Crisis: Public Schooling in Milwaukee since 1920*, eds. John L. Rury and Frank A. Cassell (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 125.

<sup>308</sup> Alice V. Keliher of the PEA convened the Commission on Human Relations for the Progressive Education Association in 1935 through 1943. According to Montalto, the shift to intergroup education demonstrated that "DuBois' effort to marry intercultural education to the Progressive Education movement had failed." Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Educational Movement*, 148. Also see: Banks, *Improving Multicultural Education*, 36-39.

implications.

### **Disseminating Intergroup Education to Teachers: Teacher Institutes and Workshops**

Beginning in 1941, the NCCJ sponsored Intergroup Education Teacher Summer Institutes across the nation.<sup>309</sup> In Wisconsin, intergroup education reached the ears of tens of thousands Wisconsin teachers and hundreds of thousands Wisconsin pupils.<sup>310</sup> From 1956 to 1960, 42,500 teachers received intergroup education materials, and intergroup education teacher institutes trained more than 20,000 Wisconsin teachers from 1953-1962.<sup>311</sup> I conservatively estimate at least seventy-four intergroup education teacher institutes took place in the Milwaukee-area from 1945 through 1976.<sup>312</sup> In 1950, only 160 Wisconsin school systems participated in NCCJ organized intergroup education; by 1959, 440 school systems engaged in intergroup education. The NCCJ estimated that they had reached some 250,000 school children each year from 1940 through 1960 and raised \$525,000 for NCCJ intergroup educational efforts.<sup>313</sup> Furthermore, intergroup workshops became so popular and well-received that education departments at Marquette and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee offered

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<sup>309</sup> The first institute took place at Colorado State College of Education. Teaching Brotherhood Brochure, Box 22, Folder 31, NCCJ Papers.

<sup>310</sup> National Conference of Christians and Jews, Wisconsin Region Annual Report 1962-1963, Box 1, Folder 3, NCCJW Papers.

<sup>311</sup> NCCJ Wisconsin Region Annual Report 1955-56; Letter from Ronald A. Dreschler to Albert Holmquist, January 8, 1960; NCCJ, Wisconsin Region Newsletter, October 1959, Box 1, Folder 1, Director's Report 1961-1962; 1962-1963 NCCJ Wisconsin Region Annual Report, Box 1, Folder 3, NCCJW Papers; Also see: Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Report 1954-1955, Freestanding Folder MJC Annual Reports 1950-1993, MJC Papers.

<sup>312</sup> The first intergroup education summer institute took place at Milwaukee State Teachers College in 1945 and was sponsored by NCCJ Wisconsin Region and the Milwaukee Jewish Council. See the following documents for mention of teacher institutes across the NCCJ Central Division: American Federation of Teachers Education Conference November 8-9, 1951, Box 3, Scrapbook 1950, Herman Weil Scrapbooks; Educational Program Emphases in 1951, Central Division, NCCJ, Box 22, Folder 29; Answers to Queries Regarding NCCJ and the Situation in the South, June 15, 1956, Box 23, Folder 3, NCCJ Papers; Letter from Ronald A. Dreschler to Albert Holmquist, January 8, 1960, Box 1, Folder 1; Director's Report 1961-1962, Box 1 Folder 3; NCCJW Papers.

<sup>313</sup> NCCJ, Wisconsin Region Newsletter, February 1959, Box 1, Folder 1, NCCJW Papers.

student-teachers, social workers, and sociologists undergraduate and graduate courses entirely devoted to human relations theories.<sup>314</sup>

Teachers Institutes took the form of either six-week-long immersion workshops or eight-week-long non-intensive training courses.<sup>315</sup> Intergroup education pedagogy maintained that teachers themselves had to go through the process of learning how to improve intergroup relations before they could teach it to others.<sup>316</sup> Experts trained participants how to isolate their own prejudices and how to integrate the specialized intergroup education curriculum into their larger lesson plans.<sup>317</sup>

At the institutes instructors learned the basic theory behind intergroup education. Hilda Taba, a student of John Dewey, crafted the basic tenets of the curriculum. First, children learned attitudes and behaviors. Second, children had to be prepared for group living and taught how to socialize with others in a healthy and respectful way. According to social scientists, the public school was one of the few environments that perfectly reflected the economic, ethnic,

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<sup>314</sup> Until 1951, UWM was known as Milwaukee State Teachers College. For university classes in intergroup education see: "Evening Classes for Fall Semester," *The Echo*, July 26, 1950, Box 3, Scrapbook 1950, Herman Weil Scrapbooks; Marquette University Human Relations Summer Course 1953, Box 24, Folder Marquette University, NCCJ Papers; Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Report 1953-1954 page 11, Freestanding Folder Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Reports 1950-1993, MJC Papers.

<sup>315</sup> While the intensive courses were more intimate, hosting around fifty individuals per course, the eight-week courses were more popular. The Milwaukee Public Schools Human Relations Education Workshop (October 4 through November 29, 1961) had 412 educators from Milwaukee-area schools attending this particular session. Human Relations Education Workshop, Milwaukee Public Schools, Box 45, Folder 18 Commission on Community Relations 1962, Maier Records.

<sup>316</sup> For a comprehensive summary of the purposes and goals of one Wisconsin Intergroup Education Teacher Institute, see Report from the Workshop in Elementary Education, June 21 to July 30, 1954 at Wisconsin State College in Milwaukee, Box 25, Folder Wisconsin State College, NCCJ Papers.

<sup>317</sup> For examples of such curriculum guides see: American Council on Education, *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials: A Survey and Appraisal* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949); Charlotte Keating, *Building Bridges of Understanding* (Tucson: Palo Verde Pub. Co., 1967); Jean Grambs, *Intergroup Education: Methods and Materials* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968); Gertrude Noar, *Current Problems and Issues in Human Relations Education, 1955* (New York: B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, 1955), 57-70.

religious, and racial diversity of American society.<sup>318</sup> Taba postulated that children could learn how to contain intergroup confrontations in the classroom by using dialogic tactics before they went out in to world.<sup>319</sup> Third, Americans had to learn how to think critically and objectively about the history of group interactions. Fourth, educators had to teach students how to use conflict resolution tactics like compromise and empathizing with others so that they could resist conflict-inducing tactics like criticizing and stereotyping.<sup>320</sup> Fifth, teachers had the power to shape their student's attitudes in a positive way by facilitating friendships across religious, racial, and ethnic groups. Last, it took time to teach young citizens the skills required to get along with others and work in groups.

Organizers taught teachers that intergroup curricula would improve relationships between religious, racial, and ethnic groups long separated by conflict and geographical

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<sup>318</sup> Catholic parochial school educators also utilized intergroup education theories for many of the same reasons public school advocates did. Wisconsin-bred and nationally-renowned, Sister Rose Thering argued that intergroup education was needed to remedy prejudicial attitudes. Thering argued that children needed to be taught how to respect religious, racial and cultural diversity, while at the same time finding common ground in democratic values. She claimed: “[t]his common struggle demands that a relationship of mutual respect and understanding be established; a relationship termed ‘fellowship’ by Maritain, rather than one of ‘tolerance’ for it connotes something positive and elementary in any human relationship.” In order to achieve fellowship, Catholic school text books needed to eradicate any negative characterizations of other religious traditions. Much like Franz Boas’ pioneering work divesting public school textbooks of racial stereotypes, Sister Rose Thering campaigned to eliminate anti-Semitic stereotypes in parochial schools. For examples of human relations teacher training programs at the Milwaukee Catholic institutions, Alverno and Marquette Universities, see: Letter to Alfred Reginald Radcliff Brown to Rabbi Joseph Baron, Box 8, Folder 2, Baron Papers; “Midwestern Colleges to Meet: Discuss Intergroup Relations” *Wisconsin State Times*, October 24, 1951, Box 3, Scrapbook 1950-1951, Herman Weil Scrapbooks; National Conference of Christians and Jews Wisconsin Region Newsletter, December 1952, Box 44, Folder 5, GCHR Records Series 997; Annual Report, Commission on Human Rights, 1953, Box 155, Folder 6, Zeidler Papers; Commission on Human Rights Milwaukee, *Newsletter*, March/April 1955; Annual Meeting National Conference of Christians and Jews, Wisconsin Region Board, June 1960, Box 1, Folder 2, NCCJW Papers; Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee Meeting Minutes August 27, 1964, Box 9, Folder School Committee 1961-1969, MJC Papers; Sister Rose Thering, “The Potential in Religion Textbooks for Developing a Realistic Self Concept: A Content Analysis” (PhD diss., St. Louis University, 1961), 3; For a discussion of Franz Boaz and race see: Burkholder, *Color in the Classroom*, 44-64.

<sup>319</sup> Elizabeth Hall Brady, *Intergroup Education in Public Schools: Experimental Programs Sponsored by the Project in Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools: Theory, Practice, and In-Service Education* (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1952), 15-17.

<sup>320</sup> For additional discussion see Hilda Taba, *Curriculum in Intergroup Relations: Case Studies in Instruction for Secondary Schools* (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949), 102-104.

distance.<sup>321</sup> Participants dissected intergroup relationships in their immediate social circles in order to understand how larger communal interactions cultivated distrust, prejudice, and discrimination in their own neighborhoods.<sup>322</sup> Next, organizers taught teachers how to empathize with out-groups (minorities) by working with minority group educators.<sup>323</sup>

Secondly, intergroup pedagogy taught educators how to diagnose individual classroom needs by conducting attitudinal surveys.<sup>324</sup> Also known as sociograms, the attitudinal surveys revealed the prejudicial attitudes students held individually, and discriminatory behaviors the class culture fostered collectively. Sociograms required students to rank the “socio-status” or popularity of their classmates.<sup>325</sup> Measuring the “inter-personal relations” of pupils was important because the overall tenor of the classroom, or the “emotional climate” influenced how students worked, learned, and behaved.<sup>326</sup> Additionally, the sociogram measured changes in attitudes. After students completed the intergroup education unit, teachers

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<sup>321</sup> County Wide Education Conference, Box 8, Folder Milwaukee Human Relations, MJC Papers.

<sup>322</sup> Report From the Workshop in Elementary Education, June 21-July 30 at Wisconsin State College, Box 2, Folder 4, Campus Elementary School Records; Taba, *Curriculum in Intergroup Relations*, 4. Also see Advisory Committee Meeting Minutes, Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, June 14, 1947, Box 23, Folder Intergroup Education; Hilda Taba, Report on Intergroup Education Workshop, University of Chicago, Summer 1949, Box 23 Folder Intergroup Education, NCCJ Papers.

<sup>323</sup> In Wisconsin minority group educators tended to be African Americans, Jewish-Americans, Native Americans, or Puerto Ricans. Hilda Taba, *Leadership Training in Intergroup Education: Evaluation of Workshops* (Washington: D.C.: American Council on Education, 1953), 88-96.

<sup>324</sup> Taba, *Curriculum in Intergroup Relations*, 5.

<sup>325</sup> The teacher had each student list three people they would like to sit next to and two people they would prefer not to sit next to for the school year. The teacher then identified who the “rejected” students in the class were and if they were rejected because of religious, racial, ethnic, or class backgrounds. Taba, *Leadership Training in Intergroup Education*, 120-121; Weil, *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*, 45-47; Hilda Taba and Deborah Elkins, *With Focus on Human Relations: A Study of An Eighth Grade* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1950), 6; Hilda Taba, *Curriculum in Intergroup Relations*, 8.

<sup>326</sup> Helen H. Jennings, *Sociometry in Group Relations: A Manual for Teachers*, (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1959), 1-2; American Council on Education, *Elementary Curriculum in Intergroup Education: Studies in Instruction* (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1950), 205.

administered the sociogram for a second time to determine if the curriculum made students more accepting of others. Herman Weil, Professor of Education at Milwaukee State Teachers College, reported to the ACE that the sociograms “proved to be of most value in sensitizing student-teachers to human relations.”<sup>327</sup> By conducting their own sociograms, Weil claimed that Milwaukee-area teachers achieved a better understanding of students and why they reacted in the ways they did to social situations.

After teachers had diagnosed the unique needs of their classrooms, intergroup teacher institutes taught participants how to organize their lessons to optimize the attitude modification therapy. Intergroup curriculum writers insisted that content should be organized around a core theme (like “peoples of our state”) and a focus topic (like “immigrant groups”) that highlighted religious, racial and ethnic diversity. Each core theme should have an ethical lesson which taught students how to think and act in a pluralistic society.<sup>328</sup> Curriculum writers also insisted that lessons must be introduced in a particular order. First, teachers must connect core themes to “descriptive particulars” so that student could relate concepts to lived

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<sup>327</sup> The Milwaukee State Teachers College conducted a sociometric study as part of Project Four of the College Programs in Intergroup Relations (1945-1950). The committee initiated the project as an opportunity to train the sociometric technique to teachers of grades one, two, three, four, six, and eight. Milwaukee State Teachers College Sociographic Study: Human Relations Study in College, 1946, Box 2, Folder 30, Reports 1946-1959, Campus Elementary School Records; Herman Weil, “Milwaukee Makes Instructional Changes,” in *College Programs in Intergroup Relations: A Report by Twenty-Four Colleges Participating in the College Study in Intergroup Relations, 1945-49*, ed. Lloyd Allen Cook (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1950), 207.

<sup>328</sup> A sample “Cultural Diversity” unit created by ACE examined the following questions about this core theme, “peoples of our state” and area of focus, “immigrant groups”: 1) “what religious, ethnic, racial, and national groups live in our state? 2) Why did they immigrate? 3) What resources did they bring with them? 4) What resources did they find here? 6) What conditions did they experience here? 7) How did the different groups adapt to their new environment? 8) What accounts for the vast disparities in standard of living, inequality of opportunity and denial of basic rights to certain groups? Other core themes included “Common Needs of All People,” “Why People Behave as They Do,” “The Relationship between the People and the State,” “the Relationship between Employers and Employees,” “Inequality of Opportunity among the People of Our State,” and/or “Dynamics of Group Interactions.” Focus topics included family, friends, the neighborhood, or immigrant groups. Taba, *Curriculum in Intergroup Relations*, 36; American Council on Education, *Elementary Curriculum in Intergroup Education*, 201.

experiences (for example, students would write and share short stories about family members or ancestors that immigrated to the state.)<sup>329</sup> Second, students should research, investigate and interrogate (student should conduct a research project about an ethnic group.)<sup>330</sup> Third, teachers should have students compare the experiences of different groups (the student should compare their findings to another student's research project devoted to a different religious, racial, or ethnic group). Fourth, teachers should reintegrate the "descriptive particulars" into the core theme (generalize) and assess (once the student has learned about a number of ethnic groups, teachers should have students go back to the original personal assignment and reflect on what they have learned). Fifth, teachers should apply lessons to relevant, contemporary community concerns (with teacher guidance, students decide collectively on a community-action project which usually included interviewing community members).

To supplement summer workshops and university course work, the ACE's Committee on Intergroup Education in Co-operating Schools prepared hundreds of curricula guides for nursery, kindergarten, primary, secondary-school, and collegiate level instructors.<sup>331</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> Taba, *Curriculum in Intergroup Relations*, 38-40, 53, 77.

<sup>330</sup> Projects could be quite sophisticated. Immigration experience projects would allow students to learn about immigration restriction measures, the challenges immigrants faced on the voyage over and the prejudices, limited opportunities, and expenses they faced once they arrived in the United States. Students also learned about statistical population trends and drafted their own population density maps.

<sup>331</sup> For example see: Adult Education Association, *Training in Human Relations* (Washington D.C.: Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1959); American Council on Education, *Helping Teachers Understand Children* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1945); Lloyd and Elaine Cook, *Intergroup Education* (New York: McGrawHill Book Company, Inc., 1954); Robert F. Flahive, *We Live and Work in Milwaukee* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Schools, 1959); Albin Gilbert, *Updating Intergroup Education in Public Schools: A Study-Action Manual* (Buckhannon, West Virginia: West Virginia Wesleyan College, 1969); Celia Stendler Lavatelli and William Ellsworth Martin, *Intergroup Education in Kindergarten-Primary Grades* (New York: Macmillan, 1953); Mark McCLoskey, *Schools and Neighbors in Action* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1951); Sterling Brown, *Primer in Intergroup Relations* (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1949); North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, *Teacher Education for Human Relations in the Classroom: A Report from 1108 Professors* (Chicago: North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, n.d.); Hortense Powdermaker and Helen Frances Storen, *Probing Our Prejudices: A Unit for High School Students* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1944); Hilda Taba, *Democratic Human*

There were so many intergroup education materials available that intergroup education professionals published guides to human relations literature and textbooks to help individual teachers wade through the intimidating mass of material and select the right aides for their classrooms.<sup>332</sup> To put the popularity of intergroup education in perspective, I was able to locate only one textbook on the Judeo-Christian Tradition from the same time period.<sup>333</sup>

In addition to textbook and reading guides, educators also had access to extensive intergroup education audio-visual materials and interactive role-playing and rumor clinic guides.<sup>334</sup> Role-playing allowed students to act out scenarios that would sensitize them about

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*Relations: Promising Practices in Intergroup and Intercultural Education in the Social Studies* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1945); Hilda Taba, *School Culture: Studies of Participation and Leadership* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1955).

<sup>332</sup> One such human relations literature guide was *Reading Ladders for Human Relations* which taught children how to understand themselves and others through progressively challenging reading exercises. Books allowed children to travel across the world and flitter through the minds and bodies of people they might not otherwise encounter. *Reading Ladders* pointed teachers and librarians towards those books which realistically reflected different cultures, had engaging plots, highlighted minority groups' contributions to American culture and history, expanded children's "social consciousness," and dispelled prejudices or stereotypes. A picture featured in a Milwaukee Jewish Council 1956 annual report, shows an instructor of Milwaukee's Green Tree School second grade class using a popular Anti-Defamation League children's book recommended by *Reading Ladders*. *The Rabbit Brothers* dramatized the perils of a prejudiced mind and the benefits of being kind, caring, and good-natured to all those you meet through a story about twin white rabbits. Joe is prejudiced and George is accepting and understanding of all rabbits, no matter their religion or their color. The story ends with a rabbit holding up a mirror, in which both Joe and George are reflected back. The author asks the reader: which rabbit will you be? Virginia Reid ed., *Reading Ladders for Human Relations*, Fifth Edition (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1972), 9-10; Photo: Green Tree School, Milwaukee, March 1956, Milwaukee Jewish Council, Box 2, Folder 1955-1956, Milwaukee Jewish Council Papers, Jewish Museum Milwaukee Archives; Robert Kraus, *The Rabbit Brothers* (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1969?).

<sup>333</sup> This textbook places Old and New Testament texts in historical context and select theological and hermeneutical Christian and Jewish works. Fred Berthold, Jr., Alan W. Carlsten, Klau Penzel, James F. Ross, eds., *Basic Sources of the Judeo-Christian Tradition* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962).

<sup>334</sup> Dr. Jean Grambs argued films fostered a group learning environment and solicited and cultivated empathetic feelings. Scripted films illustrated ideal interactions, model work environments like fully integrated classrooms and neighborhoods. According to Grambs, successful human relations films had the following characteristics: 1) religious, racial, or ethnic groups were represented as positive, realistic Americans 2) each person was presented as equal to all others in intellect, ability, and merit (no group was characterized as superior or inferior) 3) social science was used to demonstrate the myth of racial difference 4) the film showed the effects of prejudice on individuals, groups, and communities 5) the film demonstrated how to reduce group tensions and solve conflicts. Jean Dresden Grambs, *Human Relations and Audio-Visual Materials* (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1956), 11, 12, 19, 42, 53-54; Edward Schofield and Irene Cypher, *Guide to Films in Human Relations* (Washington, D.C.: National Educational Association and ADL of B'nai B'rith, 1954); Also see: Box 46,

how it felt to experience discrimination. Rumor clinics taught how to differentiate between facts and myths.<sup>335</sup> Intergroup educators maintained that rumors were one of the main causes of prejudice and that children needed to be inoculated against them. Milwaukee's press heralded role-playing and rumor clinics as cutting-edge into the 1970s.<sup>336</sup>

### **Community Action Projects**

Before graduating from the teacher institutes, each teacher constructed their own "community action research project" or personalized curriculum, which they took back to their school districts and used to teach their own students how to improve intergroup relations in their own communities.<sup>337</sup> Ideally, community action projects engaged students with the wider community through data collection and interviews with persons of different religious, racial, and ethnic backgrounds. Face-to-face interactions established a line of communication between the school and the community and fostered a sense of social justice responsibility, civic duty, and active citizenship among students. Working in the community allowed students to see,

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Folder 7 MCCR 1969, Maier Records; Program Resources with a Focus on Brotherhood, Box 1, Folder 2, NCCJW Papers; Community Relations Mass Media Press and Radio, 1945-1967, MJC Box 5, Folder Community Relations Mass Media Press and Radio 1945-1967, MJC Papers.

<sup>335</sup> One rumor clinic exercise resembled the game "telephone." The teacher selected six students to view an image (the image could be anything but a complicated conflict situation was recommended). The teacher revealed the image to one student. The first student reported to the second student what they saw, the second student would report to the third student what the first student said, and so forth. In the end, the sixth student announced to the class what the image was supposed to look like. The teacher revealed the actual image, thus showing how easily distorted things become when they were relayed through numerous parties. Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Report 1953-1954, page 14, Free standing folder Milwaukee Jewish Council Annual Reports 1950-1993, MJC Papers; "Naame Pioneers to Hear Bernstein at 'Rumor Clinic' Film," *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* April 23, 1965. Folder 1, Eliot Bernstein Papers, Milwaukee Jewish Museum (hereafter cited Bernstein Papers).

<sup>336</sup> See "Teachers Play Games, Not for Fun," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 27, 1971; Memo to ADL Regional Offices, July 1, 1970, Box 11, Folder Schools Simulation Game 1969-71, MJC Papers.

<sup>337</sup> Harry Bard described the effort of Baltimore Public Schools to "bridge the historic gulf between school learning and community living" through in-service training and intergroup education, community action program techniques. Harry Bard, *Teachers and the Community: An In-Service Program in Action* (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1956), 5; Hilda Taba, *Leadership Training in Intergroup Education*, 51.

human behavior and conduct in the “real” world firsthand.<sup>338</sup>

Educators at the Milwaukee State Teachers College constructed their own community action project for eighty of their student-teachers in 1945. Before the community action program, many white student-teachers had never come in contact with African American youngsters or seen the conditions of the inner core. One student-teacher described a particularly dramatic transformation:

I went there hoping to understand Negroes better, getting better acquainted with them, and helping them... I have never before come in contact with children of this economic class, but I think they are just like other children I have known. Children are much alike, regardless of race, color, or differences in religion. I found I liked these children and had no special problems with them.<sup>339</sup>

Another teacher expressed this sentiment in an intergroup education curriculum evaluation study: “I can see a direct change in their [the students’] attitudes. They are thinking about these things now.”<sup>340</sup> Testimonials like these, human relations supporters believed, demonstrated that intergroup education was the most effective tool yet devised to improve interreligious and interracial relations.

Further, student testimony proved intergroup education modified youngsters’ attitudes. Reflecting on a 1966 Teenage Human Relations Workshop, a student said: “I greatly enjoyed meeting kids of other races, hearing their views [and] (expressing mine)... This was the first opportunity I had to really get to talk to people of a different race and to get to know some of their problems.” Additionally, the student said that joining religious services at workshop

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<sup>338</sup> Cook, *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*, 187; Boyd, *Expanding Horizons*, 18-24; Brady, *Intergroup Education in Public Schools*, 84.

<sup>339</sup> Another student confessed: “I have always thought that children are taught prejudice by their parents.” Weil, *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*, 52-53.

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid*, 53.

“brought religions closer together.”<sup>341</sup> Educators and administrators believed that such compelling evidence indicated that Milwaukeeans should continue to invest in education as the way to initiate social change.

### **Institutionalizing Human Relations in Milwaukee Public Schools**

The NCCJ and the MJC institutionalized the human relations movement in Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS) as the primary tactic with which to address all race relations issues by endorsing School Board candidates and intergroup education advocates for administrative and faculty positions. MPS administrators adapted intergroup education theories—originally designed as an attitude modification technique—into school integration policies. By privileging restrained social movement tactics and funding positions for human relations counselors and psychologists, administrators and the School Board underwrote and trivialized school integration legislation.

Community organizations dedicated to the human relations movement worked tirelessly with school administrators “to develop a program and a staff which is ever aware of the human relations aspects of our teaching responsibility.”<sup>342</sup> In 1948, the Milwaukee Jewish Council established a School Committee to promote human relations curricula in public schools and provide financial support and training.<sup>343</sup> In 1952 the MJC collaborated with the Department of Education and Superintendent Harold Vincent and institutionalized educational tactics in the Milwaukee Public School district by establishing the Human Relations Committee.<sup>344</sup>

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<sup>341</sup> Teenage Human Relations Workshop, page 5, Box 5, Folder 8, WERD Case Files, 3A.

<sup>342</sup> Blueprint for Freedom Program, 1954, Box 4, Folder Blueprint for Freedom, MJC Papers.

<sup>343</sup> The very first Intercultural Council in Milwaukee County was founded at Wauwatosa High School ten years earlier in 1938. Untitled Document, March 1939, Box 8, Folder 2, Baron Papers; also see: Box 9, Folder Milwaukee Jewish School Committee 1948-1959, MJC Papers.

The Human Relations Committee aided principals, revised curricula, offered in-service human relations training courses, and coordinated the collective efforts of all 155 public schools in Milwaukee. Lillian Paukner, the district-wide Director of Curriculum of Milwaukee Public Schools, demonstrated her commitment to integrating human relations theories into all aspects of the administration and curriculum in 1960 when she said, “Human Relations in a broad sense, is a thread running through the whole educational program... is a part of all phases of instruction... is Fundamental in [the] Guidance Program” which “cannot be divorced from any area of learning.”<sup>345</sup> According to MPS’s highest ranking staff members, intergroup education was absolutely pivotal to the overall education and development of Milwaukee’s youth.<sup>346</sup>

Human relations theories were further ingrained into the MPS system by the Milwaukee Jewish Council’s Sub-Committee on Human Relations Curriculum. The sub-committee trained teachers in the newest human relations curricular concepts and the development of diagnostic tools for scientifically measuring and reporting the success rates of attitude modification curriculum.<sup>347</sup> The MJC also made itself indispensable in the field of intergroup education teacher-training at the university-level by creating a position of Human Relations Consultant for the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Marquette University.<sup>348</sup>

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<sup>344</sup> Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee Minutes, February 11, 1952, Box 9, Folder School Committee 1948-1959, MJC Papers.

<sup>345</sup> Minutes Milwaukee Committee on Human Rights, January 12, 1955 Box 156, Folder 1 Zeidler Papers.

<sup>346</sup> MJC/ADL also sponsored a meeting of 80 Wisconsin Public School Curriculum writers to meet with the Lake Shore Curriculum Directors Group and ADL Education Director Gertrude Noar in November 1959. See MJC School Committee Meeting Minutes February 15, 1960, Box 9, Folder Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee 1960, MJC Papers.

<sup>347</sup> Sub-Committee on Curriculum Human Relations; Human Relations Curriculum Committee Meeting Minutes February 26, 1959, Box 9, Folder Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee 1960, MJC Papers.

In addition to the centralized Human Relations Committee for the Milwaukee Public School district, most of Milwaukee's elementary and secondary schools established their own Human Relations Committees to handle individual concerns.<sup>349</sup> For example, Western Division High School's student council formed their own Human Relations Committee staffed by three African American students, three Caucasian students, and three Hispanic students in 1968. Peckham Junior High School established a Youth Human Relations Committee to address misunderstandings and ease tensions between black and white students in 1970.<sup>350</sup> From the late 1940s through the 1970s, the MJC was instrumental in integrating restrained social movement tactics into Milwaukee's public school administration.<sup>351</sup>

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<sup>348</sup> Morty Ryweck and Sidney Sayles of the Milwaukee Jewish Council and Maurice Terry of NCCJW met with the Deans Dr. Denmark and Mr. Himmelman on October 27, 1960 to discuss the design and implementation of a \$60,000 five year study of "integrating Human Relations teaching and thinking into the teachers training curriculum" in MPS. The project proposal insisted that general education and human relations education should be inseparable; a well-rounded education should be infused throughout with human relations lessons. Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee Minutes, April 15, 1957; Minutes September 6, 1955; Minutes August 26, 1957; Box 9, Folder School Committee 1948-1959; Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee Meeting Minutes, September 19, 1960, Box 9, Folder School Committee 1960; Human Relations Seminar University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, October 27 1960, Box 9, Folder MJC School Committee 1960; School Committee Meeting Minutes, May 5, 1961, Box 9, Folder MJC School Committee 1960-1969, MJC Papers; Human Relations Teacher Education Curriculum Research Project, Undated, Box 1, Folder 3, NCCJW Papers; School Committee, November 23, 1962, Box 7, Folder 10, WGCHR Papers.

<sup>349</sup> Human Relations Committee in Milwaukee Public Schools Memo, November 10, 1960; Human Relations Committee in Milwaukee Public Schools Memo, November 22, 1960, Box 9, Folder Milwaukee Jewish Council Committee 1960, Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee Meeting Minutes, April 3, 1962 Box 9, Folder MJC School Committee 1961-1969, MJC Papers; Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations General Commission Meeting, March 14, 1962, Box 45, Folder 18, Maier Records; Information Sheet: Program of Instruction, Box 3, Folder 35, Harold Willis Story Papers, Milwaukee County Historical Society (hereafter cited Story Papers).

<sup>350</sup> Youth human relations committees found a place in greater Wisconsin; Waukesha and Madison had school committees as well. Teachers, administrators, and even special human relations government agencies, like the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations took time and devoted resources to oversee youth committees. An October 21, 1968 Press Release announced that MCCR's outreach office was now open at 2627 West Fond du Lac Avenue and could provide "speakers, films, filmstrips, guided tours and organizational know-how for the programs that the young people desire." Press Release "MCCR Launches Youth Human Relations Program in Schools," October 21, 1968; "Relations Unit Set at West Division High," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, October 19, 1968, Box 46, Folder 6; Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations Minutes, June 10, 1970 Box 46, Folder 8, Maier Records; Letter from Carol Pollard to Milwaukee Branch, NAACP October 24, 1966, Box 2, Folder 14, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

Further, the MJC would not endorse a candidate for the School Board elections unless the candidate supported the human relations movement. In the 1965 School Board Elections, the MJC supplied questionnaires to each candidate asking them how they would strengthen the human relations movement in Milwaukee Public Schools:

- “1. Can the schools play a role in the improvement of relationships between children from different racial, religious and ethnic backgrounds? If yes, specify how! (Consider these areas: curriculum, pupil and teacher composition, teacher training, books, etc.)
2. Should teachers receive special human relations training? If yes, specify why and how this might prove helpful.
3. Should race be a factor in the assignment of teachers to specific schools? Explain.
4. Is location of schools a factor influencing human relations? What policies, if adopted, would serve to improve the current situation?”<sup>352</sup>

The MJC decided not to endorse Walter Gerken’s replacement as School Board of Directors in 1967 because he did not fully support the administration of intergroup education in Milwaukee Public Schools.<sup>353</sup>

The NCCJ and the MJC funded social scientific studies to convince the School Board that more of the budget needed to be allocated to intergroup education curriculum.<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> The MJC castigated the Milwaukee Public Schools Human Relations Committee for not executing more activities and training sessions and they threatened to withhold funds for future human relations conferences unless the MJC was credited and appropriately consulted. Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee Minutes, September 20, 1951; Minutes September 25, 1959; Minutes December 12, 1959; Box 9, Folder School Committee 1948-1959; Memo Human Relations Committee Milwaukee Public Schools, November 22, 1960, Box 9, Folder 1960; MJC School Committee Meeting Minutes August 27, 1964; School Committee Meeting Minutes November 23, 1962, Box 9, Folder MJC School Committee 1960-1969; Accent on Democracy, 1954, Box 4, Folder Blueprint for Freedom 1954, MJC Papers.

<sup>352</sup> Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee Meeting Minutes and School Board Questionnaire Attachment, March 23, 1965, Box 9, Folder MJC School Committee 1961-1969, MJC Papers.

<sup>353</sup> Letter from Bernard Solocheck to Margaret Dinges, November 29, 1967, Box 9, Folder MJC School Committee 1961-1969, MJC Papers.

<sup>354</sup> Shorewood Public Schools Curriculum committee conducted an education project with grades one, three, six, eight, ten and twelve to diagnose and remedy student prejudice in September of 1962. Tabulation of Responses ADL Shorewood High School, Box 9 (Education, Schools), Folder MJC School Committee 1960; Education Project in Shorewood, Wisconsin September 12, 1962, Box 7 (Education, Schools), Folder Milwaukee County Human Relations Education Conference; UWM anticipated that the proposal would request NCCJW and ADL to help fund the project. Human Relations Seminar UW-M October 27 1960, Box 9, Folder MJC School Committee 1960, MJC Papers.

Attitudinal surveys were also used to demonstrate scientifically that intergroup education worked and to convince more teachers and administrators to invest in restrained social movement tactics to initiate social change.<sup>355</sup> Dr. Herman Weil of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee—an active member of the NCCJ—reported to the ACE that “almost everyone on campus felt the great need for an overall curriculum study of the college in light of intergroup education.”<sup>356</sup> Such studies happened across the United States. The NCCJ partnered with the ACE for the project, *College Study in Intergroup Relations (1945-1949)*, to measure the success of intergroup education in university courses and teacher training in twenty-four major academic institutions.<sup>357</sup>

Convinced that intergroup education was creating a less prejudiced and more open-minded student body, administrators and educators thought that human relations theories could be applied to other race relations issues, including the problem of school segregation. They believed that attitudinal modification would slowly, but surely, teach parents and children to

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<sup>355</sup> The Milwaukee Jewish Council reported in 1954 that: “There is little doubt the training programs in which many of our nations’ leading colleges have engaged are beginning to show some positive results in the development of children who regard human beings who differentiate from themselves as individual personalities deserving of individual judgment. As our colleges train more teachers who are sensitive to the problems which minority groups face in our complex society so can we look forward to the implementation of democratic practices on an ever widening scale.” The American Jewish Committee also initiated a study of suburban intergroup education activities in 1968 for the same purpose. Annual Report Milwaukee Jewish Council 1953-1954, MJC Freestanding Folder, Reports, MJC Papers; Harvey Goldman, *A Survey of Efforts Made By Selecting Milwaukee-Area Suburban School Systems to Promote Adequate Intergroup Education* (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1968); Alan Osterndorf, *Intergroup Education in Wisconsin Secondary Schools* (Milwaukee: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1959).

<sup>356</sup> Weil, *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*, 3; Dr. Weil Publishes Findings on Intergroup Education,” *The Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, April 28, 1950, Series V Subseries Religious School, Weil, Herman 1948-1983, Congregation Emanu El Papers; “Human Relations Study Discussed,” *Milwaukee Journal*, January 20, 1948, Box 2, Scrapbook 1945-1947, Herman Weil Scrapbooks.

<sup>357</sup> NCCJ conducted surveys in: Albany, Trenton, Charleston, New York City, Springfield, Pittsburgh, Mount Pleasant, Moorhead, Minnesota, Chicago, Detroit, Eau Claire, Milwaukee, Dayton, Gainesville, Atlanta, Lynchburg, Talladega, Greeley, San Francisco, Warrensburg, San Marcos, Tempe, and Denver. Cook, *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*, 3, 62, 282-83; Also see: Weil, *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*, 19.

accept persons of all religions and races. Parents would then enroll their children in religiously and racially diverse schools. The MPS School Board and administrators wed themselves to the educational and restrained tactics of the human relations movement and wanted parents to volunteer their children to integrate schools without forced busing and legislated desegregation.

## Chapter 4:

“Without Deliberate Speed:” Resistance to Legislated School Integration, 1965-1978<sup>358</sup>

Administrators were convinced by the social scientific attitudinal studies that intergroup education made students less prejudiced. Human relations theories presumed that, once Americans learned about, and understood, the histories and cultures of persons of different religions and races, they would voluntarily elect to live side by side and send their children to the same schools. Milwaukee Public School administrators and community members thought that human relations theories could be adapted to the problem of school integration. In spite of the demands of civil rights organizations—including the NAACP and the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC)—to integrate direct action or legislative tactics into the integration policies of MPS in the mid-1960s, administrators refused and relied on the restrained educational tactics. Administrators, legislators, and parents used human relations theories to defend their resistance to the protests of Freedom school boycotts in the 1960s and the school desegregation court order in 1976 (*Craig Amos et al. v. The School Board of Directors*). Human relations theories advocated temporary, voluntary, and incremental integration. Such positions encouraged public school policies that unintentionally solidified a culture of voluntary school segregation in Milwaukee.

Many other American cities invested in educational tactics to handle school desegregation, causing significant conflict between human relations advocates and civil rights activists.<sup>359</sup> In 1964,

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<sup>358</sup> “Without Deliberate Speed” is a play on Chief Justice Earl Warren’s proclamation in *Brown v. Board of Education II* (1955) that school districts should move toward integration “with all deliberate speed.” Without a definitive time table, many school districts, including Northern ones in states like Milwaukee, were able to put off any movement toward integration until the 1970s.

<sup>359</sup> Chicago, Illinois; Denver, Colorado; Los Angeles, California; Madison, Wisconsin; New York City, New York; Saint Louis, Missouri; and Springfield, Massachusetts, are just some of the cities that also heavily invested in human relations tactics over direct action and legislation. Like Milwaukee, these cities suffer from significant persistent racial school segregation. For example, see: Milwaukee Neighborhood Stabilization Program, Box 5, Folder 5; Letter from the Commission on Human Relations Chicago, to Milwaukee Urban League, February 14, 1969, Box 22, Folder 12, MUL Papers; Milwaukee Board of School Directors, *Report of the Ad Hoc Human Relations Committee to the Board of School Directors*, June 1, 1976 (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Schools,

United States Commissioner of Education, Francis Keppel warned: “[t]he war against segregation is a single war, but all too often it is waged on many flanks which are secondary to our objective: the elimination of racial discrimination.” She argued that discussions over neighborhood schools, busing, compensatory and track schools distracted, “confuse[d], “divide[d], and frustrate[d]” reformers from achieving the primary objective of eliminating prejudice and discrimination in public schools by racially integrating them.<sup>360</sup> Keppel castigated “citizens of good will” for being so blinded by their loyalty to educational tactics that they forgot who the real enemy was. Gallup Polls also reveal that the American public had concerns over school integration. On December 14, 1956, pollsters asked: “Do you think integration...in the schools—should be brought about gradually, or do you think every means should be used to bring it about in the near future?” 69 percent of respondents in the South believed that school integration should be brought about “gradually.”<sup>361</sup> In 1961 the same question was asked of Americans from the North and South. 61 percent believed school integration should occur gradually, 23 percent believed it should happen in the near future, 7 percent believed school integration should “never” happen, and 9 percent had no opinion.<sup>362</sup> Human relations advocates vilified demonstrators and protesters for their use of radical tactics instead of joining forces to defeat the common enemy of legal and *de facto* segregation policies. Human relations policies contributed to the persistence of school segregation in Milwaukee even after legislative mandates demanded the integration of public schools.

### **The History of Dialogue in Milwaukee Public Schools**

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<sup>360</sup> Francis Keppel, Segregation is the Enemy, July 9, 1964, Box 6, Folder 10, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>361</sup> Twenty-six percent thought integration should be brought about in the near future, and five percent had no opinion. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll*, 1465.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid*, 1724.

Milwaukeeans used restrained social movement strategies to deal with high tension debates involving schools and busing since the 1940s. The first tensions were interreligious in nature. Reacting to the Supreme Court case *Everson v. Board of Education* (330 U.S. 1, 1946) Wisconsin legislators drafted a referendum to amend the state constitution to provide transportation of private and parochial school students on publicly taxed buses.<sup>363</sup> Milwaukee Public Schools relied on human relations organizations like the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Milwaukee Jewish Council to mediate the disputes over busing.<sup>364</sup> After the Supreme Court found that the New York State law did not violate the First Amendment's prohibition against the establishment of religion, and subsequently ruled that students could leave public school for religious instruction with parental permission in the case *Zorach v. Clauson*, 343 U.S. 306 (1952), Milwaukee's Protestants, Catholics, and Jews responded to the controversy by entering into open dialogue.<sup>365</sup> Maurice Terry, Director of NCCJ, Wisconsin Region also enlisted local civic and religious organizations to dialogue with Jewish students and parents to diffuse feelings of ill will about secular schools unfairly favoring Christian traditions and holidays.<sup>366</sup>

During dialogue sessions, the NCCJ and the MJC appealed to reason and level-headedness;

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<sup>363</sup> "Everson v. Board of Education," Legal Information Institute, Cornell University Law School, [http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC\\_CR\\_0330\\_0001\\_ZS.html](http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC_CR_0330_0001_ZS.html), accessed May 22, 2013.

<sup>364</sup> For example see: "Church State Separation Phobia Groundless, Women Reminded," *Catholic Herald Citizen*, November 4, 1948; "Wisconsin Bus Transportation," *Catholic Reporter*, June 15, 1962, Box 14, NCCJ Papers; Smith, "In God We Trust," 145-160.

<sup>365</sup> "Zorach v. Clauson," Legal Information Institute, Cornell University Law School, [http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC\\_CR\\_0343\\_0306\\_ZO.html](http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC_CR_0343_0306_ZO.html), accessed May 22, 2013; Naomi Cohen, *Jews in Christian America: The Pursuit of Religious Equality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 155; Smith, *In God we Trust*, 158.

<sup>366</sup> Terry also organized a Milwaukee Dialogue group for one hundred forty Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish clergy to discuss "Religion and Public Education," "Aid to Private Schools," "The Role of Religion in a Pluralistic Society," and "Sunday Closing Laws" among others. Terry noted that three hundred lay persons (in addition to clergy) of all three faiths attended each of the six meetings. Resource Material on Church State Relations, Box 1, Folder 3; Maurice Terry, Milwaukee Dialogue 1963, Box 1, Folder 3, NCCJW Papers; Also see: Religious Freedom and Public Affairs, Oversize Box 1, NCCJ Papers.

Terry asked that human relations professionals “assert [their] leadership, and endeavor to bring together the wiser heads of the different groups involved, so as to avert, if possible a little local Kulturkampf and religious war.”<sup>367</sup> On June 15, 1962 the Wisconsin Supreme Court found the 1946 referendum using public taxes for busing to parochial schools unconstitutional. While the amendment was reinstated the following March, the busing controversy caused bitter resentment and distrust between the various religious communities in Milwaukee.<sup>368</sup> The NCCJ created interfaith speakers bureaus that demonstrated how to use interfaith dialogue techniques to civic and educational organizations.<sup>369</sup> In response to both of these legislative actions, Milwaukee’s civic and religious organizations responded not with public protest but with dialogue, conciliation, and appeal to educational measures.

### **Conflict over the Freedom Schools**

Human relations theories insisted that decades of commitment to education and dialogue were required before schools should be integrated through legislative mandate. In Milwaukee, *de facto* school segregation was exacerbated by the neighborhood school system. This system empowered the School Board to divide the city into districts. School Board policy came under the jurisdiction of the Board of Directors, not the city government. Mayor Henry Maier’s “non-interventionist” approach to the School Board’s sovereignty over the neighborhood system further entrenched school segregation.<sup>370</sup> Under section 38.13 of Wisconsin state law, “schools shall be opened to students

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<sup>367</sup> Letter to Maurice Terry from Baron, Folder 2, Box 8, Baron Papers; Box 8, Folder ADL/MJC Religious Education in Public Schools 1949-1950, Milwaukee Jewish Council Papers; Box 8, Folder ADL/MJC Religious Education in Public Schools 1951-1954, MJC Papers.

<sup>368</sup> Bus Transportation, Wisconsin, Box 14, Folder 40, NCCJ Papers.

<sup>369</sup> School Bus Referendum Recommendations, Box 1, Folder 3, NCCJW Papers.

<sup>370</sup> Mayors' Statement Office Copy May 8, 1964, Box 44, Folder 10, Maier Records.

residing within said districts;” students may attend a school in another district with “written permission of the superintendent.”<sup>371</sup> Because students were automatically enrolled in the school closest to their home, neighborhood school demographics were heavily influenced by the restrictive housing covenants which prohibited most African Americans from moving out of the inner core.<sup>372</sup> In 1965, school board reports indicated that, out of Milwaukee’s 147 public schools, 106 had 90 percent white enrollment and seventeen schools had 90 percent African American enrollment.<sup>373</sup> Some argued that, since all children go to the school closest to them, school enrollment patterns reflected African American preferences, not the influence of segregation policies.<sup>374</sup>

Infuriated by such statistics, Lloyd Barbee, MUSIC, and the NAACP organized a boycott of the Milwaukee Public Schools and established alternative, integrated Freedom School sites across the city.<sup>375</sup> These groups coordinated two of these “extreme measure” of “mass protests” on May 18, 1964 and May 18, 1965 to draw attention to the condition of inner city schools, the extent of segregation, and the unfair distribution of resources, which they deemed racist.<sup>376</sup> Acting as sites for the Freedom schools, Catholic parochial schools St. Benedict, St. Boniface, St. Elizabeth, St. Gall, and St. Francis

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<sup>371</sup> Information Sheet: The Neighborhood School System, Box 3 Folder 35, Story Papers.

<sup>372</sup> Francis Keppel, Segregation is the Enemy, June 26, 1964, Box 6 Folder 10; Attack on School Segregation in the North, ca. 1966, Box 2, Folder 14, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>373</sup> School segregation encouraged inequitable distribution of materials, funding, and qualified teachers. Taking Education Seriously Flyer, 1965, Box 7, Folder Integration in Public Schools 1965, Paul M. Byrne Papers, Marquette University Archives (hereafter cited Byrne Papers).

<sup>374</sup> Letter from James Newcomb to Mayor Henry Maier October 14, 1974 Box 22, Folder 32; Charges of Discrimination Must Be Realistic July 17, 1963, Box 44, Folder 9, Maier Records.

<sup>375</sup> For an extensive discussion of the Freedom Schools see: Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 104-105; Boycott Public schools Flyer, October 18, 1965, Box 7, Folder Integration in Public Schools 1965, Byrne Papers; Appeal for Community Action from English Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Incarnation, May 18, 1964, Box 44, Folder 10, Maier Records; Letter from Helen Barnhill to Ted Warshafsky, March 10, 1965, Box 1, Folder 1, Barnhill Papers.

<sup>376</sup> Appeal for Community Action from English Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Incarnation, May 18, 1964, Box 44, Folder 10, Maier Records.

hosted white and black students from across the district and taught them about racial myths, Negro history, literature, and music. The twenty-four Catholic priests and sisters—including Fathers James Groppi and Eugene Bleidhorn—who taught at the Freedom Schools desired to foster interracial respect, understanding, and school integration.<sup>377</sup> As a result of Groppi’s and Bleidhorn’s activism at St. Boniface Church, many inner-city Catholics defected from the human relations movement and took up the cause of civil rights. 83 percent of St. Boniface parishioners supported the boycott.<sup>378</sup> One African American responded that demonstrations “open the minds of some people who never thought about the problems we are having with jobs, housing and education.”<sup>379</sup> 51 percent of African Americans living in the inner-core interviewed by the Bisbing Research Survey felt that the Freedom School boycotts were an effective tactic for the civil rights movements, compared to only 21 percent of white inner core residents.<sup>380</sup>

Many Milwaukeeans, however, insisted that intergroup education was working, albeit slowly. More conservative parishioners begged Father Groppi to stop protesting and “pray the rosary.”<sup>381</sup> They insisted that the community should continue to invest in the human relations movement by emphasizing voluntary integration of public schools. Although human relations supporters agreed that racial segregation in schools was harmful to the educational and moral development of children, they

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<sup>377</sup> Father Eugene Bleidorn of St. Boniface insisted “the time was now to prove that the Catholic Church was not a white Church which happened to be located within a Negro ghetto.” As cited in McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 198; Teachers Guide for Freedom Schools, May 18, 1964, Box 1, Folder 6, Barnhill Papers.

<sup>378</sup> McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 198.

<sup>379</sup> Another African Americans resident insisted: “If you didn’t demonstrate they would think you approved of the way things are. You have to show them you disapprove of it.” And, “It (demonstrations) awakens us all to how important freedom is.” Bisbing Business Research, *Attitude Study*, 174.

<sup>380</sup> Twenty-six percent of respondents had no opinion. Interviewers also questioned residents after the boycotts had ended in order to determine if attitudes about the use of direct action had changed markedly. There was “no statistically significant effect on attitudes of respondents interviewed on October 18, or later.” *Ibid*, 175.

<sup>381</sup> As cited in *Ibid*, 206.

censured direct action attempts to force integration.<sup>382</sup>

No one supported the human relations movement in the face of the Freedom School boycott more energetically than did Mayor Henry Maier: “I am concerned for all our children because the demonstrations perhaps may establish and harden racial barriers in their young minds for generations to come... This ought to be the concern of all who are earnestly interested in progress in the field of human relations.”<sup>383</sup> After Lloyd Barbee charged Mayor Maier with corrupted morals, Maier maintained that “a responsible leader seeks progress” through a long and sustained “war on prejudice rather than speech making and organizing children for late night marches.”<sup>384</sup> According to many Milwaukee citizens and the city’s Mayor, educational and dialogic tactics cultivated positive feelings in the community and were constructive, whereas direct action tactics cultivated negative feelings and were destructive.

School boycotts were technically illegal because pulling children out of school violated truancy laws. The Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations—the official human relations municipal government agency— argued that involving young children in “illegal” activities was ill-advised, could cause “psychological damage,” and would intensify tension in the community.<sup>385</sup> Citizens wrote

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<sup>382</sup> The groups that censured direct action included: the Catholic Interracial Council, Church Women United, the Greater Milwaukee Council of Churches, the Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Race, the Milwaukee Jewish Council, the Milwaukee Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, and the Human Relations Coordinating Council. The Human Relations Coordinating Council included: the Milwaukee Chapter of the ACLU, ADL, the West Suburban Council on Human Relations, the Wisconsin Chapter Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, the Equal Rights Division of the Department of Labor, Industry and Human Relations, NCCJ, and the American Jewish Committee. Statement of Milwaukee Jewish Council on *de facto* School Segregation, January 1966, Box 9, Folder Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee, 1961-1969, MJC Papers; Church Women United Minutes, March 22, 1967, Box 1, Folder 11, CWU Papers; Courtesy Resolution, June 8, 1960, MAACW Papers; Human Relations Coordinating Council Minutes, September 14, 1967, Box 2, Folder 10, WERD, Reports Part 1; Statement from Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Race, Box 1, Folder 12, WERD, Records Part 6.

<sup>383</sup> Mayor's Statement, Office Copy May 8, 1964, Box 44, Folder 10, Maier Records.

<sup>384</sup> Office of Mayor, October 20, 1965 Box 45, Folder 23, Maier Records.

<sup>385</sup> Letter from John Foley to Father John Rasmann, September 30, 1965, Box 3, Folder 19, National Catholic

Mayor Henry Maier expressing their concern over involving children in contentious social movements. Mrs A.C. Kalmbach insisted that “the boycott would involve parents and children in a serious demonstration which would accomplish nothing and possibly do a great deal of harm. The problem must be approached rationally,” she insisted “rather than through a mass demonstration.”<sup>386</sup> A.B. Beverstock also argued that the boycott would “do no good, and may suggest to our children the wrong way to go about obtaining justice.”<sup>387</sup> One white inner-core resident expressed his/her support for the Freedom School demonstrations with two conditions: “I approve to a certain extent but when they get rowdy and break the law, this is an offense. Getting together they sometimes become hysterical. Let the adults fight it out—keep the kids out.”<sup>388</sup> James Dorsey, former President of the NAACP, called using children in protests reprehensible. Treating them like “guinea pigs” in “protests lower[ed] the respect of the children for the law.”<sup>389</sup>

Rather than emphasizing the inappropriateness of using children for demonstrating purposes, some critics argued that swift and dramatic social change would heighten, rather than lower, racial tensions.<sup>390</sup> Mrs. Jane Gilday of the Catholic Interracial Council of Milwaukee recommended that

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Conference for Interracial Justice, Milwaukee Papers, Marquette University Archives (hereafter cited NCCIJ Milwaukee Papers); Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, Minutes June 4, 1964, Box 45, Folder 20; Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations Resolution on Boycotts; Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations Minutes September 30, 1965, Box 45, Folder 23, Maier Records.

<sup>386</sup> Letter from Mrs. A.C. Kalmbach to Mayor Henry Maier, May 6, 1964, Box 44, Folder 10; “Two Wrongs Don't Make a Right” Editorial October 20, 1965, Box 192, Folder 26, Maier Records.

<sup>387</sup> Letter from A.B. Beverstock to Mayor Henry Maier, May 4, 1964, Box 44, Folder 10, Records of Maier.

<sup>388</sup> Bisbing Business Research, *Attitudinal Study among Negro and White Residents in the Milwaukee Negro Residential Areas* (Milwaukee: Bisbing Business Research, 1965), 175.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid*, 175.

<sup>390</sup> Milwaukeeans Kurt Churchill and Elizabeth McCreedy also wrote to Maier asking for “intelligent” discussion and to avoid boycott. See Letter from Kurt Churchill to Mayor Henry Maier, May 5, 1964; Letter from Elizabeth McCreedy to Mayor Henry Maier, May 4, 1964; Letter from Richard Zabinskie to Mayor Henry Maier, May 5, 1964, Box 44, Folder 10, Maier Records.

Mayor Maier convene a panel of educators and laypersons to mediate between the protesters and the School Board.<sup>391</sup> Pastor Richard Zabinskie of Faith United Presbyterian Church insisted that the School Board and the protesters needed to talk face-to-face in order to reach “compromise” and “understanding.”<sup>392</sup> An African American parent responded in this way to a query about easing race relations: “Put better teachers in the neighborhood schools and teach them human relations.”<sup>393</sup> These examples are representative of the position of many Milwaukeeans. Even those who supported integration in theory—including the MJC and the NCCJ—favored non-confrontational dialogue over direct action demonstrations, which were subject to prosecution under civil disturbance statutes.<sup>394</sup> Fern Boeck—one of the 266,000 Milwaukeeans to vote for George Wallace in 1964—asked Maier to support the School board and “responsible Negro leadership” against protest strategies. She contended that “civil disobedience is wrong and leads only to anarchy. The Wallace voters were not against civil rights—it was just such stupid, unreasonable tactics as we are experiencing right now.”<sup>395</sup>

Social scientific attitude surveys revealed that the tactic of demonstration was extremely controversial in Milwaukee, and that ordinary white and black citizens were well aware of the conflict taking place between proponents of direct action and supporters of educational tactics. In October,

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<sup>391</sup> Letter from Jane Gilday to Mayor Henry Maier, May 5, 1964, Box 44, Folder 10, Maier Records.

<sup>392</sup> Milwaukeeans Kurt Churchill and Elizabeth McCreedy also wrote to Maier asking for “intelligent” discussion and to avoid boycott. See Letter from Kurt Churchill to Mayor Henry Maier, May 5, 1964; Letter from Elizabeth McCreedy to Mayor Henry Maier, May 4, 1964; Letter from Richard Zabinskie to Mayor Henry Maier, May 5, 1964, Box 44, Folder 10, Maier Records.

<sup>393</sup> Bisbing Business Research, *Attitude Study*, 73.

<sup>394</sup> Memo ADL Regional Offices, June 7, 1972, Box 10, Folder MJC Busing and Schools 1961-71; Sol Sorrin Report on School Withdrawal May 18, 1964 Box 10, Folder School Boycotts, MJC Papers; Also see Letter from Pastor Robert Anderson, April 18 1964, Box 44, Folder 10, Maier Records.

<sup>395</sup> Merlin Lieg and his wife explained to Mayor Maier and Milwaukee School Superintendent Vincent that they attended their neighborhood schools, North Division and South Division respectively, not because they liked the racial, religious, ethnic or socio-economic make-up of the school, but because it was the law. Letter from Merlin Lieg to Harold Vincent and Henry Maier October 18, 1965, Box 192, Folder 26; Letter from Fern Boeck to Mayor Henry Maier, May 5, 1964 Box 44, Folder 10, Maier Records.

1965, the *Milwaukee Journal* commissioned Bisbing Business Research Inc.—Milwaukee’s first market research firm—to interview 400 black Milwaukeeans and 100 white Milwaukeeans living in the inner core about their attitudes toward the state of Milwaukee Public Schools and race relations.<sup>396</sup> A white resident voiced his/her reservations about the Freedom Schools in stark terms: “[the protests] are doing damage and belittling their [the civil rights] cause in damaging the rights of other people. It is a just cause but their actions don’t have any dignity.” Another interviewee stated: “I feel this [against demonstrations as a viable means to demand social change] because Milwaukee citizens don’t care much for demonstrations and to prevent them I think they will do better...”<sup>397</sup> Revealing the powerful association that many Americans made between direct action and communism, another white citizen commented: “I think the Commies started the Negroes going, telling them they are treated badly and all. But now the white people dislike them even more.”<sup>398</sup> Attitudinal surveys reveal that many Milwaukeeans believed that demonstrations would not achieve desegregation. Rather, direct action would roll back the progress Milwaukeeans had achieved through restrained social movement strategies.

The Bisbing survey also revealed the attitudes of Milwaukee’s African American population. Some African Americans believed that demonstrations would alienate white Milwaukeeans and turn them against the civil rights cause “[b]ecause,” as one respondent argued, “it is causing those in authority to formulate a negative attitude and they may refuse to give help where help is needed. An intelligent and correct attitude can do much in getting ahead and get more consideration.” Another said

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<sup>396</sup> Bisbing Business Research was founded in 1952 by Dr. Leonard Bisbing. In 1989 the firm changed its name to Management Decisions, Inc. About Management Decisions Inc., Management Decisions Inc., accessed March 20, 2015, managementdecisionsinc.com. Bisbing Business Research, *Attitude Study*, 3.

<sup>397</sup> Ibid, 174.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid, 175.

“I don’t put no faith in protests. I just trust in God. I think the colored man should humble himself and put his faith in God.” Others were completely disenchanted and apathetic: “It [demonstrating] doesn’t accomplish anything. White people didn’t get this country by demonstrating.” One African American Milwaukeean recognized that the power to force desegregation lay in the School Board, a notoriously conservative and implacable institution. “I don’t think things have changed much. Look at the school board—they are still doing the same things, not listening to people.”<sup>399</sup>

### **Conflict over Legislated Integration**

When activists like Lloyd Barbee broached issues such as school redistricting and busing to facilitate desegregation of schools in the mid-1960s, Milwaukeeans were so convinced by the efficacy of the human relations movement to resolve interracial conflicts that almost all attempts to legislate desegregation were undermined. Barbee had been trying to bring suit against Milwaukee Public Schools for willful segregation since July, 1963.<sup>400</sup> Rather than succumbing to the legislative demands of the NAACP, the MPS School Board, administrators, and educators looked to long-standing human relations committees to take the lead on voluntary integration. In his resignation letter to the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations (MCCR), Corneff Taylor alleged that “the intransigence of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors... prevented the MCCR from taking action. These elected and appointed officials not only preserve the past, they would embalm it.”<sup>401</sup>

Reflecting the conventional wisdom of human relations theories, Mayor Henry Maier and Joel McNally of the *Milwaukee Journal* insisted that “any action to integrate the schools would increase

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<sup>399</sup> Ibid, 174.

<sup>400</sup> Dougherty, *More than One Struggle*, 80.

<sup>401</sup> Corneff Taylor Full Resignation Letter, 1965, Box 45, Folder 22, Maier Records.

white flight to private schools or the suburbs. So any action to increase integration would increase segregation.”<sup>402</sup> In 1968, the Superintendent of Fox Point-Bayside School District and the Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee supported the creation of a Human Relations Exchange Program in order to encourage voluntary and temporary integration. Students from the predominantly white, suburban school would visit the predominantly black inner city school (and vice versa) a number of times throughout the school year. During these visits, students would engage in interracial sports activities and learn about minority history and improving group relationships.<sup>403</sup>

In the 1970s, MPS continued to orchestrate desegregation efforts through human relations programs. In 1970, educators at Washington High School and the Milwaukee Jewish Council believed that the rise of militant attitudes and their demand for direct action led directly to growing tensions among black and white students. Supposedly, militant attitudes isolated the 200 black students at Washington High from the 1000 white students, who were alienated by such confrontational tactics.<sup>404</sup> Intergroup relations curriculum was translated into an educational program designed to handle desegregation issues, lower tensions, and resolve misunderstandings.

The MJC noted that, in 1972, only two states in the nation mandated Human Relations training for teachers, Minnesota and Wisconsin: “[t]he Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction (DPI) passed an administrative code which required human relations in all pre-

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<sup>402</sup> Maier predicted that a forcible integration plan would “lead eventually to re-segregation...and the acceleration of white flight.” Suggested Response to Question on Reynolds Decision, January 2, 1976 Box 23 Folder 3; Letter From Mayor Henry Maier to James Brennan City Attorney July 31, 1975, Box 22, Folder 32, Maier Records; Joel McNally, “Decision in School Desegregation Suit Awaited,” *Milwaukee Journal*, n.d. Box 95, Folder 37, Barbee Papers.

<sup>403</sup> Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee Meeting Minutes, December 5, 1968, Box 9, Folder MJC School Committee 1961-1969, MJC Papers.

<sup>404</sup> Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee Meeting Minutes, January 20, 1970, Box 9, Folder MJC School Committee 1960-1969, MJC Papers.

service teacher educational training.”<sup>405</sup> The Wisconsin DPI renewed the Human Relations Code in 1975.<sup>406</sup> Both Madison and Milwaukee School Boards had Human Relations Departments, which provided teacher training in these areas.<sup>407</sup> Influenced by the United States Civil Rights Commission recommendation that “human relations training and cultural awareness understanding is necessary to ease conflict and tension,” the Madison and Milwaukee School Directors insisted that “there is a definite need for mandatory human relations and cultural awareness in-service programs on an on-going basis to be presented to all Milwaukee public school staff members.”<sup>408</sup>

Contemporary scholars studying desegregation in the post-Brown era noticed that MPS tied its desegregation policy to restrained social movement strategies. In his study of educational state policy, D.E. Brown insisted that “[t]here seems to be a close relationship between the Department of Public Instruction desegregation guidelines and the human relations proposal.”<sup>409</sup> Members of the DPI debated the advantages of the [Human Relations] Code over the Barbee Legislation.” First, members of the DPI maintained that the “administrative code

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<sup>405</sup> Ibid.

<sup>406</sup> Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee Meeting Minutes December 3, 1974, Box 9, Folder MJC School Committee 1971-1976, MJC Papers.

<sup>407</sup> The code read: the State of Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction “included as part of its teacher’s certification requirements, the fulfillment of a human relations code. Each teacher training institution has had to implement a human relations program, including and involving “various racial, cultural, and economic groups.” Milwaukee Jewish Council School Committee Meeting Minutes December 3, 1974, Box 9, Folder MJC School Committee 1971-1976, MJC Papers.

<sup>408</sup> Milwaukee administrators solicited information from other school systems, like Denver, San Diego, and Madison about their human relations programs. MPS concluded that human relations training should “be part of school day to maximize attendance and impact.” Milwaukee Board of School Directors, *Report of the Ad Hoc Human Relations Committee to the Board of School Directors, June 1, 1976* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Schools, 1976), 7, 9.

<sup>409</sup> W.L. Moore, *The Development of the Wisconsin Human Relations Policy and its Implementation on one University Campus* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1976), 277.

has the same effect of law and can be more flexible in content whereas” the Barbee law sets “meaningless requirements” for African American history. Secondly, the DPI insisted that “Laws can be enacted which are unenforceable and which schools disregard and about which [the] DPI can do nothing to improve quality.”<sup>410</sup> In his study of the implementation of the Human Relations Code in Madison and Milwaukee, W.L. Moore concluded that the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and the Milwaukee Public School system instituted and enforced stronger human relations policies than the University of Wisconsin-Madison or Madison Public Schools did.<sup>411</sup> Moore found that the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee “was more committed to human relations than the Madison campus” because the Milwaukee leadership “allocated more than ten times as much money and personnel to its human relations program than the School of Education at the University of Wisconsin-Madison did.”<sup>412</sup> Moore did not proffer any answers for why Milwaukee was so much more dedicated to human relations policies than Madison. However, this chapter demonstrates that Milwaukee’s educators and administrators relied on, and subsequently institutionalized, NCCJ and MJC affiliated- and funded-programming beginning in the 1940s to address all intergroup tensions.

Milwaukeeans’ reliance on human relations policies endured in the next decade. In 1976, the Milwaukee Public School system appointed the Goal Coordinator for Human Relations, Dr. John H. Jackson, as the leader of school integration workshops.<sup>413</sup> The Human

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<sup>410</sup> Ibid.

<sup>411</sup> Ibid, 306.

<sup>412</sup> Teacher training requirements in human relations theories and social science data collection had stricter requirements at UW-Milwaukee. Teachers had to finish ninety hours of coursework in human relations and complete a field study. Ibid, 308, 313.

<sup>413</sup> Letter from Milwaukee Public Schools Human Relations Goal Coordinator November 1, 1976 Box 11, Folder School Integration Task Force, MJC Papers.

Relations Goal Coordinator required each school in the MPS district to appoint a “human relations liaison person, who has participated in an initial leadership training workshop.” The Human Relations Liaison organized a “Human Relations Council” in each school. “The council is expected to be made up of a representative cross-section of the personnel within the particular school community, including supportive services personnel, parents, and students.” The councils’ first duty was to assess the needs of schools and consult the “assigned zone psychologist for human relations.” The specialized psychologist in human relations helped teachers and administrators deal with crisis management and conflict resolution.<sup>414</sup> They did not assess the success of legislated integration, nor did they implement penalties, criminal or budgetary, for not meeting desegregation goals.

It appeared that Barbee and the NAACP had finally won in 1976 when Judge John Reynolds ordered Milwaukee public schools to plan for integration immediately after his ruling that the school system unconstitutionally and knowingly segregated schools (*Craig Amos et al. v. the Milwaukee Board of School Directors*).<sup>415</sup> However, Milwaukee Public Schools responded with a full docket of in-service training and human relations conferences for the 1976-1977 school year. Administrators scheduled as many as six human relations workshops a month district-wide for “all school personnel (administrative, supervisory, supportive services, teaching, secretarial, food services, engineering, aide,

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<sup>414</sup> Procedures for Requesting Human Relations Consultation and Resources, Division of Curriculum and Instruction, Department of Psychological Services, 1976; Deployment and Utilization of the Psychologists in the Human Relations Program; Box 215, Folder 18, Barbee Papers.

<sup>415</sup> In 1976, Plaintiffs Craig Amos et al. (representing all students of Milwaukee County, and the Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union) brought a case against the Defendants, the Board of School Directors, charging that the Milwaukee public school system unconstitutionally and knowingly segregated schools. The name of the case had been changed by this point to *Armstrong vs. O’Connell* because the children named in the original Amos brief had all graduated. Lloyd Barbee Papers, Finding Aid, <http://digioll.library.wisc.edu/cgi/f/findaid/findaid-idx?c=wiarchives;cc=wiarchives;q1=barbee+lloyd;rgn=main;view=text;didno=uw-whs-mil00016>, accessed June 3, 2014; Also see: Summary of Decision and Order: *Craig Amos et al v. Milwaukee Board of School Directors*, Box 10, Folder School Integration Task Force, MJC Papers; US Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit: No 76-1130; Briefs, Milwaukee Public Schools Desegregation Case #76-1130, Box 3, Folder 34, Story Papers.

etc.), K-12 students, and as many parents as can be motivated to participate.”<sup>416</sup> In 1977 the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction “mandated that all teacher education programs in this state must include preparation in human relations.”<sup>417</sup> Further, the School District moved on Recommendation Four of the Human Relations Committee to incorporate “human relations education into the curriculum” officially “in every grade level and subject area,” rather than leaving the choice and “initiative of the individual teacher.”<sup>418</sup> Even though Judge Reynolds ordered schools to desegregate by legislative means in 1976, the official policy of Wisconsin Public Schools was to use human relations curriculum to address the state’s group tensions and segregation issues.

The Deputy Superintendent of Schools commissioned human relations organizations—like the ADL, the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, the MJC, the Milwaukee Urban League, and the NCCJ—to help maintain positive attitudes during the voluntary desegregation period.<sup>419</sup> As a result, Jackson, the MPS Human Relations Goal Coordinator, and the School Board believed desegregation was in the purview of human relations specialists. According to the in-service training memo released by Milwaukee Public Schools in 1976:

Principals who are directly involved with Phase One of the Milwaukee Public Schools desegregation plan are currently meeting with central office personnel on a regular basis in the area of management skills and human relations. This plan is now being expanded to include other principals who are not directly involved with the first phase of desegregation.<sup>420</sup>

Administrators believed that principals and teachers needed to be trained in dialogue before

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<sup>416</sup> See Human Relations Activities in Milwaukee Public Schools, 1976-1977, page 6; Memo: In-service Training in Human Relations, Box 215, Folder 18, Barbee Papers.

<sup>417</sup> Letter from R.L. Burdick to Carroll College, April 6, 1977, Box 56, Folder 9, Maier Records.

<sup>418</sup> Milwaukee Board of School Directors, *Report of the Ad Hoc Human Relations Committee to the Board of School Directors*, 9-10.

<sup>419</sup> Letter from Milwaukee Public Schools Human Relations Goal Coordinator November 1, 1976, Box 11, Folder School Integration Task Force, MJC Papers.

<sup>420</sup> Memo In-service Training, October 28, 1976, Box 215, Folder 18, Barbee Papers.

Milwaukee Public Schools could comply with the order for desegregation.<sup>421</sup> The DPI continued to invest time and energy in educational tactics rather than putting funds toward busing or other forced integration measures.

### **Against Forced Busing**

Legislated integration in the North usually utilized busing initiatives as an enforcing mechanism to reach racial balance in public schools. In 1970, the Milwaukee Urban Observatory—funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the National League of Cities—conducted an attitudinal survey on the citizens of Milwaukee. Interviewees were asked how they felt about “assigning pupils to schools outside their own neighborhoods as a means of achieving racial integration.”<sup>422</sup> Milwaukeeans disapproved of busing initiatives by a 2:1 ratio.<sup>423</sup> When the same participants were asked if they would send their children to schools outside of their neighborhood to achieve racial integration, 70 percent said that they would refuse, and only 30 percent said that they would allow their children to be bused further away.<sup>424</sup> In 1975, the NAACP conducted another poll which revealed that Milwaukeeans disapproved of the practice of forced busing only when the goal was racial integration. If the goal of busing was to relieve overcrowding, or to allow gifted or handicapped students access to special classes or extracurricular activities, residents supported the measure.<sup>425</sup> Reflecting

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<sup>421</sup> Our Concept of Human Relations, 1976, Box 215, Folder 18, Barbee Papers.

<sup>422</sup> Milwaukee Urban Observatory, *Citizens Attitudes in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Summer 1970* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Urban Observatory, 1971), 44.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid.

<sup>424</sup> Joel McNally, “Busing to Integrate? ‘Nope,’” *Milwaukee Journal*, July 2, 1975, Box 95, Folder 37, Barbee Papers.

<sup>425</sup> The NAACP asked the same subjects how they felt about busing school children from their neighborhood schools to other neighborhoods to facilitate racial integration. In a survey of 1,220 persons, three percent strongly approved of using busing initiatives and eighteen percent approved, meanwhile thirty-one percent disapproved and

human relations theories, citizens believed that district merger would not improve relationships. In a poll conducted by the *Milwaukee Journal*, only 20 percent of 1220 Milwaukeeans polled thought district merger would lead to “racial harmony.”<sup>426</sup> Forced busing of children out of their neighborhood schools to remedy racial imbalance in schools was a highly unpopular policy in Milwaukee.

Responding to the overwhelming unpopularity of busing, many human relations advocates—including the MPS School Board and legislators—encouraged so-called “voluntary” programs for integration.<sup>427</sup> State Representative Dennis Contra proposed an integration plan using state funds that would merge Milwaukee’s mostly black Lincoln and Riverside school districts with the suburban, mostly white districts of Shorewood and Whitefish Bay.<sup>428</sup> As an alternative to the Contra Bill, Representative James Sensenbrenner drafted Bill 220, which reasserted local autonomy of the original neighborhood schools and did not reconstitute school district lines. Bill 220 allowed parents to apply their children to transfer to either a different urban school of their choice (with 30 percent minority or 30 percent majority group enrollment) or apply for transfer to a suburban school (if the student was a minority living in an area with thirty percent minority enrollment).<sup>429</sup> Bill 220 proposed to

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forty-five percent strongly disapproved. Ibid.

<sup>426</sup> Joel McNally, “Contra Opposition Found in All Areas,” *Milwaukee Journal*, n.d.; James Parks, “Black White Views Conflict on Most Major Public Issues,” *Milwaukee Journal*, July 9, 1975; Box 95, Folder 37, Barbee Papers.

<sup>427</sup> Ronald Snyder noted that four School Board candidates in 1967 not only supported maintaining neighborhood schools, but they had the endorsement of the Citizen’s Association, an “anti-integration” group. All four candidates were elected. They were Margaret Dinges, Adele Horbinski, Patrick Fass, and Lillian Sicula. Snyder stated that “the faction holds a majority on the board.” As cited in Ronald Snyder, *Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations: A Study*, 1968, page 40, Box 23, Folder 2, MUL Papers.

<sup>428</sup> Joel McNally, “Contra Opposition Found in All Areas,” *Milwaukee Journal*, n.d. Box 95, Folder 37, Barbee Papers; School Desegregation Plan as Approved by School Board June 28, 1976, Box 162, Folder 18, Maier Records.

desegregate Milwaukee's schools over a three year period and reorganize traditional neighborhood schools into specialty (magnet) schools. Ideally, the specialized educational tracks—including focuses on math and science, humanities, and vocational tracks among others—would attract students across racial, religious, ethnic, and class lines, making forced busing unnecessary.<sup>430</sup> In spite of these incentives, the new magnet schools failed to stimulate voluntary transfers of black and white students away from their neighborhood schools.<sup>431</sup>

Christina Rossell, an education policy specialist, argues that “In the North, desegregation was accomplished through political rather than legal demands...in each case the outcome depended on the political power of the various groups involved: the black civil rights leaders, black and white elected officials, the school board, the school superintendent and administration, the mayor, the civic elite, and black and white “grass roots” organizations.”<sup>432</sup> This dissertation demonstrates that all the powerful groups in Milwaukee were dedicated to using restrained social movement strategies to integrate schools slowly and voluntarily.

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<sup>429</sup> Any costs incurred by the transfer of students would be paid for by the state of Wisconsin. Wisconsin State Law Chapter 220, Box 11, Folder School Integration Task Force, MJC Papers; Bill 220 (Sensenbrenner), Box 162, Folder 18, Maier Records.

<sup>430</sup> Superintendent Lee McMurrin first proposed magnet schools in 1975. The 1976 Reynolds decision incorporated twenty-five magnet schools, a compromise of McMurrin's original conceptualization which converted all schools into magnet schools. Magnet school options included: teacher-pupil learning centers, Montessori, gifted and talented, creative arts, and second language proficiency for primary grades, traditional, fundamental, multi-unit, technical education, bilingual, career guidance, academic emphasis for middle grades, and career specialty emphases for senior high school grades. Alternative and Specialty Schools 1977; Milwaukee School Plan, Box 11, Folder School Integration Task Force, MJC Papers; U.S. District Court, Wisconsin Action No. 65-C-173, Box 23, Folder, 2, Maier Records; Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 154-158.

<sup>431</sup> Many contemporaries, like Lloyd Barbee, and scholars, like Jack Dougherty, argue that any busing initiatives that were successfully instituted placed the burden of integration squarely on the shoulders of black parents and students. Milwaukee School Plan, Box 11, Folder School Integration Task Force, MJC Papers; Recommended September Plans for Providing Expanded Educational Opportunities, Box 23, Folder 1; School Desegregation Plan as Approved by School Board June 28, 1976, Box 162, Folder 18, Maier Records; Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 165.

<sup>432</sup> Christine Rossell, *The Carrot or the Stick for School Desegregation Policy: Magnet Schools or Forced Busing* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 3.

Rossell further contends that desegregation in the North “began as a bitter conflict over the proper role of the schools.”<sup>433</sup> According to the Milwaukee Public School Board of Directors, the Human Relations Advisory Committee should handle desegregation efforts, not the courts. The MPS Board of Directors established a Human Relations Advisory Committee to “monitor[s] the progress of school desegregation” in 1977.<sup>434</sup> The School board staffed the committee with members of the municipal government agency, the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, because they believed that “[h]uman relations work is necessary to carrying out the current desegregation process is immense and complex, demanding the service of persons of such expertise.”<sup>435</sup> According to the School Directors, the human relations movement would “insure a smooth and harmonious transition to integrated schools.”<sup>436</sup> Following the example of successful human relations programs in Denver, San Diego, and Madison, the Milwaukee School Board also recommended “a yearly, regularly allocated budget (at least 0.5% of the total school budget each year) to support the system wide human relations efforts.”<sup>437</sup>

In 1978, the School Board successfully appealed Judge Reynolds’s decision, based on the claim that it was the neighborhood school system, and not the Board’s nor the Milwaukee Public School’s fault for fostered segregation. The Supreme Court ordered the prosecutors to present more evidence that the school board had purposefully intended to segregate public

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<sup>433</sup> Ibid.

<sup>434</sup> In Accordance with Common Council Ordinance 34 and 155, Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations 1977, Box 56, Folder 9, Maier Records.

<sup>435</sup> Milwaukee Board of School Directors, *Report of the Ad Hoc Human Relations Committee to the Board of School Directors*, 12.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>437</sup> Ibid, 13.

schools. In 1979, plaintiffs and defendants compromised by agreeing to a five-year desegregation plan.<sup>438</sup> The plan lowered the qualifications for racial balance of schools and placed resources behind dialogic and educational programs. The new agreement stipulated that only 75 percent of Milwaukee's young adults needed to attend racially balanced schools.<sup>439</sup> The Board deemed a school "racially balanced if its black student population range[d] between twenty-five and forty-five percent of the school's total student population."<sup>440</sup> Due to the costs of the new magnet schools, the Board closed urban neighborhood schools, which forced minority students into career track or specialty schools.

Human relations tactics were so ingrained in Milwaukee Public School administration that even the 1985-1990 School Integration Plan resorted to "completely voluntary" student transfers, along with in-service training programs for teachers and staff in "human relations techniques for cultural and racial integration." The plan further reduced state funding for transfers by half and limited the number of intra-district transfer students eligible for that aid.<sup>441</sup> Rather than instituting policies that had budgetary or criminal repercussions, the School Board pushed alternative magnet schools policies, which placed unequal burden on black students to "voluntarily" attend schools outside their neighborhoods. As a result of the heady influence of the human relations movement on the policies of MPS, the 1976 order to desegregate left only

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<sup>438</sup> Lloyd Barbee Papers, Finding Aid, [http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi/f/findaid/findaid-idx?c=wiarchives;cc=wiarchives;q1=barbee\\_lloyd;rgn=main;view=text;didno=uw-whs-mil00016](http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi/f/findaid/findaid-idx?c=wiarchives;cc=wiarchives;q1=barbee_lloyd;rgn=main;view=text;didno=uw-whs-mil00016), accessed June 3, 2014.

<sup>439</sup> See *School Desegregation: A New Form of Discrimination* March 21, 1980, Box 14 Folder 8, Monitoring Board for the Milwaukee Public Schools by Direction of the United States District Court, May 23, 1983, Box 15, Folder 17, NAACP Milwaukee Papers; Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 165-169.

<sup>440</sup> U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Wisconsin Civil Action No. 65-C 173, page 19, Box 23, Folder 2, Maier Records.

<sup>441</sup> Modifications to the Chapter 220 Program May 14, 1985 Box 14, Folder 14, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

a slight imprint on the city.

**Part III:**  
**The Human Relations Movement and Municipal Government Policy**  
 Chapter 5:  
 Residential Integration.... Tomorrow? 1944-1980

After the first Red Scare and during the Cold War, it became increasingly important for elected and appointed politicians to adopt an explicit platform of anticommunism.<sup>442</sup> This position was especially important for Wisconsin politicians, whose reforming impulse had a deep and distinguished history. The early socialists in Milwaukee were descendants of Germany's Free Thinkers and disillusioned social revolutionaries who had emigrated from Europe in 1848. Milwaukee's Socialists were called "sewer socialists" because they focused on public works projects and urban planning. They also sought to reform the excesses of the Industrial Revolution, balance the budget and root out municipal corruption, narrow the gap between the rich and the poor, improve public health, clean up neighborhoods and working conditions, and protect workers from monopolies by having the state own certain industries like sanitation, water, and power stations.<sup>443</sup> The Wisconsin Progressive Party, headed by the beloved Robert La Follette, Jr., dominated federal and state offices for much of the first half of the twentieth century. The Progressive Party desired a strong and active federal government that supported public works, economic, and educational programs, which regulated business and prevented capitalist exploitation, promised social justice reform, focused on communal well-being over individual gain, and applied scientific knowledge to better social conditions.<sup>444</sup>

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<sup>442</sup> For information on anti-communist politics in local and federal politics see Robert Justin Goldstein, *Little Red Scares: Anti-Communist and Political Repression in the United States, 1921-1946* (Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2014).

<sup>443</sup> The American Socialist Party came to embody what Richard Ely, University of Wisconsin-Madison Professor of Political Science, would call "practicable social reform." Richard T. Ely, *Socialism: An Examination of its Nature, its Strength, and its Weakness, with Suggestions for Social Reform* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1894), 253.

<sup>444</sup> For a summary of "sewer socialism" see: Ely, *Socialism and Social Reform*, 253; John Nichols, *S Word: A*

Although Progressives occupied positions of power in Wisconsin government, they were not completely secure from attacks from mainline party members. Progressives and Socialists alike had to maintain a united front against communism and excessively radical and contentious social movement tactics to avoid being blacklisted from the political process.<sup>445</sup>

In spite of their anti-communist position, some of Milwaukee's early socialists were targeted by mainstream politicians. Armed with the legislative power of the Alien and Sedition Acts, the U.S. government prosecuted Milwaukee's—and America's first Socialist Congressman, Victor Berger in 1918 for the anti-war propaganda published in his socialist newspaper, *The Milwaukee Leader*. Even though Berger was reelected to Congress in 1918 and 1920, he was barred from taking his seat in Washington until the anti-socialist sentiments had cooled somewhat in 1922.<sup>446</sup> Elizabeth Dilling charged that the Victor Berger National Foundation—and its Progressive and Socialist officers, including Jane Addams, John Dewey, Upton Sinclair, Morris Hilquit, Daniel Hoan and Emil Seidel—were a part of a vast Red Network in the United States.<sup>447</sup>

The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939 confirmed for many Americans that Nazism, Communism, and Socialism were kindred political ideologies. Milwaukee's third Socialist Mayor, Frank Zeidler, lamented the negative association American socialism had gained: “[t]he two most evil dictators of the modern times, Hitler and Stalin... have distorted

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*Short History of an American Tradition* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Verso, 2011); Beck, *Sewer Socialism*, 1-3; Russel B. Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics: A Historical Study of Its Origins and Development 1870-1958* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1959), 183, 184, 187.

<sup>445</sup> Frank Zeidler, *Ninety Years of Democratic Socialism: A Brief History of the Socialist Party, USA* (Milwaukee: F.P. Zeidler, 1991), 13.

<sup>446</sup> Berger, *A Milwaukee Woman's Life on the Left*, xxii, 97.

<sup>447</sup> Dilling, *Red Network*, 128-129.

the word completely [has] made it easy for propagandists in America to seize it and confuse it with communism.”<sup>448</sup> To smoke out radicals, President Harry Truman issued Executive Order 9835 on March 22, 1947, mandating that all federal employees had to take a “loyalty oath” on behalf of the American government. Anyone who did not take the oath was considered a communist sympathizer and was fired, blacklisted, and subject to prosecution.<sup>449</sup> Such loyalty oaths were designed to justify the exclusion of radical reformers from the political process by implicating them in the communist plot to subvert the American government. Wisconsin representatives tried, but failed to enact similar loyalty oaths for state government workers.<sup>450</sup>

Even though the Progressive and Socialist Parties lost most of their state-wide power by the late 1940s—marked by Progressive Robert La Follette, Jr., losing his state senate seat in 1946 to Republican Joseph McCarthy—Milwaukeeans elected Socialist Frank Zeidler to the mayoral office in 1948. Running under the “Municipal Enterprise ticket,” Zeidler held office from 1948 to 1960 by integrating human relations tactics and its anti-communist cause into his public policies.<sup>451</sup> By utilizing popular social science language to call for measured, incremental, and practical improvements for religious, racial, and ethnic minorities and working within established institutions, Milwaukee’s last Socialist mayor was considered respectable and accepted by mainstream politicians.<sup>452</sup> Zeidler invested in the human relations

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<sup>448</sup> Zeidler, *Spirit of American Socialism*, 6.

<sup>449</sup> One famous example was the Alger Hiss trial. See Michael Kimmage, *The Conservative Turn: Lionel Trilling, Whittaker Chambers, and the Lessons of Anti-Communism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

<sup>450</sup> James Truett Selcraig, *The Red Scare in the Midwest, 1945-1955: A State and Local Study* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 1-3, 15.

<sup>451</sup> For a discussion of the changing meaning of totalitarianism and dictator during the twentieth century see: Alpers, *Dictators, Democracy, and American Public Culture*, 12, 250; Zeidler, *Spirit of American Socialism*, 6.

<sup>452</sup> Henry Luce, founder of *Time Magazine*, was a huge supporter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews’s mission. Luce said: “[w]e know how to succeed: by the development of the science of human relations, by

movement to ease racial tensions and create “an atmosphere of understanding and mutual good will” in the city.<sup>453</sup> In his *Final Report* addressed to his mayoral successor, Democrat Henry Maier, in 1960, Zeidler insisted that racial tensions and the growing housing residential segregation problem could be addressed through educational means only; professionals and volunteers trained in “human and community relations” should work with schools and social welfare groups to teach newcomers and old timers alike about “the contributions of varying national, racial and ethnic groups” to Milwaukee’s political and cultural heritage.<sup>454</sup> Because of this link to respectable and restrained reform, Milwaukee’s last Socialist Mayor was race-baited, but he was not red-baited. Frank Zeidler was plagued by rumors that he wanted to turn Milwaukee in to a haven for Southern Negroes. He was called a “n—r lover” and accused of caring about the conditions of the inner-core more than the rest of Milwaukee. As a result, Zeidler issued many disclaimers reassuring white Milwaukeeans that what he cared about were larger human relation problems—not just race relations—such as containing the spread of slums, and raising general standard of living and living conditions.<sup>455</sup> McCarthy did not set up

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transmitting that knowledge through education to guide children.” Eleanor Roosevelt also had this to say about Milwaukeeans in 1952: “It is a very encouraging sign to see a committee in a fair-sized city like Milwaukee, composed of so many people representing every possible racial and religious group, spending most of their afternoons on a volunteer basis discussing how better human relations can be brought about. I could not help but think that this is a pattern which, if it existed in every city and village of our Country, would soon help us to bring our democracy up to its highest standards.” Building for Brotherhood Pamphlet 1956, Box 1, Folder 1, NCCJW Papers; As cited in August, *From Assimilation to Multiculturalism*, 29.; “My Day,” Capitol Times, September 15, 1952; Also see: Horace Kallen, *Cultural Pluralism and the American Idea: An Essay in Social Philosophy* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956),46-55.

<sup>453</sup> For example see: Zeidler Good Will Statement, December 24, 1949, Box 107, Folder 1; Frank Zeidler, “The Layman and His Church’s Civic Responsibility,” May 24, 1954, Box 107, Folder 5; Message of Mayor Frank Zeidler, September 10, 1958, Box 89, Folder 3; Talk Given by Mayor Zeidler to the Milwaukee NAACP, February 9, 1958, Box 156, Folder 5; Statement at Meeting on “Social Problems of the Core of the City,” September 3, 1959, Box 107, Folder 7; Zeidler Statement Concerning Rumors and Good Will, Box 101, Folder 5 (1954-1956), Zeidler Papers.

<sup>454</sup> Milwaukee (Wis.) Mayor's Study Committee on Social Problems in the Inner Core Area of the City, *Final Report to the Honorable Frank P. Zeidler, Mayor* (Milwaukee: The Committee, 1960), 21.

his witch hunt in Socialist Milwaukee; rather he pursued alleged Communists in Washington and Hollywood. The human relations movement tempered the radicalism of Milwaukee's socialism and Wisconsin's Progressivism.

From 1944 through the 1980s, Mayors Zeidler and Maier institutionalized human relations theories into municipal government agencies, like the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations (MCCR). Governmental policy reflected the influence of restrained social movement strategies. Privileging the tactics of dialogue, conciliation, persuasion and education, government officials placed the reception and enforcement of housing discrimination claims in the hands of the MCCR and the Department of Industry, Labor, and Human Relations rather than in legislative agencies like the Department of Justice.<sup>456</sup> The National Association of Intergroup Relations Organizations (NAIRO)—the organization for professional government workers dedicated to integrating educational tactics into public policy—institutionalized the human relations movement into Milwaukee's government agencies, encouraging the voluntary administration of Wisconsin Fair Housing Laws.

Responding to the gradualist approach endorsed by the mayor's office, civil rights activists like Alderwoman Vel Phillips and Father James Groppi rallied behind direct action and legislative tactics of the NAACP. However, many Milwaukeeans in government were not moved by the civil rights activists' demands. Directly citing education as the best means to

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<sup>455</sup> Letter from Morris Milgram to Mayor Frank Zeidler September 15, 1955, Box 101, Folder 5, Zeidler Papers.

<sup>456</sup> The state government agency, the Wisconsin Governors' Commission on Human Rights, also insisted that the "methods of persuasion, conciliation and conference" had "exceeded every expectation" and were "effective in ninety-nine percent of the cases we handle, without recourse to law enforcement." They attributed their success to "seek[ing] help from those who are presumably on the opposing side. By involving them in problem solving we have won many friends in unexpected places." "Increasing Effectiveness of Equal Accommodation Laws," Governors' Commission on Human Rights Answers, Box 44, Folder 1 (1954-1957), WGCHR Series 997; July 13, 1967, *Milwaukee Journal*, Box 1, Folder 9, WERD Case Files Part 3A.

alleviate neighborhood housing conflicts, municipal governmental organizations that were designed specifically to improve human relationships silenced attempts to integrate contentious social movement tactics into fair housing policy to accelerate residential integration.

The MCCR was founded in 1944 as Mayor John Bohn's Committee on Interracial Relations. The name was later changed to the Mayor's Commission on Human Rights in 1949 by Frank Zeidler.<sup>457</sup> To reflect an expansion of the organization's mission to improve interracial and interfaith relations and its exclusive use of educational tactics, the Common Council changed the organization's name to the Milwaukee Commission on Human Relations in 1954 and for a final time in 1960 to the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations.<sup>458</sup> All representatives of the MCCR were nominated by the Mayor's Office and approved by the Common Council.<sup>459</sup> The MCCR conducted social scientific studies about relationships in the community and recorded incidents of discrimination concerning employment, housing, police, education, and public accommodation.<sup>460</sup> Maier insisted that

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<sup>457</sup> There was some discussion in 1948 whether to change the name of the committee to "civil and religious rights committee," the motion did not pass. Charter Ordinance Establishing Mayors Commission on Human Rights, February 7, 1951; Suggested Ordinance from Robert George to Zeidler, February 13, 1951, Box 155, Folder 4; Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights Minutes, October 13, 1948, Box 89, Folder 2; October 1948, Box 154, Folder 7, Zeidler Papers.

<sup>458</sup> The size of human relations commissions depended on the size of the city. The New York City Commission on Human Relations had thirty full time staff members, while Milwaukee's human relations commission had thirty volunteer representatives and one paid staff member. In 1967 the Common Council also resolved to reduce the number of the MCCR from thirty members to only nine members. Resolution: Common Council to create the Commission on Community Relations, October 1960, Box 5, Folder 35, WERD Part 4; Resolution on Membership on MCCR, December 13, 1967, Box 46, Folder 4, Maier Records; Snyder, *Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations*, 1968, Box 23, Folder 2, MUL Papers.

<sup>459</sup> Request for Staff Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, September 28, 1962, Box 45, Folder 19; William Parrish Job Description, Program Planner, September 20, 1963, Box 45, Folder 22; Is Your Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, Box 46, Folder 7, Maier Records; Model Ordinance to Create a City Commission on Human Relations, American Jewish Congress, New York City, February 3, 1964, page 5, Box 6, Folder 20, WERD Part 4.

<sup>460</sup> For example see Fair Employment Practices Ordinance, 22: An Ordinance of the Common Council, May 13, 1946, Box 4, Folder 6, WERD, Reports 1949-1972 Part 1; The Educational Approach To Cases of Discrimination as Practices by the Governor's Commission on Human Rights, May 1953, Box 12, Folder Human Rights, Governors Commission, MJC Papers.

the MCCR's "step by step" and "go slow" approach was desirable over destructive, direct action.<sup>461</sup>

The MCCR itself had no authority to "hold hearings, subpoena witnesses or evidence, or file suit as some municipal commissions do."<sup>462</sup> With its mission strictly limited to investigation and education, the MCCR was considered by some to be a powerless "paper commission."<sup>463</sup> Regardless, from the 1940s through the 1970s, the most powerful and influential politicians in Milwaukee chose to address discrimination issues through the MCCR, which predominantly used the strategies of conciliation and counseling. Rarely did the MCCR refer a complaint to the City Attorney for adjudication.<sup>464</sup>

### **The Influence of the Human Relations Movement on Fair Housing Implementation**

Housing covenants and hostility toward open occupancy laws marooned 95 percent of Milwaukee's non-white population in the inner core, a four-hundred block area on the Near North side, popularly demarcated by the Milwaukee River to the East, West Keefe Avenue on the North, the Menominee River on the South, and 35th Street to the West.<sup>465</sup> The Inner Core

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<sup>461</sup> "Leadership Needed to Face Negro Rights in Milwaukee," Editorial Number 358, WITI-TV 6, June 18, 1963, Box 45, Folder 19; Maier's Address to the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, June 11, 1964, Box 45, Folder 20, Maier Records.

<sup>462</sup> Snyder, The Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, 1968, page 2, Box 23, Folder 2, MUL Papers; Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, 1965, Box 46, Folder 3, Maier Records.

<sup>463</sup> Rev. Dr. Walter Kloetzli, *Milwaukee Lutheran Planning Study* (Chicago: National Lutheran Council Chicago, 1962), IV-9.

<sup>464</sup> Only two complaints out of fifty-one in 1968 were referred to the City Attorney for possible adjudication; five out of eighty-five complaints in 1969; three out of seventy-five in 1970; three out of one hundred and ninety-one in 1971, and zero complaints out of one hundred and ninety-four complaints in 1972 were referred to the City Attorney for possible adjudication. The rest were resolved through conciliation or else dropped on the basis of "no probable cause." See Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations Report of Complaint Breakdown 1968-1972; Resume of MCCR Staff Activities, February 8, 1973, Box 46, Folder 13; Staff Activity Report, December 9, 1976- December 13, 1977, Box 56, Folder 10, Maier Records.

<sup>465</sup> League of Women Voters of Milwaukee, *A Study of the Local Problems of Human Relations: With Emphasis on Equal Opportunities in Housing* (Milwaukee: League of Women Voters, 1962); Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, *An Investigation into the Extent and Nature of Housing Discrimination in Milwaukee*, (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, 1966); "Milwaukee Extremely Segregated Report Charges," *Milwaukee Journal*, December 15, 1966; Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 56-58. Also see Bertil

was characterized by dilapidated housing, poverty, underfunded education, and supposedly heightened criminal activity.<sup>466</sup> Deep racial prejudice supported by fear of real estate value depreciation further racially segregated Milwaukee's neighborhoods.<sup>467</sup>

The integration of the human relations movement into the policies of municipal government agencies obstructed the implementation of Fair Housing legislation in Milwaukee. Human relations supporters believed that eliminating segregation gradually was too important to rush by demanding immediate change through demonstration and legislative action. The MCCR officially stated "you can't legislate emotions."<sup>468</sup> On April 22, 1961, the Conference on Integrated Housing, sponsored by the MCCR, brought realtors, loan agencies, human relations, and civil rights organizations together to discuss Milwaukee's residential segregation problem. Instead of drafting open housing legislation, conference participants created a "Good Neighborhood Pledge" that relied on an oath of "brotherhood" to "welcome into our

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Hanson, *Report on the Politics of Milwaukee*, 19, Box 63, Folder 10, Maier Records.

<sup>466</sup> In 1952, Chief of Police John W. Polcyn reported to the *Milwaukee Journal* that eighty percent of Milwaukee's crime took place in predominantly African American neighborhoods. From personal experience, a member of the Milwaukee Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) described the inner core in 1965 as: "[a] ghetto encircled by a wall of prejudice and discrimination, not alone in housing but in education in the public and private schools, economic opportunities in business, industry and government, financial arrangements by banks and loan companies, political opportunism by do-nothing or bigoted officials, apathy in the civic groups and churches etc. The dreary cycle of exclusion and exploitation is too familiar to need repetition." "Murder Writs Are Obtained," *Milwaukee Journal*, November 10, 1952; Letter from the Milwaukee CORE to Schimenz of the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, January 11, 1965, Box 1, Folder 1, Barnhill Papers; Jones, *Selma of the North*, 24.

<sup>467</sup> Luigi Laurenti located the origin of associating non-whites with property value depreciation in the real estate guides of the 1920s. Even though statistical data from seven U.S. cities proved that the presence of nonwhites did not negatively affect property values, African Americans continued to be residentially segregated in Northern cities because of the racist attitudes of "individual white property owners...real estate brokers and agents," discriminatory application of "real estate codes of ethic" and "real estate loans" Luigi Laurenti, *Property Values and Race: Studies in Seven Cities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), ix, 4, 9; Stanley L. McMichael and Robert F. Bingham, *City Growth and Values* (Cleveland: The Stanley McMichael Publishing Organization, 1923).

<sup>468</sup> Statement of the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, Box 7, Folder 35 (1964-1966), MUL Papers; "Milwaukee Extremely Segregated Report Charges," *Milwaukee Journal*, December 15, 1966.

neighborhood any residents of good character.”<sup>469</sup> Only relying on the good nature and voluntary cooperation, the Conference on Integration encouraged open housing through example and education.

In spite of Alderwoman Vel Phillips’ legislative challenge, the MCCR, Common Council, and Mayor’s office stood firm in their belief that the human relations movement would solve housing discrimination issues. The 1962 Fair Housing Law represented the first of six proposals drafted by Alderwoman Phillips.<sup>470</sup> Maier insisted that the educational programming developed by the MCCR were “full-bodied programs.” Conversely, Maier considered legislative tactics “emotional” and “one-dimensional.”<sup>471</sup> Mayor Maier insisted that the MCCR needed to “go slow” rather than demand enactment of legislation.<sup>472</sup>

That same year, Maier overhauled the MCCR and replaced the few African Americans on the commission who supported Phillip’s Open Housing Ordinance with representatives who “supported the Mayor” and the human relations movement.<sup>473</sup> The *Milwaukee Journal* reported that “Negro commissioners openly admitted that some people in

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<sup>469</sup> In full, the pledge read “We believe that every person has the moral right to rent, buy, or build a home without restrictions which are based upon race, religion, or national origin. We therefore welcome into our neighborhood any residents of good character, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin. We have signed this statement to indicate that we believe in brotherhood and welcome the opportunity to practice it at our own neighborhood level.” Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, *Proceedings of Conference on Integrated Housing: The Number one Challenge of Urban Communities* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, 1961), 32.

<sup>470</sup> “Maier Hints Doubts on Phillips’ Proposal,” *Milwaukee Journal*, April, 9, 1962, Box 14, Folder Milwaukee Open Housing 1962-1966, MJC Papers; “Vel Phillips Draws Wrath of Alderman,” *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 2, 1962.

<sup>471</sup> “Maier Hints Doubts on Phillips’ Proposal,” *Milwaukee Journal*, April 9, 1962, Box 14, Folder Milwaukee Open Housing 1962-1966, MJC Papers.

<sup>472</sup> As cited in Snyder, The Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, 1968, page 12, Box 23, Folder 2, MUL Papers (Calvin Beckett Interview).

<sup>473</sup> As cited in Ibid, (*Milwaukee Journal*, June 13, 1963).

the Negro community considered them [African Americans on the MCCR] to be tools being used by city government.”<sup>474</sup> Maier appointed Calvin Beckett as Executive Secretary to the MCCR after Corneff Taylor resigned in 1965.<sup>475</sup> Beckett had the reputation of being “in agreement with Maier” and “unlikely to be taken seriously.”<sup>476</sup> Taylor portrayed the MCCR under Beckett’s leadership as a “puppet to the Mayor.”<sup>477</sup> Open housing activists considered the MCCR’s continued dedication to restrained social movement strategies cowardly and complacent.

Because Mayor Maier responded so coldly to legislative approaches, Alderwoman Phillips integrated educational tactics into her 1966 Open Housing Ordinance Proposal. In the new draft, Phillips placed investigatory and regulatory powers in the hands of the MCCR. Only in the event that the MCCR could not “eliminate the unlawful housing practices...by means of

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<sup>474</sup> As cited in *Ibid*, (*Milwaukee Journal*, November 30, 1967).

<sup>475</sup> Taylor was the first African American Executive Secretary of the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations (1952-1965), Executive Secretary of Commission on Human Rights, member of the Milwaukee Human Relations Television Council, the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (1958-1965), National Conference of Christians and Jews Brotherhood Week organizer, member of the Milwaukee Citizens for Equal Opportunity Advisory Committee (1965), Community Representative of the Institute for Human Relations (1968 and he received the Twenty-fourth annual B’nai B’rith Award for Outstanding Work in the Field of Interfaith and Human Relations (1973). Corneff Taylor, Resignation Letter the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations to Mayor Henry Mayor, June 2, 1965; Letter from John Arey to Corneff Taylor, November 26, 1969, Box 23, Folder 24, MUL Papers; Accent on Democracy, Box 4, Folder Milwaukee Jewish Council Blueprint for Freedom Program 1954; B’nai B’rith Twenty-Fourth Annual Interfaith Human Relations Award, 1973, Box 2, Folder Milwaukee Jewish Council/ADL B’nai B’rith Interfaith Human Rights Awards 1969-1980, Milwaukee Jewish Council ad hoc Race Relations Meeting Minutes, January 9, 1968, Box 1, Folder Race Relations 1968-1970, MJC Papers; Letter from Mayor Henry Maier to Corneff Taylor, May 28, 1965, Box 44, Folder 11, Maier Records.

<sup>476</sup> Like his predecessor Corneff Taylor, Calvin Beckett was a member of the established middle-class, and an African American Catholic. He was also member of the Human Relations Coordinating Council (1966), Human Relations Television Council (1968), Project Understanding Participant (1968), Treasurer of the Catholic Interracial Council of Milwaukee, NAIRO, and Institute for Human Relations, Community Representative (1968). See: Excerpts from Address by Calvin Beckett, MCCR, November 1967, Box 1, Folder 1, WERD Reports, Part 3; Annual Meeting Minutes Human Relations Television Council, October 1, 1968, Box 8, Folder 6, MUL Papers; Summary of the Twentieth Annual Conference of NAIRO, December 1, 1966, Box 44, Folder 14; Calvin Beckett Retires, 1980, Box 46, Folder 17, Maier Records. In-text quotes: As cited in Snyder, *The Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations*, 1968, page 25, Box 23, Folder 2, MUL Papers.

<sup>477</sup> Snyder, *The Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations*, 1968, page 25, Box 23, Folder 2, MUL Papers.

conciliation or persuasion” would the Commission pursue adjudication through the City Attorney’s Office.<sup>478</sup> Not only did this version of Open Housing privilege restrained social movement tactics, but the enforcing power of the ordinance was undermined by another stipulation as well: “[T]he Commission shall not make public the details of any conciliation when a complaint has been satisfactorily adjusted.”<sup>479</sup> Therefore, the MCCR could not prosecute, or even deter, offenders through punitive damages in the court room or through bad press in the court of public opinion. There were no concrete repercussions for residential discrimination under this version of the Open Housing Ordinance.

Some human relations supporters—like the Milwaukee Citizens for Equal Opportunity and the Milwaukee Urban League—lauded the 1966 version of the Open Housing Ordinance because it emphasized privileged dialogue over legal prosecution: “[T]he bill is not coercive but is conciliatory in nature.”<sup>480</sup> Others—like the ADL, the League of Women’s Voters, and the Milwaukee Jewish Council—were unconvinced that any incorporation of contentious social movement strategies would facilitate fair housing practices or integration. According to David Chancer—a member of the ADL—residential integration was a moral issue, and morality, like attitudes, could not be legislated.<sup>481</sup> Mrs. Higbee of the League of Women’s Voters elaborated: “[w]hat we must do is strengthen what we have now. Any additional legislation might serve to

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<sup>478</sup> An Ordinance, Alderman Phillips, 1966, page 4, Box 13, Folder 31, MUL Papers.

<sup>479</sup> Ibid.

<sup>480</sup> For a Fair Housing Law in Milwaukee, Box 1, Folder 3, Barnhill Papers; Letter from O’Connell to Wesley Scott, February 23, 1966, Box 7, Folder 35, MUL Papers.

<sup>481</sup> David Chancer said: “I’m thoroughly opposed to new legislation...I think Mrs. Phillips is acting too broadly.” Minutes Joint Committee on Housing, March 9, 1966, pages 2, 4, Box 15, Folder 34; Milwaukee Area Joint Committee for Equal Opportunity in Housing, 1964, Box 15, Folder 31, MUL Papers; James G. Wiegart, “Fair Housing Law Not Necessary,” *Milwaukee Sentinel*, June 25, 1966.

weaken rather than strengthen.”<sup>482</sup> The effort of a few fringe members of the Milwaukee Jewish Council to integrate legislative tactics into their organization’s mission failed. The leadership maintained their dedication to the slogans: “you can’t legislate morals,” “laws cannot change attitudes,” “people must be educated first,” “change men’s hearts, and then you can change their behavior,” and “all we need is time.”<sup>483</sup> Human relations theories influenced how Milwaukee’s government and community organizations thought about housing legislation. Rather than supporting legislative measures that would enforce anti-discrimination policies and thereby encourage residential integration, many organizations actively dissuaded the Common Council from passing the 1966 Ordinance.<sup>484</sup>

### **The NAACP Demonstrates for Fair Housing**

Completely disillusioned by Milwaukeeans’ dedication to the restrained social movement of human relations in spite of evolving social circumstances, Vel Phillips refused to compromise on future Open Housing proposals. Mounting another attempt in 1967, Phillips joined forces with Lloyd Barbee, the NAACP, and the inner-city parish priests. Fr. James Groppi, Eugene Bleidorn, Matthew Gottshalk, and Patrick Flood became radicalized after

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<sup>482</sup> The membership of the centralizing organization the Milwaukee Area Joint Committee for Equal Opportunity in Housing, included the Governors’ Commission on Human Rights, the Milwaukee Branch of the NAACP, Milwaukeeans for Equal Opportunity, the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, the Milwaukee Urban League, the League of Women’s Voters, the Greater Milwaukee Council of Churches, and the Anti-Defamation League, among others. The mission of the organization was to use educational tactics to promote equal opportunity in the buying and renting of housing. Minutes Joint Committee on Housing, March 9, 1966, pages 2,4, Box 15, Folder 34; Milwaukee Area Joint Committee for Equal Opportunity in Housing, 1964, Box 15, Folder 31, MUL Papers.

<sup>483</sup> Proposed Testimony on Milwaukee Housing Ordinance, June 29, 1966; Testimony on behalf of Milwaukee Housing Ordinance July 1, 1966, Box 14 Folder Open Housing 1962-1966, MJC Papers.

<sup>484</sup> The Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Race realized that they also had to contend with the argument that “laws do not change hearts.” They insisted that a law would not change hearts but it “as religious leaders...we call upon the legislature of Wisconsin to act in consonance with our Judeo-Christian tradition and promise of the Constitution by enacting an open occupancy law.” Denial of Equal Rights Hearts, Box 15, Folder 35, MUL Papers.

participating in the direct action demonstrations in Selma, Alabama.<sup>485</sup> Father Groppi was elected by his young parishioners to be the adult adviser of the local NAACP Youth Council. Under his leadership, the Council renamed itself the NAACP Youth Commandos. Groppi and the Youth Commandos gained national fame in 1966 by demonstrating in the Milwaukee suburbs against discriminatory private clubs and marching to the south side of the city for fair housing legislation two hundred nights in a row.<sup>486</sup>

Groppi and his fellow inner-city priests have been remembered as brave civil rights warriors, providing minorities with a spiritual mooring in their fight against oppression. The private letters of Father Groppi overflow with letters, like this one from Milwaukee laywoman Tina Dosen, who argued that “demonstrations” were “vitally necessary to bring attention to the unfair practices of our government, both local and federal.”<sup>487</sup> Similarly, Sister La Verna Heights from Savannah, Missouri, praised Father Groppi’s participation in the Open Housing marches as demonstrative of his faith in “action...not just words.”<sup>488</sup> Historians focus on civil rights activists like Groppi, Phillips, and Barbee, portraying them as heroes for pushing hesitant politicians to finally enact legislation that would make Americans live up to the ideals laid out in the Declaration of Independence.

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<sup>485</sup> Jones, *Selma of the North*, 93-99.

<sup>486</sup> McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 202.

<sup>487</sup> Letter from Tina Dosen to James Groppi, October 6, 1969, Box 5, Folder 1, James Groppi Papers, University of Wisconsin Milwaukee Archives.

<sup>488</sup> Those who did not join the civil rights cause risked being vilified as accommodatist and conservative by direct action supporters. A critic of the human relations movement sent a copy of the letter he/she sent to Reverend Louis Beauchamp of Antioch Baptist to Father Groppi. Beauchamp and other clerical members of the Conference of Religion and Race who failed to support Fair Housing legislation were “Uncle Toms,” liars, and “hypocrites.” Copy of Letter to Louis Beauchamp from Unknown, October 16, 1967, Box 4, Folder 2; Letter from Joan Bushelman, February 10, 1968, Box 4, Folder 5; Letter from Sister La Verna Heights to Father Groppi, October 22, 1967, Savannah, Missouri, Box 4, Folder 2, Groppi Papers; Also see, Smith, “In God We Trust,” 178.

However, the direct activism of the inner-city parish priests was not representative of Milwaukee's Catholic hierarchy. Archbishop William Cousins was a firm supporter of the human relations movement. In the 1950s and 1960s, Archbishop Cousins and the Catholic Interracial Council urged a "calm approach" and supported a "slow...process of education" to resolve interracial tensions. Cousins further insisted that priests should not associate with radical minority group "agitators" seeking immediate solutions.<sup>489</sup> Archbishop Cousins received the 1964 ADL Interfaith Award for his efforts to "enrich the community and the nation through his conscientious and vigorous effort to create intergroup understanding and cooperation."<sup>490</sup> Because of his long record of supporting the human relations movement, government officials looked to Archbishop Cousins to deter Groppi from leading direct action demonstrations in the inner core.<sup>491</sup> Cousins officially reprimanded Groppi for engaging in protests that technically violated disorderly conduct and unlawful assembly laws.<sup>492</sup>

When Father Groppi was awarded the same ADL Interfaith Award in 1968, the *Milwaukee Journal* noted that some Milwaukee Jews had written to the *Journal* to lodge their displeasure at the citation.<sup>493</sup> Writing an Op-Ed to the *Journal*, the former President of B'nai B'rith Women, Eileen Gooden Cashmere Tartar, contended that Groppi preached "not

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<sup>489</sup> "Archbishop Urges Calm Approach in Easing Racial Tensions," *Catholic Herald Citizen*, December 5, 1959, Box 24, Folder Community Relations Committee, 1954-1960, MJC Papers.

<sup>490</sup> B'nai B'rith Citation of Merit Given to Archbishop for Interfaith Effort, May 23, 1964, Box 2, Scrapbook 1963-1963, MACCW Papers.

<sup>491</sup> "Cousins Urged to Step in," *Milwaukee Journal*, August 30, 1967, Box 14, Folder Milwaukee City Open Housing 1967, MJC Papers.

<sup>492</sup> "Groppi Must Obey Laws, Cousins Says," *Milwaukee Journal*, October 18, 1969.

<sup>493</sup> "Some Jews Oppose Award for Groppi," *Milwaukee Journal*, February 22, 1968, Box 2, Folder MJC/ADL Human Rights Award 1953-1980, MJC Papers.

brotherhood but race hatred.”<sup>494</sup> The paper conceded that “several letters” had been received which supported Groppi’s commendation.<sup>495</sup> Some congregants believed that clergymen should participate only in dialogue. Groppi’s protest and pressure tactics, in contrast, seemed rather disturbing.<sup>496</sup>

Many laypersons wrote to Father Groppi to express their admiration for his ideals, but they also expressed their reservations about his contentious tactics. Catholic laywoman Bernetta Brey recognized that the “greatest commandment is to love thy neighbor as thyself,” which to her, meant fighting for open housing. Yet she confessed “I do not wholeheartedly agree with some of your tactics.”<sup>497</sup> Likewise Harriet O’Connel insisted “I have admired your work with and on behalf of Negroes of your city in many ways, but regret the recent ‘demonstrations’ that are alienating former white sympathizers.”<sup>498</sup> Mrs. Hollis Greene understood the positions of Archbishop Cousins as a human relations advocate and Father Groppi as a civil rights activist. As “[a] mother who wishes her family to be free of racial prejudice because my mother taught me so well,” Greene realized, “[i]t may be that

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<sup>494</sup> Eileen Gooden Cashmere Tartar Op-Ed, *Milwaukee Journal*, March 7, 1968, Box 2, Folder MJC/ADL Human Rights Award 1953-1980, MJC Papers.

<sup>495</sup> “B’nai B’rith Award for Groppi Cheered,” *Milwaukee Journal*, March 11, 1968, Box 2, Folder MJC/ADL Human Rights Award 1953-1980, MJC Papers; Letter from Betty Dinxon to James Groppi, May 13, 1967, Box 1, Folder 3; Letter from Joseph Konz to James Groppi, June 9, 1966, Box 1, Folder 5; Letter from Cheryl Steuerwald, August 1, 1967, Box 2, Folder 1, Groppi Papers.

<sup>496</sup> Former clergyman James Bibb of Los Angeles said: “Christians have always used persuasion rather than coercion in achieving their aims and I think this practices should continue; to force one’s own views on others is the practice of bigotry.” Letter from James Bibb to Father Groppi, October 1, 1967, Box 7, Folder 2; Also see: Letter from Robert Fellow of St. Phillip Neri Congregation, September 4, 1966, Box 1, Folder 1, Groppi Papers.

<sup>497</sup> Letter from Bernetta Brey to James Groppi, December 16, 1967, Box 4, Folder 4, Groppi Papers; Also see: Executive Board Meeting NAACP Milwaukee Branch, June 7, 1967, Box 2, Folder 16, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>498</sup> Letter from Harriet O’Connel to James Groppi, September 5, 1966, Fox Lake, Wisconsin, Box 5, Folder 6, Groppi Papers.

Archbishop Cousins is acting in a ‘prudent’ way asking discontinuation of marches now at this particular time. I believe he is behind your cause 100%. Your example of obedience to a superior could be a shining example which the church needs so badly now, and your cause will not suffer...”<sup>499</sup> As an active member of the Manitowoc Human Relations Commission, Greene believed that prejudice would be eliminated only through education. Yet she also understood how people living in the inner city, frustrated by the slow pace of dialogue and education, might seek more radical and immediate solutions.

Other Milwaukeeans disapproved of Father Groppi’s tactics because they challenged the practices of the human relations movement. Eileen Finnegan wrote Groppi after she had watched the protest marches on television, proclaiming that, “I felt shamed [sic] to see a clergyman of my faith leading demonstrations of this kind. It degrades an individual and certainly a Priest to see him leading a hand-clapping hysterical outbreak of this kind. The Negro will find his place in society through a long, slow and (amicable) process.”<sup>500</sup> Mrs. Finnegan revealed to Groppi that she was a primary school teacher in Buffalo, New York. She had seen how an intergroup relations curriculum had lessened religious and racial prejudices among her students. Cynthia Elliant of Milwaukee also believed that discussion and education needed to precede “legislation and controls.”<sup>501</sup> An anonymous letter writer echoed, “[Y]ou [Groppi] are supposed to be a man of God and not one who has fostered the hatred that has come out of your picketing activities....if you want to do a good turn for them, start an

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<sup>499</sup> Letter from Mrs. Hollis Greene to James Groppi, August 31, 1967, Box 2, Folder 2; Also see: Letter from Eugene Sikora to James Groppi, September 13, 1967, Box 2, Folder 4, Groppi Papers.

<sup>500</sup> Letter from Eileen Finnegan to James Groppi October 18, 1965, Box 5, Folder 6; Also see Letter from Miss Rose Albright to James Groppi, September 21, 1967, Box 7, Folder 2, Groppi Papers.

<sup>501</sup> Letter from Cynthia Elliant to James Groppi, September 18, 1967, Box 7, Folder 1; Also see: Letter from “We the People Concerned” to James Groppi, December 8, 1965, Box 6, Folder 6, Groppi Papers.

educational program in your church or school, teaching moral ethics.”<sup>502</sup> Demonstrating that they had internalized human relations theories, Finnegan, Elliant, and the anonymous writer warned Father Groppi that his protest tactics could ignite racial tensions and ill will.<sup>503</sup>

Groppi’s protests even caused crises of faith in some Catholics. Calling himself a “Lost Sheep,” an African American Catholic and Korean War Veteran begged, “[T]he feelings I have toward you and other priests who are damaging the legitimate cause of the Negro by pursuing the fanatic course which you have chosen has caused me to have feelings which at the very least are unchristian and you have caused my infinite faith in the Catholic church and its leaders to diminish to a feeling of scorn, suspicion and disdain.” “Lost Sheep” feared that this loss of faith, predicated by Catholic priests’ use of direct action tactics, would lead to the damnation of his soul.<sup>504</sup> Priests, like shepherds, were supposed to herd the lost and troubled flock back to God, not force them to compromise their consciences or their eternal souls.

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<sup>502</sup> Letter from Anonymous to Father Groppi, September 1, 1966, Box 5, Folder 6, Groppi Papers.

<sup>503</sup> Outside of Milwaukee, human relations advocates tended to see their goals as aligned with Father Groppi’s. Gary McLamarrah of Rockford, Illinois understood Father Groppi’s actions in “human relations” terms. McLamarrah said “Normally our tithes and offerings go into our local Assembly of God Church. But we feel that your work is a vital mission in the program of God to improve human relations.” Sister Carol Quinn of Aberdeen, South Dakota believed educational and legislative tactics were mutually constructive. Quinn taught her seventh grade class how to accept persons of different religions and races using intergroup techniques, but she also believed that this was the time to march and press for additional legislative incentives. Diana Short, President of the New York City Human Relations Club at Central Commercial High School wrote to Groppi after reading about the actions of the Youth Commandos in Milwaukee. Short concluded that they were “magnificent” and “militantly constructive.” Short would like Groppi to send her as much information about how to construct their own local NAACP Youth Commando unit. Working for her Los Angeles Catholic Diocese Human Relations Council, Mrs. Walter Fogel wrote to Groppi asking how she could help the civil rights cause once she and her husband moved to Madison next year; “Many of my friends, mostly non-Catholics I might add, daily grapple with what we as “nice” white, middle-class, well-educated suburban housewives can do to come to grips with the greatest crisis of our generation.” Taken together, these examples illustrate that human relations supporters outside of Milwaukee did not conceive of Groppi as a threat to the improvement of race relations achieved through education. Letter from Gary McLamarrah, September 4, 1967, Box 2, Folder 3; Letter from Diana Short to James Groppi, November 14, 1967, Box 4, Folder 3; Letter from Sister Carol Quinn to James Groppi, October 17, 1967, Box 4, Folder 2; Letter from Sister Mary Angelica, December 10, 1967, Dubuque, Iowa, Box 4, Folder 4, Groppi Papers.

<sup>504</sup> Letter from “Lost Sheep” to James Groppi, September 2, 1966, Box 5, Folder 6, Groppi Papers.

Even Wisconsin State legislators wrote Groppi to convey their concern over protest strategies. Majority Leader Jerris Leonard was “disturbed... by persistent rumors regarding another public demonstration planned by your group [the NAACP] and of a magnitude that can only serve to drive the wedge of hostility even further into present breach in community relations and inflame emotions to the point of no return.” Leonard insisted that it was Groppi’s “responsibility” as a “rational” leader to “establish and maintain a lawful climate of reason and cooperation in which all of us can work to resolve the problem.” Although the chief duties of a state representative included translating the concerns of the people into policy and legislation, Leonard insisted that dialogue and education were the only lasting solutions to interracial tension and residential integration.<sup>505</sup>

Human relations advocates criticized Father Groppi and the NAACP Youth Commandos for polarizing Milwaukee and tarring the reputation of legislated integration.<sup>506</sup> An anonymous critic wrote the Priest to argue that “any real lasting worthwhile correction of the grievous situation must be affected in the minds and hearts of those concerned. This shaking of mailed fist in the face of a white man and forcing him to allow a black family to move in next to him is as unwise as possible.”<sup>507</sup> In his opinion, the protests and “bloody violence” that Groppi and the NAACP Youth Commandos has resorted to had “retarded” and discredited the residential integration movement.<sup>508</sup> Catholic layman R.L Rippey confirmed the widespread

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<sup>505</sup> Letter from Senate Majority Leader of Wisconsin State Senate, Jerris Leonard to James Groppi, September 22, 1967, Box 7, Folder 2, Groppi Papers.

<sup>506</sup> Letter from Anonymous, September 6, 1966, Box 6, Folder 1; Letter from Robert Doucette to James Groppi, April 27, 1967, Box 6, Folder 1, Groppi Papers.

<sup>507</sup> Letter from Anonymous, September 2, 1967, Box 6, Folder 4, Groppi Papers.

<sup>508</sup> Ibid.

existence of this sentiment when he said: “[y]our method of attention getting and protesting is causing harm to the integration movement and irreparable damage to the open housing attempt.”<sup>509</sup> The story of how civil rights leaders fought against the road blocks bigots erected against open housing is well known.<sup>510</sup> However, the dialogue exchanged between Milwaukee’s human relations advocates and Father Groppi reveals a long forgotten and contentious battle waged over which tactics should be used to facilitate residential integration.

### **Municipal Government Agencies and Human Relations Policies**

Phillips’ Open Housing Ordinance finally passed Milwaukee’s Common Council—with legislative provisions—on April 30, 1968. The Common Council was finally pushed to action after President Johnson passed a federal Fair Housing Act within Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968.<sup>511</sup> The law legislated only that realtors could not discriminate in the selling of single-family homes. However, individuals selling their own property were exempt from the law unless they owned three or more homes. The law made no provision for enforcing fair rental of apartments and exempted one- and two-unit rental homes. Since three out of every four African Americans rented, and the inner core was made up predominantly of apartments or multiple family homes, the law was inadequate.<sup>512</sup> Furthermore, thirteen out of Milwaukee’s sixteen suburbs did not have open housing legislation.<sup>513</sup> These loopholes were only part of the problem. Devotion to the human relations movement and voluntary residential integration were

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<sup>509</sup> Letter from R.L. Rippey to James Groppi, September 2, 1967, Box 6, Folder 4, Groppi Papers.

<sup>510</sup> Letter from Frank Hohenwarter to Henry Maier, Box 44, Folder 16; Letter from Merlin Lieg to Henry Maier, October 31, 1968, Box 46, Folder 6; Also: Box 8, Folder 2, Box 8, Folder 3, Box 8, Folder 4, Maier Records.

<sup>511</sup> U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, HUD.GOV, accessed January 27, 2015.

<sup>512</sup> “Strong Housing Law Approved by Aldermen, Signed by Maier,” *Milwaukee Journal* May 1, 1968.

<sup>513</sup> *Ibid.*

institutionalized in government policy.

At the state level, the Wisconsin legislature placed enforcement of the fair housing law in the Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations (DILHR), not the Department of Justice.<sup>514</sup> Milwaukee's municipal government continued to "use legal means to end [housing] discrimination, if persuasion fails" well into the 1980s.<sup>515</sup> The DILHR, and its supervising agency, the Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, were dedicated to dispelling "all forms of discrimination in employment," housing sales and rentals and encouraging equal treatment by "broaden[ing] commitment to education" not to through legal redress, fines, or other criminal charges.<sup>516</sup>

The Director of the Equal Rights Division was Virginia Huebner, a die-hard human relations supporter. She spoke as an expert at Human Relations and Intergroup Education Institutes in the community and at government agencies on how to alleviate employment and housing discrimination using educational tactics. She was the Vice President of the NCCJ Women's Division, and a member of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, the Human Relations Coordinating Council, the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, and the Milwaukee Human Relations Television Council. She received a Citation for

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<sup>514</sup> July 13, 1967, *Milwaukee Journal*, Box 1, Folder 9, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, Case Files Part 3A Papers, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison (Hereafter cited WERD Case Files Part 3A).

<sup>515</sup> To remedy these patterns, the House Judiciary Committee passed Fair Housing Amendment H.R. 5200 designed to strengthen enforcement power of housing legislation on March 5, 1980. Letter From NAACP Leader Fair Housing Amendments, April 29, 1980, Box 14, Folder 18, NAACP Milwaukee Papers; New Commission on Community Relations, 1968, Box 46, Folder 6, Maier Records.

<sup>516</sup> The DILHR still exists today, focusing almost all its energy on employment. Department of Industry, Labor, and Human Relations Description; Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations Organization Schematic, Box 1, Folder 9; Name Change and Expanded Duties of the Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations, Flyer 1967, Box 1, Folder 9, WERD Case Files Part 3A; Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development Timeline History: Wisconsin Department of Industry, Labor, and Human Relations, [http://dwd.wisconsin.gov/dwd/dwdhistory/year\\_pages/wis\\_dilhr.htm](http://dwd.wisconsin.gov/dwd/dwdhistory/year_pages/wis_dilhr.htm), accessed January 16, 2014.

Work in the Field of Human Relations.<sup>517</sup> Huebner was one of the most well-respected and highly-visible government employees in the city. Her opinion mattered, and she—along with Wisconsin’s top government aides—cast her ballot for the human relations movement in the residential integration campaign. No other major housing laws were passed by the Common Council until 1980.

Spurred to action only after the House Judiciary Committee passed Fair Housing Amendment H.R. 5200 to strengthen enforcement power of housing legislation, the Wisconsin state legislature provided the DILHR with additional powers.<sup>518</sup> The 1980 law gave the DILHR the authority to initiate their own undercover investigations of discrimination based sex, religion, race, national origin, age, or handicap and allowed the agency to place restraining orders upon individuals and realtor agencies under investigation of multiple counts of housing discrimination.<sup>519</sup>

However, Joseph Noll, the Governor’s appointed secretary of the DILHR, decided not to exercise the department’s newly won powers. Speaking to the *Milwaukee Journal*, *Capitol Times*, and *Wisconsin State Journal*, Noll argued that the department would exercise restraint and “go slow” except under extreme circumstances and only with his explicit

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<sup>517</sup> Letter From the Conference on Religion and Race to Virginia Huebner, September 9, 1963, Box 1, Folder 12, WERD Records Part 6; Annual Meeting of NCCJ Women's Division Announcement, June 4, 1959, Box 4 Folder 13; Human Relations Coordinating Committee, April 28, 1967, Box 2, Folder 10, WERD Records Part 1; Letter From S. Andhill Fineberg of NAIRO, September 21, 1955, Box 5, Folder 8, Baron Papers; Annual Meeting Minutes, Human Relations Television Council, October 27, 1964, Box 8, Folder 6, MUL Papers; “B'nai B'rith Honors Trio Interfaith Awards,” *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, November 12, 1952, Box 1, Folder 3, ADL Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>518</sup> Letter From NAACP Leader Fair Housing Amendments, April 29, 1980, Box 14, Folder 18, NAACP Milwaukee Papers; New Commission on Community Relations, 1968, Box 46, Folder 6, Maier Records.

<sup>519</sup> The *Milwaukee Journal* reported that the Wisconsin Equal Rights Division received only 23 self-reported complaints of discrimination while the Metropolitan Milwaukee Fair Housing Council registered 400 complaints. Editorial, “Put anti-bias Law to the Test,” *Milwaukee Journal*, May 27, 1980; “Undermining Fair Housing,” *Capitol Times*, May 27, 1980, Box 14, Folder 18, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

approval.<sup>520</sup> Noll further refused to violate the individual civil rights of realtors and renters by going on “fishing expeditions” to entrap possible violators.<sup>521</sup>

While many Wisconsin and Milwaukee legislators thought Noll’s “strict limitation” of the DILHR’s investigatory powers would encourage “non-compliance” with the new law, Governor Lee Dreyfus admitted that “you can’t legislate changes in people’s minds, [but] you can legislate conditions.”<sup>522</sup> The extent to which the human relations movement influenced Dreyfus’s Governorship was reflected in his public policy. Fully convinced by human relations theories, Dreyfus honestly believed that laws did not change hearts and minds. He believed that only intensive education administered over a long period of time would eradicate prejudicial thinking and discriminatory behaviors. Correspondingly, he insisted that the enforcement of open housing laws would only foster a culture in which realtors and individuals would find renting and selling to everyone economically and socially advantageous.

Headed by human relations advocates, Milwaukee’s government agencies and departments addressed residential segregation issues by attempting to root out prejudicial attitudes. Insisting that integration must occur voluntarily, slowly, and wholeheartedly, human relations supporters ended up encouraging policies that increased social distance between races. Long term investment in the educational tactics of the human relations movement limited the influence the direct action protests of Vel Phillips, James Groppi and the Youth Commandos

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<sup>520</sup> Charles E. Friederich, “State Might Not Use New Open Housing Rules,” May 18, 1980, Box 14, Folder 18, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>521</sup> Thomas W. Still, “State Vows not to go Fishing with New Open Housing Law,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, May 9, 1980; Thomas W. Still, “How to Enforce Open Housing Law Disputed,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, May 22, 1980; Thomas W. Still, “Noll Seeks to Meet with Critics,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, May 28, 1980, Box 14, Folder 18, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>522</sup> “Undermining Fair Housing,” *Capitol Times*, May 27, 1980, Box 14, Folder 18, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

could have on the policies of Open Housing legislation. Many Wisconsinites—including high-level politicians—believed that contentious social movement strategies were the wrong way to achieve genuine, constructive, and voluntary residential integration. Direct action demonstrations, they held, exacerbated tensions and led directly to clashes with the police and even riots.

Chapter 6:  
Police-Community Relations and the 1967 Civil Disturbance, 1954-1967

Racial tension mounted as Mayors Zeidler and Maier looked to educational, rather than legal, answers to the housing problem and residential segregation. One proposed solution was extending the human relations movement to the realm of law enforcement. The NCCJ and the NAIRO funded the creation of hundreds of local Police-Community Relations programs and curriculum. These two organizations also worked with Michigan State University to establish annual National Police-Community Relations Institutes in Lansing, Michigan, from 1954 until 1974.<sup>523</sup> Police officers alone had the grave responsibility to use government-sanctioned lethal force to maintain law and order.<sup>524</sup> Additionally, they were also responsible for protecting the civil rights of all individual citizens, regardless of their religious, racial, or ethnic backgrounds. Theoretically, if police officers were educated about the history, economic conditions, and special needs of the communities they served, they would dismiss their old prejudices.<sup>525</sup> For Milwaukeeans in particular, dialogue promised to correct the misconception of some officers that “crime” and “Negroes” were synonymous.<sup>526</sup> Further, if the minority population met police officers face-to-face, presumably they would feel less alienated from the

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<sup>523</sup> Police departments from Milwaukee, Boston, Massachusetts; Bryan and College Station, Texas; Chicago, Illinois; Glassboro, New Jersey; Louisville, Kentucky; New York City, New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; St. Louis, Missouri among others attended the National Police-Community Relations Institute in Lansing. NAIRO Police Community Relations, 1954, Box 6, Folder 4, NAACP Milwaukee Papers; National Center on Police and Community Relations Pamphlet, Box 3, Folder 31, WERD Part 4; NCCJ National Advisory Committee for Police and Community Relations, October 24-25, 1962, Box 32, Folder 10, NCCJ Papers; Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations General Commission Meeting, June 15, 1966, Box 46, Folder 2; St. Louis’ Pioneering Program Now in Its Eleventh Year, Box 140, Folder 25, Maier Records.

<sup>524</sup> Letter from Alice Krebs to Sol Sorrin, February 27, 1974, Box 27, Folder Police-Community Relations 1963-1968, MJC Papers.

<sup>525</sup> Proposed Resolution on Police Community Relations, Greater Conference on Religion and Race, Box 13, Folder 33, MUL Papers.

<sup>526</sup> Executive Board Disturbed over Association of Negroes and Crime, ca 1954, Box 2, Folder 15, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

predominantly white law enforcement agents who imposed themselves as the authority figures in African American neighborhoods.<sup>527</sup> According to human relations theories, dialogue would reveal that police were humans too, that they made mistakes, had feelings, and could work with inner-core residents.<sup>528</sup> The mutual respect earned through this honest and earnest communication would lessen tensions, crime, and instances of police brutality.<sup>529</sup>

Investing in the human relations movement, police departments across the country believed that dialogue between police and community members would “prevent riots and disturbances and disorders.”<sup>530</sup> The Milwaukee Police Department accepted the theory that lessons in police-community relations would teach police officers how to control their own behavior and manage the tempers of others in stressful situations, like riots.<sup>531</sup> Police

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<sup>527</sup> See National Conference of Christians and Jews, Wisconsin Conference on Police and Community Relations, June 23, 1970, Box 27, Folder Police-Community Relations, MJC Papers.

<sup>528</sup> Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, *Your Milwaukee Police* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, 1967).

<sup>529</sup> According to human relations theories, such close cooperation with the police department reduced the likelihood that an officer would use excessive force. Police-community relations supporters desired to avoid travesties like the Daniel Bell shooting and eliminate instances of police brutality, all too common in Milwaukee. For a discussion of the Daniel Bell shooting see Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 32-33, 36-39, 41, 43, 47-48; “Also see “Brotherhood Where?” *Milwaukee Times*, March 13, 1958; “Hear Witnesses Make Charges of Police Brutality,” *Milwaukee Journal*, October 18, 1967; “SDC Hears Beating Claims,” *Milwaukee Sentinel*, October 18, 1967; “Breier Criticizes SDC for Hearings on Brutality,” *Milwaukee Journal*, November 17, 1967; “Panel Asks Study of Police Chief,” *Milwaukee Sentinel*, February 29, 1968; “Negro Beaten in Police Van, Witness Charges at Hearing,” *Milwaukee Journal*, December 29, 1967; “Woman Slapped by Police,” *Milwaukee Journal*, December 9, 1967; Letter to All Community Services Staff from Duane Cambell, September 25, 1967, Box 3, Folder Police-Community Relations, WERD Case Files, Part 3C; Report on First Annual Police-Community Relations Conference April 8-9, 1954, page 6 Box 156, Folder 1, Zeidler Papers.

<sup>530</sup> Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights Minutes, May 12, 1954, page 3, Box 156, Folder 1, Zeidler Papers.

<sup>531</sup> The Police human relations textbook *Guide to Understanding Human and Race Relations* detailed that police must avoid using all and any derogatory terminology, and described “mob psychology, the different types of crowds (casual, conventional, aggressive, expressive) and how to control them. Raymond Dahl, Director of Training and Special Services for the Milwaukee Police Department reflected: “the problem of human relations and understanding people is of course a major concern in police officers. The Milwaukee Police Department, I feel certain, owes a great deal of whatever success it has achieved in this regard to our attempts to inform and train our personnel. Your organization [the NCCJ], in sponsoring our men for these institutes has made a major contribution to the department and the community.” Milwaukee Police Chief Polcyn said that he would “place more stress on this particular phase of police training” in the future. Director's Report, 1961-1962, Box 1, Folder 3, NCCJ

departments across Wisconsin incorporated human relations programs into their required yearly certification training.<sup>532</sup>

Even though communities as big as Los Angeles and New York and as small as Lansing, Michigan, and Eau Claire, Wisconsin, invested in police-community relations programs, communication did not dissolve tensions. Dialogue, more often than not, was seen as a token gesture, an empty concession in place of employment sanctions or legal repercussions. From 1965 to 1967 urban riots erupted across the United States, and Milwaukee was one of the sites of the infamous “civil disturbances.” Mayor Henry Maier emerged from the civil disturbance more dedicated to Police-Community relations programs and the human relations movement than ever before. Police-Community Relations programs were overseen by the Fire and Police Commission, which had no power to prosecute or cite instances of police brutality. However, the structure and policies of the Fire and Police Commission neutralized the power of the community to oversee police officer conduct, arguably the most significant benefit the police-community relations programs’ offered minorities.<sup>533</sup>

Attitudinal surveys conducted in 1960 revealed that tensions between the Milwaukee police and the African American community were exacerbated by prejudice. Researchers concluded that African Americans in the inner-core were “virtually unanimous” in their characterization of law enforcement as “more strict in the inner-core area than elsewhere in the

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Milwaukee Papers; Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights Minutes, May 12, 1954, page 3, Box 156, Folder 1, Zeidler Papers; Milwaukee Police Department, *Guide to Understanding Race and Human Relations* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights, 1951), Box 155, Folder 5, Zeidler Papers; Milwaukee Police Department, *Guide to Understanding Race and Human Relations* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights, 1954).

<sup>532</sup> Information Received from Conference with Representatives of the Milwaukee Police Department, 1963, Box 52, Folder 9, Barbee Papers.

<sup>533</sup> Summary of Recommendations, Police-Community Relations Conference, Box 27, Folder Police-Community Relations, MJC Papers.

city.” African Americans claimed that police frequently cornered and questioned residents for unclear reasons, used vulgar language, “talked down” to residents as if they were children, ”and arrested them for “minor infractions, such as jay-walking or loitering.”<sup>534</sup> One of the most troubling findings was a report by a resident that “the police in this area have little or no respect for people that they approach regardless of their age or sex. They handle women the same as they do men. They handle misdemeanor offenders as though they are hardened criminals.”<sup>535</sup>

Conversely, the researchers’ interviews with members of the Milwaukee Police department revealed that “there is a prevailing belief that the vast majority of officers on the force are free of racial prejudice.”<sup>536</sup> Likewise, Police Chief Breier insisted, “[o]fficers have been instructed to treat everyone fairly without regard to race, creed and color—there will be no double standards of enforcement or mistreatment of citizens including police officers.”<sup>537</sup> Some police officers felt that they were treating inner-core residents fairly but that the higher crime in the area demanded that they be more vigilant and strict, especially with recent immigrants from the South who were unfamiliar with Wisconsin laws.<sup>538</sup> Social workers from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee concluded that holding dialogue sessions between police officers and community members would close the gap between these two divergent conceptions of inner-city dynamics.

In 1965, the *Milwaukee Journal* commissioned a survey of inner-core resident attitudes, which revealed that citizens still had faith in Police-Community Relations programs to foster peaceful

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<sup>534</sup> Bernard Toliver and Joseph Himden, *Research in Police-Community Relations: Inner Core Area, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 1959-1960* (M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1960), 15-16, 22.

<sup>535</sup> Ibid, 19.

<sup>536</sup> Ibid, 27.

<sup>537</sup> Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations Special General Commission Meeting, May 21, 1965, Box 45, Folder 22, Maier Records.

<sup>538</sup> Toliver and Himden, *Research in Police-Community Relations: Inner Core Area*, 28.

relations and decrease crime. When asked how to improve relationships between the community and police, an African American resident responded: “[T]hey have to get together and have meetings. Sit down and discuss problems.”<sup>539</sup> A white resident felt similarly: “first, find a way to get along with all kinds of people. Hold classes of something for prejudiced people—some kind of campaign to end hate. This is the biggest problem; work among the colored to show them that Negroes aren’t hated.”<sup>540</sup> In regards to police conduct, another African American resident insisted that “the white police harass the Negro more often now than years ago, but on a whole they are better trained in human relations.”<sup>541</sup> A white resident also expressed confidence in police-community relations training courses: “They [policemen] take a week-long course to learn how to handle situations without brutality. They treat everyone alike if they break the law.”<sup>542</sup> Clearly Milwaukeeans were well aware of the effort to extend the human relations movement into the realm of police-community relations. During the height of the civil rights era, many Milwaukeeans expressed faith in dialogue and education to create trust and mutual respect between the police and the community.

A key component to police-community relations theory was community involvement in police conduct oversight. Not only would ordinary citizens help the department formalize a citizen complaint and grievance procedure, but they would also feel more invested in crime prevention and feel as if they had a measure of control over the professional conduct of the law enforcement in their community.<sup>543</sup> However, the power structure of the Police-Community

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<sup>539</sup> Bisbing Business Research, *Attitude Study*, 114.

<sup>540</sup> *Ibid*, 115.

<sup>541</sup> *Ibid*, 118.

<sup>542</sup> *Ibid*, 119.

<sup>543</sup> Summary of Recommendations, Police-Community Relations Conference, Box 27, Folder Police-Community Relations, MJC Papers.

Relations' oversight body invalidated this pivotal community engagement activity.

At first glance, it might appear that the Fire and Police Commission did have “real power,” as Mayor Henry Maier claimed, to “hire, fire, promote, and discipline policemen for misconduct.”<sup>544</sup> However, on closer inspection, that power was a smokescreen to conceal the impotence of the average Milwaukee citizen to lodge complaints against the police force. First established in 1885 and recreated in Chapter 586 of the Milwaukee City Ordinance of 1911, the Fire and Police Commission consisted of five salaried citizens appointed by the Mayor and confirmed by the Common Council.<sup>545</sup> The Commission was not itself a part of the Police or the Fire department. For all intents and purposes, it was an independent oversight body that reported to the Common Council.<sup>546</sup> The Commission established hiring qualifications for the fire and police departments, voted on the office of Chief of Police and Fire Commissioner, and had the power to suspend employees of both agencies. In the event that either department received complaints, the commission was supposed to immediately conduct an investigation and trial. At the trial, the accused department had the right to secure defense lawyers, subpoenas, witnesses, evidence, and “compel witnesses to answer and to punish for contempt” in their defense. Based on the evidence, the board decided whether the officer in question deserved to be discharged permanently or suspended temporarily.<sup>547</sup>

However, in order to lodge a complaint with the Fire and Police Commission the charges had to be “duly verified” and filed by a “reputable freeholder.”<sup>548</sup> A freeholder was a

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<sup>544</sup> Henry Maier Statement, July 11, 1967, Box 44, Folder 15, Maier Records.

<sup>545</sup> Chapter 29, Fire and Police Commission, Box 11, Folder 19, Maier Records.

<sup>546</sup> Command and Functional Organizational Chart, Box 81, Folder 22, Maier Records.

<sup>547</sup> Brief History of the Fire and Police Commission, November 20, 1961, Box 81, Folder 22, Maier Records.

landowner. Therefore, individuals who rented apartments, which constituted a vast majority of the African American population in Milwaukee, could not lodge complaints against the police. In July of 1966, a group of Milwaukee citizens approached Mayor Maier to complain about the freeholder statute. Maier wrote to Fire and Police Committee member Peter Pavlovich to register his frustration: “I without hesitation condemned the use of the freeholder concept to restrict complaints to property owners. It seems to me an archaic vestige of Old English days. Furthermore, the concept denies a valuable right to every renter in the city, more than half our population. This is inconceivable.”<sup>549</sup> Maier urged the Commission to change the freeholder stipulation. However, he did not demand its removal, nor did he establish a deadline for action. In 1967, Bill 959-46d proposed that “reputable freeholder” legally be changed to “resident,” thereby enabling any citizen to lodge a complaint against an officer of the law.<sup>550</sup> The stipulation that only freeholders could lodge complaints against officers with the Fire and Police Commission was finally changed to any “elector” in 1970 under great community pressure. While anyone who could vote in Milwaukee County could now register complaints, this provision still prevented “youths, non-residents, new residents, and ex-convicts” from lodging grievances.<sup>551</sup>

Policies like Milwaukee’s freeholder statute stymied Police-Community Relations programs across the United States from bridging the gulf between minority community

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<sup>548</sup> Ibid.

<sup>549</sup> Letter from Henry Maier to Peter Pavlovich, July 20, 1966, Box 81, Folder 23, Maier Records.

<sup>550</sup> Legislation Request Change, Assemblyman Pabst No. 6563, September 14, 1967, Box 81, Folder 23, Maier Records.

<sup>551</sup> Kenneth Feit, *The Milwaukee Police Department: An In-Depth Study*, the Council on Urban Life, page 23, 1970, Box 8, Folder Police Department; Report on Ad Hoc Committee on Police Administration in Milwaukee, March 4, 1968, Box 8, Folder Police Department Racial Tension, Paul M. Byrne Papers, Marquette University.

members and white law enforcement officers. Tension over the inability of educational tactics to overcome the inertia of racist policies built up over time and some citizens expressed their frustration with violence. Right before riot broke out in Milwaukee, many African Americans living in the inner core had abandoned dialogue and turned to protest because they believed that Mayor Maier and Chief Breier were not taking their demands for police conduct oversight seriously. Father James Groppi and the NAACP Youth Commandos led the marches against police brutality and for fair housing across the city throughout the spring and early summer of 1967.<sup>552</sup>

The riots which rocked the nation from 1965 through 1967 were usually ignited by a single police-related incident.<sup>553</sup> The long, hot summer of 1967 was punctuated by three consecutive and highly destructive riots in Newark, Detroit, and Milwaukee from late July to early August. The Newark uprising, which lasted from July 12 to July 17, was instigated by the arrest of a black cab driver John Smith. In the end, 24 black civilians and two white police officers were killed and 1500 persons arrested.<sup>554</sup> Only five days after violence subsided in Newark, the most severe disorder broke out in Detroit. The riot took the lives of 33 African Americans and 10 white citizens, injured 300 people, resulted in the arrest of 7000 citizens, and caused \$40 million in property damages.<sup>555</sup> The third severe civil disturbance of 1967 erupted in Milwaukee from July 31 to August 7. Ignited by a verbal confrontation between two African

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<sup>552</sup> Jones, *Selma of the North*, 157.

<sup>553</sup> Philip Meranto, ed., *The Kerner Report Revisited: Final Report and Background Papers* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1970), 9.

<sup>554</sup> David John Olson, "Racial Violence and City Politics," Ph. diss., (University of Wisconsin Milwaukee, 1971), 110-112.

<sup>555</sup> *Ibid*, 143.

American women at 3A.M. in front of an inner-city hot spot, The Scene, on Third Street, a group of 350 spectators gathered to watch. When white police officers confronted the group with the goal of dispersing the crowd, some onlookers threw bottles, rocks, broke windows and looted local businesses. The Milwaukee disturbance lasted eight days, took the lives of five people, injured one hundred citizens, resulted in the arrest of 1740 citizens, and caused \$500,000 in property damages.<sup>556</sup>

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders—the official investigation commissioned by the Johnson administration into the causes of the riots—determined that white racism, demonstrated through employment, education, and housing discrimination, and segregation contributed to the growing interracial tension.<sup>557</sup> Popularly known as the Kerner Commission, after its chairman, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, the report emphasized the key differences between the recent “civil disturbances” of the 1960s and the race riots of the early twentieth century. Race riots referred to violent disputes between white and black community members. The new phenomenon of civil disturbances, comparatively, were directed at “property and symbols of authority,” especially the police.<sup>558</sup> The Mayoral Civil Disturbance Committees of Milwaukee, Detroit, and Newark further concluded that some inner-city residents resorted to violence because they felt that restrained social movement strategies and non-violent protests had failed to produce timely results.<sup>559</sup>

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<sup>556</sup> The Milwaukee Urban League Study, *Who Riots and Why?* described the four stages of the riot, 1) the incipient stage or inciting incident; 2) the confrontation stage, where authorities attempt to disperse the crowd; 3) the Roman Holiday stage, in which the crowd engages in looting and burning; and 4) the siege stage, in which the police use force to restore order. Karl H. Fleming, *Who Riots and Why? Black and White Perspectives in Milwaukee* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Urban League, 1968), 6; “10 Arrested in Earlier Row Here,” *Milwaukee Sentinel*, July 31, 1967; Jones, *Selma of the North*, 1.

<sup>557</sup> Meranto, *The Kerner Report Revisited*, 1970; Olson, “Racial Violence and City Politics,” 143.

<sup>558</sup> Olson, “Racial Violence and City Politics,” 48.

### The Mayor of Milwaukee's Response to the "Civil Disturbance"

Henry Maier maintained that the Milwaukee riot was hardly a surprise. When violence broke out on the night of July 31, Maier followed the "Manual of Procedure in Civil Emergency" he had formulated in 1966 by locking down the city and suburbs from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M.<sup>560</sup> Following his own procedures, Maier immediately set a city-wide curfew, called up the National Guard, and "activated a "hotline" between the mayor's office and the governor's office."<sup>561</sup>

Maier was convinced that the housing demonstrations exacerbated tensions in the inner-core between police officers and minorities at least, and, at worst, might have ignited the riot. In his words, "the evolution has gone from marching and demonstrations to breaking windows and looting to killing."<sup>562</sup> The NAACP suspended all protests for four weeks after the riot. Groppi and two hundred Youth Commandos resumed the open housing protests with a march to Kuscuszkow Park on the South Side on August 28, 1967.<sup>563</sup> Some three thousand white

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<sup>559</sup> Afro-Urban Institute: A Description of the Community, 1967, Box 5, Folder 21, MUL Papers; M.H. Murray, *Civil Disorders, U.S.A: Reports and Recommendations* (New York: Church in Metropolis, 1968); National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government, 1968); Jonathan Avery Slesinger, *Study of Community Opinions Concerning the Summer 1967 Civil Disturbance in Milwaukee* (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1968); President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society* (New York: Avon Books, 1968).

<sup>560</sup> Maier said: "I was not astonished we had a riot. I am astonished it did not come sooner. I had it down to about within one week." As cited in Olson, "Racial Violence and City Politics," 167. Also see Frank Autoker, *City with a Chance* (Milwaukee: Bruce Pub. Co., 1968), 23; Patrick Graham, "No Coddling of Criminals Mayor Vows," *Milwaukee Journal*, July 31, 1967.

<sup>561</sup> Olson, "Racial Violence and City Politics," 167.

<sup>562</sup> As cited in: Ibid, 171, 356 (*Milwaukee Journal*, August 6, 1967); Also see Frank Autoker, *City With a Chance*, 77; Also see Jones: "Maier felt that the South Side marches squelched the chance for legislative action in the wake of the riot." Jones, *Selma of the North*, 194.

<sup>563</sup> Father Groppi was one of the critics of the gradualists, restrained, educational bent of the War on Prejudice. Father Groppi, the Youth Commandos and Mayor Maier met together on May 18, 1967 to discuss how to move forward on the police-community issue. Maier insisted that the Police Department's dedication to Police-Community relations programming was improving the situation. Groppi insisted that "you must first integrate

counter-protesters met them with fists, bottles, and stones. Maier reacted to these events by reinstating the city wide curfew from 4 P.M. until 9 A.M. and banning all demonstrations for thirty more days.<sup>564</sup>

Due to his swift and decisive action, Maier came out of the disturbance the “big political winner” of an otherwise disastrous year.<sup>565</sup> Historian Patrick Jones argues that newspapers and television stations across the country praised Maier’s “decisiveness.” The *New York Times* wrote: “[l]ike no other mayor of a northern city, Mr. Maier responded quickly with a tough, detailed plan for a curfew...it had the city transformed within a few hours.”<sup>566</sup> Mayor Maier emerged from the civil disturbance with more political capital than ever. He soundly won the 1968 mayoral election with 80 percent of the vote on a platform of investment in a “39 Point” program. The 39 points relied on potential federal funding grants for equal opportunity housing and employment initiatives plus a promise to ramp up municipal commitment to the human relations movement through the War on Prejudice.<sup>567</sup>

Even after the riot, Mayor Maier insisted that dialogue would improve police-community relations more effectively than legislative or policy changes. Maier was convinced to stay the course on the human relations movement by powerful and influential organizations,

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schools and have a police department who knows about the black community, then you can start a War on Prejudice.” Meeting with Father Groppi, Members of the NAACP Youth Council and Mayor Maier, May 18, 1967, Box 89, Folder 21, Records of Henry Maier, University of Wisconsin Milwaukee Archives.

<sup>564</sup> Olson, “Political Response to Civil Disorders in Three American Cities,” 209-211.

<sup>565</sup> Jones, *Selma of the North*, 163.

<sup>566</sup> The television stations and publications which lauded Maier included: NBC, ABC, the Associated Press, the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Detroit News*, the *U.S. News and World Report*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and *Newsweek*. As Cited in *Ibid*, 163.

<sup>567</sup> Maier planned on relying President Johnson’s federal Model Cities Program to fund anti-poverty and equal opportunity in housing initiatives. The Model Cities Program was part of Johnson’s War on Poverty. By relying on federal funding, Maier did not have to alienate local voters or rely on municipal budget monies. Status Report on the 39 points, Box 46, Folder 16, Maier Records; Jones, *Selma of the North*, 168.

like the NCCJ and the ADL, which endorsed his actions and insisted that only restrained social movement strategies would lead to understanding between police and minority group members and prevent future riots.<sup>568</sup> Maier invested in two human relations solutions after the riot, a Police-Community Relations Mobile Caravan and a Police-Community Relations Specialist position in the Fire and Police Commission.

The Police-Community Relations Mobile Caravan was a high-profile mechanism to “carry ideas” for improving Police-Community Relations into the community. The “all steel, transit-type bus...equipped with an outside loudspeaker” traveled around the city, including shopping malls and schools, to “relate to the people the story of the police department and ...intensify recruitment and better police-citizen relations.”<sup>569</sup> Funded under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, the RV mobile carried public relations materials, which verged on police department propaganda, lauding the long tradition of cooperation between the police department and the public. The materials also emphasized the prestige and honor of serving in the police force and offered crime prevention advice.<sup>570</sup> Caravan organizers worked with guidance counselors in an effort to interest graduating high schoolers in careers in law enforcement. The unit served as a question-and-answer station for citizens to engage with the local beat cops, as interviewing rooms for potential recruits, and as an exhibition of police instruments, including a breathalyzer, polygraph, dispatch receiver, and fingerprint

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<sup>568</sup> National Conference of Christians and Jews Wisconsin Conference on Police Community Relations, June 23, 1970; Police and Community Relations Meeting Minutes May 2, 1974; Box 27, Folder Police Community Relations 1963-1988, MJC Papers; Letter from John Arey to Corneff Taylor November 26, 1969, Box 23, Folder 24, MUL Papers.

<sup>569</sup> Community Relations Mobile Unit Fire and Police Commission 1970, Box 46, Folder 8, Records of Henry Maier, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee Archives.

<sup>570</sup> Dedication of Community Relations Caravan, February 9, 1970, Box 46, Folder 8, Maier Records.

identification system. The caravan was a public relations opportunity for the Milwaukee police, a chance to advertise the work of the department.<sup>571</sup> The caravan was also a mobile emblem of Maier's dedication to restrained social movement strategies after the civil disturbance.

Maier also invested in the human relations movement after the riot by funding the position of a Police-Community Relations Specialist in the Fire and Police Commission in 1967.<sup>572</sup> The main duties of the Specialist were to improve the image of the police, act as liaison on behalf of the department in the community, maintain a good relationship with civil rights organizations, head police department recruiting efforts, and investigate charges of police brutality.<sup>573</sup> The position was fashioned after the "Houston Plan," profiled in the April 12, 1968 edition of *Time* Magazine. The Houston (TX) Cooperative Crime Prevention Program was "designed to ease existing tension between law enforcement and minority groups" and protect the rights of the police officer and citizen.<sup>574</sup> The Fire and Police Commission and Mayor were fully invested in the human relations movement in spite of demands from radicalized community activists for legislated answers.<sup>575</sup>

One year after taking the position of Police-Community Relations Specialist, Richard Artison resigned, having discovered that "the Fire and Police Commission has no policy-

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<sup>571</sup> Crime Prevention, Community Relations Caravan Bus, August 27, 1969, Box 81, Folder 26, Maier Records.

<sup>572</sup> The first Police-Community Relations Specialist was Richard Artison. Letter from Richard Block to Committee on Finance Printing, August 11, 1967, Box 81, Folder 23, Maier Records.

<sup>573</sup> Fire and Police Commission Community Relations Specialist, Mayor's Statement, September 17, 1966, Box 81, Folder 23, Maier Records.

<sup>574</sup> Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations and Fire and Police Commission Meeting, July 17, 1968, page 8, Box 46, Folder 6, Maier Records.

<sup>575</sup> Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations and Fire and Police Commission Meeting, July 17, 1968, page 2, Box 46, Folder 6; Also see: Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations Meeting Minutes, February 14, 1968, Box 46, Folder 6, Maier Records.

making or decision-making authority with respect to the operations of either the fire department or police department.”<sup>576</sup> Artison reported to the *Milwaukee Journal* that while his job description included three dimensions (job recruitment, improving community relations, and handling citizen complaints), his activities were confined to recruitment only. He argued that the police complaint and brutality reporting system was designed to deflate complaint statistics; in his year as the Police-Community Relations Specialist, “no citizen complaints against the police” were filed. Only one “filing was attempted but it was refused for technical reasons.”<sup>577</sup> Artison knew that instances of police brutality were occurring in Milwaukee, but the devices used to limit the registration of complaints, like the freeholder statute, prohibited accurate representations of African American experiences with the police.

In 1968, the Fire and Police Commission hired its second Police-Community Relations Specialist. In 1971, Kenneth Bowen, an African American like Artison, described himself to the *Milwaukee Journal* as “probably one of the most frustrated people in the community.”<sup>578</sup> As an appointee of the Fire and Police Commission Bowen did not have authority over officers to demand their participation in human relations training programs. As such, “few policemen participate.” Furthermore, while citizens can register complaints about individual policemen to the Commission, “Bowen cannot inform the citizen about what action has been taken on that complain because he [Bowen] isn’t told by the department.”<sup>579</sup> The Police-Community Relations Specialist was divorced from the Police Department and from the

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<sup>576</sup> “Police Aide Quits Image Boosting Job,” *Milwaukee Journal*, February 21, 1968, Box 46, Folder 7, Maier Records.

<sup>577</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>578</sup> “Bowen Calls Job Frustrating,” *Milwaukee Journal*, January 14, 1971, Box 46, Folder 9, Maier Records.

<sup>579</sup> *Ibid.*

Community.

After realizing that the Fire and Police Commission could not keep first-class Police-Community Relations Specialists in powerless positions, the Fire and Police Commission decided to resolve itself from any responsibility and tried to move the Police-Community Relations from its independent status to a position inside the Police Department. The NAACP supported such recommendations because they thought restructuring would give the Police-Community Relations Specialist the ability to initiate policy changes.<sup>580</sup> However, in 1975, government agents were still arguing over where the Police-Community Relations program should be placed. They were not arguing over how to invest that the program, or its Specialist, with policy-making authority or the power to investigate and penalize police officers for charges of brutality.<sup>581</sup>

However, the always difficult Police Chief Harold Breier insisted that no special Police-Community Relations unit within the Police Department was necessary because “community relations was the job of every police man.”<sup>582</sup> Breier had called community relations “hogwash” at one point.<sup>583</sup> Breier firmly believed that enforcement of law and order

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<sup>580</sup> Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Urban Affairs Law Enforcement and Community Responsibility, March 2, 1973, Box 27, Folder Police-Community Relations 1963-1988, MJC Papers; Also see: Box 11, Folder 4 Police Community Relations 1978-1982, NAACP Milwaukee Papers.

<sup>581</sup> In both instances MCCR representatives became so frustrated with the Fire and Police Commission and the Police Department representatives that they walked out of the meeting without making any headway. Thomas Lubenow, “Police Panel Declines Role in Inner-City Milwaukee,” *Milwaukee Journal*, February 13, 1973, Box 27, Folder Police-Community Relations 1963-1988, MJC Papers; Memo to Bill Panagis to Calvin Beckett, September 17, 1975, Box 140, Folder 25; Aldermen Kalwitz Griffin and Frank Resolution on Police Community Relations, June 1974, Box 46, Folder 14, Maier Records.

<sup>582</sup> Thomas Lubenow, “Police Report Urges Human Relations Unit,” *Milwaukee Journal*, March 26, 1970, Box 27, Folder Police-Community Relations 1963-1988, MJC Papers; Also see Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations Meeting Minutes, September 18, 1968, Box 46, Folder 6; Letter from Alex to Maier, February 21, 1968, Box 81, Folder 23, Maier Records.

<sup>583</sup> Editorial Number 1614, WITI-TV 6, February 23, 1968, Box 3, Folder 30, WERD Part 4.

was a police officer's primary responsibility, dialogue was not their chief duty. In 1974, all police officers were required to complete forty hours of human relations training each year, emphasizing professionalism, ethical values, intergroup dynamics and communication skills, conflict management, team building, and crisis intervention.<sup>584</sup> The forty hours per year training requirement in 1974 was an 800 percent increase in human relations requirements, up from only five hours of human relations training in 1963.<sup>585</sup>

From 1965 to 1967, hundreds of violent confrontations broke out between community members and police forces coast to coast. To some, the Watts, Newark, Detroit, and Milwaukee riots represented a demand for immediate rights-based solutions in order to fulfill the promise of the civil rights movement.<sup>586</sup> To others, the riots represented a violent end to the failed experiment of using the legal approach to eliminate prejudice and discrimination. The authors of the Kerner Report determined that white racism, demonstrated through employment, education, and housing discrimination, along with segregation, contributed to the exponential growth of interracial tension. Rather than instituting these policy recommendations, many local and federal government leaders, including Mayor Henry Maier of Milwaukee,

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<sup>584</sup> When Chief of Police Harold Breier retired from his position in 1984 after a twenty year tenure, the Common Council adopted a resolution (file number 84-285) to create a special committee to recommend criteria for selection of the new police chief. The criteria indicated a strong influence of human relations theories, including "demonstrated experience in and commitment to police-community relations programs" and "sensitivity to religious, cultural and ethnic communities." 1984 Draft of Working with the Police; "Milwaukee Jewish Council Reaffirms Police-Community Relations," *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, April 30, 1982, Box 27, Folder Police Community Relations 1963-1988; 1984 Common Council's Criteria for Selection of Chief of Police, Box 27, Folder Police Community Relations 1963-1988, MJC Papers; Forty Hour Human Relations Training for all Police Personnel, 1974, Box 46, Folder 15, Maier Records.

<sup>585</sup> Information Received from Conference with Representatives of the Milwaukee Police Department, 1963, Box 52, Folder 9, Barbee Papers.

<sup>586</sup> For example see: Joseph Boskin, "Revolt of the Urban Ghettos," in *The Shaping of the Twentieth Century America*, ed. Richard Abrams (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971): 641-658; Karl Flaming, "The 1967 Milwaukee Riot: A Historical and Comparative Analysis" (Ph. diss., Syracuse University, 1970).

continued to invest in education and dialogue after the riots.<sup>587</sup> However, Police-Community Relations programs did not address the foundational problems of institutional racism, prevent violence, or even stem the deteriorating relationship between police departments and community members. Yet, Mayor Henry Maier insisted that the human relations movement would turn Milwaukee's violent interreligious and interracial conflicts into peaceful coexistence. He was so convinced by the theory behind the human relations movement that he emerged from the civil disturbance with full faith in an old plan re-varnished; the "War on Prejudice" program, Maier insisted, would make 1970s-era Milwaukee prejudice- and discrimination-free.

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<sup>587</sup> See Police Community Relations as Reported by the Presidents Commission on Law Enforcement, 1967; Police-Community Relations as reported by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, Box 8, Folder Police Department Racial Tension, Byrne Papers.

Chapter 7:  
Mayor Maier's War against Prejudice, 1965-1981

At the height of the national campaign for civil rights in 1965, Mayor Henry Maier of Milwaukee proposed his own alternative educational plan, which he insisted would root out discrimination at its core.<sup>588</sup> He was convinced that the restrained social movement tactic of education was preferable to “not meaningful” and “noisy efforts” of protesters.<sup>589</sup> The war was inspired by human relations theories and designed “to show that that prejudice and discrimination are as un-American as communism.”<sup>590</sup> Maier allocated \$25,000 of the city's budget in 1965 to the War on Prejudice.<sup>591</sup> The next year, Maier and the Common Council increased the War on Prejudice budget to \$129,263.<sup>592</sup> The War on Prejudice was the central program Maier used to handle race relations concerns until 1979.<sup>593</sup> A budget cut in 1981 struck the MCCR and the War on Prejudice was one

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<sup>588</sup> Maier had his staff assistant, Charles Johnson, write a thank you letter to Gordon Allport, psychologist and intergroup relations advocate, for influencing how he thought about prejudice and attitude modification theory. Johnson communicated that Maier was “very much influenced in his thinking by your book *The Nature of Prejudice*.” Maier outlined the specific lessons he had learned from Allport and how to incorporate them into the mission of the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations. Letter From Staff Assistant Charles Johnson to Gordon Allport, October 20, 1965; Some Ideas Suggested by Nature of Prejudice; Box 44, Folder 12; Maier Remarks at Equal Opportunity Day Observance Luncheon, December 17, 1965, Box 45, Folder 23; Mayor Maier Puts Challenge Before Community: Wipe Out Prejudice, November, 9, 1965, Box 45, Folder 23; War on Prejudice, October 14, 1965; Maier Address, December 17, 1965, Box 192, Folder 22, Maier Records.

<sup>589</sup> As cited in Jones, *Selma of the North*, 76.

<sup>590</sup> Greenleigh Associates, *A Plan to Reduce Prejudice and Discrimination in the Greater Milwaukee Area*, 1.

<sup>591</sup> Mayor Maier's Address to the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, page 3, October 13, 1965, Box 44, Folder 11, Maier Records.

<sup>592</sup> Snyder noted that the budget figure “for the 67-68 [year] represents an increase of over \$89,000 from the 66-67 [year] budget and reflects an increase in personnel and the willingness of the Common Council to budget extensively for the War on Prejudice, as urged by Maier, through the commission.” Accounting for inflation, the budget increased from \$215,894 to \$949,125. Snyder, *Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations*, page 7, Box 23, Folder 2, MUL Papers; Also see: “This is Your Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations,” 1965, Box 46, Folder 6, Maier Records; ; U.S. Inflation Calculator, <http://www.usinflationcalculator.com/>, accessed September 24, 2014.

<sup>593</sup> Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, Summary of Programs 1979, Box 56, Folder 10, Maier Records.

programmatic casualty.<sup>594</sup> The MCCR was closed completely when Maier left office in 1988.<sup>595</sup> Mayor John Norquist (1988-2004) did not fund the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, nor did he renew the War on Prejudice.<sup>596</sup>

Henry Maier deliberately utilized the MCCR, the War on Prejudice, and restrained social movement strategies as an alternative to the enforcement of civil rights and residential and school desegregation legislation.<sup>597</sup> Maier honestly believed that equal rights legislation alone “cannot be fully effective unless our white community genuinely wants them to be.”<sup>598</sup> Maier admitted that, “I realize the limitations of law. While you can legislate against acts of hate you cannot legislate love...law alone is not enough to prevent the subtle kinds of discrimination that often circumvent the law.”<sup>599</sup> This predilection to privilege educational over legislation profoundly shaped how the municipal government handled race relations and issues surrounding desegregation.<sup>600</sup>

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<sup>594</sup> Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations Newsletter, Spring 1981; MCCR Newsletter Winter 1981-1982, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison.

<sup>595</sup> “The 1988 MCCR annual report states: “The Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations will close its doors on December 23, 1988, thus ending a 44-year-history as an agent of the City of Milwaukee government. Many of its functions will be continued by a newly created Commission on Neighborhood/Community Relations within the Department of City Development while others will be assumed by various agencies.” City of Milwaukee Office of the Mayor: Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, 1941-1988, Milwaukee Public Library Finding Aid, mpl.org, accessed January 29, 2015; Jennifer, Humanities and Archives Librarian, Milwaukee Public Library, email to author, December 20, 2014.

<sup>596</sup> City of Milwaukee Office of the Mayor: John Norquist (1988-2004), Milwaukee Public Library Finding Aid, mpl.org, accessed January 29, 2015; Jennifer, Humanities and Archives Librarian, Milwaukee Public Library, email to author, December 20, 2014.

<sup>597</sup> “Mayor Maier walked a tightrope of politically astute procrastination, promising both sides more than he could deliver and generally postponing confrontations by appointing yet another commission.” John Buenker, “Cream City Electoral Politics: A Play in Four Acts,” in *Perspectives on Milwaukee's Past*, ed. Margo Anderson and Victor Greene (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 38

<sup>598</sup> Henry Maier, Draft of Maier’s Speech, Appointment of Six New Members to the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, January 6, 1966, Box 46 Folder 1, Maier Records.

<sup>599</sup> Mayor Maier’s Address to the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, page 7, October 13, 1965, Box 44, Folder 11, Maier Records.

<sup>600</sup> In a study of the MCCR, sociologist Ronald Snyder concluded that “Maier’s proposal for improving race relations [the War on Prejudice] was not through legislation but through massive assault on the attitudes of

In order to shape hearts and minds through the government-funded War on Prejudice, Maier and the Common Council first sought the assistance of renowned psychologists Thomas F. Pettigrew of Harvard, Dan Dodson of NYU, and Milton Rokeach of Michigan State.<sup>601</sup> Each rejected the offer. Dr. Pettigrew argued that Milwaukee needed a war on discrimination, which would address destructive behaviors rather than attitudes.<sup>602</sup> As a second resort, Maier commissioned the New York City public relations firm, Greenleigh Association International.<sup>603</sup> Greenleigh was paid \$25,000 to study Milwaukee's intergroup relations and craft a city-wide educational plan of action based on those findings.<sup>604</sup> The Greenleigh Report insisted that the best way to reduce prejudice in Milwaukee was to invest the municipal human relations agency, the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, with responsibility for coordinating the city-wide human relations movement with the Police Department and the city's voluntary, civic, religious, and educational organizations.<sup>605</sup> In accordance with the report's recommendations, Maier appointed nine new, highly-respected community representatives to the MCCR. Maier believed that the MCCR was "the only one [commission]

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prejudiced persons." Snyder, Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, page 24, Box 23, Folder 2, MUL Papers; Also see: Maier's Remarks for Human Relations Program, March 25, 1967, Box 44, Folder 15, Maier Records.

<sup>601</sup> Dan Dodson was the head of Center for Human Relations at NYU which offered Master's and doctoral degrees until 1972. The NYU Department of Humanities and Social Sciences' website indicates that the Center for Human Relations was closed a few years after Dodson's retirement. "Department of Humanities and Social Sciences in the Professions," New York University Steinhardt, <http://steinhardt.nyu.edu/humsocsci/sociology/history>, accessed December 18, 2014.

<sup>602</sup> Report of the MCCR Screening Committee: War on Prejudice, February 24, 1966, Box 46, Folder 1, Maier Records; Snyder, Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, page 25, Box 23, Folder 2, MUL Papers.

<sup>603</sup> Snyder, Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, page 25, Box 23, Folder 2, Maier Records.

<sup>604</sup> News film clip of Mayor Henry Maier's press conference on Commission on Community Relations, September 12, 1967, <http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/march/id/868/rec/17>, accessed March 2, 2013.

<sup>605</sup> The report recommended that the police department utilize the curriculum and resources created by human relations organizations—like the NCCJ and Urban League—to design training sessions in which officers would learn how the Milwaukee community had been shaped by the history of immigration and intergroup clashes. See: Greenleigh Associates, *A Plan to Reduce Prejudice and Discrimination in the Greater Milwaukee Area*, 14.

anywhere that has any chance to succeed,” in “foster[ing] mutual self-respect and understanding among all racial, religious and ethnic groups in the city.”<sup>606</sup> Additionally, Greenleigh Associates insisted that the Milwaukee Public School system continue to support their separate Human Relations Committees and protocols.<sup>607</sup>

While the Milwaukee Jewish Council, the NCCJ and the Junior League fully endorsed Maier’s War on Prejudice, others weren’t so predictably supportive in their reactions to the plan.<sup>608</sup> Calvin Beckett, the MCCR Executive Secretary, estimated that responses to the Greenleigh Report were one third favorable, one third favorable “with reservations,” and one third unfavorable.<sup>609</sup> Rt. Rev Joseph Springbob, President of the Conference on Religion and Race, fell into the second category. He saw value in attitude modification but warned that education should not be the only course of action; the War on Prejudice ought not “attempt to transform community attitudes only.”<sup>610</sup>

Others fell into Beckett’s third category and were unconvinced by the Greenleigh Associates’ claim that restrained social movement strategies would spur social change. The

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<sup>606</sup> The nine new members appointed to the MCCR included: Reverend Louis Beauchamp (Vice President of the Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Race); Reverend Charles Talbert (President of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance); Dr. Cornelious Golightly (President of the Urban League); Jacob Friederick (President of the Milwaukee Labor Council, AFL, CIO); and Paul Moynihan (Chair of the old MCCR). Snyder, Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, page 15, Box 23, Folder 2, MUL Papers; News film clip of Mayor Henry Maier’s press conference on Commission on Community Relations, September 12, 1967, <http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/march/id/868/rec/17>, accessed March 2, 2013.

<sup>607</sup> Greenleigh Associates, *A Plan to Reduce Prejudice and Discrimination in the Greater Milwaukee Area*, 15.

<sup>608</sup> See General Support for the Greenleigh Report, Box 192, Folder 24; Letter from James Barrett to Henry Maier, October 25, 1965; Letter from the Junior League of Milwaukee to Henry Maier, November 12, 1965, Letter from Carolyn Allen of Wauwatosa Council for Intercultural Understanding to Henry Maier, October 23, 1965, Box 192, Folder 26, Maier Records.

<sup>609</sup> Snyder, Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, pages 23, 40, Box 23, Folder 2, MUL Papers; Also see: Box 192, Folder 26, Maier Records.

<sup>610</sup> Letter from Rt. Rev. Joseph Springbob to Paul Moynihan, May 2, 1967, Box 1, Folder 12, WERD Records Part 6.

*Milwaukee Star* reported that Lloyd Barbee found the War on Prejudice “impractical.” Such a plan would “permit the city to duck its responsibility as a unit of government by passing the buck to other units. It makes it possible for the Mayor to continue his lack of leadership in housing and in dealing with school segregation.”<sup>611</sup> The Milwaukee Citizens for Equal Opportunity accused Maier of “selling soft soap” by investing in educational solutions for civil rights issues.<sup>612</sup> Rather than acting on a housing ordinance, the Milwaukee Area Joint Committee for Equal Opportunity in Housing insisted that Maier “is always crying on the war on prejudice,” which was an uninspired “old thing.”<sup>613</sup> Hugo Engelmann, Chairman of the Department of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, analyzed the Greenleigh Report recommendation by recommendation and concluded that the entire program was “unsatisfactory” because:

1) it substitutes talk for action; 2) it distorts and hides the basic political issues; 3) it relies on attitude reform, rather than on effective legal action; 4) it places unwarranted trust in the existing power structure; 5) it shifts responsibility from the discriminators to the victims of discrimination; 6) it is biased in favor of white, middle-class suburban culture...; and 7) it would freeze the status quo in race relations, by its sabotaging of open occupancy, and its support for the existing police system.<sup>614</sup>

After riot broke on July 31, 1967, Maier used the opportunity to re-launch his War on Prejudice as the answer to not only interracial tension but also interracial violence, the “greatest

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<sup>611</sup> Likewise, the American Civil Liberties Union, Milwaukee Chapter insisted that in order for “the War Against Prejudice to be meaningful, [it] must enhance the concept of each man’s full dignity before the law without regard to his race, creed, color or economic station.” Letter from Ted Warshafsky to Henry Maier, December 31, 1965, Box 192, Folder 26, Maier Records ; In-text quote: “Prejudice War Report Gets Varied Reactions,” *Milwaukee Star*, February 18, 1967, Box 192, Folder 24, Maier Records.

<sup>612</sup> Milwaukee Citizens for Equal Opportunity, Letter from Norman Adelman to Henry Maier, November 11, 1965; Board of Directors of Foreign Missions Pentecostal Assemblies, November 3, 1965, Box 192, Folder 26, Maier Records.

<sup>613</sup> Milwaukee Area Joint Committee for Equal Opportunity in Housing Meeting Minutes, June 21, 1966, Box 15, Folder 35, MUL Papers.

<sup>614</sup> Comments on “A Plan to Reduce Prejudice and Discrimination” by Hugo Engelmann to Paul Moynihan, page 12, May 21, 1967, Box 7, Folder 35, MUL Papers.

community emergency” of our time.<sup>615</sup> Maier took to the air-waves and WTMJ-TV, where he insisted that the riots were not a physical manifestation of African American frustration with white institutional racism. Rather, he argued that the riot was caused by misunderstanding; the general problems of prejudice and discrimination “were bigger than the problem of open housing.”<sup>616</sup> The way to mend the damage incurred during the violent outbreak then, was not immediate action on housing legislation, but “voluntary commitment by non-public agencies and long term education through the mass media” and additional educational programming like those outlined in the Greenleigh Report.<sup>617</sup> The War on Prejudice orchestrated through the MCCR became the corner stone of his entire civil rights program.<sup>618</sup>

Maier’s commitment to the human relations theory that citizens would voluntarily uphold the rights of others and voluntarily desegregate after they had learned the folly of prejudice had significant policy ramifications. All War on Prejudice programs were centered in the MCCR; however, the MCCR could not pursue action itself. The MCCR was not an “enforcing agency” nor did it have investigatory powers, and could not provide “reimbursement for inconvenience and embarrassment to the plaintiff when the violator had been found guilty.”<sup>619</sup> Fred Blue, Program

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<sup>615</sup> Mayor Henry Maier’s Press Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, September 12, 1967, WTMJ-TV NewsFilm Archives, <http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/march/id/868/rec/17>, accessed July 14, 2013.

<sup>616</sup> Ibid.

<sup>617</sup> Snyder, Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, page 27, Box 23, Folder 2, MUL Papers.

<sup>618</sup> In addition to the restructuring of the MCCR, Maier looked to the Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Race to ease tensions and to the Social Development Commission to administer Johnson’s War on Poverty. The Social Development Commission was established to “acculturate” new African American migrants to the city in the 1960s. Maier understood the activities of the SDC to be part of restrained strategies, fully compatible with the human relations movement. What Has Been the Mayor’s Interest and Concern in the Area of Civil Rights? 1972, Box 46, Folder 11; Maier Address to the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, October 13, 1965; Annual Message April 17, 1962, Box 44, Folder 11, Maier Records.

<sup>619</sup> War on Prejudice and Discrimination Report by the MCCR, page 4-5, 1969, Box 46, Folder 9, Maier Records.

Planner of the MCCR, admitted that the “limited authority” of the MCCR had resulted in “selective” implementation of the educational plan.<sup>620</sup> Many community organizations voiced their votes of no confidence in the War on Prejudice. Corneff Taylor, former Executive Secretary of the MCCR, insisted that Maier was up to his “old tricks of appointing a new committee whenever he finds himself in a situation that needs immediate attention.”<sup>621</sup>

In spite of these castigations, the Mayor’s Office committed itself to funding more educational efforts “to make greater inroads in breaking down the barriers of misunderstanding” throughout the 1970s.<sup>622</sup> In 1976, Maier reaffirmed his position that “I never have believed in civil disobedience.”<sup>623</sup> Besides Maier, no other person was more dedicated to the War on Prejudice than the Executive Secretary of the MCCR, Calvin Beckett. That same year, Beckett wrote an op-ed piece to the *Milwaukee Journal* insisting that “the idea of the War on Prejudice in Milwaukee was then, and still now, is a good one.” Beckett recognized that “we may not have the big guns necessary [legislation and enforcing power] but we are still out there with the support of the Mayor carrying out the War on Prejudice as we daily do our job.”<sup>624</sup> Beckett maintained this faith in the MCCR in 1977 and 1978 in the face of persistent housing, school and employment discrimination.

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<sup>620</sup> Snyder also recognized that the role of the MCCR was limited by its “impotence.” Snyder, *The Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations*, page 31, Box 23, Folder 2, MUL Papers; *War on Prejudice and Discrimination Report by the MCCR*, page 1, 1969, Box 46, Folder 9, Maier Records; Excerpts from Address by Calvin W. Beckett, November 1967, Box 1, Folder 1, WERD Reports Part 3; *Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations Newsletter* March 1968, Box 2, Folder 10, WERD Division Case Files, Part 3G.

<sup>621</sup> Jones, *Selma of the North*, 165.

<sup>622</sup> Blue reported that “the implementation of human relations policies in schools had become “a viable tool in breaking down barriers and developing new understanding.” *War on Prejudice and Discrimination Report by the MCCR*, page 7, 1969, Box 46, Folder 9, Records of Henry Maier, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

<sup>623</sup> Lincoln Avenue PTA, January 21, 1976, Box 23, Folder 1, Records of Henry Maier, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Archives.

<sup>624</sup> Letter from Calvin Beckett to the *Milwaukee Journal*, Box 46, Folder 16, MCCR 1975-1976, Records of Henry Maier, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Archives.

“The MCCR,” he said “will continue to work in the area of human relations in its efforts to ease tensions and bring about a better understanding of our different cultures and backgrounds.”<sup>625</sup> Even in 1979, the Mayor’s Office and Common Council “revitalized” the educational efforts of the MCCR as the primary means with which to handle civil rights issues.<sup>626</sup> It “continued the original program set forth as guidelines in the War on Prejudice for their eradication.” The MCCR focused on decreasing “interracial misunderstandings” and “neighborhood tension” through “meaningful dialogue” as well as the facilitation of “human relations training into schools, addressing the frustrations and misunderstandings resulting from the desegregation program.”<sup>627</sup> In Milwaukee, civil rights and desegregation issues were not handled with legislation. Maier made sure that all the human relations movement was institutionalized in policy.

Calvin Beckett’s retirement from the MCCR in 1980 and Maier’s retirement from the Mayor’s office in 1988 marked the end of the human relations movement in Milwaukee. Sol Sorrin, long time human relations supporter, admitted that the purely educational tactics of the War on Prejudice were “out of the naive and dreamy past...when we believed that we could alter patterns of discrimination by the use of slogans...we believed that the mere presence of communication would automatically bring improvement in relationships.”<sup>628</sup> In 1982, Eliot Bernstein took the helm of the MCCR and the Milwaukee Jewish Council; he urged that “we must concern ourselves with the behavior of people, and

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<sup>625</sup> In Accordance with Common Council Ordinance 34: MCCR Activities of 1977; MCCR report 1978, Box 56, Folder 9, Maier Records.

<sup>626</sup> Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations Revitalization Efforts, October 9, 1979, Box 56, Folder 9, Maier Records.

<sup>627</sup> Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, Summary of Programs 1979, Box 56, Folder 10, Maier Records.

<sup>628</sup> As cited in: Snyder, The Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, page 27, Box 23, Folder 2, MUL Papers.

not the prolonged, frustrating efforts to change attitudes.”<sup>629</sup> The tide change is illustrated by the government human relations organization, the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO) changing its name to the National Association of Human Rights Workers in 1976.<sup>630</sup> Some human relations advocates actively discarded educational philosophy and adopted the rights-based rhetoric of social justice.

The Mayor’s Office had responded to the civil disturbance by allocating funds and prestige to a municipal human relations organization, the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations. As long as Henry Maier was in office, he believed that the War on Prejudice would solve Milwaukee’s civil rights and segregation issues. In the least, the Mayor’s allocation of budgetary and human resources in to educational programs, resulted in incremental improvements in community relations. At the worst, his refusal to legislate policy changes resulted in municipal government agencies reticent to enforce civil rights legislation and residential or school integration.

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<sup>629</sup> In 1971, Bernstein said: “I don’t believe you can do it all by education...I have a different concept. I believe you alter people’s behavior first...first you pass the laws...with enforcement powers, and when they learn how to behave, then their attitudes change.” Progress Report, March 25, 1971, Motion Picture for Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, Box 46, Folder 9, Maier Records; Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations *Newsletter*, 1982, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison

<sup>630</sup> Additionally, the Milwaukee Jewish Council and Anti-Defamation League transformed the annual Human Relations Awards in 1968 into the Human Rights Awards. Since 1948 the awards were given to one Protestant, one Catholic, and one Jewish community leader who displayed remarkable dedication to human relations tactics and educational programming. For a short history of the award program see: Nineteenth Annual B’nai B’rith Interfaith Award, April 18, 1967, Box 2, Folder Milwaukee Jewish Council Human Rights Award 1953-1980, MJC Papers; Frederick Ruffiner, *Encyclopedia of Associations* (Detroit: Gale Research Co, 1976), 828.

## Conclusion

While a few former human relations advocates, like Sol Sorrin and Eliot Bernstein, transformed themselves into full-fledged legislative action supporters, many others only adjusted their restrained social movement sympathies to reflect newer social scientific trends. Human relations supporters spoke in terms of a two-way, equal commitment between “in-group” and “out-group” members (or majority group and minority groups) to improve relationships and to defeat prejudice and discrimination. In the mid-1960s and 1970s, social scientists popularized a one-way program of “urban affairs” that placed responsibility squarely on “disadvantaged” and “culturally deprived” groups.<sup>631</sup> Reflecting this way of thinking, many “Human Relations Committees” changed their names to “Urban Affairs Committees”: the Milwaukee Jewish Council Race Relations Committee became the Committee on Urban Affairs in 1968, and the Greater Milwaukee Area Conference on Religion and Race became the Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Urban Affairs in 1967.<sup>632</sup> In the 1970s, women’s voluntary organizations—like B’nai B’rith Women, and Church Women United—had conferences about “women and the urban challenge” instead of holding the Human Relations Institutes that had dominated the scene from the 1940s through the 1960s.<sup>633</sup>

As social scientists popularized “urban affairs” over the human relations movement, educators

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<sup>631</sup> For examples of the turn to “disadvantaged groups” and “culturally deprived” language see: *Developing Independent Learning with Culturally Disadvantaged Children: A Summer Study 1964*, Box 2, Folder 32, Campus Elementary Records; *Economic Opportunity Act Program*, Box 1, Folder 4, University of Milwaukee Institute of Human Relations, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Archives (hereafter cited UWM Institute of Human Relations Papers).

<sup>632</sup> Milwaukee Jewish Council Urban Affairs Committee, September 23, 1969, Box 1, Folder Race Relations 1968-1970, MJC Papers; Milwaukee Jewish Council Committee on Urban Affairs, July 18, 1968, Box 1, Folder Race Relations 1968-1970, MJC Papers; Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Urban Affairs Meeting Minutes, May 21, 1974, Box 312, Folder 1, Zeidler Papers.

<sup>633</sup> Letter from Barbara Wiener, President of B’nai B’rith Women, October 10, 1969, Box 4, Folder 12, WERD, Miscellaneous Records.

largely abandoning references to intergroup education and adopted multicultural curricula. Multicultural education incorporated theories of gender, and class diversity in the classroom. While intergroup education theory insisted that prejudice was best inoculated through individual instruction, occasional interfaith and interracial contact, and incremental integration, multicultural education theory argued that discrimination could only be eradicated by directly addressing institutional racism, power relationships, and legislating complete integration.<sup>634</sup> Additionally, educational programs like Head Start associated the African American population with inner-city poverty, educational disadvantage, and federal government programs.<sup>635</sup>

The Institute on Human Relations at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee illustrates the turn toward “urban affairs” in the human relations movement and multicultural curriculum in education.<sup>636</sup> The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee funded an independent Institute of Human Relations under the directorship of Dr. Lawrence C. Howard from 1964 until 1971.<sup>637</sup> The Institute began as a certificate program designed to use the resources of the university to engage in-group and out-group

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<sup>634</sup> Cherry A. Banks, *Improving Multicultural Education Movement* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2005), 143-148.

<sup>635</sup> War on Bias Needs Plan, Social Development Commission, October 5, 1967, Box 9, Folder SDC Minutes Octobe-December 1967, Byrne Papers; Community Relations-Social Development Commission, *Head Start Needs Assessment* (Milwaukee: The Commission, 1973); Community Relations-Social Development Commission, *Black Powerlessness in Milwaukee Institutions and Decision-Making Structure* (Milwaukee: The Commission and Urban League, 1970); Community-Relations-Social Development Commission, *Poverty: A Milwaukee Profile* (Milwaukee: Community Relations-Social Development Commission, 1979).

<sup>636</sup> Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations General Commission Meeting, September 9, 1964, Box 45, Folder 21, Maier Records; Letter from Bloomberg to Klotsche, June 7, 1967, Box 12 Folder 1, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Office of the Chancellor, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (hereafter cited UWM Chancellor Papers).

<sup>637</sup> UW-Milwaukee was not the only University to have Institutes dedicated to Human Relations. New York University, School of Education established a Center for Human Relations Studies and the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia offered a PhD program in Human Relations. See: Box 1, Folder 15, Campus Elementary School Records; Letter from Martin Chworowsky to Martin Klotsche, November 3, 1964, Box 12, Folder 1, UWM Chancellor Papers; Letter from Lynn Eley to Martin Klotsche, March 18, 1971, Box 12, Folder 1, UWM Institute of Human Relations Papers.

members (majorities/minorities) equally in the joint endeavor to understand each other and divest themselves of prejudicial thinking and discriminatory behaviors.<sup>638</sup> By the late 1960s, the program focused on what minorities, as “disadvantaged,” “culturally deprived,” “poverty-stricken,” “urban” dwellers must do on their own to improve their economic, educational, social and political condition.<sup>639</sup> Demonstrating the perceived power of this new social science language, Howard proposed to change the name of the Human Relations Institute to the Center for Urban Research and Program Development in 1967: “the new name will permit greater flexibility in program development and will place us in a more favorable position to take advantage of the increasing number of grants that are being made available in this area.”<sup>640</sup> In spite of Howard’s attempt to capitalize on the academic trend of urban affairs and poverty, the leadership of the Institute of Human Relations felt underfunded and “ignored” by the administration (even though the existence of the institute was cited as evidence of the University’s “progress”).<sup>641</sup> Urban affairs and poverty theories widened the perceived geographical, cultural, social, and political distance between inner-city communities—which tended to be made up of minority groups—and outer-city and suburban communities—which tended to be more affluent white groups.

As “urban affairs” theories and rights-based rhetoric of social justice became more popular, the

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<sup>638</sup> Letter from Lawrence Howard to Martin Klotsche, June 25, 1965, Box 12, Folder 1, UWM Chancellor Papers; Application for Funding of Project on Intergroup Relations, Box 1, Folder 1, UWM Institute of Human Relations Papers.

<sup>639</sup> Letter from Donald McNeill to Lawrence Howard, July 28, 1965; Memo RE: Toward Quality and Integration in Education, October 5, 1965, Box 12, Folder 1, UWM Chancellor Papers; Economic Opportunity Act Program, June 11, 1965; Project Destiny Report, May 1967, Box 1, Folder 4, UWM Institute of Human Relations Papers; Upward Bound Proposal, Box 10, Folder 30, UW-Extension Records, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Archives; Developing Independent Learning with Culturally Disadvantaged Children, A Summer Study, 1964, Box 2, Folder 32, Campus Elementary School Records.

<sup>640</sup> Proposal to Change Name, December 8, 1967, Box 1, Folder 1, UWM Institute of Human Relations Papers.

<sup>641</sup> Memo to Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche from the Human Relations Institute Advisory Committee, April 18, 1968, Box 1, Folder 1, UWM Institute of Human Relations Papers.

National Conference of Christians and Jews lost its influential footing in Milwaukee's social and political circles. In the 1980s, other interfaith groups—in particular organizations headed by clergymen—took precedence. Those groups included the Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Urban Affairs, the Interfaith Conference of Greater Milwaukee, the Catholic-Jewish Dialogue Committee, and the Milwaukee Association for Interfaith Relations (MAIR).<sup>642</sup> Richard Lux, co-chair of the new interfaith group, explained to the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* that MAIR “differs from the National Council [Conference] of Christians and Jews because it is local and will deal with religious issues as opposed to the broader agenda of the NCCJ.”<sup>643</sup> The “broader agenda” of the NCCJ, one can assume, was the national human relations movement. In 1998, even the NCCJ abandoned restrained social movement strategies; the organization “changed its name to the National Conference for Community and Justice to reflect its full mission to make America a better place for all.”<sup>644</sup> During the 1980s and the 1990s the rights rhetoric of social justice meant more to Milwaukeeans than the rhetoric of social science which the human relations movement had used to such great success for five decades.

This study is the first to analyze human relations as a movement, but it should not be the last. This study demonstrates that the remarkable degree to which Milwaukeeans incorporated the human relations movement into neighborhood, public school, and governmental institutions. Although the extent to which restrained social movement strategies influenced

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<sup>642</sup> See: Box 16, Folder Interfaith Conference of Greater Milwaukee, 1981-1993; Box 17, Folder Interfaith Conference of Greater Milwaukee 1994; Box 17, Folder Milwaukee Association for Interfaith Relations 1984-1987; Folder Interfaith Conference of Greater Milwaukee 1994, MJC Papers; Jewish Community Handbook 1981-1982, Box 1, Folder B'nai B'rith Shorewood Lodge, ADL Milwaukee Papers; Box 7, Folder Interfaith Conference of Greater Milwaukee, Lutheran Human Relations Association Records, Evangelical Lutheran Council Association Archives, Downers Grove, Illinois.

<sup>643</sup> Benjamin J. Hubbard, “Interfaith Dialogue Expanded,” *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, October 8, 1982, Box 16, Folder Milwaukee Jewish Council Interfaith Marquette, MJC Papers.

<sup>644</sup> “The National Conference Changes its Name,” *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, May 1, 1998, Freestanding Folder, National Conference of Christians and Jews Papers, Jewish Museum Milwaukee.

public policy in Milwaukee is particularly significant because of the city's history of socialism, tradition of *de facto* segregation, its immigration pattern and demographic and intergroup dynamics, the human relations movement influenced almost every major city and town across the United States. The National Conference of Christians and Jews alone established major Human Relations centers in sixty-five major cities.<sup>645</sup> Buffalo, New York, Chicago, Denver, Des Moines, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Toledo, and New York among others had powerful municipal government human relations agencies.<sup>646</sup> Human relations advocates changed the focus of the educational programming depending on the history, demography, specific tensions, and needs of each community. Urban communities in the North tended to have larger Jewish and African American populations than rural areas. As a result, the human relations movement focused on improving relations between the ethnic white "majority" and the largest minority religious and racial groups in the area.<sup>647</sup> In Northern rural areas, the

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<sup>645</sup> The National Conference of Christians and Jews established cooperative Human Relations Centers with other civic organizations in 65 cities: Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Tucson, El Paso, Albuquerque, Denver, San Antonio, Houston, Dallas, Ft. Worth, Wichita Falls, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Wichita, Omaha, Fargo, Grand Forks, Des Moines, Duluth, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Kansas City, St. Louis, East St. Louis, Memphis, Shreveport, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, South Bend, Cincinnati, Louisville, Knoxville, Asheville, Chattanooga, Birmingham, Atlanta, New Orleans, Miami, Charlotte, Greensboro, Richmond, Pittsburg, Reading, Wilkes-Barre, Williamsport, Greater New York, Newark, Bayonne, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Baltimore, Hartford, Providence, Boston, Syracuse, Buffalo, and Toronto. Municipal governments in Toledo, Ohio, Philadelphia, Huntington, West Virginia, Louisville, Kentucky, Nashville, Kalamazoo, Michigan, Alton, Illinois, Chicago, and Hattiesburg. Educating for Brotherhood, National Conference of Christians and Jews Annual Report 1957, Box 1, Folder 1, NCCJW Papers; National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, *A Memorandum to Municipalities*, 1964).

<sup>646</sup> A study conducted by the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations in 1962 concluded that each commission "analyze[d] the problems affecting good human relations, f[ound] solutions and then act[ed] or ma[d]e recommendations or meaningful interpretations." The commissions used dialogue and communication to "establish common grounds of agreement." The fact-finders noted that "Milwaukee's human relations work is carried on by many agencies in our community. This is true in many cities in the U.S." Report of the Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, Concerning other Human Relations Commissions, June 4, 1962, page 25, Box 45, Folder 18, Maier Records.

<sup>647</sup> The Springfield Plan (1939), designed by the NCCJ specifically for Springfield, Massachusetts, represented the first coordinated effort between child and adult education to eliminate prejudice and discrimination for an entire community. The program sought to replace delusions of inequality with religious, racial, political, economic, and social democracy. A small urban community on the east coast, Springfield became home to a multitude of European immigrants in the nineteenth-century, including, British, Irish, French-Canadians, Italians, Polish,

movement focused on Catholic, Lutheran, and rural/urban relations. In Southern urban and rural areas, the human relations movement positioned itself as a comprehensive program designed to improve race relations based on common, monotheistic, religious foundations. Without threatening the legality of segregation, human relations supporters in the South used educational tactics to negotiate a position of religious and racial liberalism.<sup>648</sup> Analyses of human relations movement in other communities across the country could help us understand the persistent patterns of school and residential segregation across the country.

With good intentions, Milwaukeeans integrated restrained social movement strategies into the policies of voluntary organizations, schools, and government agencies. Direct action and legislative movements arose in response to the gradualist methods of the human relations movement. This study demonstrates how the inability of human relations advocates and civil rights activists to work together based on their fundamental disagreement over approach weakened the overall strength of civil rights legislation and the residential and school desegregation plan. Human relations, as a restrained, consensus oriented social movement

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Jewish, Scandinavian, Germans and Greeks. African Americans comprised the racial minority and Catholics and Jews as religious minorities (Protestants were the religious majority). This particular demographic make-up influenced how educators designed the structure of Springfield's human relations movement. The plan recommended "cordial personal contacts" between religions and races—or "living room dialogues"—which would foster friendships and supposedly encourage voluntary integration. Clarence I. Chatto and Alice Halligan, *The Story of the Springfield Plan* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1945); James Waterman Wise, *The Springfield Plan* (New York: The Viking Press, 1945).

<sup>648</sup> Even former slaveholding strongholds like St. Louis invested in the human relations movement as a solution for the "pattern[s] of social exclusion [of African Americans]." Through much of the twentieth century, Missouri law prohibited African Americans from sharing schools, public and accommodations by law with white citizens. To resolve racial tension, Missourians turned to the human relations movement: "their goal: the integration of minority peoples and the lessening of prejudice and discrimination." Beginning in the early 1940s and working within the "framework of legal segregation" educators and municipal government officials used "education: both formal and informal, positive and aggressive" to improve relationships between religious and racial groups. St. Louis school and government officials believed that the human relations movement would make residential and school integration possible. Bonita Valien, Professor of Social Sciences, asserted that "one of the prime factors in making the community human relations-conscious" was the intergroup educational programming created and financed by the American Council on Education and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Valien, *The St. Louis Story*, 8, 16.

shaped the policies, politics, and culture of Milwaukee. Even though Milwaukee civil rights activists delivered on their promise to pass civil rights and school and residential integration legislation, the legislation itself was not enforced. Integrating the story of the human relations movement into our accepted time line of the civil rights era helps historians understand how and why voluntary organizations, public schools, and government agencies continued to rely on educational tactics and to negotiate for change through dialogue rather than enforce legislation. The forgotten human relations movement left legacies every bit as potent as the civil rights movement.

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