3940

FFNPS Form 10-900

Wisconsin Word Processing Format (Approved 1/92)

OMB No. 10024-0018

United States Department of Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900A). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name Barbee, Lloyd A., House

other names/site number

2. Location

street & number	321 East Meinecke Avenue						N/A	**not for publication**	
city or town	Milwaukee						N/A	**vicinity**	
state	Wisconsin	**code**	WI	**county**	Milwaukee	**code**	079	**zip code**	53211-3311

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this X nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property X meets _ does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant _ nationally X statewide _ locally. (_ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title — Date 3/19/19

State Historic Preservation Office - Wisconsin
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property _ meets _ does not meet the National Register criteria.
(_ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of commenting official/Title — Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the property is:

X entered in the National Register.
___ See continuation sheet.
__ determined eligible for the National Register.
___ See continuation sheet.
__ determined not eligible for the National Register.
___ See continuation sheet.
__ removed from the National Register.
__ other, (explain:)

Barbara Wyatt
Signature of the Keeper

5-7-19
Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(check as many boxes as as apply)

X private
public-local
public-State
public-Federal

Category of Property
(Check only one box)

X building(s)
district
structure
site
object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

contributing	noncontributing	
1	0	buildings
		sites
		structures
		objects
1	0	total

Name of related multiple property listing:
(Enter "N/A" if property not part of a multiple property listing.)
N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register
0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)
DOMESTIC/single dwelling

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)
DOMESTIC/single dwelling

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions)
LATE VICTORIAN

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions)
foundation BRICK, STONE
walls VINYL
roof ASPHALT
other BRICK

Narrative Description
(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria
(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for the National Register listing.)

X A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

X B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

_ C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.

_ D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations
(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

_ A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.

_ B removed from its original location.

_ C a birthplace or grave.

_ D a cemetery.

_ E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.

_ F a commemorative property.

X G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions)

SOCIAL HISTORY
ETHNIC HERITAGE/BLACK

Period of Significance

1966-1980

Significant Dates

N/A

Significant Person
(Complete if Criterion B is marked)

Lloyd A. Barbee

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

Unknown

Narrative Statement of Significance
(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographic References

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous Documentation on File (National Park Service):
- _ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- _ previously listed in the National Register
- _ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- _ designated a National Historic landmark
- _ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #
- _ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Primary location of additional data:
- X State Historic Preservation Office
- _ Other State Agency
- _ Federal Agency
- _ Local government
- X University
- Other

Name of repository:
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Archives

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property less than one acre

UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

	Zone	Easting	Northing
1	16	426137	4768100
2			
3			
4			

☐ See Continuation Sheet

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet)

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title	Robert W. Blythe/Historian				
organization				**date**	
street & number	4449 North Monticello Avenue			**telephone**	773-463-1840
city or town	Chicago	**State**	IL	**zip code**	60625

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
A sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs Representative black and white photographs of the property.

Additional Items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

Complete this item at the request of SHPO or FPO.)

name/title	Daphne Barbee-Wooten				
organization				**date**	
street & number	1188 Bishop Street, #1908			**telephone**	
city or town	Honolulu	**state**	HI	**zip code**	96813

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Projects, (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

Summary Paragraph

The Lloyd A. Barbee House is a 22 x 49 foot, one-and-one-half-story, front-gabled, frame house on a raised basement with minimal ornamentation, constructed in 1890. This is the home of Wisconsin's most prominent and influential civil rights attorney and activist, active in Milwaukee from the 1960s until his death in 2002. Mr. Barbee lived in this house and used it as his law office as well as a meeting place for civil rights organizers. Mr. Barbee's home office, where he worked on various legal cases, including the most significant: the Federal lawsuit that eventually led to the racial integration of Milwaukee's public schools, is located in the house. The house is located in a residential neighborhood approximately 1.8 miles north of downtown Milwaukee. Sited on a 40 x 50 foot urban lot, with a grass side yard, the house faces north. The one- and two-story houses in the immediate vicinity have dates of construction mainly from 1880 to 1910.

Setting and Site

The Barbee House, located at 321 E. Meinecke Avenue, is located in a neighborhood historically known as the Near North Side. Construction of housing in the area began in the late 1870s. By 1910, the area had been built up with frame houses, ranging in size from modest single-story cottages to more substantial two and two-and-one-half story houses, some with Classical Revival details and decorative millwork trim. Scattered among the frame houses are a handful of brick houses. Larger houses are often present at intersections with smaller houses more common in the middle of blocks. North Avenue, an east-west street one block south of Meinecke, is a major arterial street that had a streetcar line until the 1950s. The original settlers in the area were of German ancestry. By the 1920s, many of these families had moved away and other ethnic groups, notably Poles and Italians, were moving in. By the 1930s, middle-class African Americans were beginning to buy or rent in the area, and this trend accelerated after 1950. By the time Lloyd Barbee purchased this house in 1966, the surrounding blocks were majority African American occupied. Barbee bought the house from a man and a woman with Italian surnames.[1]

The surrounding blocks have suffered some demolitions and there is a scattering of vacant lots in the area. On any given block, extant houses are almost always more numerous than vacant lots. The east side of North Richard Street between North and Meinecke is an exception, consisting mostly of vacant lots.

The house's original address was 115 Lee Street. That portion of Lee Street became East Meneicke Avenue in 1927, and the house number was changed from 115 to 321 in 1930 as part of a comprehensive address renumbering effort by the city.

[1] John Gurda, *Milwaukee: City of Neighborhoods* (Milwaukee: Historic Milwaukee, Inc.: 2015), 223-225.

The house is on the south side of East Meinecke Avenue, between North Richards Street to the west and North Buffum Street on the east. The principal entrance faces the street. There is an alley directly to the west and the foundation remains of a garage to the east on the adjoining lot, 2379 North Buffum Street. Facing the house on the north side of East Meinecke is the paved and fenced schoolyard of Oliver Wendell Holmes School, 2463 North Buffum Street. The school and schoolyard were being completed in 1966 when Barbee bought his house. Six houses on the north side of East Meinecke Avenue between North Richards and North Buffum were demolished at that time or earlier.[2]

Carl and Ernestine Jeske were the original owners of the house. Carl Jeske died in 1894, and his wife Ernestine became the sole owner. Ernestine Jeske lived elsewhere after her husband died, and she leased the house on Lee (East Meinecke) Street to a variety of tenants until her death in 1927. Anthony and Frances Corrao then bought the house. City directories indicate the house was vacant in 1937 and 1938. Leo and Libby Casteller purchased the house in 1941 and in 1944 sold it to Leopoldo Armani and Linda Mengoni. They sold the house to Lloyd Barbee in 1966. Barbee resided in the house until 1980 when he moved to 2378 North Richards Street, Milwaukee. Barbee retained ownership of the East Meinecke Avenue house, leasing it out. His daughter Daphne Barbee-Wooten currently owns the house and is leasing it for residential use.[3]

The Barbee House occupies only the west 40 feet of the original lot, which was subdivided. There are two houses, 2375 and 2379 North Buffum Street, occupying the eastern portion of the subdivided original lot. The lots of the other houses on the west side of the 2300 block of North Buffum Street run all the way to the alley. Thus, the backyard of the house at 2373 North Buffum lies directly behind (to the south of) the Barbee House. The Barbee House occupies a major portion of its small lot; the east and south sides of the house are just one foot from the lot line. The property features a small yard on its east side, approximately 17 feet wide by 50 feet deep. The yard is planted with grass and one tree. Ground level is about two feet higher on the east side of the house than the west, and the side yard where the grade is higher is held back at the sidewalk by a low stone retaining wall.

Exterior Description

The main block of the house is front gabled, 22 x 37 feet, the primary façade faces north, and there is a very early shed-roofed addition at the back measuring 22 x 12 feet. On its east side, the house has a shallow 4 x 9 foot, shed-roofed projection that covers stairs to the basement. This enclosure replaced an open porch in 1949.[4] There is a brick chimney at the ridgeline about two-thirds of the way back on

[2] Daphne Barbee-Wooten, interview conducted by Robert Blythe, Oct. 16, 2017; Milwaukee telephone directories.
[3] Milwaukee city directories; Security Abstract and Title Company, "Abstract of Title for 321 East Meinecke Street."
[4] Permit 19913, issued to Leopoldo Armani, May 13, 1949, Milwaukee Development Department.

the house's main block. Except for the east-side projection, the house is clad in horizontal vinyl siding over a prior sheathing of asphalt shingles. The asphalt shingles appear in a 1966 photograph and likely cover weatherboards or other earlier siding. The asphalt shingle covering remains on the east-side projection. The foundation is of stone with some areas infilled with brick or concrete.

Primary (North) Façade
The foundation wall on this side of the house is of coursed, quarry-faced stone pierced by one glass-block window, slightly right of center. Visible on the left, is the front of the 4 x 9 foot projection that shelters stairs to the basement. This projection is recessed 12 feet from the front of the house and has a door facing north. A 6 x 10 foot incised porch is present at the northeast corner of the main block on this side. The porch has a low enclosed wall of textured pressed stone or concrete block. Four north-south running concrete steps to the left of the porch provide access to the porch. The front door is at the back of the porch and is simply cased, with a cased transom above it. The transom may originally have been glazed but now is boarded up. The porch is supported at its northeast corner by a square post. At the top of the post and where the porch ceiling meets the north and east sides of the house are scrollwork brackets. To the right of the porch is a triple window with one-over-one sash, giving onto the living room. Between the first and second stories is a stringcourse featuring a dentil range, flanked by scrollwork brackets at each end. Centered in the gable end at the second-floor level is a two-over-two window lighting the north bedroom. There is a square, louvered vent centered above it. The open eaves of the roof project about one foot beyond the exterior wall plane on this side.

West (Side) Elevation
The main block of the house on this side has a foundation wall that is random-coursed, quarry-faced stone to about the three-foot level and brick above. The brick shows evidence of having been patched in places. Two boarded-up windows that once lighted the basement are present toward the back. The foundation wall of the addition is coursed concrete block and has a plank door on the left and a glass-block window on the right. At the first floor of the main block is a two-over-two window lighting the office, a glass-block window lighting the bathroom, and a one-over-one window in the addition that lights the guest bedroom.

South (Rear) Elevation
The foundation wall is of coursed concrete block with no openings. The addition is of one story, has no openings on this south side, and has a shallow-pitched shed roof. Above the addition in the south gable end of the main block, a centered, one-over-one window is visible with a centered, square louvered vent above it.

East (Side) Elevation
The rear addition and the east-side projection rest on a concrete block foundation, and the main block on a brick foundation. A board-up window and a glass-block window are present in the brick portion of the foundation. The projection is of three different heights and steps up from left to right. It is clad in asphalt shingles. At the first-floor level from left to right are a two-over-two window lighting Lloyd Barbee's bedroom; two, one-over-one widows in the projection; and two, two-over-two windows that open on the dining room. The low wall of the porch is of textured cast stone or concrete block. At the second story is a gabled dormer, centered over the dining room that has a centered one-over-one window.

Interior Description

The basement is reached by stairs enclosed in the bump out at the east side of the house, and adjacent to the kitchen. The basement is unfinished, with concrete floors, is largely open, and has two small rooms walled off on the west side.

On the main floor are six-and-one-half rooms, with three more at the second story. The arrangement of walls and rooms on the first and second floors is unchanged from the period of Lloyd Barbee's residence. The first and second floors have minimal detailing; walls and ceilings are of plaster. Doors are wood paneled, doors and windows are cased simply with wood moldings; baseboards are topped with ogee molding. On the first floor, the quarter-round molding where baseboards meet the floor was installed in 2018 when the interior was painted. There are no crown moldings or picture rails in any of the rooms. The kitchen, bathroom, and the small hall at the base of the stairs to the second floor are tiled; the tiling postdates the period of Lloyd Barbee's residence. The remainder of the rooms on the first floor have narrow-plank oak flooring, which was present during Lloyd Barbee's residence and likely is original to the construction of the house. The stairs to the second floor and the three second-floor rooms have wall-to-wall carpeting installed after Lloyd Barbee's residence.

Just inside the front door is a small, 3.5 x 5.25 foot, entry foyer that leads to the dining room, which measures 10 x 11 feet. To the north of the dining room is the 13 x 15 foot living room. A door on the west side of the dining room leads to a small, 8 x 12 foot, room used by Lloyd Barbee as his office. Barbee's daughter, Daphne Barbee-Wooten, remembers the north wall of the room being devoted to bookshelves that held her father's library. South of the dining room is the kitchen, measuring 11 x 12 feet. To the south of the kitchen is Lloyd Barbee's bedroom, with dimensions of 10.5 x 11.5 feet. A doorway on the west side of the kitchen gives onto a small, 5 x 5 foot hall. The hall features built-in wood shelving and cabinets that were present during Lloyd Barbee's residence. To the south of the hall is a 7 x 11.5 foot bedroom, which was used by guests, including Dick Gregory, and at times by one of Barbee's three children. Daphne Barbee-Wooten recalls that this bedroom was the children's favorite because its one window gave a view of the comings and goings in the alley to the west of the

house. A narrow space between the two first-floor bedrooms is walled off to form a closet for each bedroom. A door on the north side of the hall opens into the bathroom, measuring 8 x 5.25 feet. On the hall's west side are the stairs to the second floor.

The stairs lead to a 13.5 x 21 foot room that runs the entire width of the house. On each side of this room is a bedroom. The second-floor rooms have sloping east and west walls corresponding to the pitch of the roof. The bedroom on the north measures 13 x 13.5 feet and has walled-off storage space on the east and west sides. The south bedroom occupies the southeast corner of the second floor and measures 11 x 12 feet. All of the second-floor rooms have wall-to-wall carpeting and were not carpeted during Lloyd Barbee's residence. The second-floor bedrooms were used by Lloyd Barbee's three children and the room between the bedrooms was their recreation room.

Integrity

The house retains excellent integrity to the period of Lloyd Barbee's residence, 1966-1980. Integrity of setting, location, and design are strong. The yard of Holmes School and the houses on the west side of Buffum Street remain as they were during Barbee's period of residence. A frame house directly west across the alley from the Barbee House has been demolished; it is uncertain whether it was standing when Barbee bought his house. The massing of the Barbee House is unchanged since the period of significance. Integrity of materials is only slightly compromised by the presence of vinyl siding over the asphalt shingles that were present when Barbee bought the house. Windows and door openings are unchanged. The windows and doors likely were not original in 1966 and have been replaced since then. Most importantly, the interior room arrangements and finishes are unchanged since Barbee's residence. The simple casing of the doors and windows and the baseboards remain from the period of significance, having been patched in only a handful of places. Unaltered are 1) the office room where Barbee did much of the work on the federal lawsuit to racially integrate the Milwaukee public schools, 2) the living room where meetings of the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee took place, and 3) the guest bedroom used by activists visiting Milwaukee. Because the alterations are very limited, integrity of feeling and association are strong. The house reads as the same single-family home occupied by Lloyd Barbee and his family. Altered in only minor ways since the period of significance, the house clearly conveys its significance as the home of Wisconsin's most notable civil rights activist and would be easily recognizable to Mr. Barbee as his home and legal office were he to see it today.

Summary

The Lloyd A. Barbee House is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places at the state level under Criterion A for its associations with the civil rights movement in Milwaukee and Wisconsin. The house's owner, Lloyd Barbee, was the most prominent civil rights activist in Wisconsin from 1966 to 1980 while residing here. He participated in numerous civil rights campaigns that had a lasting impact on the history of Milwaukee and the state. Notably, Barbee conducted a 14-year battle in the federal courts to integrate Milwaukee's public schools that culminated in a consent decree in 1979. This was the most important civil rights campaign in Wisconsin's history. Barbee did much of the preparation for the law suit from his home office, and meetings of the group Barbee founded, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Important (MUSIC), occurred in the house. Activists from out of town, including the nationally known comedian and civil rights activist Dick Gregory, stayed in the house. Lloyd Barbee and MUSIC were at the forefront of the civil rights movement in Milwaukee and influenced the subsequent course of that movement.

The house is eligible at the state level under Criterion B for its association with Lloyd A. Barbee. Barbee was an attorney, college professor, and prominent civil rights leader. In addition to the civil rights activities mentioned above, he was the sixth African American to be elected to the Wisconsin State Assembly, serving for 12 years. Barbee was the originator and lead attorney on a federal lawsuit to integrate Milwaukee's public schools, which was ultimately successful after 14 years of litigation. Barbee took depositions and drafted legal pleadings for the lawsuit in his office in this house. This was his home and primary legal office during his period of influence. The Lloyd A. Barbee House is an important link to the modern civil rights movement in Wisconsin and one of its most significant leaders. While *Cultural Resource Management in Wisconsin* does not have a contextual study unit for Civil Rights or the more recent history of Black Ethnic Heritage, these are chapters that warrant further study and inclusion in future revisions to this document.

Period of Significance
The period of significance for the Lloyd A. Barbee House is 1966 to 1980, the period during which Barbee lived and worked in the house. During this entire period, Barbee was pursuing the federal school integration lawsuit, which he eventually won. For the first ten years of his residence he was a state assemblyman, representing Milwaukee's black community.

Criteria Consideration G
Criteria Consideration G must be applied because the period of significance is partially within the last 50 years. Lloyd Barbee and the school integration campaign are of exceptional significance to the history of Wisconsin. Barbee led the longest and most significant integration campaign in the state's history, and Barbee is Wisconsin's most important and influential civil rights attorney and social

justice activist of the mid- to late-20th century. For these reasons, the Lloyd Barbee House meets the requirements of Criteria Consideration G.

NARRATIVE STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Lloyd Barbee's Early Life

Lloyd A. Barbee was born August 17, 1925, in Memphis, Tennessee, to Ernest Aaron Barbee and Adelina Gilliam Barbee. His parents previously had lived on a 40-acre farm that they owned in Shannon, Mississippi; they moved to Memphis in 1923. In that city, Ernest Barbee worked briefly for his uncle, a general contractor, but had his own painting and paperhanging business by the time Lloyd was born. His mother Adelina died before Lloyd reached his first birthday, and his father later remarried.[5]

Although his father's business gave the family an income considerably above the average for a Memphis black family, Lloyd endured the humiliation of Jim Crow segregation. He had to walk past white schools to get to his all-black schools and could not use the public library. Barbee chafed under the constraints and injustices of segregation and became a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) at the age of 12. Ernest Barbee introduced his son to the arts and literature and encouraged him to always work hard and seek justice. Lloyd Barbee graduated from segregated Booker T. Washington High School in 1943. He then enlisted in the United States Navy, serving from August 12, 1943, to March 23, 1946. At the time of his discharge Barbee was stationed at Dutch Harbor on Amaknak Island, part of the southwestern Alaska Aleutian Island chain. By the time Barbee arrived in the Aleutians, the Japanese had been forced out of their fleeting foothold on Attu and Kiska Islands at the end of the Aleutian chain. Barbee's duties left him ample time to read widely. He received an honorable discharge, with the rating of signalman, second class.[6]

Barbee returned to Memphis to attend LeMoyne College, a traditionally black school, receiving a B.A. in Social Science in 1949. He then received a scholarship to attend the University of Wisconsin Law School in Madison, beginning his studies in fall 1949. The scholarship did not cover all of his expenses and he worked as an assistant in the law library. Barbee had relatives living in Beloit and

[5] *Justice for All: Selected Writings of Lloyd A. Barbee*, ed. Daphne E. Barbee-Wooten (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2017), 2-3.
[6] Patrick D. Jones, *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), 60-61; Jack Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle: The Evolution of Black School Reform in Milwaukee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 74; Lloyd A. Barbee Notice of Separation from U.S. Naval Service, Mar. 23, 1946, Lloyd A. Barbee Papers [hereinafter LB Papers], box 11. folder 7, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Milwaukee and had visited Wisconsin previously. He was surprised to encounter substantial racial prejudice and condescension at the university and among the Madison legal profession. Barbee took a leave of absence, then returned to his studies and was awarded an LLB degree in 1956. Unable to find a position with any Madison law firm, he worked as a legal examiner for the state's industrial commission from 1957 to 1962. He also served as a consultant to the Governor's Commission on Human Rights and was a member, and later chair, of Madison's Commission on Human Rights. In addition, Barbee was president of the Madison NAACP branch from 1955 to 1960 and chaired the Wisconsin State Conference of NAACP Branches from 1961to 1965.[7]

While a Madison resident, Barbee engaged in several civil rights actions. In 1957, he and Stuart Hanisch of the university's audiovisual bureau used some university and other funding to investigate housing discrimination in the city. This involved having blacks and whites separately apply for rental housing. Black applicants with personal histories similar to whites were consistently turned down. The investigation's results were presented in a 1958 report and film. The film was shown once on campus and then permanently withdrawn by the university on the grounds that lessors had been filmed without their consent. It was during this investigation that Barbee met Roudaba Bunting, his future wife, who answered the door to Barbee and a friend who was seeking to rent a room as part of the housing discrimination investigation. They married in 1954 and divorced in 1960. While a Madison resident, Barbee also successfully campaigned to get the United States Geological Survey to change the name of Nigger Heel Lakes in Burnett and Polk counties, Wisconsin, to Freedom Lakes.[8]

In August 1961, Barbee and Tom Jacobson, a white University of Wisconsin law student, organized a 14-day sit-in in the rotunda of the state capitol to pressure lawmakers to act on a pending open housing bill. The sit-in succeeded in getting the bill out of committee, but the measure was defeated on the senate floor. In late 1962, Barbee learned that Whitewater College was allowing on-campus performances of a black-face minstrel show. Barbee and a few others demonstrated outside an auditorium for four hours on a bitter cold February 1963 night. He later recalled "I was cold, picketing that particular Saturday night, and my hands stayed cold in the wintertime for about ten years later. I paid for that one."[9]

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[7] Legislative Blue Book Questionnaire, LB Papers, box 18, folder 24; Jones, 61; Dougherty, 74-75; "Special Memorial Edition: Lloyd A. Barbee," *Wisconsin Senior Advocate,* Sep./Oct. 2003, 15.
[8] *Justice for All*, xiii, 5-6, a partial script of the film appears at pages 245-51; "Special Memorial Edition," 15; Jones, 51.
[9] "Capitol Sit-in Is Week Old," *Milwaukee Journal*, Aug. 7, 1961; "Senate Kills 2 Civil Rights Bills, *Milwaukee Sentinel,* Aug. 12, 1961; *Justice for All,* 8; Lloyd Barbee, interview by Jack Dougherty, Aug. 12 and 14, 1995, transcript, More Than One Struggle Oral History Project Records, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

During his Madison years, Barbee got to know Isaac Coggs of Milwaukee, the second African American to serve in the Wisconsin State Assembly in modern times.[10] Coggs urged Barbee to move to Milwaukee and continue his activism in a city with a much larger black population than Madison. In 1962, Barbee made that move and formed a legal partnership with Tom Jacobson. In addition to carrying on a general law practice, the partners decided to devote a portion of their time to pro bono public interest causes. The partnership was dissolved in 1968 and Barbee had a solo practice thereafter.[11]

Development of the City of Milwaukee

By 1833, one-sided treaties with the Menominee, Potawatomi, Chippewa, and Ottawa tribes had opened present-day southeast Wisconsin to Anglo-American settlement. A small fur-trading outpost already existed in the region, at the point where the Milwaukee River enters Lake Michigan, about 40 miles north of the Illinois state line. The basin of the Milwaukee River at this location offered the best natural harbor on the western shores of the lake, and the trading post grew into the city of Milwaukee. From the 1830s, sharp-eyed investors from New England and New York State saw the potential for growing wheat and shipping it from Milwaukee to eastern markets via the Great Lakes and the newly opened Erie Canal, which connected Lake Erie with the Hudson River. These "Yankees" took the lead in organizing the town of Milwaukee in 1839 and ensuring that it was chartered as a city in 1846.[12]

Milwaukee quickly emerged as the major entrepôt for the wheat grown in its hinterlands. At first the rivers and plank roads converging on the city brought in the crops; beginning in the 1840s, railroads improved transportation to and from Milwaukee. Other industries based on agricultural production and stock raising—flour milling, meat packing, and leather tanning—developed in the decades prior to the Civil War. In 1840, Milwaukee County had a population of 5,605, most of it within what would soon become the city limits. The city's population then rose from 20,061 in 1850 to 45,246 in 1860. Large numbers of German immigrants began arriving in the city in the 1840s, joining migrants from the eastern part of the United States. Smaller numbers of the Irish also arrived, many of them working to build and maintain the railroads. Within a few decades, German-Americans were largely integrated into the city's social and business elite. The Germans also brought with them an industry—beer brewing—that would become emblematic of Milwaukee.[13]

[10] Lucian Palmer, an African American, was elected to a single term in the assembly in 1906, apparently because his name was the same as a prominent Milwaukee white. Palmer was not re-elected once the mistake was discovered. "Blacks Travel Rough Road to Capitol," *Milwaukee Journal,* Feb. 7, 1988.
[11] Notes for a proposed magazine article, LB Papers, box 4, folder 8; *Justice for All,* xi.
[12] Robert C. Nesbit, *Wisconsin: a History,* 2nd ed. revised and updated by William F. Thompson (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1989), 100-102; John Gurda, *The Making of Milwaukee..* Milwaukee: Milwaukee County Historical Society, 1999.
[13] Gurda, *The Making of Milwaukee*, 79-87, 100-101.

In the last third of the 19th century, meat packing, leather tanning, and brewing continued to grow. Flour milling remained important but began to decline in importance after 1875. A host of new industries arose, notably the production of iron and steel; the fabrication of all kinds of metal products; machine tool making; and shoe, boot, and harness making. Heavy industry concentrated largely on the lakefront. The shores of the Milwaukee River and its tributary, the Menomonee (running west from the center of town) filled in with lighter industry and warehousing activity.[14]

The growth of industry in the later 19th century brought a sharp increase in immigration. While Germans and Irish continued to arrive, from the late 1870s, the influx was increasingly from eastern and southern Europe. The majority were Poles, with lesser numbers of Italians, Serbs, Slovaks, Croats, Greeks, and European Jews. In addition, the production of heavy machinery was added to the existing roster of industries. By 1910, 57 percent of the city's labor force was involved in manufacturing. In that year, the foreign-born and their children made up 78.6 percent of Milwaukee's population of 373,857. Industry thrived during the First World War and the 1920s, suffered during the Great Depression, and then came roaring back during World War II and the postwar boom. The city's reliance on industry continued through the 1960s, when it began a decline that turned into a rout in the 1980s. The movement of the city's residents to the suburbs accelerated from the 1950s on. Milwaukee's population reached its peak of 741,324 in 1950, when it was America's 11th largest city. The 2016 population was estimated to be 595,047, and the city was then the 31st largest in the country.[15]

When Lloyd Barbee arrived in Milwaukee in 1962, Milwaukee had a reputation as a well-administered, civic-minded, and culturally conservative community. Milwaukee residents were particularly proud of their public schools, which typically came in near the top in rankings of urban school systems. The successive waves of European immigration originally had produced a patchwork of ethnic neighborhoods in the city. Many of these areas had become considerably more diverse ethnically by the 1960s. The south side remained a center of Polish American life, although just one-third of its residents had this heritage. In 1962, Milwaukee's 63,000 African American residents lived almost exclusively in a limited portion of the north side.[16]

[14] Gurda, *The Making of Milwaukee,* 117-118, 123-126; Gerd Korman, *Industrialization, Immigrants, and Americanizers; The View from Milwaukee, 1866-1921* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1967), 17.
[15] Gurda, *The Making of Milwaukee,* 167-175, 180, 378; Jones, 15.
[16] Jones, 14-18.

The Milwaukee African American Community

African Americans were present in the city from its earliest days, but remained a very small percentage of the population until the late 1940s. Blacks in 1910 numbered just 980, constituting 0.3 percent of the population. In 1930, the number had risen only to 7,501, or 1.3 percent of the population. By contrast, the African American population in Chicago had reached 7 percent by 1930. As late as 1950, blacks in Milwaukee numbered 21,772 and represented 3.4 percent of the total population.[17]

Before World War II, black migrants from Mississippi, West Tennessee, and East Arkansas overwhelmingly came north on the Illinois Central Railroad, which terminated in Chicago. Few traveled on to Milwaukee, 90 miles to the north. The demand for labor during World War II and the mechanization of southern cotton agriculture after the war greatly increased the northward flow of southern blacks. The larger number of migrants and the availability of many entry-level factory jobs in Milwaukee led to a sharp increase in the city's African American population. The 1960 census counted 62,458 African American residents, 8.6 percent of the total. By 1970, African Americans numbered 105,088 and were 14.6 percent of the population. Many of the new migrants from the rural south had received a limited education. This factor and the rapid population increase strained the ability of the black community's institutions to welcome and acclimate the new arrivals.[18]

In the early decades of the 20th century, Milwaukee's African American population was concentrated on the city's near north side, in an area roughly bounded by Kilbourn Street on the south, Walnut Street on the north, 3rd Street (now Dr. Martin Luther King Drive) on the east and 8th Street on the west. Originally the near north side had been majority German American, but by about 1910 it had an ethnically diverse population, containing Jews, Hungarians, Italians, Greeks, and Croats in addition to blacks. This area had some of the Milwaukee's oldest housing and it became increasingly dilapidated in the 20th century. As long as the city's African American population remained small, whites appeared willing to live side by side with blacks. As Milwaukee's downtown expanded, the area of black settlement moved north and west. By 1940, the vast majority of the city's African Americans were in an area bounded by Juneau Street on the south, 12th Street on the west, North Avenue on the north, and 3rd Street on the east. A handful of more affluent black families had moved north of North Avenue by 1940. When the in-migration of African Americans grew substantially after World War II, many whites moved out of the near north side, and the predominantly black area of the city expanded once more. By the early 1960s, more than 90 percent of the city's African Americans lived in a crowded 400-block area roughly bounded by Juneau Street on the south, 20th Street on the west, Keefe

[17] Jones, 14-15; Gurda, *The Making of Milwaukee,* 257; Bill Dahlk, *Against the Wind: African Americans and the Schools in Milwaukee, 1963-2002* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press: 2010), 16.
[18] Dalk, 15-16,

Street on north, and Holton Avenue on the east. As city officials grew more concerned about issues of overcrowding, dilapidated housing, and crime, this area began to be referred to as the "Inner Core." The term was sometimes applied to the entire 400-block area and at times just to the southeast segment of it, where neglect by absentee landlords and overcrowding were most severe.[19]

The area around 3rd Street and North Avenue, five blocks west of the Barbee House at 321 East Meinecke, had been the commercial hub of the north-side German American community. As the area received more African American residents, businesses aimed at black customers began to occupy the storefronts along 3rd Street. Walnut Street between 3rd and 12th Streets emerged as another major hub of black life. Along with groceries, offices, and restaurants, entertainment venues were prominent along Walnut Street. These included the Regal Theater at 704 Walnut and the Blue Room Club at 821 Walnut. African American congregations began to purchase churches and synagogues in the area. St. Mark's African Methodist Episcopal Church purchased the building of a German Reformed congregation at 1525 North 4th Street, and Greater Galilee Baptist Church purchased the Beth Israel congregation's synagogue at 2432 North Teutonia.[20]

The construction of Interstate 43 in the mid-1960s had a devastating effect on Milwaukee's black community. This north-south-running expressway removed a block-wide swath of buildings, between 10th and 11th streets in its southern reaches and between 7th and 8th streets further north. It constituted a concrete barrier running through the heart of the African American community. The widening of Walnut Street and other urban renewal projects resulted in the elimination of still more Inner Core businesses.[21]

In 1966, when Lloyd Barbee purchased 321 East Meinecke, one block north of North Avenue, the surrounding residential area was mostly African American. North Avenue historically had been a major thoroughfare and had a streetcar line until the 1950s. A capsule summary of the evolution of this neighborhood is found in the history of St. Marcus Lutheran Church and School, located three blocks from the Barbee House at 2215 North Palmer Street. The congregation's church building was erected in 1913 to serve congregants of German heritage. All services were conducted in German until 1914. By 1926, instruction in the church school was entirely in English, and the last German-language service was held in the late 1950s. Unlike other congregations that moved to the suburbs in the 1950s

[19] Jones, 19, 24; Dougherty, 58; Dahlk, 10; Gurda, *City of Neighborhoods,* 199.
[20] Trudy Knaus Paradis, *German Milwaukee: Its History; Its Recipes* (St. Louis: G. Bradley Publishing, 55: Paul H. Geneen, M*ilwaukee's Bronzeville, 1900-1950* (Charleston, So. Car.: Arcadia Press, 2006, 26, 29,70. The Beth Israel Synagogue/Greater Galilee Church is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.
[21] Gurda, *City of Neighborhoods,* 200-201.

and 1960s, St. Marcus remained committed to the community, and its school now serves primarily African-American students from the surrounding community.[22]

In 2018, the neighborhood surrounding 321 East Meinecke remained predominantly residential, with approximately 10 percent of the lots vacant, where houses have been demolished. Kilbourn Reservoir Park lies two blocks to the east, and there are a gas station and convenience store at North Avenue and Holton Avenue, three blocks to the southeast. There are more businesses to the west around the intersection of North Avenue and Dr. Martin Luther King Drive. Because the city's African American population is not as concentrated as it was 50 years ago, this section of King Drive now has far fewer businesses. The African American heritage of this section of the city is evidenced by the presence of a number of black congregations near the Barbee House. These include The Church of the First Born at 231 East Meinecke Avenue, New Beginnings Church of God in Christ at 2377 North Hubbard Street, and Eastside Church of Christ at 325 East North Avenue.[23]

Civil Rights Activity in Milwaukee

Milwaukee had seen some civil rights activism prior to the middle 1960s, but less than other cities with larger African American populations. Milwaukee African Americans established chapters of the NAACP and the Urban League (UL) in 1919, not long after these organizations came into being nationally. The NAACP had a broad agenda, seeking equal political, educational, economic, and social rights for blacks and other minorities. The UL concentrated on finding employment, housing, and economic opportunities for blacks moving into cities. Throughout their early decades, the chapters of both organizations in Milwaukee sought to advance the goal of equality largely through private persuasion among white leaders of the community. Milwaukee's first recorded civil rights demonstration occurred on June 28, 1941, when approximately 350 African Americans marched peacefully through downtown streets. The march, supported by both the NAACP and UL chapters, sought to end job discrimination. There was no immediate follow-up to this demonstration.[24]

Nonviolent, direct-action civil rights protests became more prominent nationally in the 1950s. Instead of challenging segregation through lawsuits, direct-action protests dramatically confronted segregation through marches, sit-ins, and boycotts. The first major post-World War II direct-action campaign occurred in Montgomery, Alabama, under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. In that city, a year-long boycott of city buses led to their desegregation in December 1956. In Milwaukee, the killing of a 22-year-old black man by a white police officer in February 1958 drew an angry reaction from the African American community. It also underscored some of the divisions within that community. An

[22] St. Lucas Lutheran Church website, http://www.stmarcus.org/church/about/history.
[23] Gurda, *City of Neighborhoods,* 225-227.
[24] Dougherty, 9-10; NAACP website, http://www.naacp.org/oldest-and-boldest/.

attempted police cover-up of the killing was condemned at several meetings of three to four hundred people. A group led by Rev. R. L. Nathan of New Hope Baptist Church urged a large "Prayer of Protest" march on downtown to protest police brutality. More conservative black ministers, fearing unruly demonstrators and a white backlash, persuaded Lathan to call off the march. Later, in the spring when the situation had calmed, a small demonstration of about 75 people occurred in an African American neighborhood. Lathan's call for a mass demonstration was an indication that some Milwaukee blacks were beginning to favor more assertive tactics in the fight for equality. Another sign of growing militancy was the formation in July 1963 of a local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). An interracial group, CORE had been founded in Chicago in 1942 and took an active part in most of the civil rights actions of the 1960s.[25] The growing anger and impatience with the white power structure among Milwaukee blacks would be tapped and marshaled in the school integration campaign.

Milwaukee blacks had little political power in the 1960s, partly because ward lines had been drawn to scatter the black vote. Vel Phillips won a seat on the city's Common Council in 1956. An attorney, Phillips was the first African American and first woman to serve on the council, which would not get its second black member for another 12 years. The 15 members of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors were elected at large not by ward, which made it difficult for African Americans to compete successfully. Henry Maier, Milwaukee's mayor from 1960 to 1988, found the basis of his support among white ethnic voters and had little incentive to take strong positions on issues of concern to his black constituents.[26]

Milwaukee in the 1960s was residentially one of the most racially segregated cities in America. The great majority of African Americans lived in the previously described 400-block area of the north side. The discriminatory behavior of lenders and the Federal Housing Authority, coupled with a tacit understanding among realtors and apartment owners, kept approximately 90 percent of housing in the city unavailable to blacks. African American ministers formed the Near Northside Non-Partisan Conference in spring 1963, partly in an attempt to expand housing options for blacks.[27]

The Milwaukee Board of School Directors (school board) was firmly committed to a policy neighborhood schools. Because of the city's segregated housing patterns, this policy resulted in a high level of racial segregation in the schools. As the African American population increased, many public schools in the Inner Core became overcrowded. The school board declined to shift black students to underutilized majority-white schools. As the Inner Core expanded and more and more black students enrolled in majority white schools on its periphery, the board freely allowed white students to transfer

[25] Jones, 36-39; Dougherty, 61-62, 92.
[26] Dougherty, 73; Jones, 21-22, 29, 51, 176; Dahlk, 24.
[27] Jones, 19, 24; Dougherty, 58; Dahlk, 10.

out, accelerating the conversion of these schools to majority-black status. In 1957, the board adopted a policy known as "intact busing." Under this policy, entire classes from crowded black schools were bused to white schools with empty classrooms. The black classes were not mingled with white classes, were generally not given recess with the white students, and often were bused back to their original schools for lunch. Black parents found this policy discriminatory and especially decried the loss of instructional time necessitated by up to four daily bus trips.

The Campaign to Integrate Milwaukee's Public Schools

Upon moving to Milwaukee in 1962, Lloyd Barbee quickly realized that the city's black pupils were receiving an inferior education. Throughout his life, Barbee was firmly committed to the ideal of a truly multiracial society. He believed that majority-black schools would never receive the same resources as majority white schools. Integration, then, was not only the morally appropriate course, but the only practical route to ensuring high quality education for all. Barbee's ultimate aim was for black pupils to be no less than 15 percent and no more than 40 percent in any school. In 1962, school integration was not a high priority for the leaders of the city's NAACP and Urban League branches. In their prior history these organizations had expanded employment opportunities for blacks by privately persuading members of the white power structure; they were especially proud of their success in getting more black teachers hired. Established local black leaders were not eager to press for integrated classrooms. One of Barbee's first tasks was to marshal widespread support within the African American community for school integration.[28]

From the beginning, Barbee envisioned a two-pronged campaign: he would apply pressure through public appeals and direct-action protests, but also pursue legal action if needed. The seminal 1954 United States Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* was at first thought to apply only to legally mandated segregation. By the early 1960s, integration in northern schools had become a more prominent emphasis of the national NAACP. Barbee and the NAACP were encouraged by a January 1961 decision in which a federal district court ordered the integration of a New Rochelle, New York, elementary school. This case broke new ground by outlawing not southern-style, legally imposed segregation, but what came to be called de facto segregation.[29]

Acting on behalf of the Wisconsin Conference of NAACP Branches, Barbee immediately asked the Milwaukee NAACP branch to investigate school segregation, but received no reply. After further research, Barbee went public with his charges against the Milwaukee school system in a speech to the

[28] Lloyd Barbee, draft article for *Integrated Education*, Apr. 7, 1977, LB Papers, box 4, folder 2; Dahlk, 57-58.
[29]Thomas J.Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the* North (New York: Random House, 2008), 181-182; *Taylor v. Board of Education*, 191 F.Supp. 181 (S.D.N.Y., 1961); Dougherty, 75.

Milwaukee Junior Bar Association in July 1963. In September he asked the Wisconsin Superintendent of Instruction to order that the Milwaukee schools integrate. The superintendent responded that segregation in the schools was not caused by board actions but was an unintentional result of residential patterns. In October, June Shagaloff, a national NAACP organizer, visited Milwaukee and encouraged Barbee and the local chapter to vigorously pursue its integration efforts. It required a good deal of persuasion, but Barbee secured the backing of the Milwaukee NAACP chapter.[30]

The school board responded to charges of segregation by appointing a Special Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, which began holding public hearings in September 1963. School board member Harold Story chaired the committee, which is generally known at the Story Committee. Story was a corporate lawyer and an executive of Allis-Chalmers, then a leading Milwaukee firm. Aware that some conservative black leaders favored compensatory education in preference to integration, Story devoted two months of hearings to that topic. Segregation was finally on the agenda in a December 12, 1963, meeting. At that meeting, Barbee presented a detailed 77-page report, on behalf of the Wisconsin NAACP, the Milwaukee CORE chapter, and the Near Northside Non-Partisan Conference. The report declared that "equal educational opportunity is impossible without racial integration" and demanded that the school board take concrete steps to implement integration. Barbee vowed to initiate public protests if the board failed to act. Story invited Barbee and the other black leaders to return for a meeting in January 1964. At that meeting, Story asked Barbee alone to sit at the table with the committee members, while the other black leaders remained in the audience. This move was intended to isolate Barbee and paint him as a radical without much community support. Barbee insisted that all the black representatives be seated at the table. When Story refused the request, all of the African Americans left the room. A photograph of Barbee being carried triumphantly on the shoulders of his companions appeared in the *Milwaukee Journal* the next day.[31]

The black community saw Story's actions as an insult, and Barbee's dramatic walk-out galvanized opinion. The previous August, 250,000 Americans had participated in a March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington, D.C. Lloyd Barbee led a Milwaukee contingent to that famous march, where Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech. The Washington event was an inspiration to many in the Milwaukee black community and led to a more assertive stance in the quest for equal treatment. Dr. King visited Milwaukee in January 1964, voicing his support for the school integration effort. Building on this growing support, Barbee organized a direct-action campaign that began in

[30] Lloyd Barbee, draft article, LB Papers, box 4, folder 2; Dougherty, 92-93; Jones, 62-63..
[31] Lloyd Barbee, draft article, LB Papers, box 4, folder 2; E. Gordon Young, Milwaukee NAACP, to all members, undated [Jan. 1964], National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Milwaukee Branch Records [hereinafter NAACP/MB Records], box 2, folder 2, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; Dougherty, 88-100..

February 1964 with demonstrations at schools that were receiving intact busloads of African American students. Some 350 demonstrators also marched to the school board's headquarters.[32]

March 1, 1964, was a milestone in the evolving Milwaukee civil rights movement. On that day, Lloyd Barbee organized the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC), a coalition of groups and individuals committed to desegregating the public schools. Forming a coalition was a shrewd move that helped unite the more conservative old-line leaders and emerging militants in a common cause. Founding members of MUSIC included the Milwaukee NAACP and CORE branches, the Near Northside Non-Partisan Conference, and a few Inner City church congregations with predominantly working-class memberships. Other groups, including the Milwaukee chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), joined later. Barbee was unanimously chosen to chair MUSIC. The group elected Marilyn Morheuser, a white former nun, as secretary, and B. S. Gregg, pastor of St. Matthew Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, was elected as treasurer. Gregg's church at 2944 N. 9th Street in the Inner Core housed MUSIC's headquarters. Barbee later called Gregg "one of the rocks" of the campaign. Most black preachers did not publically support the integration effort for fear of alienating more conservative church members. Active MUSIC participants included Rev. Louis Beauchamp of Antioch Baptist Church and Rev. Lucius Walker of the Northcott Neighborhood House. In spring 1965, Father James Groppi, a white Catholic priest and veteran of civil rights campaigns in Alabama, became MUSIC's second vice president. MUSIC never had more than about 100 dues-paying members, but it was able to mobilize thousands for direct-action protests. From its origin, MUSIC was a biracial group.[33]

Also on March 1, 1964, a mass meeting was held at St. Mark Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, to endorse a one-day school boycott that Barbee had been contemplating for some time. The church was packed with 600 individuals who gave overwhelming support for a boycott to take place in April or May 1964. The boycott's aim was to bring attention to racial segregation in the schools and keep the African American community energized on the issue. School boycotts to promote integration had previously occurred in Cleveland and Cincinnati, Ohio; New York City, New York; Boston, Massachusetts; Gary, Indiana; and Chicago, Illinois. Barbee and the other MUSIC leaders received information on these efforts through the national NAACP. They also conferred with leaders of the Chicago NAACP branch. The Milwaukee school board continued to infuriate many in the black community by refusing to talk with MUSIC and rejecting a mediation offer from Mayor Henry Maier. The board offered one small concession: it agreed to allow students to transfer to any other school that had room, without giving a reason, provided that parents supplied transportation.[34]

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[32] Jones, 64-65; Dougherty, 101; Dahlk, 73.
[33] Lloyd Barbee, interview by Jack Dougherty, More Than One Struggle Oral History Project Records, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, 4; Dahlk, 10, 74, 83-84; Dougherty, 92; Jones, 101.
[34] Lloyd Barbee to Calvin Sherard, March 3, 1964, NAACP/MB Records, box 2, folder 2; "Defacto School Segregation

MUSIC leaders chose May 18, 1964, the tenth anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, for the boycott. Boycott leaders planned meticulously for the boycott, and support for it grew in the Africa American community. Both of Milwaukee's daily newspapers opposed the boycott, and the district attorney threatened to arrest parents on charges of encouraging truancy if they kept their children out of school. To emphasize that the boycott had serious educational aims, MUSIC organized 33 "freedom schools" to provide alternative education on the day of the boycott. The freedom schools were held in black churches and other Inner Core venues. More than 300 teachers, college students, professors, and others conducted classes in black culture and history and the civil rights movement. Freedom schools had been a feature of a previous school boycott in Boston in June 1963. As often happened in the 1960s, leaders in one city learned from the experience of activists in other parts of the country. Some ten to eleven thousand Inner Core students stayed out of school on May 18, and an estimated 8,500 attended one of the freedom schools.[35]

The school board still declined to consider any integration steps, and MUSIC continued demonstrations in 1965, notably during three weeks in May and June when protesters chained themselves to school buses. Barbee was among those arrested. With little hope of progress through negotiation, Barbee on June 18, 1965, filed suit in federal district court, alleging deliberate segregation in the Milwaukee schools in violation of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution. Robert Carter of the national NAACP provided extensive comments on the initial draft of the complaint. The case, *Amos v. Board of School Directors of the City of Milwaukee,* had 41 student plaintiffs, both African American and white. All previous school integration lawsuits had included only black plaintiffs, but Barbee was convinced that integration was a human rights issue, not just a black issue.[36] The complaint stated that students in all-white schools were harmed by not being exposed to African American cultural traditions. The lawsuit alleged four deliberate policies of the board that fostered segregation:

1) The drawing of school attendance boundaries along racial lines,
2) The assignment of black teachers only to majority black schools,
3) Preferential treatment for white students in school transfer requests, and
4) The practice of intact busing.[37]

Fight Is Top Story for 1964," *Milwaukee Star*, Jan. 9, 1965; " Milwaukee Boycott to Take Place in April," *Chicago Defender*, January 26, 1964; Dahlk, 76-80

[35] "Biggest Rights Protest in Wisconsin History," *Chicago Defender,* May 19, 1964; Dahlk, 80-82; Dougherty, 111-113; Jones, 71-72; Sugrue, 297.

[36] Lloyd Barbee, draft article, LB Papers, box 4, folder 2; "Chained Bi-Racial Protest Group Arrested in Milwaukee," *Chicago Tribune,* May 29, 1965; "Whites Join in Suit Asking Integration, *New York Times*, June 20, 1965; Dougherty, 123.

[37] James K. Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee: How One City's History of Segregation and Struggle Shaped Its* Schools

MUSIC continued to conduct demonstrations, largely to maintain community support for school integration while the lawsuit moved forward. On August 28, 1965, 800 people attended a rally addressed by Barbee, Dick Gregory, and Fannie Lou Hamer, a prominent Mississippi activist. MUSIC conducted a three-and-one-half-day school boycott in October 1965. Freedom schools were once again provided. During this boycott, school guidance counselors were sent as truant officers to corral students at the freedom schools and bring them back to their public schools. MUSIC had planned a five-day boycott; because freedom school attendance declined on the second and third days, the boycott was called off in the middle of its fourth day.[38]

The direct-action tactics employed in the school integration battle inspired participants in subsequent Milwaukee civil rights actions. MUSIC's school boycotts, demonstrations, and chain-ins played a role in shifting the focus of the Youth Council of the Milwaukee NAACP. Previously, the Youth Council had been known mostly for membership recruitment drives and social events, but by 1963 was engaging in street protests. In 1965, the Youth Council selected Father James Groppi as their advisor, and a policy change removed the group from the supervision of the adult NAACP branch. The Youth Council began engaging in more direct-action protests. Notably, in summer 1966, the Youth Council mounted a series of demonstrations against the whites-only membership policy of the Milwaukee Chapter of the Fraternal Order of Eagles. The Eagles were a private club, but a large number of Milwaukee judges, politicians, and business and labor leaders were members. With such a membership, the club was a quasi-public organization where important contacts were made and decisions affecting public policy discussed. The exclusion of blacks from the club was another sign of their lack of clout in Milwaukee. When Youth Council demonstrations outside the Wauwatosa home of one Eagles member, Judge Robert Cannon, elicited violent reaction from some whites, Governor Warren Knowles called out 400 national guardsmen.[39]

The Youth Council and Father Groppi in 1967 and 1968 conducted a series of open housing marches. Alderwoman Vel Phillips had repeatedly introduced open housing ordinances in the Common Council, only to see them overwhelmingly defeated. Mayor Maier and other city leaders claimed that it was lack of sufficient income, not discrimination, that kept African Americans confined to one section of the city. After marches to the homes of city aldermen resulted in no action, the Youth Council decided to dramatize the issue by marching across the 16th Street Viaduct into the white ethnic neighborhoods of the south side. On August 28 and 29, 1967, the marchers were met by thousands of whites, some shouting racial epithets and throwing bottles and stones. Police prevented further violence only by

(Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2015), 27-28, 35-36.
[38] "New Boycott Set," *Milwaukee Star,* Sep. 11, 1965; "Shun Milwaukee Schools in Race Protest," *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 19, 1965; Nelsen, 26; Dahlk, 126.
[39] Jones, 112-113, 125-129.

lobbing tear gas and firing their shotguns repeatedly into the air. The Youth Council kept the marches going for 200 consecutive days, choosing different routes. The direct-action protests conducted by the Youth Council of the NAACP from 1966 through 1968 drew much of their inspiration from MUSIC's tactics in the school integration fight.

By early 1966, MUSIC's focus had shifted to preparing for the trial of the *Amos* lawsuit. Proving the lawsuit's allegations required painstaking examination and analysis of school district actions going back to 1950. The school board played hardball, dragging its feet on plaintiff attorneys' document discovery requests and insisting that the attorneys obtain separate subpoenas for every type of record they were seeking. The national NAACP contributed to the costs of trial preparation from 1967 through 1969. Much of the work in this phase of trial preparation was done by Marilyn Morheuser, a founding member of MUSIC and its executive coordinator for five years. For many years Barbee devoted roughly half of his professional time to the lawsuit and met some of its expenses out of his pocket. He took depositions from dozens of teachers and students, some in his home on Meinecke Avenue. He also worked on many of the pleadings for the case at home.[40]

The *Amos* action was assigned to Judge John Reynolds, a former Democratic governor of Wisconsin, who was believed to be a liberal on racial issues. Because the law on de facto school desegregation was evolving and perhaps from a hope that the school board would voluntarily begin integration efforts, Reynolds proceeded quite slowly. The sheer volume of the documentation to be reviewed and the school board's delaying tactics contributed to the slow pace. Barbee was ready to go to trial in 1970, but Judge Reynolds approved repeated requests for postponements from the school board. The trial finally began in September 1973 and concluded in February 1974. Lloyd Barbee and attorney Irvin Charne, appointed by Reynolds to assist Barbee, presented the case for integration at the trial.[41]

Judge Reynolds handed down his decision in *Amos v. Board of School Directors of the City of Milwaukee* on January 19, 1976, more than 10 years after Barbee had initiated his lawsuit. Reynolds wrote: "I have concluded that segregation exists in the Milwaukee Public Schools and that this segregation was intentionally created and maintained by the defendants." Reynolds upheld all of the charges made in Barbee's original complaint. Among other points, he observed that only one of 63 boundary changes approved by the school board from 1950 through 1974 enhanced racial balance. Reynolds ordered the school board to come up with an integration plan to be implemented beginning with the 1976-1977 school year. Most observers agreed that it was only Lloyd Barbee's bulldog persistence that had obtained this result. MUSIC activist Juanita Adams observed, "We all owe thanks

[40] Lloyd Barbee, draft article, LB Papers, box 4, folder 2; Nelsen, 42. Morheuser became an attorney and moved to New Jersey, where she waged a lengthy, successful court battle to equalize funding for schools throughout the state. "Marilyn Morheuser Dies at 71: Fought for Parity in Education," *New York Times*, Oct. 24, 1995.
[41] Nelsen, 42; Dougherty, 148-149.

to Mr. Barbee who dedicated himself to this lawsuit for the past ten years when most of us . . . had abandoned the cause." In a move that was widely hailed, the judge appointed former Postmaster General John Gronouski as special master to oversee the implementation of the integration plan. Of Polish American heritage, Gronouski was a savvy Democratic politician with an affable, if gruff, demeanor.[42]

In January 1976, a majority of the Milwaukee school board continued to oppose integration. Just three of the board's 15 members were African American, although blacks represented one-third of school enrollment. The board's majority hoped to get Judge Reynolds's decision overturned on appeal, while simultaneously allowing School Superintendent Lee McMurrin to begin planning for integration in case the appeal was not successful. Hired by the board in July 1975, McMurrin placed his faith in specialty schools, now more commonly known as magnet schools. He believed that these magnet schools offering specialized instruction were the best means of achieving voluntary integration with a minimum of forced busing. Each magnet high school would have a specialty, like medical technology or the fine arts, which McMurrin hoped would entice students to be bused away from a neighborhood school.[43]

Everyone concerned about Milwaukee's schools, Lloyd Barbee included, understood that community involvement and open communication were important to successful integration. No one in the city wanted to see anything resembling the intense and violent opposition to compulsory busing that Boston had experienced in 1974 and 1975. A Committee of 100, with most of its members elected from each of Milwaukee's 15 high school districts, was formed and began to hold meetings to get public input and share information about evolving school district plans. After the school board in June 1976 approved a plan that would accomplish minimal integration, Judge Reynolds ordered a new plan that would integrate one-third of the schools in each of the succeeding three years, beginning with the 1976-1977 year. Implementation of the plan went forward in fall 1976 with only a few hitches. The persistent reluctance of white parents to send their children to Inner Core schools meant that nearly 90 percent of the students bused were African American.[44]

The school board's appeal ultimately reached the United States Supreme Court, which handed down a decision in June 1977. The court sent the case back to the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals for reconsideration. In the 12 years that the *Amos v. Board of School Directors of the City of Milwaukee* case was being considered, the law on de facto segregation had evolved. By 1977, the Supreme Court was approving systemwide integration plans only if a trial court had determined that segregation had

[42] *Amos et al. v. Board of School Directors of the City of Milwaukee et al.,* 408 F.Supp. 765 (E.D. Wis. 1976); "Barbee Warns Struggle Not Over," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Jan. 20, 1976; Dahlk, 300-303, Adams quote at 303.
[43] "Critics Lash Appeal on School Plan," *Milwaukee Journal,* Jan. 26, 1976; Dahlk, 295, 303-304, 311-315.
[44] *"Reynolds OK's Plan for School Integration," Milwaukee Journal,* July 8, 1976; Dahlk, 317-319; Nelsen, 59-60.

characterized an entire school system, not just a portion of it. Because the original 1965 plaintiffs in *Amos* had long since graduated, new plaintiffs had been substituted and the case was now titled *Armstrong et al. v. Brennan et al.* When the case got back to the Seventh Circuit, it allowed Judge Reynolds's original decision to stand but ordered him to conduct a new trial on the extent of segregation and the appropriate remedy. In Milwaukee, this meant that the second year of integration, beginning in September 1977, would go forward, but planning for the third year was deferred. The Seventh Circuit also eliminated the special master position.[45]

The decision to order a retrial slowed the momentum for integration in Milwaukee. Urged by Judge Reynolds to seek an out-of-court settlement, the parties were increasingly motivated to do so. The school board had already spent one million dollars on legal fees and was seeking to cut its losses. Attorneys Barbee and Charne were open to a reasonable compromise, in part because they understood that the federal courts had become more conservative during the Nixon and Ford administrations and were unlikely to approve aggressive remedies. The second year of Superintendent McMurrin's plan had already achieved integration in about two-thirds of the schools. The two sides negotiated a compromise that was approved by Judge Reynolds in February 1979. The settlement had the following main points:

1) Approximately 75 percent of all pupils would be in schools that were from 20 to 65 percent black.
2) Every school would have at least 20 percent African American students.
3) Any black student could freely transfer out of a school more than 65 percent African American.
4) A five-person board appointed by Reynolds would monitor implementation of the settlement through June 1983.[46]

Lloyd Barbee did not get everything that he had originally wanted in the settlement, but he agreed to its terms. Most troubling was the fact that the agreement left about one-quarter of Milwaukee's students in 18 schools that were more than 90 percent black. Barbee branded the settlement "minimal but a pretty good minimum." Because Barbee believed many Inner Core schools were substandard, he could accept that far more African Americans than whites would be bused under the plan. Milwaukee's three African American papers approved of the settlement. Barbee continued to observe the implementation of the settlement, visiting schools and talking to teachers and students. The settlement did not, however, slow the exodus of white families to suburban school districts and private schools. In the 1976-1985 period, white enrollment in Milwaukee public schools fell by one-third. By

[45] *Brennan v. Armstrong,* 433 U.S. 672 (1977); "School Ruling Sent Back; High Court Orders New Look at Milwaukee Case," *Milwaukee Journal,* June 29, 1977; Dahlk, 327-328.
[46] *Armstrong et al. v. Board of School Directors et al.,* 471 F. Supp. 800 (E.D. Wis. 1979); "Settlement Reached in City School Case," *Milwaukee Journal,* Feb. 23, 1979; "Settlement Offers Look at Integration's Future," *Milwaukee Journal*, Mar. 4, 1979; Dahlk, 328-330.

2015, only one student in seven in Milwaukee's public schools was white. In fiscal years 2011 through 2015, the ethnic make-up of the system's student body remained largely constant: 55 percent African American; 24 percent Hispanic; 15 percent white, 5 percent Asian; 1 percent other.[47]

If the integration of any urban school district can be described as the work of one individual, that district is Milwaukee and that individual is Lloyd Barbee. Faced with inveterate opposition and repeated delays, he diligently worked on the *Amos* and *Armstrong* cases for 14 years, finally achieving a successful conclusion.

Lloyd Barbee in the State Assembly

In 12 years in the Wisconsin State Assembly (1965-1977), Lloyd Barbee was prescient in championing a number of causes that were minority positions then, but later entered the mainstream. He also gained a reputation as a maverick from his habit of introducing bills that had no chance of passage, but forced his colleagues to confront controversial issues. Barbee first ran for the assembly in 1964, while still in the thick of the school integration effort as the head of MUSIC. The seat that he won that year had been held by his old mentor, Isaac Coggs, who left the assembly to take a position on the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors. At first, Barbee represented the 6th legislative district, which took in much of Milwaukee's Inner Core. Redistricting in 1972 placed him the 18th district, which had similar demographics. He won that district twice before retiring from the legislature in 1977.[48]

Lloyd Barbee often remarked that he had two overriding objectives as a legislator. He wanted to help those he termed the "have-nots": blacks, Native Americans, prisoners, the poor, and the young. His other objective was to free individuals to pursue any activities or aims that did not violate another's rights. He told a journalist he wanted "to advance legislation that I think will move Wisconsin into the 20th century and get ready for the 21st. I see that as my way of challenging conventional wisdom."[49]

As a way to help the have-nots, Barbee in his first term made the passage of an omnibus civil rights bill his top priority. His original measure strengthened the state's open accommodations law, banned housing discrimination, and added staff to the state's fair employment bureau. When it became

[47] "Barbee Refused to Give Up,"*Milwaukee Journal,* Feb. 23, 1979; Dahlk, 331-332; "No Overhaul Seen after Court Order," *Milwaukee* Sentinel, Aug. 26, 1983; Milwaukee Public Schools website, http://mps.milwaukee.k12.wi.us/en/District/About-MPS/School-Board/Office-of-Accountability-Efficiency/Enrollment.htm.
[48] "Barbee Seeks Coggs Seat," *Milwaukee Sentinel,* June 4, 1964; "Opponent Pullout Leaves 18th District to Barbee," *Milwaukee Sentinel ,* Oct. 12, 1972.
[49] Don Olesen, "He Loves to Shock the System," *Milwaukee Journal Insight*, Apr. 16, 1972, 26.

apparent that the bill as drafted would not pass in the assembly, Barbee asked leaders in both houses what they would accept. He revised the bill, retaining most of its original features, but exempting smaller and owner-occupied housing units from the open housing requirement. The bill was signed into law December 10, 1965. In 1967 and 1968, the Youth Council of the Milwaukee NAACP conducted marches on 200 consecutive days to pressure the Milwaukee Common Council to pass a strong open-housing ordinance. Marches early in the campaign were met with violent resistance by hundreds of whites. Although Barbee did not take a leading role in this campaign, he participated in some marches. Barbee was cosponsor of law passed in February 1972 that removed the remaining exemptions from the state's open housing law.[50]

Another aspect of Barbee's concern for the neglected was his support of conjugal or extended visits for prison inmates. Few states allowed such visits in 1970; they later were instituted in as many as 17 states, but as of 2018 were allowed in just four. Although granting such visits is an incentive to good behavior, problems with smuggling contraband and prisoners' fathering children have led many states to discontinue them.[51]

Barbee's devotion to individual rights led him to support abortion rights, the removal of restrictions on sexual activity between consenting adults, and the legalization of marijuana. On the first two issues, the law now accords with Barbee's views, and a growing number of states have legalized marijuana use, either for medical or recreational use. In his first term and repeatedly thereafter, Barbee introduced bills to grant Wisconsin women far greater access to abortion. New York in 1970 became the first populous state to allow abortion on demand before the fetus was viable. In 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Roe v. Wade* made first trimester abortions on demand legal nationwide.[52]

Barbee introduced bills or resolutions on a host of issues. In the area of consumer protection, he cosponsored bills to adopt no-fault automobile insurance, mandate more detailed labeling of products, and provide greater disclosure of interest rates and loan terms in consumer lending. He favored legislation "to put tenants on a legal par with landlords." He wanted all Wisconsin teachers to take a course in minority history, so that students would be exposed to the stories of blacks, Indians, and Hispanics. Barbee was also a strong supporter of women's rights and was discouraged when the state's voters rejected the Equal Rights Amendment in a referendum. His concern for human rights did not stop at the water's edge. He sponsored an assembly resolution condemning Great Britain for failing to provide a bill of rights to Northern Ireland citizens. He applauded the 1971 move by the United

[50] Olesen, 25; *Justice for All,* 25-26, 58-60.
[51] *Justice for All,* 148; Marshall Project website, https://www.themarshallproject.org/2015/02/11/conjugal-visits.
[52] *Justice for All*, 19-20.

Nations to admit the People's Republic of China. Barbee served on a number of assembly committees and chaired the Judiciary Committee from 1973 to 1977.[53]

Some of Barbee's proposed legislation caused the Milwaukee mainstream media to label him "The Outrageous Mr. Barbee." He advocated lowering the voting age and the age of consent to 14. At one point, he proposed limiting all prison sentences to five years. In 1971, he told his constituents "the ultimate goal of prison reform must be the elimination of the institutions themselves."[54] Contrasting with his life-long devotion to education, he wanted school attendance to be optional for children. In 1968, Barbee suggested eliminating police forces and replacing them with a force of unarmed monitors. Responding to that proposal, the *Milwaukee Journal* editors wrote: "Assemblyman Barbee of Milwaukee's inner city area seems to feel that he must say something patently outrageous and shocking every once in a while on general principles." Barbee came to expect that sort of criticism. He noted that many of his bills would be defeated by his colleagues, "but the legislature is forced to think about it."[55]

Barbee decided not to run for re-election in 1976. At the time, he said that he had already served one term more than he originally intended. In addition, he believed that implementation of the school integration plan would take up most of his time. Barbee endorsed Marcia Coggs, the widow of Isaac Coggs, as his successor. She won the seat and held it until 1993. Upon Barbee's retirement, the *Milwaukee Journal* editorialized: "He was an urbane advocate of unpopular proposals on behalf of groups that were shunned or denounced by other politicians. Barbee was at his best when he articulated the hypocrisy of middle class morality embodied in law."[56] A passionate commitment to equal treatment under the law and the rights of the individual were at the heart of Barbee's legislative proposals.

Lloyd Barbee's Other Activities

Integrating Milwaukee's schools was not the only human rights cause that Lloyd Barbee was willing to champion and risk arrest. He served as chair for a March toward Freedom and Justice on Saturday, August 28, 1965. The march attracted about 500 participants and aimed to highlight discrimination and unfair treatment of minorities. At a 1968 rally for migrant workers, he noted: "The plight of the

[53] Edward H. Blackwell, "In the Inner City," *Milwaukee Journal,* Mar. 6, 1974; Constituent newsletters, Jan. 5 and Jan. 9, 1970, LB Papers, box 55, folder 3; *Justice for All*, 121, 189-190, 232-236, quotation at 76.
[54] Constituent newsletter, Jan. 28, 1971; LB Papers, box 55, folder 3.
[55] "Lone Black Legislator Pushes Needs of Poor," *Milwaukee Journal,* June 18, 1969; "Barbee: Man of Controversy," *Milwaukee Journal,* July 11, 1976; "Bill Would Repeal School Attendance Law," *Milwaukee Journal*, Oct. 1, 1971; "Rep. Lloyd Barbee: Forcing Them to Think," *Daily Cardinal*, Fall 1971.
[56] "Barbee to Quit Legislature," *Milwaukee Journal,* July 8, 1976; Dougherty, 164, 335; "Barbee Shifts Gears," *Milwaukee Journal,* July 16, 1976.

migrant workers is the same as the plight of my black brothers and sisters." As Hispanics became a growing minority in Milwaukee in the 1970s, Barbee worked with and advised leaders such as Jésus Salas and Bill Smith, who sometimes stayed overnight in his Meinecke Avenue home.[57] In September 1969, demonstrators protesting proposed cuts to welfare benefits marched from Milwaukee to Madison. Once at the state capitol they occupied the legislative chamber for 11 hours. Barbee was the only legislator who remained in the assembly chamber to welcome the demonstrators. He then spent years overturning a contempt charge and a disorderly conduct charge lodged against fellow activist Father James Groppi. Barbee could not be charged because he had legislative immunity.[58]

By the mid-to-late 1960s, a number of black activists were growing restless with the slow pace of integration. They championed black nationalism and were increasingly unwilling to practice nonviolence in the face of attacks by some whites. Leaders like Huey Newton of the Black Panther Party, Stokely Carmichael, and H. Rap Brown began to emphasize black self-determination, or "black power," as newspapers tended to name it. Barbee saw no contradiction between integration and black self-determination. He admired Panther leaders Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, corresponding with them and traveling to Oakland, California, to meet them.[59]

Barbee was a delegate or alternate at the Democratic National Conventions in 1968, 1972, and 1976. His daughter, Daphne Barbee-Wooten, recalls being with her father at the tumultuous 1968 convention in Chicago. During the 1968 campaign, antiwar activists urged Barbee to break with President Lyndon Johnson and oppose American involvement in the Vietnam War. Barbee declined, believing that he had a debt of loyalty, based on the president's success in passing civil rights legislation. In addition, he believed Minnesota Senator Eugene McCarthy, who ran for the 1968 Democratic nomination on an antiwar platform, was weak on civil rights. By 1972, if not earlier, he opposed the war, cosponsoring a resolution in the assembly for the withdrawal of U.S. troops.[60]

Throughout his time in Milwaukee, Lloyd Barbee carried on a general law practice, with special emphasis on representing have-nots. He handled routine matters like real estate transactions and family law cases and helped small businesses incorporate. His secretary during the 1960s, Ann Tevik, noted that he was always ready to defend someone whom he thought was being treated unfairly. He

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[57] "March Toward Freedom and Justice Set Saturday," *Milwaukee Star,* Aug. 28. 1965; "Migrant Workers Rally," *Milwaukee Courier,* Nov. 2, 1968.
[58] *Justice for All*, 122-124.
[59] Daphne Barbee-Wooten, Introduction to *Justice for All,* x; Lloyd A. Barbee to Huey P. Newton, June 1, 1971, LB Papers, box 55, folder 4; Paul H. Geneen, *Civil Rights Activism in Milwaukee: South Side Struggles in the '60s and '70s* (Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2014), 70.
[60] Daphne Barbee-Wooten, interview by Robert Blythe, Oct. 16, 2017; "Barbee Supports LBJ on Vietnam, Raps Dissenters," *Milwaukee Sentinel,* May 22, 1967; "To Campaign or Not Is 'Issue' in 6th District Race," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Sep. 28, 1968; *Justice for All*, 238-239.

frequently defended individuals arrested for participating in demonstrations; in one case he represented Dick Gregory. Tevik noted that at one point he was forced to temporarily closed his office location, "chiefly due to his aversion for billing poor people." Barbee also occasionally argued cases before appellate courts. In 1969 he helped organize a group named Freedom Through Equality. This was a Milwaukee organization that advocated for the disadvantaged and provided legal counsel to indigent defendants. Freedom Through Equality later merged with the Milwaukee legal Services Agency to become Legal Action of Wisconsin. In addition, Barbee was a cofounder of the Minority Lawyers Association of Wisconsin.[61]

A particular concern of Lloyd Barbee in his later career was aiding veterans. A Navy veteran himself, he was legal counsel for the National Command Council of the National Association for Black Veterans. He made a trip to Washington, D.C., to personally shepherd through the bureaucracy the association's application to become a certified Veterans Service Organization. Barbee frequently provided legal services to disadvantaged veterans and their families.[62]

Lloyd Barbee was also an educator. He became a lecturer in the Department of Afro-American Studies (now the Department of Africology) at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, in fall 1979. He later became an adjunct professor and continued teaching there through 2000.. Among the courses he taught were Civil Rights Legislation, Black Politics and City Government, History of African American Protest, The African American Concept of Self, and Race, Justice and Change in America. In 1982, the department initiated the Lloyd A. Barbee Essay Competition, offering a cash award to the best undergraduate paper on a topic or issue related to any area of the world with a substantial black population. The competition has been held annually. Barbee also taught courses at the University of Wisconsin Law School and Bronx Community College.[63]

Sometimes dubbed a "Renaissance Man", Barbee had wide-ranging interests. He had a great love for jazz and classical music. Associates knew never to schedule a meeting for a Saturday between 3 pm and 6 pm, because Barbee would be listening to a live radio broadcast from the Metropolitan Opera. He also was a world traveler, visiting Ireland, China and Melanesia. Later in his life, he had an apartment in New York City and a house in Jamaica.[64]

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[61] Legal records, LB Papers, box 4, folder 1; Biographical Sketch, LB Papers, box 18, folder 24; "Lloyd Barbee, 1925-2002," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, Dec. 31, 2002; "Special Memorial Edition," 5, 8-9.
[62] "Special Memorial Edition," 5.
[63] Teaching, LB Papers, box 4, folder 10; *UWM Post* 26/29 (Jan. 19, 1982), 12; *Justice for All,* 184; "Special Memorial Edition," 5, 11.
[64] "Special Memorial Edition," 4, 6, 12; Lloyd Barbee, interview with Jack Dougherty, transcript, More Than One Struggle Oral History Project Records, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Lloyd Barbee's combination of intellect, erudition, and militancy rubbed some the wrong way. His former secretary Ann Tevik noted: "While Mr. Barbee was never one to suffer fools gladly, he treated honest people who needed him with the utmost respect." A typically tart Barbee evaluation was his characterization of the leaders of the Milwaukee branch of the Urban League as "professional lackeys." Barbee also was not one to hide his erudition or opinions. His long-time friend Fred Reed remarked "if you did not have good listening skills, a time or two in conservation with Lloyd would improve them." At the same time, he could walk into a tavern in the Inner Core and comfortably relate to the patrons there. Barbee observed that he often got along better with working-class African Americans than those in the middle class.[65]

Lloyd Barbee died in Milwaukee, December 29, 2002 at the age of 77. He had told his children that he did not want a public memorial service, which he feared would be marked by "sobbing remembrances and insincere platitudes." His body was cremated and the ashes scattered under a tree at a spot on the bank of the Milwaukee River that he enjoyed. Some friends and family did gather on New Year's Eve 2002 to offer toasts to the man.[66]

Comparative Properties

Lloyd Barbee was in partnership with attorney Tom Jacobson from 1962 to 1968. In 1964, if not earlier, Barbee and Jacobson had offices in the Pabst Building, built in 1892 and located at 110 East Wisconsin Avenue. After the partnership was dissolved, Barbee kept an office in the Pabst Building at least through at least October 1972. The Pabst Building was demolished in the 1980s to make way for the 33-story Faison Building, which opened in 1989 with an address of 100 East Wisconsin Avenue. In late 1972 or 1973, Barbee moved his office to the Posner Building, built 1902 and located at 152 West Wisconsin Avenue and still standing at this writing. Barbee's daughter, Daphne Barbee-Wooten, remembers that her father used the Posner Building office for about eight or ten years.[67] All of MUSIC's direct-action protests and the bulk of Barbee's legal work on the desegregation law suit occurred from 1964 through 1972. Given that the building that housed Lloyd Barbee's law office during that period no longer stands, his house is the property that best represents his important work promoting the integration of Milwaukee's public schools.

Another extant property in Milwaukee connected with the school integration effort is St. Matthew Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, 2944 N. 9th Street. St. Matthew pastor B. S. Gregg was

[65] "Special Memorial Edition," 9, 14-15; *Milwaukee Star,* May 8, 1965.
[66] "Special Memorial Edition," 12, 19.
[67] Questionnaire for League of Women Voters, n.d. [1964], LB papers, box 18, folder 24; "Opponent Pullout Leaves 18th District All to Barbee," *Milwaukee Sentinel,* Oct. 12, 1972; "Tower Makes Bow to History," *Milwaukee Journal,* July 5, 1988; Daphne Barbee-Wooten, personal communication, Jan. 30, 2019.

MUSIC's treasurer and the church housed the group's headquarters. The church is the subject of a separate National Register nomination now being prepared. The church represents just one aspect of Barbee's multifaceted career and lacks the multiple associations present in his house at 321 East Meinecke Avenue.

Conclusion

Lloyd Barbee was the most important 20th century civil rights leader in Wisconsin and played a key role in the development of that movement. He energized a substantial portion of Milwaukee's African American community and organized a direct-action campaign challenging segregation in the city's public schools. These were the first sustained, large-scale public civil rights protests in Wisconsin, and they served as a model for subsequent campaigns like the open housing marches of 1967-1968. He devoted 14 years to a legal case that eventually led to the racial integration of Milwaukee's public schools. In his 12 years in the State Assembly (1965-1977), he sponsored numerous pieces of legislation, notably bills banning discrimination in housing. For most of those 12 years, he was the only black member of the legislature. Barbee was well ahead of his time in pushing for legislation expanding individual rights in the areas of abortion, sexual activity between consenting adults, marijuana use, conjugal visits for prisoners, and a number of other areas. In his law practice, he defended many indigent defendants, often without charging for his services.

Lloyd Barbee's importance was recognized in the numerous awards and tributes accorded him in his lifetime and after. The American Civil Liberties Union of Wisconsin in 1995 gave Barbee its Eunice Z. Edgar Award for Lifetime Civil Liberties Achievement. Barbee was honored with several awards from the national NAACP and its Milwaukee chapter. The City of Milwaukee declared September 6, 1997, Lloyd A. Barbee Day and in 1995 named a street in a new subdivision between North 20th and North 22nd Street West Barbee Street. In 2001, the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee conferred an honorary doctorate in sociology on him. In 2010, Garden Homes Elementary School, 4456 North Teutonia Avenue in Milwaukee, was renamed Lloyd Barbee Montessori School. This is a citywide, public, specialty elementary school offering a Montessori curriculum.[68]

Many individuals were inspired by Barbee's example to become social justice advocates. At Barbee's death, former Milwaukee Alderwoman Vel Phillips observed: "Milwaukee did not really appreciate his commitment to social change, and he was willing to say exactly what he thought and what he stood for. He never backed off. Other people tried to sugarcoat things. But Lloyd just told it like it was." Barbee offered the following description of himself: "A gadfly, a conscience-prick, he will always be on the outside in a stodgy town like Milwaukee but has managed to nudge it from its tortoise ways to

[68] "Special Memorial Edition," 5; *Justice for All,* 182, 274-75; Milwaukee Public Schools News Release, Nov. 19, 2010.

its resentment and perhaps to his own surprise."[69] Barbee's closing on his letters was always "Justice for All." He devoted his adult life to that cause.

The Lloyd A. Barbee House is the Milwaukee property that best represents Barbee's achievements and his contributions to the civil rights movement. Barbee maintained a law office in various buildings in Milwaukee, but at times his only office was in his home. He did a considerable amount of work on the integration lawsuit in his home and conducted meetings of MUSIC there. Activists from out of town frequently stayed in a spare bedroom in the house. Only minor changes to the house's exterior have been made since 1980, and the interior is unchanged. The house fully conveys the exceptional significance of Lloyd Barbee and a crucial chapter in the history of the civil rights movement in Wisconsin.

Preservation Activities

The City of Milwaukee is a Certified Local Government and has a decades old commitment to historic preservation. The City has a local historic preservation ordinance and Commission, historic preservation planning staff, and actively nominates buildings for landmark status.

Acknowledgements

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[69] "Lloyd Barbee, 1925-2002"; Lloyd Barbee, notes for a proposed magazine article, LB Papers, box 4, folder 8.

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End of References

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Verbal Boundary Description:

The west 40 feet of Lot 1 in Block 40 in J. L. Pierce's Subdivision into city lots of Lots 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, and 55 in the South West ¼ of Section 16, Town 7 North, of Range 22 East in the City of Milwaukee.

Boundary Justification:

This boundary encompasses the legal parcel occupied by the Lloyd A. Barbee House during the period of significance.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Information for all photographs:

Name of Property:	Barbee, Lloyd A., House
City or Vicinity:	Milwaukee
County:	Milwaukee
State:	Wisconsin
Name of Photographer:	Robert W. Blythe
Location of Original Digital Files:	Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin
Date of Photographs:	May 5, 2018

1. North elevation, facing south
2. West elevation, facing east
3. South elevation, facing north
4. East elevation, facing west
5. Porch bracket, facing northwest
6. Side yard, facing south
7. Office and living room from dining room, facing northwest
8. Dining room from living room, facing southeast
9. Office, facing south
10. Kitchen, facing northwest
11. Stairs to basement, facing north
12. Basement, facing south
13. Lloyd Barbee’s bedroom, facing south
14. Guest bedroom, with hall and bathroom beyond, facing north
15. Bathroom, facing southeast
16. Second floor recreation room, facing southeast
17. Second floor south bedroom, facing northwest
18. Second floor north bedroom, facing southwest

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7. Flyer from race for Wisconsin Assembly
8. Poster for MUSIC school boycott

Figure 1, Site plan

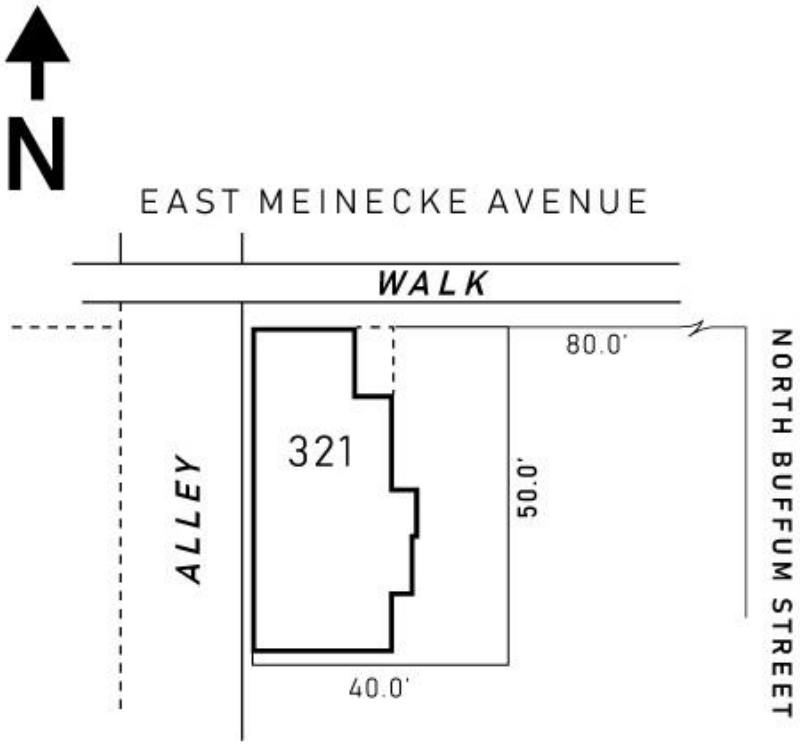


Figure 1: Site Plan, Lloyd A. Barbee House
Approximate scale: 1 inch = 20 feet

Figure 2, First floor plan

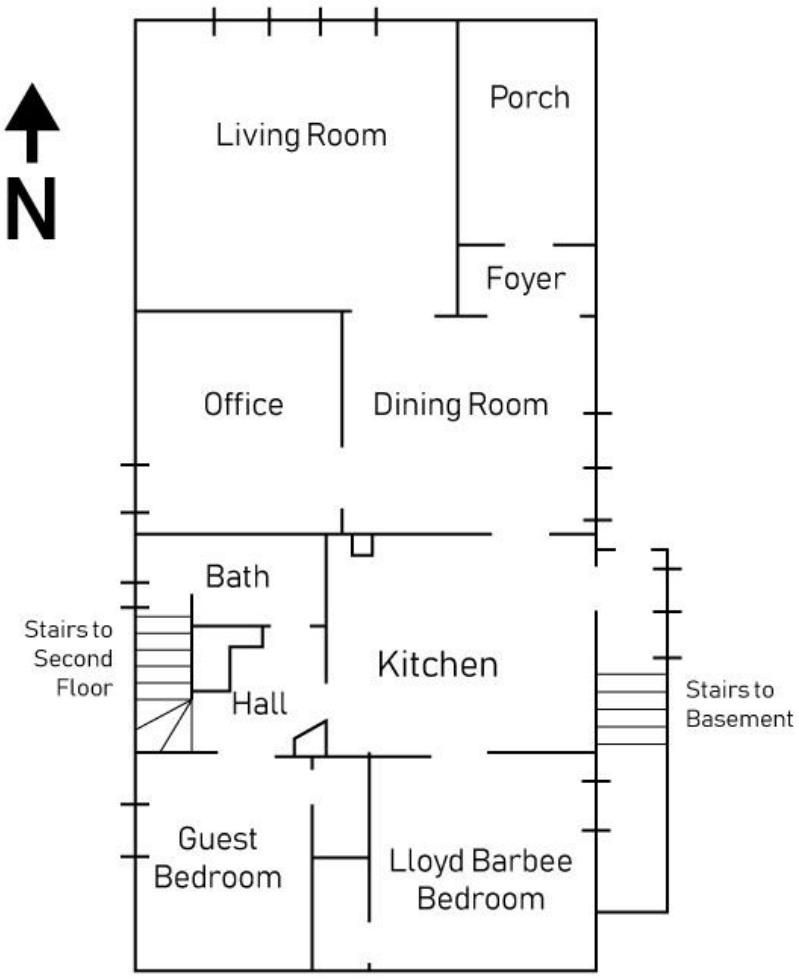


Figure 2: First Floor Plan, Lloyd A. Barbee House
Approximate scale: 1 inch = 5.2 feet

Figure 3, Second floor plan

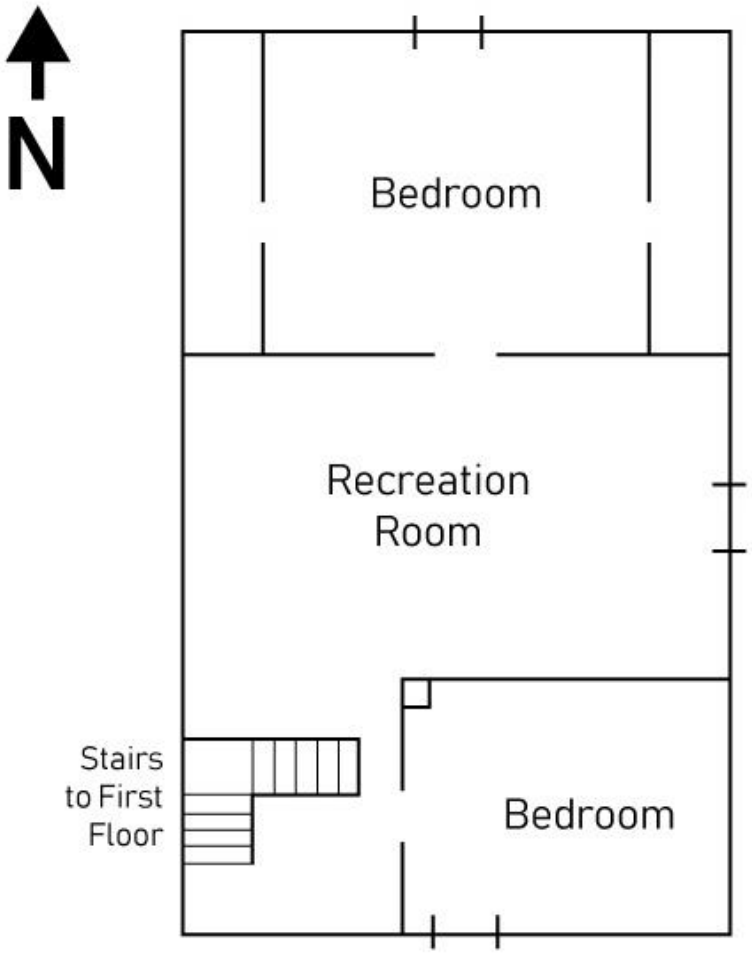


Figure 3: Second Floor Plan, Lloyd A. Barbee House
Approximate scale: 1 inch = 5.2 feet

Figure 4, Historic photo, Lloyd Barbee House, February 1966

Figure 5, Location of Lloyd Barbee House

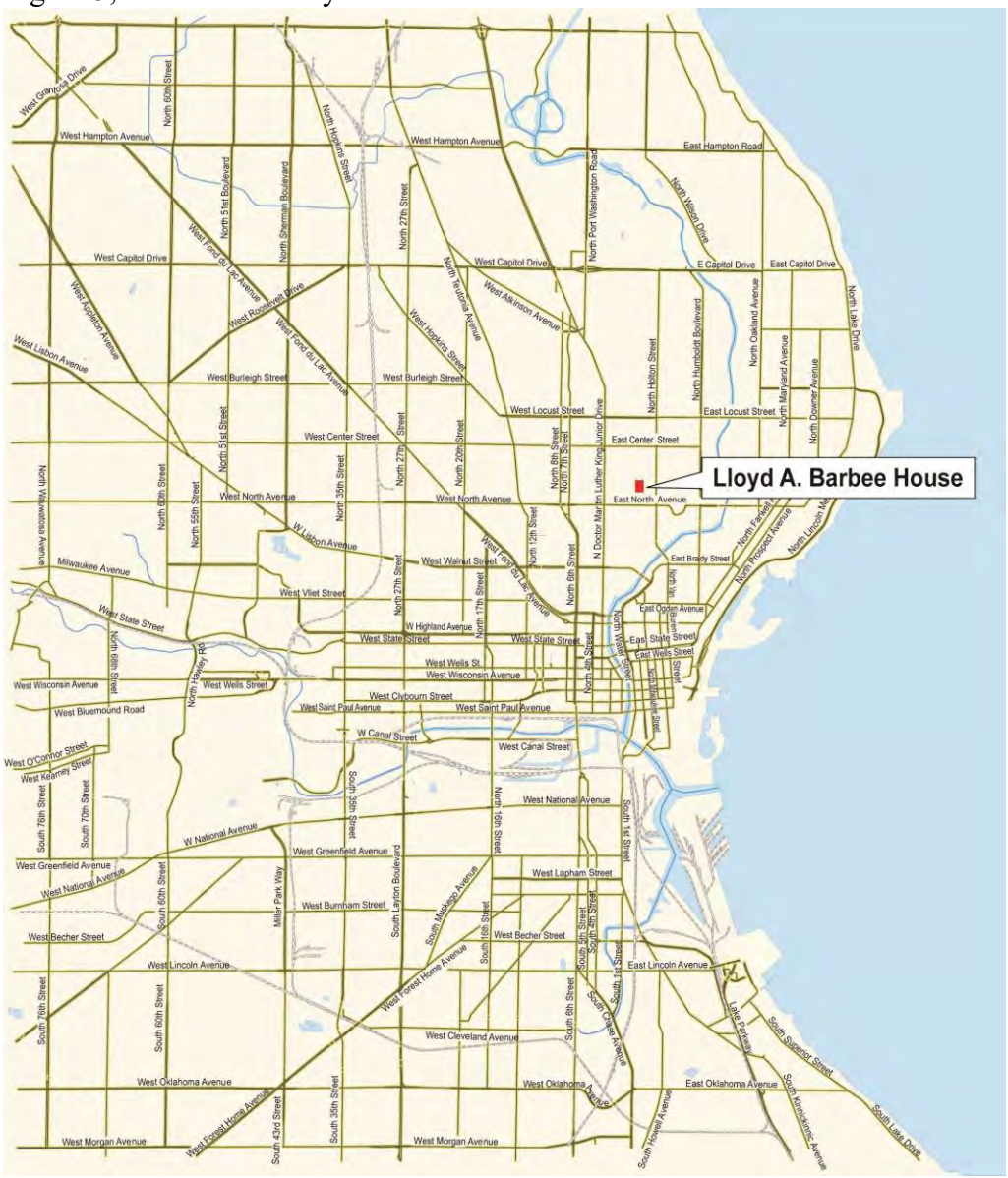


Figure 6, Lloyd Barbee Speaking

Figure 7, Flyer from race for Wisconsin Assembly

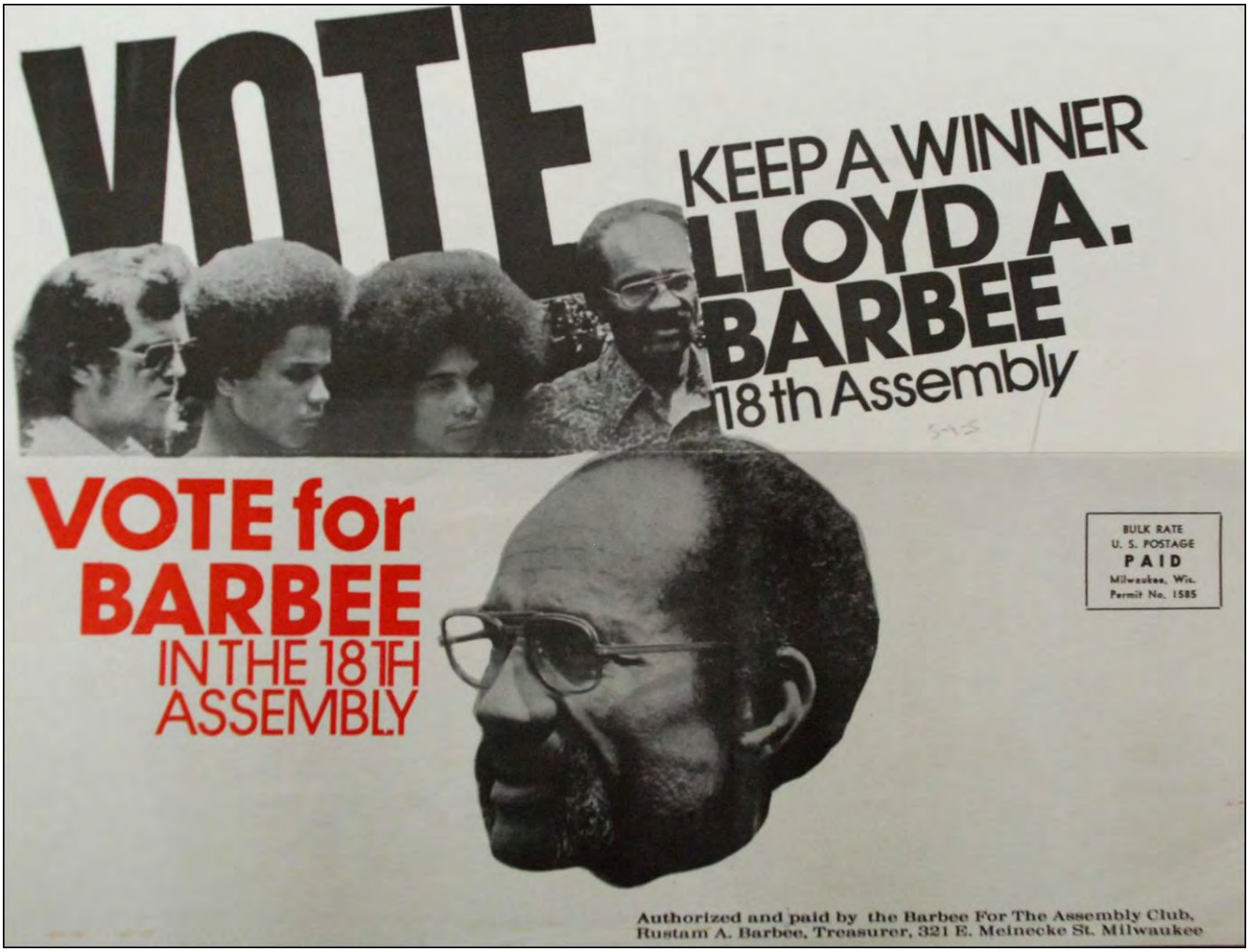
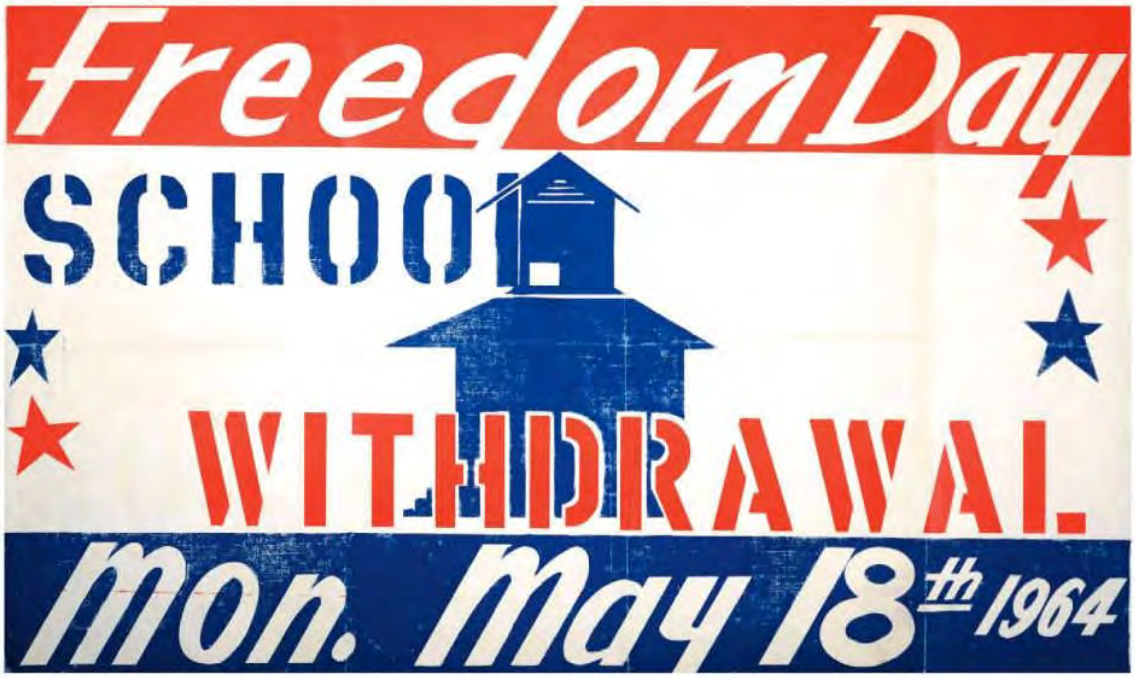


Figure 8, Poster for MUSIC school boycott



This poster from the Wisconsin Historical Society's Social Action Poster Collection announces the first of three school boycotts organized from 1964 to 1966 by the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee or MUSIC, an umbrella civil rights organization. According to Jack Dougherty's *More Than One Struggle* (reviewed in this issue), eleven thousand children, about 60 percent of all students from "inner-core" schools, stayed out May 18, 1964, the tenth anniversary of the decision in Brown v. Board of Education.

Milwaukee

Map ID: 18-0112-7519-02R

mytopo
A TRIMBLE COMPANY
One South Broadway, Billings, Montana 59101
(877) 467-7867

Vicinity Map
Wisconsin

Source Map Information

Index of original USGS topographic map sheets. Source date, contour interval, and map symbology may vary by source map. Please refer to the index the published date of the original map.

ID	Date	Sheet Name (contour int)
1	1994	Wauwatosa (10 FT)
2	1971	Milwaukee (10 FT)

Magnetic declination of 3W at center of map on January 12, 2018

1:24000 Scale

0 0.2 0.4 0.6 0.8 1 Miles
0 0.2 0.4 0.6 0.8 Kilometers

Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) Projection Zone16
North American Datum of 1983 (NAD83)

Lloyd A. Barbee House
32 East Menomee Avenue
Milwaukee, Milwaukee County

18-0112-7519-02R

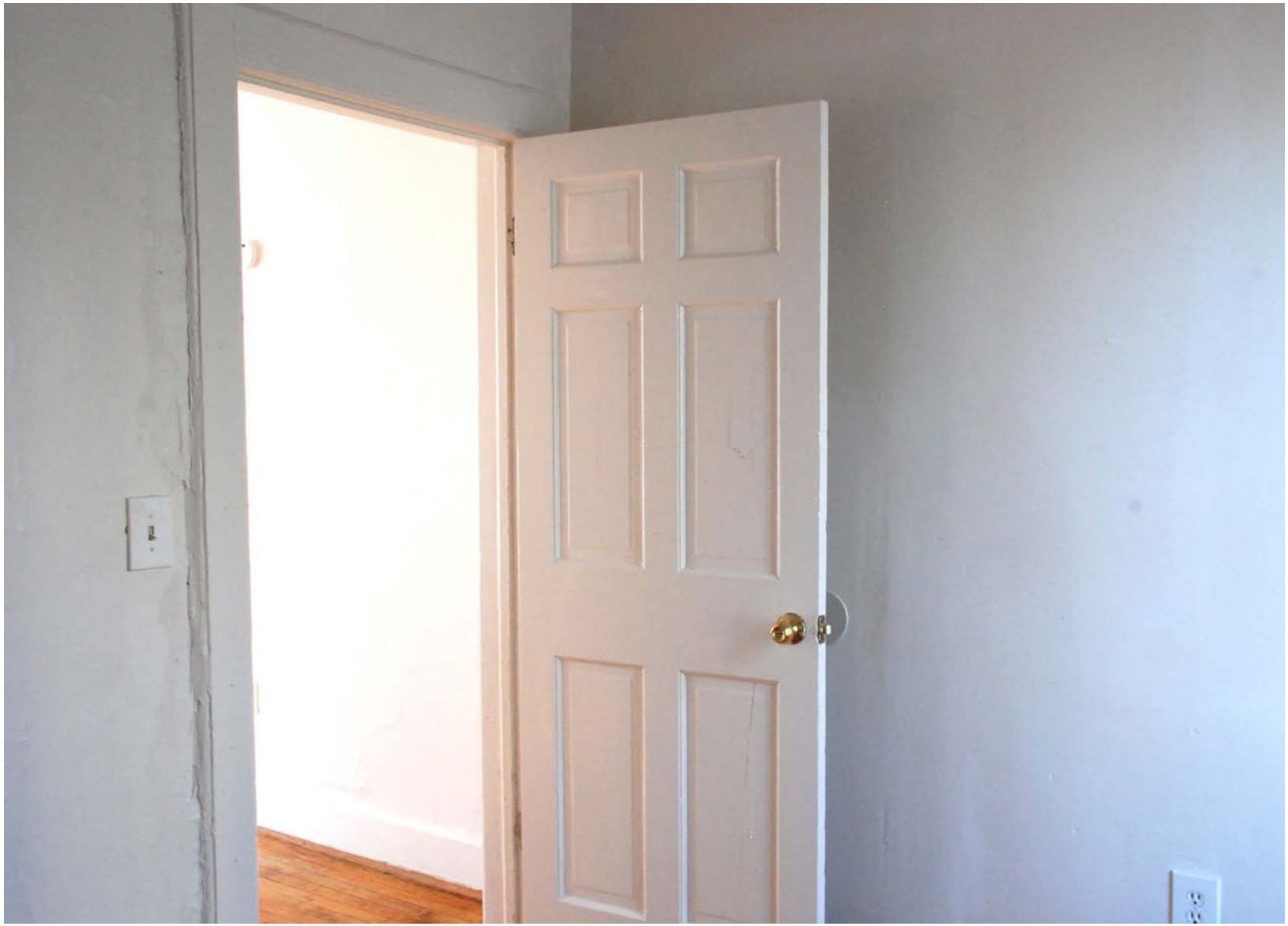
Lloyd A. Barbee House, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, 1 of 18

Lloyd A. Barbee House, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, 3 of 18

Lloyd A. Barbee House, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, 4 of 18

Lloyd A. Barbee House, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, 5 of 18

Lloyd A. Barbee House, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, 7 of 18



Lloyd A. Barbee House, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, 9 of 18

Lloyd A. Barbee House, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, 10 of 18

Lloyd A. Barbee House, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, 12 of 18

Lloyd A. Barbee House, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, 14 of 18

Lloyd A. Barbee House, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, 16 of 18


FOR RENT.
Orange
414-276-RENT

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

Requested Action:	Nomination
Property Name:	Barbee, Lloyd A., House
Multiple Name:	
State & County:	WISCONSIN, Milwaukee

Date Received:	Date of Pending List:	Date of 16th Day:	Date of 45th Day:	Date of Weekly List:
4/4/2019	4/22/2019	5/7/2019	5/20/2019	5/15/2019

Reference number:	SG100003940
Nominator:	Other Agency, SHPO

Reason For Review:

__ Appeal	__ PDIL	__ Text/Data Issue
__ SHPO Request	__ Landscape	__ Photo
__ Waiver	__ National	__ Map/Boundary
__ Resubmission	__ Mobile Resource	__ Period
X Other	__ TCP	**X** Less than 50 years
	__ CLG	

__**X**__ Accept _____ Return _____ Reject __**5/7/2019**__ Date

Abstract/Summary Comments:	
Recommendation/ Criteria	

Reviewer Barbara Wyatt Discipline Historian

Telephone (202)354-2252 Date

DOCUMENTATION: see attached comments : No see attached SLR : No

If a nomination is returned to the nomination authority, the nomination is no longer under consideration by the National Park Service.

AUG 1 0 2018

RECEIVED
APR 0 2 2019

BY:

City of Milwaukee

Office of the City Clerk

Jim Owczarski
City Clerk
jowcza@milwaukee.gov

Richard G. Pfaff
Deputy City Clerk
rpfaff@milwaukee.gov

August 6, 2018

Peggy Veregin
National Register Coordinator
Wisconsin Historical Society
Division of Historic Preservation and Public History
816 State Street
Madison, WI 53706

Dear Ms. Veregin:

RE: CLG Review of the National Register Nomination of the Lloyd A. Barbee House at 321 East Meinecke Avenue

In accordance with the provisions of the Certified Local Government Agreement between the City of Milwaukee and Wisconsin State Historic Preservation Office, the Milwaukee Historic Preservation Commission has reviewed the National Register nomination of the Lloyd A. Barbee House. The Commission determined that the property met the Statement of Significance as outlined in the application and voted to support the nomination on August 6, 2018.

The Historic Preservation Commission feels proud of the recognition bestowed upon the life and work of Lloyd A. Barbee. National Register properties are not all architectural gems; sometimes history's most significant achievements were born in modest surroundings as the Barbee house demonstrates. Attorney, activist, champion of the "have-nots" and promoter of justice for all only begin to describe the multi-faceted career of Lloyd A. Barbee. His efforts to end segregation in the Milwaukee Public Schools are legendary and the ten-year-plus battle has come down through the decades as one of the most significant achievements of the Civil Rights movement in Wisconsin.

If you need additional information or have any questions please feel free to contact the Historic Preservation Commission staff at (414) 286-5722.

Sincerely,

VICE CHAIR

Alderman Robert Bauman Chair
Milwaukee Historic Preservation Commission

C: Jim Owczarski

STATE SENATOR
LaTonya Johnson

WISCONSIN STATE SENATE

6TH DISTRICT

January 14, 2019

Wisconsin Historic Preservation Review Board
c/o Peggy Veregin
Wisconsin Historical Society
816 State Street
Madison, WI 53706

Dear Ms. Veregin,

I am writing to voice my support for the *Lloyd A. Barbee House, 321 East Meineke Avenue, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, WI* to be added to the Wisconsin State Register of Historic Places and National Register of Historic Places.

Lloyd A. Barbee was a giant in Milwaukee's history as well as the state's history. Mr. Barbee was an attorney, a state legislator, and a tireless advocate for civil rights and desegregation of our educational system.

After his successful legal challenge to Milwaukee Public Schools' segregated school policies, he was elected to the Wisconsin State Assembly, where he continued to be a pioneer on issues such as fair housing, gay rights, women's rights, and criminal justice reform.

I can think of no better tribute to Lloyd Barbee's legacy than protecting and preserving his Milwaukee home—so that future generations might learn his courageous story and the lasting impact that his struggles for justice and equality had on the city of Milwaukee and the state of Wisconsin.

Sincerely,

LaTonya Johnson
Wisconsin State Senator
6th District

State Capitol · PO Box 7882 · Madison, WI 53707-7882 · (608) 266-2500 · (877) 474-2000 · Fax: (608) 266-7381 · District: (414) 313-1241
Email: Sen.Johnson@legis.wi.gov · http://legis.wisconsin.gov/senate/06/johnson

WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TO: Keeper
National Register of Historic Places

FROM: Peggy Veregin
National Register Coordinator

SUBJECT: National Register Nomination

The following materials are submitted on this Nineteenth day of March 2019, for the nomination of the Lloyd A. Barbee House to the National Register of Historic Places:

1	Original National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form
1	CD with NRHP Nomination form PDF
	Multiple Property Nomination form
18	Photograph(s)
1	CD with image files
1	Map(s)
8	Sketch map(s)/figures(s)/exhibit(s)
2	Piece(s) of correspondence
	Other:

COMMENTS:

	Please ensure that this nomination is reviewed
	This property has been certified under 36 CFR 67
	The enclosed owner objection(s) do or do not constitute a majority of property owners
	Other: