"Say What You Really Believe":
Freedom Schools, Youth Empowerment, and Black Power in 1960s Milwaukee

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Abstract

Background: The historical literature on the civil rights movement has tended to underemphasize the movement's educational activities, while literature on the civil rights and black power movements has overemphasized ideological and tactical differences between these chapters in the struggle for black liberation. A few studies have examined "freedom schools," educational projects established as part of larger civil rights campaigns, but these studies have focused almost exclusively on freedom schools in the Southern context.

Purpose: Focusing on freedom schools organized as part of a school desegregation campaign in Milwaukee during the mid-1960s, this article explores the pedagogical purpose and philosophy of the freedom schools, as distinct from other protest activities undertaken as part of the campaign, as well as the legacy of the freedom schools after the campaign's conclusion.

Research Design: This historical analysis examines materials such as lesson plans, flyers, and correspondence from the archives of the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC), the organization responsible for the school desegregation campaign.

Findings: This article shows that core components of the freedom school curriculum, which sought to challenge deficit-oriented policies and empower youth to create social change, foreshadow key tenets of black power ideology.

Conclusions: These findings suggest the freedom schools as important sites of ideological development, highlight continuity between the civil rights and black power movements, and situate the freedom schools as part of a longer tradition of education for liberation and self-determination.

Executive Summary

The historical literature on the civil rights movement has tended to underemphasize the role of educational activities in the movement's work, despite the high profile of examples like the "freedom schools" organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee as part of their Freedom Summer campaign in Mississippi in 1964. A few studies have examined freedom schools in the South, including the Mississippi freedom schools. Yet activists opened freedom schools across the U.S. during the 1960s, and freedom schools began to appear in the North before the Freedom Summer campaign began.

What was the purpose of these freedom schools? What did organizers intend to accomplish? What philosophies of educational quality and equality did they embody? How did they contribute to the larger movement for civil rights and black liberation? What is their legacy? This historical analysis responds to these questions by examining archival materials such as lesson plans, flyers, and correspondence from freedom schools established as part of a school desegregation campaign in Milwaukee in the 1960s. It shows that core pedagogical components of the freedom school curriculum, which sought to challenge deficit-oriented policies and empower youth to create social change, foreshadow key tenets of black power ideology.

The freedom schools were a response not only to school segregation, but also to a compensatory education policy that characterized black students as culturally deprived and in need of remediation and enrichment. This view of black students reflected longstanding racist assumptions about black students' capabilities, as well as new anxieties about disproportionately lower-income and less-educated migrants who arrived in Milwaukee from the South in the 1950s and early 1960s. Key features of the freedom school curriculum suggest that it was intended to coun-

ter the negative messages conveyed by the district's compensatory education policy and empower youth to challenge their oppressive circumstances.

Beyond its emphasis on classic civil rights themes such as "freedom, justice, brotherhood, [and] equality," the freedom school curriculum reveals three objectives: teaching students about black history and culture, affirming the importance and value of the individual, and cultivating youth activism. These themes reject the district's framing of black students as deficient and parallel black power ideology's emphasis on black cultural pride and self-determination, as well as black power's enactment in locally-focused activism. The unique ideology embraced by Milwaukee's NAACP Youth Council in the late 1960s, which combined black power with integrationist goals and interracial alliances, may indicate the enduring impact of the ideas embodied by the freedom school curriculum on the local movement's ideological landscape.

This article argues that freedom schools were important sites of ideological development in the Milwaukee movement, illustrates the ideological continuity between the local civil rights and black power movements, and situates the freedom schools as part of a longer tradition of education for liberation and self-determination. The parallels between the objectives of the freedom school curriculum and key tenets of black power ideology reveal a transitional moment during which the boundaries between the civil rights and black power movements were somewhat blurred. This piece shows that as they developed a curriculum emphasizing youth empowerment, civil rights activists were cultivating ideas about black cultural pride, self-determination, and activism that would become central to black power ideology. The civil rights and black power movements were not clearly demarcated, as traditional narratives suggest; rather, black power had roots in the evolving thinking of civil rights activists.

As the civil rights and black power movements are part of a longer struggle for black liberation and racial justice, the freedom schools are part of a longer tradition of education for liberation and self-determination that stretches from the days of slavery up to the present. In this tradition, education is about more than just literacy: it is about the recognition that "knowledge is power," as the Colored People's Convention of the State of South Carolina declared in 1865, and that knowledge and critical thought are therefore crucial to both freedom and social change. Black communities have long demanded quality public education, and when governments have failed to deliver, they have provided it for themselves. As this article shows, the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee both voiced such demands and, through the freedom school curriculum, articulated their own vision of education for liberation and self-determination. The pedagogical model they developed, with its emphasis on history, cultural pride, individuality, humanity, and activism, has endured, continuing to influence programs promoting civic engagement and activism among youth today.

Introduction[1]

On May 18, 1964, children in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, attended school. Like other students across the nation, they studied history and literature, wrote essays, attended assemblies, ate lunch, sang songs, and performed plays.[2] But these students were not attending Milwaukee's public schools. Their schools were held in churches and run by volunteers; their lessons focused on civil rights and explored ideas like "freedom" and "equality."[3] These were "freedom schools," and these students were protesting segregation in Milwaukee's public school system.[4]

Milwaukee is among the most segregated cities in the United States. For well over fifty years, it has been characterized by segregation in both its neighborhoods and its schools.[5] Even so, Milwaukee was a latecomer to the movement to end school segregation in Northern cities. As late as 1962, eight years after the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* that prohibited *de jure* segregation, a school desegregation movement in Milwaukee was conspicuously absent.[6] When it did arrive, it was heralded by a series of boycotts between 1964 and 1966 during which black students withdrew from Milwaukee's public schools to protest school board policies. Rather than asking students to stay home, the boycotts' organizers, the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC), opened more than two dozen freedom schools as alternatives to the public school system.[7] Similar in many ways to freedom schools established elsewhere across the nation, including those run by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Mississippi during the summer of 1964, these schools were a crucial element of MUSIC's overall strategy of direct action in pursuit of school desegregation.[8]

Most historical accounts of the civil rights era in Milwaukee conflate the objectives of the school boycotts and the freedom schools, and many say little about the freedom schools' curriculum and activities other than to highlight their emphasis on "black history and culture," minimiz-

ing their significance both as ambitious, comprehensive educational programs and as strategic components of the larger desegregation campaign.[9] A tendency to gloss over the educational activities of civil rights activists is all too common.[10] Although the freedom schools established initially as part of the 1964 Freedom Summer project in Mississippi have achieved the highest profile, freedom schools predating the Mississippi campaign have been documented across the United States, in the North as well as the South. An early example took place in Hillburn, New York, in 1943, when black families staged a "'general strike'" against the town's policy of segregated schooling that lasted more than a month. The freedom school established to serve participating students was managed initially by volunteers and later by a teacher hired with funds from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.[11] During the summer of 1963, volunteers from New York City staffed a freedom school program for students in Prince Edward County, Virginia, where the public school system had been closed in 1959 in an attempt by white officials to avoid desegregation.[12] Activists also organized freedom schools during 1963 and early 1964 for thousands of boycotting students in Chicago, Boston, and New York City, all part of campaigns for more equitable, integrated education.[13] Teachers and activists who had worked in Boston and Prince Edward County later assisted with the freedom school initiative in Mississippi.[14] In Cleveland, Ohio, whose postwar story of dramatic demographic change and battles over school desegregation in many ways mirrored that of Milwaukee, students attended freedom schools as part of a desegregation campaign late in the spring of 1964, shortly before Milwaukee's first school boycott and the beginning of Freedom Summer in Mississippi.[15] Even after Freedom Summer drew to a close and participation in the Mississippi freedom schools declined, activists made plans for freedom schools in conjunction with boycotts and walkouts in Chicago in 1965; Detroit and Oakland, California, in 1966; and Detroit again in 1969.[16]

Despite their prevalence during this period, relatively little scholarly work has focused specifically on freedom schools – as opposed to the protest actions they accompanied – outside of Mississippi. What was the purpose of these freedom schools? What did organizers intend to accomplish? How did they respond to local needs and conditions? What philosophies and "visions" of educational quality and equality did they embody?[17] How did they contribute to the larger movement for civil rights and black liberation? What is their legacy? These questions are rarely posed in the current literature. Works by historian Jon Hale on the Mississippi freedom schools and sociologist Christopher Bonastia on the Prince Edward County freedom schools are noteworthy exceptions.[18] However, the Mississippi and Prince Edward County freedom schools were two fairly similar projects, and freedom schools established in other contexts, particularly contexts beyond the South, could contribute illuminating and potentially distinct answers to these questions.

This piece examines these understudied institutions and their unique and crucial role in the struggle for racial justice in Milwaukee. Specifically, it seeks to illustrate how the freedom schools served as critical sites for both education and ideological development within Milwaukee's civil rights movement. Historian Robin Kelley argues that "[r]evolutionary dreams erupt out of political engagement; collective social movements are incubators of new knowledge."[19] In Milwaukee, freedom school organizers attempted to resist racially discriminatory education policies and train a new generation of activists using a curriculum designed to empower youth to press for change in their community. Rather than focusing on the freedom schools' impact on individual participants, this piece explores the "new knowledge" the freedom school organizers created and the ideological legacy of the freedom school curriculum. This curriculum captures a transitional moment in which the city's civil rights activists began to develop new ideas and

rhetoric more closely aligned with black power ideologies, revealing under-recognized links between civil rights and black power and between black power and youth empowerment.

The traditional narrative regarding the civil rights and black power movements casts the former as a heroic Southern freedom struggle and the latter as a counterproductive expression of Northern urban frustration. Recent scholarship has questioned this understanding and instead proposed an interpretation that emphasizes the "continuity" between these elements of the struggle for black liberation.[20] For example, work by historians Jack Dougherty and Patrick Jones on school desegregation and fair housing activism in 1960s Milwaukee suggests that the boundaries between the local civil rights and black power movements were somewhat blurred by overlapping strategies, objectives, and even participants.[21] Jon Hale has made similar observations about the relationship between civil rights and black power in the context of Mississippi's freedom schools, asserting that they "provide a lens through which to see continuity as well as change…In spite of a narrative that suggests otherwise, the ideology and philosophy that underpinned the Freedom Schools was alive and well throughout the 1960s."[22] The evolving thinking captured in the Milwaukee freedom school curriculum not only illustrates the overlap between these movements in the everyday work of Milwaukee's advocates for racial justice, it also suggests that the foundations of black power ideology in Milwaukee developed in tandem with, if not out of, civil rights activists' ideas about youth empowerment.

The critical role that freedom schools, with their mission of youth empowerment, played in the local civil rights movement and the development of black power in Milwaukee also underscores the importance of education in the larger civil rights movement and the struggle for black liberation more broadly. Educational programs and "movement schools" associated with that struggle, including freedom schools and later "liberation schools" established by groups such as

the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California, reflect a longstanding belief in the relationship between education, liberation, and "self-determination" that predates both the black power and civil rights movements.[23]

Although the events and ideological developments in Milwaukee in the 1960s reflected broader trends, they were fundamentally rooted in local context. In order to understand these events and developments fully, it is first necessary to understand the demographic and social changes that occurred in Milwaukee during the previous decade and the social, political, and policy implications of those changes.

Milwaukee in the 1950s and Early 1960s

Demographic Change, Residential Segregation, and School Segregation

At the end of World War II, Milwaukee was a largely "white working-class" city with a strong ethnic character. Although Milwaukee's black population had historically been quite small, the city already had a century-long history of segregation, discrimination, and racial tension.[24] Then, during the 1950s, the city's black population saw exceptionally rapid growth: while Milwaukee as a whole grew by about 16 percent, its African American population grew by 187 percent, or from about three percent to about eight percent of the city's population.[25] Migration from the South accounted for much of the change; Milwaukee and other Midwestern cities like Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and St. Louis ranked among the major destination cities during this period.[26] While skilled migrants often found work in Chicago, Milwaukee attracted more low-skilled migrants. Limited skills, combined with barriers in the job market, led to correspondingly limited economic prospects for these migrants.[27] Class divisions within Milwaukee's black community were heightened as established, middle-class residents sought to distinguish themselves from new arrivals.[28]

Milwaukee's black population, both middle-class and migrant, was concentrated primarily in a small part of the central city known as the "Inner Core." This concentration reflected the effects of formal and informal policies and practices whites used to maintain residential segregation, as well as widespread antipathy toward the possibility of integration.[29] The high degree of segregation in Milwaukee's neighborhood schools is typically attributed to the city's residential segregation, and contemporary critics alleged that district policies and decisions, such as school siting, attendance zones, and transfer policies, reinforced the relationship between residential and school segregation. The district denied these allegations, however, and the illegality of these policies was hard to prove in the absence of an explicit policy of segregation of the type outlawed by *Brown v. Board*.[30]

Despite these conditions, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee professor Charles O'Reilly noted in a 1963 report on the Inner Core that Milwaukee's black "middle class" was expanding.[31] He suggested that "[a]s it grows, the middle class can serve as a model for the Negro community, providing goals and direction for the deprived, more recently arrived Negroes who must be integrated into the total community if they are to play an effective role in the life of the city."[32] This characterization of black migrants as "deprived" reflects ideas and attitudes that are key to understanding both the Milwaukee school district's responses to the changes occurring in the city's black community and the landscape of civil rights advocacy in Milwaukee during the early to mid-1960s.

District Responses to Demographic Change

For policymakers, one of the major concerns with respect to educating Milwaukee's growing population of black students was "acculturation."[33] As in other communities that experienced similar demographic changes, the perceived moral and cultural failings of disproportion-

ately lower-income and less-educated black migrants were the subject of significant "anxiety" among the city's white residents, as well as some members of the established black middle class. Policymakers believed that newcomers and their children would be more successful and less prone to crime and other social problems if they were taught Northern urban culture and values.[34] In Milwaukee, these concerns led to the development of "cultural adjustment" and "compensatory education" programs in Milwaukee Public Schools in the 1950s. Many established black leaders and community members supported these initiatives for political convenience and to distinguish themselves from the migrant population while maintaining their own privileged status.[35] These programs were intended to address the perceived academic and cultural "deficiencies" of black migrant children through "[o]rientation centers for in-migrant and transient children" and "[c]ultural enrichment activities," as well as more generic programs to improve academic achievement and workforce preparation.[36]

An important element of the district's compensatory education policy was the way it framed black children and their families as culturally deficient.[37] This was common rhetoric at the time, surfacing in O'Reilly's study of Milwaukee's Inner Core and in the Moynihan Report's infamous reference to the African American family as a "tangle of pathology."[38] The language of "cultural deprivation" was even accepted in black communities in the early 1960s, although many soured on the term later in the decade.[39] In Milwaukee, the language was often applied to middle-class and migrant students alike: even the Wisconsin Governor's Commission on Human Rights, in a description of Milwaukee's compensatory education activities, asserted that "Negro children as a group are disadvantaged…"[40] Milwaukee civil rights leader Lloyd Barbee suggested that school staff were "not even taking the trouble to test for need, instead, assuming that all Negroes need compensation because they are 'culturally deprived.'"[41] Critiques of what scholars

now call "deficit framing" or "deficit thinking" had not yet come into vogue in the mid-1960s, but civil rights activists' responses to this rhetoric and to Milwaukee's compensatory education policy, as described later in this piece, suggest that they understood how this language implicitly situated both migrant and middle-class black students as inferior to white students.[42]

This broad generalization of black children reflects the persistent and pervasive "racist myth of black inferiority," a product of white supremacy that had already shaped ideas about the distinct kinds of education appropriate for black and white students for well over a century.[43] The framing of Milwaukee's policy reflected longstanding and deeply entrenched assumptions about the "deficiency" of black students – assumptions that in turn reflected and reinforced the city's own existing racial hierarchy, both within and beyond the realm of education.

Civil Rights Activism

In the early 1960s, desegregating Milwaukee's schools was not high on the agenda of most local civil rights groups. This was partly a result of a traditional emphasis on economic and employment issues and partly a result of established black leaders' conciliatory attitude towards school policymakers during the era of cultural adjustment and compensatory education.[44] Civil rights leaders in the city had traditionally pursued relatively conservative goals with relatively conservative strategies, perhaps out of a belief that the city's still fairly small black minority did not have the political or economic leverage necessary for more aggressive campaigns.[45] By contrast, local civil rights groups formed in the early 1960s, such as the Crusaders Civic and Social League and the Milwaukee chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), were often less inclined towards cooperation than established groups. These newer groups confronted racial injustice with protests and pickets, as opposed to the more sedate tactics typical of the local NAACP.[46]

By the early 1960s, CORE chapters in other major migration destinations, such as Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, New York, and Oakland, were becoming involved in campaigns against school segregation.[47] In Milwaukee, meanwhile, shifting activists' focus to this issue proved to be a difficult task. This may have stemmed from the traditional prominence of housing and economic opportunity among the concerns of black Milwaukeeans, but it may also have reflected black residents' mixed feelings towards desegregation as a policy goal.[48] As late as 1965, a survey commissioned by the *Milwaukee Journal* found no consensus among black respondents as to whether policies to promote desegregation or policies to support "improved neighborhood schools" represented the better way to "insure proper education" for black students; even among those who joined the school desegregation campaign, motivations for supporting desegregation ranged from the principled to the merely pragmatic.[49] A preference among earlier civil rights advocates for securing "access" to white institutions while maintaining "racial solidarity," rather than achieving full "integration" into "white society," may also have been at play. But this preference was increasingly challenged by the new, more confrontational "integrationist" wing of the local civil rights movement, as well as by the shifting priorities of the movement beyond Milwaukee.[50]

Chronology of the MUSIC Boycotts and Freedom Schools

By 1962, both the Wisconsin state NAACP branch and the national organization considered school desegregation a high priority. But the Milwaukee NAACP, whose cooperation and participation the state branch needed for a local desegregation campaign, was more focused on other objectives. Lloyd Barbee, then president of the state chapter, moved to Milwaukee that year to mobilize the city's black community against school segregation.[51] Barbee made little progress on the issue during his first year. A series of protests and pickets, as well as a direct

intervention by the state NAACP, failed to force district officials and the school board into action. By the spring of 1964, campaign leaders had become impatient. On March 1, "900 citizens at a mass meeting [voted] unanimously to conduct a boycott of Milwaukee public schools to protest failure of MSB [the Milwaukee Board of School Directors] to act..."[52] The Wisconsin and Milwaukee chapters of the NAACP, the Milwaukee chapter of CORE, and other local groups together created the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC). With Barbee as chair, MUSIC was to "implement all mass action on the *de facto* school segregation issue," including the planned boycott and other protest activities.[53]

On May 18, 1964, almost exactly ten years after the *Brown* decision, MUSIC held its first boycott of Milwaukee's public schools.[54] During this boycott, MUSIC operated a network of thirty freedom schools for students who had withdrawn from their regular public schools in protest. Estimates of the number of students who participated in the May 18 boycott vary from around 11,500 (equivalent to about 60 percent of the black students enrolled in Milwaukee's public schools at the time) to MUSIC's own estimate of approximately 16,000.[55] When district leaders again failed to respond to the group's satisfaction, MUSIC called for a second boycott. This boycott, which ran from October 18 to October 21, 1965, was smaller than the first, with an estimated 7,300 participants on the first day and just 4,300 on the second.[56] MUSIC staged one final boycott, specifically targeting North Division High School in the Inner Core, on March 28, 1966; the turnout for this boycott was smaller still.[57] Over a period of two years, MUSIC made little progress towards desegregation through boycotts and other direct action strategies, and by the end of 1966, MUSIC had instead shifted its focus to a court case Barbee had filed the previous year.[58]

Freedom School Objectives and Curriculum

The freedom schools were a crucial element of MUSIC's overall strategy. Yet despite the significant time and resources MUSIC devoted to this dimension of its school desegregation campaign, historians have not yet explored the freedom schools in great depth. As one MUSIC flyer advertised, however, "[a] Freedom School is not just a poor substitute for the 'excellent education' which the *Milwaukee Journal* says children receive in our public schools."[59] Like earlier freedom schools in places such as New York City, these schools were serious and carefully planned educational operations.[60] They had an organized curriculum created by a former teacher, complete with suggested schedules and lesson plans with recommended activities and materials.[61] In addition to the lessons on "black history and culture" frequently highlighted in later accounts, time was allotted for traditional offerings like science, math, and physical education.[62] The schools also had formal policies, such as written procedures for school nurses.[63] These schools were designed to be able to replace traditional public schools on an "extended" basis.[64]

Although MUSIC saw the boycotts and the freedom schools as two sides of the same coin, they ultimately served somewhat different purposes. The school boycotts were primarily a protest action intended to raise awareness of the problem of segregated and substandard schools, demonstrate MUSIC's commitment to pressing for change, mobilize residents in support of its agenda, and, above all, force action on certain policy demands.[65] These demands were detailed in a flyer produced for the second boycott in October 1965:

> Parents are demanding a school system in which:
> - Children attend equal, integrated schools,
> - Bussed Negro children are integrated into receiving schools,
> - Sites for new schools are selected in neighborhoods that will make them integrated schools, not "Negro schools,"
> - Every child has the opportunity for guidance and course work that will prepare him for college,

- Negro teachers and recreation workers are placed throughout the city, not segregated in the inner core.

The first step which the school board must take to meet these demands is to declare a policy of integration.[66]

The freedom schools also provided MUSIC with a way to raise awareness about and protest segregated and substandard education. But they had additional objectives as well. These schools were also developed as a response to the compensatory education policy that the district had implemented in the 1950s. While the freedom schools included instruction in traditional academic subjects, MUSIC's vision for these schools focused on opportunities for students to learn firsthand what "equal education" might mean; to "[experiment]" with a model for integrated education and "interracial living"; to "enrich" students' education by teaching them about black history and culture; to help them think about ideas like "democracy" and "freedom"; to help students build "self-respect" and self-esteem; and to "[protest] a school board policy which does not recognize the dignity and worth of each child…"[67] These goals aimed, in part, to counter the persistent "myth of black inferiority" embedded in the district's policies.[68] Meanwhile, as in the Mississippi freedom schools, students' experiences were also intended to help build capacity among Milwaukee's youth to advocate for social change – in this case, school desegregation.[69] The curriculum and structure of the freedom schools were designed to support and reinforce these sweeping and ambitious goals.

The Freedom School Curriculum

Three themes emerge from a close examination of surviving freedom school materials: black history and culture, affirmation of the importance and value of the individual, and, particularly during the later boycotts, direct action strategies and the development of what scholars today might call an "activist orientation."[70] These three themes represent the core educational objectives of the Milwaukee freedom schools.

Black History and Culture in the United States

While later accounts' focus on the role of black history and culture in the freedom school curriculum is somewhat narrow, these topics were indeed a prominent and important part of the curriculum. A printed leaflet promoting the May 1964 boycott titled "Keep Your Children Out of School" promised parents that students would receive a "full and enriching experience in the areas of freedom, democracy, and the achievements of Negroes in American civic, scientific, military, legal, educational, and cultural life."[71] The freedom school materials and teaching guides reflect this commitment. A social studies plan called "A Unit of Study of Negro History for the Freedom Schools" emphasized the freedom schools' key themes of "[f]reedom, justice, brotherhood, [and] equality," which were presented through the stories of Crispus Attucks, Harriet Tubman, and Frederick Douglass.[72] Students were to read biographies of these figures, each of which was to be accompanied by a short playacting exercise in which different students portrayed the main characters.[73] A similar dramatic technique was used to present Harriet Tubman's story in a slightly longer play called "Let My People Go," which was also accompanied by a list of vocabulary words and background information to be explained by the teacher.[74] For younger students, a collection of poems and excerpts from pieces by Langston Hughes, Sojourner Truth, and others was provided.[75]

Another lesson plan, "Lesson taken from the First Book of Negroes," included some discussion of slavery, but it also included short biographical sketches of black historical figures.[76] "A Unit of Study of Negro History for the Freedom Schools" included a list of contemporary community leaders and their occupations ("Attorney Lloyd Barbee" topped the list), as well as a list of black contributors to fields including literature, art, and science. The latter included such diverse figures as Phyllis Wheatley, W.C. Handy, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Jackie Robinson, and at

the bottom it noted that "[c]hildren could probably list more…"[77] Another, still more extensive list included contemporary influential figures, such as Aretha Franklin, Sam Cooke, Sidney Poitier, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.[78] These lessons taught children about the historical hardships endured by African Americans, but they also impressed upon them the accomplishments of African Americans past and present – and therefore their own potential and the range of possibilities open to them in the future. This, as Barbee described it, was "'real compensatory education.'"[79]

Affirming the Individual

The freedom schools' curriculum also placed a strong emphasis on affirming the individual. The curriculum did not situate individuality in contrast to community, but rather sought to recognize students as individuals with unique characteristics and value, in contrast to the public schools' treatment of black students as a monolithic group. One of MUSIC's informational pamphlets, neatly typewritten on blue paper, explained that a teacher's "attitude" should be "one of belief in the dignity and worth of each of their students because," as previously noted, "Freedom School teachers will be protesting a school board policy which does not recognize the dignity and worth of each child…"[80] This theme manifested in several ways across the curriculum. The freedom schools gave students ample opportunities for self-expression through art, dance, writing, and other creative activities.[81] The instructions for a student essay contest during the final boycott in March 1966 asserted that "it is important to remember that no one has ever lived who sees things just the way you see them. Each time you write you have a chance to share you [sic] sight and your insight, a chance to reveal the unique world of your personality."[82] Educators also played an important role in affirming students' humanity and individuality. "Encourage discussion about their experiences, their frustrations, their aims in life," advised one teacher resource, while another poignantly suggested that "this may be the first time a teacher has taken

their lives seriously."[83] "Above all," freedom school principals were instructed, "these students must know we're interested in them."[84] In the freedom schools, students were recognized as individuals whose ideas, experiences, and emotions had meaning and value, in contrast to the messages sent by Milwaukee's public schools through a compensatory education policy that devalued and denied diversity among black students.

The freedom school organizers also tried to motivate students to draw connections between the course material on civil rights and their own lives. "For each of the four concepts [freedom, brotherhood, justice, and equality], a definition which has some *personal* meaning to the child as an individual and as an American should be emphasized," one of the teaching guides recommended.[85] Another teacher orientation resource, an article by activist and Mississippi freedom school teacher Florence Howe, said that "the need for identity…has to do with what happens when an individual begins to know himself as part of history, with a past and a potential future as well as a present. What happens when an individual begins to asses [sic] himself as a human being? The aim…is to assist the growth of self-respect, through self-awareness, both of which lead to self-help."[86] The Milwaukee freedom school curriculum was similarly meant to help students understand their own personal relationship to – and potential role in – historical and contemporary struggles for freedom and self-determination.

Students also learned about individuality and diversity through lessons about stereotypes. In "Don't Let Stereotypes Warp Your Judgement," a typed copy of an article published several years earlier, stereotyping was compared to seeing people as characters from a "Grade B movie," lacking depth or complexity. "Little by little," it said, "we learn not that Jews and Negroes and Catholics and Puerto Ricans are 'just like everybody else' – for that, too, is a a [sic] stereotype – but that each and every one of them is unique, special, different and individual."[87] The social

studies lesson guide to accompany this article listed as one of the objectives "to transfer from this study to an analysis of stereotyped projections of the Negro in most history texts and to move into a study of Negroes, modern and historical – as *individuals*."[88] Whereas the Milwaukee public schools' compensatory education policy stereotyped all black students as "'culturally deprived,'" freedom schools sought to acknowledge the diversity among black students and to express the importance and value of each unique individual.[89]

Direct Action and Developing an Activist Orientation

The freedom school materials demonstrate the centrality of activism to the schools' mission. An article about Mississippi freedom schools distributed to Milwaukee freedom school teachers as an orientation resource during one of the later boycotts said of the Mississippi curriculum:

> …the curriculum at the center of the Freedom Schoos [sic] is frankly and avowedly a program for leadership and development. In many different ways, the mimeographed curriculum makes clear the Freedom Schools' purpose; "to provide an educational experience for students which will make it possible for them to challenge the myths of our society, to perceive more clearly its realities, and to find alternatives, and ultimately, new directions for action." Or more briefly, "to train people to be active agents in bringing about social change."[90]

A MUSIC flyer distributed before the second boycott in October 1965 explicitly listed "techniques of non-violent direct action" among the subjects that students would learn, and a schedule from the third boycott in March 1966 listed a "Community Action Course" and a "Direct Action Workshop" among the day's activities.[91] Lloyd Barbee wrote prior to the March 1966 boycott that "one point of emphasis in this freedom school curriculum is community action which will include both direct action and political action."[92]

During the later boycotts, the vocabulary of activism, direct action, and even militancy became stronger and more prominent in the freedom school materials and in descriptions of the

freedom schools' purpose and mission. A certificate issued to participants during the first boycott in May 1964 read: "We certify that [student's name] has satisfactorily completed the requirements of a one day course securing the freedom for all children in Milwaukee to receive equal educational opportunities, that they may be able as equals to build a better life for themselves and a better world for all."[93] The second boycott in October 1965 followed more than a year of inaction from the Milwaukee school board. The freedom school completion certificate from that boycott, which featured a stylized drawing of a schoolhouse and two stick-figure students (one black, one white), said: "On Oct. 18, 1965, war was declared on unequal segregated schools in the city of Milwaukee. [Student's name] took an active part in this historic battle for equal education and human dignity."[94] By the time of the March 1966 boycott of North Division High School, the completion certificate stated: "This student joined the ranks of Milwaukee freedom fighters as he struck one more blow for the cause of justice in public schools."[95] This escalating, combative rhetoric reflected a strong commitment to action and increasing militancy. The freedom schools were no longer simply places to imagine a different, more equitable future; they were increasingly intended to be places for students to learn how to turn their vision into reality.

Ideological Development in the Freedom Schools

The Freedom School Curriculum and Youth Empowerment

Surviving documents and instructional materials from the freedom schools reveal much about the evolving thinking of MUSIC's members between 1964 and 1966. Some dimensions of the curriculum are rooted in established intellectual traditions in African American education, but these materials also show parallels between the freedom school curriculum and later black power ideologies. These similarities suggest that as the civil rights activists in MUSIC worked to create an educational experience that countered the city's discriminatory education policies

and empowered students to challenge the city's white power structure and create social change, they were also beginning to lay the foundation for a homegrown black power ideology.

Historian Peniel Joseph identifies "cultural pride" and "self-determination" as two core elements of black power ideology.[96] Although these elements were in many ways intertwined in the freedom school curriculum, the idea of cultural pride is most clearly evident in the freedom schools' emphasis on black history and culture. This characteristic of the Milwaukee freedom school curriculum arose in response to the district's deficit-oriented view of black children and the implication of black inferiority. Black Panther Party member Akua Njeri described a similar situation in Oakland:

> [Black children] learned nothing…not because they're stupid, not because they're ignorant….We would say, 'You came from a rich culture. You came from a place where you were kings and queens. You are brilliant children. But this government is fearful of you realizing who you are. This government has placed you in an educational situation that constantly tells you you're stupid and you can't learn and stifles you at every turn so that you can't learn.'[97]

The historical and cultural dimensions of the Milwaukee freedom school curriculum introduced students to stories not told in the city's public schools, and in so doing illustrated the individual and collective contributions and capabilities that Milwaukee's public schools erased or denied.

Despite the intention to instill pride in black students, the freedom schools' approach to black history appears surprisingly conservative compared to other aspects of the curriculum.[98] The freedom schools' black history curriculum echoes early twentieth century historian Carter G. Woodson's ideas about racial uplift in its listing of accomplishments in order to justify "a right to a share in the blessings of democracy."[99] Woodson's individual-oriented approach aligned closely with the freedom schools' objectives. Woodson believed that "[t]he chief value in studying the records of others is to become better acquainted with oneself and with one's possibilities to live and to do in the present age."[100] This was precisely the freedom schools' goal: focusing

on the accomplishments of black Americans was a practical way to counter the district's deficit-oriented perspective and help students grasp their own power and potential.

Later historians like Vincent Harding, writing during the black power era and the rise of black studies, were critical of Woodson's individual-oriented approach. Rather than "highlight[ing] the outstanding contributions of special black people to the life and times of America," Harding advocated a critical "exposure, disclosure…[and] reinterpretation of the entire American past."[101] He placed greater emphasis on social, economic, and political structures, and he also raised doubts as to whether America's self-image as a land of democracy and liberty could be reconciled with its racist, exploitative history.[102] But this was not the direction the freedom schools took in their treatment of black history. In order to develop racial and cultural pride and support students' sense of personal and political efficacy, the freedom school organizers chose a pedagogical approach that looked to an older, more conservative perspective emphasizing individual accomplishments over structural barriers – and yet, in supporting students' sense of racial pride and political efficacy, this strategy foreshadowed key tenets of black power ideology. MUSIC's use of a conservative strategy to further these goals captures a transitional moment in the thinking of Milwaukee's civil rights activists.

Milwaukee's freedom schools also sought to counter narratives of deficiency by affirming students' value and uniqueness through a student-centered, progressive pedagogy in the Deweyan tradition, much like the pedagogy that would be used in the Mississippi freedom schools.[103] As adopted in Milwaukee, this type of pedagogy embraced "self-expression," including artistic expression through activities like art, dance, and storytelling.[104] In addition to artistic expression, the pedagogy of the Milwaukee freedom schools, like that of the Mississippi freedom schools, encouraged students to "'articulate their own desires, demands and questions.'"[105] For

example, directions from a Milwaukee freedom school essay contest encouraged students to "be honest. Don't say what you think others want you to say. Say what you really believe."[106] These instructions encouraged students to give voice to their unique experiences and opinions and implied that they should expect to be heard.

These approaches to youth empowerment are linked to black power ideology by an idea with roots in the days of slavery: education for self-determination. In his analysis of the Mississippi freedom schools, historian Daniel Perlstein writes that "[t]he commitment to giving students the opportunity to construct meaning from their experiences reflected the belief that African-American students could collectively reshape their world."[107] As previously noted, Mississippi freedom school teacher Florence Howe wrote that the Mississippi freedom schools' objective was "to assist the growth of self-respect, through self-awareness, both of which lead to self-help" and thereby teach students to be "'active agents in bringing about social change'" – or, to use the increasingly militant language of the MUSIC campaign's latter days, to be "freedom fighters."[108] In Milwaukee, students were not only encouraged to engage on a personal level with issues related to freedom and equality, to form their own opinions, and to give voice to their beliefs; they were also taught strategies that could be used to translate their beliefs into action. In this sense, the Milwaukee freedom schools were a capacity-building project for the movement, with a curriculum designed to help students develop the confidence, sense of agency, and tools needed to challenge the city's white power structure. More fundamentally, this project was intended to cultivate a belief among black students, as individuals and as a collective, that it was both their right and within their power to shape the future of their own community. It was intended, that is, to cultivate the belief in and commitment to self-determination that became a hallmark of black power ideologies.

Black Power and Youth Activism in Milwaukee

Assessing the impact of the freedom schools as educational projects is difficult, as little primary source material exists to shed light on the matter: MUSIC's records do not reveal whether teachers implemented the freedom school curriculum as the organizers intended, and they do not contain individual information about freedom school students that would allow the effects of attendees' experiences to be systematically traced or measured.[109] It is therefore more fruitful to consider the freedom schools' impact in their role as sites of ideological development. A surge in youth activism in Milwaukee just a few years after MUSIC's campaign provides some insight into how the ideological work undertaken by the freedom school organizers might have persisted beyond the end of the desegregation campaign, affected the ideological landscape of the local civil rights movement, and influenced later campaigns for racial justice.

In the mid to late 1960s, young Milwaukeeans staged protests over numerous issues, including the absence of black history and culture in the public school curriculum, public officials' membership in racially exclusionary social organizations, and "'police brutality' and 'harassment.'"[110] Particularly prominent among the groups active during this period was the NAACP Youth Council. The Youth Council had engaged in some protest action prior to MUSIC's school desegregation campaign, as well as the desegregation campaign itself. Current or future Youth Council members "attended planning meetings, made phone calls, went door to door, passed out flyers, marched, picketed, sat-in, boycotted, sang," and, in the case of a young woman named Vada Harris, even taught in the freedom schools.[111] Father James Groppi, the priest in the parish where Harris had gone to Catholic school, held a leadership role in MUSIC before becoming the Youth Council's advisor.[112]

Following MUSIC's decline, the Youth Council worked to support a fair housing ordinance proposed by Alderwoman Vel Phillips. The fair housing campaign was met with more "hostile," at times even violent, resistance and more open expressions of "white power" sentiment than the school desegregation campaign had been, underscoring the perceived threat that residential desegregation posed to the city's established social, racial, and spatial order. But the campaign was ultimately successful: in the spring of 1968, after eight months of campaigning by the Youth Council, the city's Common Council passed the fair housing law.[113] The NAACP Youth Council housing marches still hold a high profile in the history and public memory of civil rights struggles in Milwaukee fifty years later.[114]

The direct and confrontational approach that the NAACP Youth Council used in its campaigns set it apart from the city's more conservative adult branch. While Milwaukee's adult NAACP chapter was known for working cooperatively with the city's white establishment and using the legal system to pursue civil rights goals, the local Youth Council was part of the city's radical vanguard and was quick to take up the idea of black power.[115] The Youth Council was attuned and responsive to issues within their particular community, and the variant of black power ideology they embraced was shaped by concerns that affected the daily lives of Milwaukee's black residents, including residential segregation and housing discrimination. "Grassroots organizing" and activism around such "bread-and-butter issues" were core components of black power in action, but they also reflected Milwaukee's own history of direct action around community issues, including MUSIC's earlier school desegregation campaign.[116]

The Youth Council's relationship with their white advisor, Father Groppi, illustrates one particularly revealing feature of its take on black power. Although some other organizations espousing black power ideologies rejected alliances with whites, this was incompatible with the

Youth Council's focus on desegregation as a policy goal. Despite criticism from other organizations, the Youth Council stood by its position on white participation in the movement and defended Father Groppi's advisory role. For the Youth Council, "[b]eing pro-black was not synonymous with anti-white."[117]

Insofar as they embraced desegregation, youth-driven activism, direct action, and a "pro-black" but not "anti-white" orientation, the Youth Council's flavor of black power politics and tactics reflected Milwaukee's specific concerns, conditions, civil rights history, and ideological landscape – including, perhaps, the ideas about integration, black cultural pride, youth empowerment, direct action, and self-determination that the freedom school organizers expressed in their curriculum. Given the sparse primary source material regarding freedom school students, only a handful of individuals, like Vada Harris and Father Groppi, can be identified as direct links between the school desegregation and fair housing movements.[118] Nevertheless, parallels between the vision and principles of MUSIC's freedom school curriculum and the vision and principles of the NAACP Youth Council suggest areas of ideological continuity between these two chapters in the history of the struggle for racial justice in Milwaukee.

Conclusion

Milwaukee's established black community leaders considered school desegregation a low priority in the 1950s and early 1960s, instead emphasizing issues such as housing and economic opportunity. But a growing population of black children attending increasingly segregated, racially homogeneous schools, along with a racially discriminatory compensatory education policy established in response to black migration from the South, set the stage for the rise of an active school desegregation movement in the mid-1960s. As part of this movement, the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee organized boycotts of Milwaukee's public schools and

opened networks of freedom schools to accommodate participating students. These schools featured a curriculum that sought to challenge the district's deficit-oriented compensatory education policy and train a new generation of activists to challenge the city's white power structure. The curriculum, which stressed black history and culture; individual value, agency, and voice; and direct action and an activist orientation foreshadowed black power ideology well before Stokely Carmichael famously used the term in the summer of 1966.[119] This suggests that black power ideology in Milwaukee developed in tandem with, if not out of, the program for youth empowerment created by MUSIC's civil rights activists. The freedom school curriculum demonstrates continuity between the civil rights and black power movements and illustrates the centrality of ideas about youth empowerment in the evolution of black power in Milwaukee.

The relationship between education, power, and liberation is an idea that transcends the supposed divide between the broader civil rights and black power movements. It is one that can be traced back to the days when enslaved African Americans were often legally barred from attaining even basic levels of literacy, and it is one that formerly enslaved people carried with them through Emancipation.[120] In 1865, the *Proceedings of the Colored People's Convention of the State of South Carolina* declared: "Whereas, Knowledge is power, and an educated and intelligent people can neither be held in, nor reduced to slavery…we will insist upon the establishment of good schools for the thorough education of our children."[121] Ericka Huggins, a former Black Panther and director of the Panthers' Oakland Community School, invoked this history more than a century later to explain the particular importance of the Panthers' educational programs:

> Since the history of black people in the United States is such that we were not *allowed* to read and we were not *allowed* to write, then this was very important. And it was something that our parents – *all* of our parents, no matter, where, what class we came from – felt to be important. And we *knew* that the parents of the children that we were educating felt it to be important too. Even though many of them could not read or write, those parents, they wanted the best for their children.[122]

For black activists in 1960s Milwaukee and across the United States, real education meant much more than just literacy. To paraphrase Mississippi freedom school teacher Florence Howe, education for self-determination meant helping students to know their past, to understand their present, and not only to envision, but to shape their own future.[123] In Milwaukee, as elsewhere, when local schools did not provide this type of education, black communities provided it for themselves.

The idea of education for liberation and self-determination remains as relevant as ever today. As Jon Hale notes in the conclusion of his study of freedom schools in Mississippi:

> The work of the freedom movement is unfinished. Indeed, when one conceives of the freedom movement as an ongoing struggle with roots during the era of slavery, the demand for freedom still exists alongside the notion that an education for social change, as embodied in the Freedom School model, is a viable and necessary path to achieve it.[124]

Contemporary scholars recognize the continuing value of such "education for social change," particularly for students of color, who are still too often subjected to deficit framings and racist assumptions of "non-White inferiority" much like those the freedom schools were designed to resist.[125] Work by scholars such as Bianca Baldridge, Shawn Ginwright, Julio Cammarota, and Jessica Shiller has emphasized the importance of "community-based educational spaces" and involvement in community organizations for political and civic development, especially among youth of color: "[M]any [community-based educational spaces] have been sites where young people foster critical consciousness and acquire tools to act on and create social and political change…" Baldridge and colleagues write.[126]

Indeed, the freedom schools' most enduring impact may be found in their propagation of an adaptable pedagogical model for "critical" political education that continues to be used today. As Hale has noted, many contemporary organizations involved in such education specifically

identify themselves as part of the "freedom school" tradition. Although closely tied to voter registration efforts in Mississippi and to school desegregation and early black power ideology in Milwaukee, pedagogical strategies that emphasize history and culture, center and affirm the individual, and cultivate an activist orientation can transcend specific ideologies and issues.[127] As a result of their flexibility and pedagogical power, the themes uncovered in the freedom school curriculum are still evident in contemporary programs designed to promote civic engagement and activism among youth of color and to encourage youth to challenge persistent structures of oppression and inequality. Echoing Mississippi freedom school teacher Florence Howe, for example, a staff member in a Boston-based civic activism group studied by Heather Lewis-Charp, Hanh Cao Yu, and Sengsouvanh Soukamneuth asserts that their group "'[believes] that before you go out into the community and make change, you have to really understand where you're coming from and understand yourself. This is about identity development, the history of your people, where your people stand in the bigger picture.'"[128] Lewis-Charp and colleagues add that "[t]his kind of identity support, in turn, creates a sense of purpose in young people to take a civic activist stance and to work with others in their communities to end various forms of oppression."[129] Shawn Ginwright and Julio Cammarota, studying community-based organizations in Oakland, find that "[o]nce critical consciousness is attained, the individual's subjectivity transforms to foster new possibilities and capacities to see and act differently, proactively in the world – perceptions and actions geared toward promoting justice…[Y]oung people…thus comprehend the full, humanistic potential *to create social change*."[130]

The idea of education as key to liberation and social change resonates no less with the adult activists who continue the work of the 'unfinished movement.' The Movement for Black Lives, in its continuation of the struggle against white supremacy, "[demands] independent Black

political power and Black self-determination" and advocates for "community control" of "the laws, institutions, and policies that are meant to serve us…"[131] Their policy platform decries increasing privatization and corporate involvement in education as an effort to "undermine Black democracy and self-determination" and specifically calls for a "constitutional amendment guaranteeing the right to a fully-funded education…"[132] These statements echo black communities' demands for increased state support of public education 150 years ago.[133]

Echoes of history can also be heard in present-day Milwaukee. Desegregation efforts stemming in part from Lloyd Barbee's 1965 lawsuit produced some change by the 1980s, but Milwaukee's schools, like other school systems across the nation, have been in the process of resegregating over the last two decades.[134] In the 2011-2012 school year, 100 percent of black students attending a school in the 53206 zip code, which includes part of the historical Inner Core, attended a school with a "minority" enrollment in excess of 90 percent.[135] The persistence of school segregation – along with many other systemic injustices – suggests that even local political self-determination is unlikely to produce a single, permanent solution as long as racism also remains a potent countervailing social force.[136] Advocates for racial justice must be persistent in the ongoing pursuit of policies to confront the ever-evolving manifestations of racism that prevent the realization of even such basic and longstanding goals as educational equity.

To some, the 'unfinished'-ness of the black freedom struggle may seem discouraging. But Margaret Rozga, widow of Father James Groppi, encourages us to find inspiration, not disappointment, in Milwaukee's civil rights legacy:

> I think what's important is, especially for young people today, to know that our city has a history, a tradition, of young people standing up for justice….I think the memory of…young people in this community standing up and making a difference can serve as a positive model for young people today. Their issues may be different, their tactics may be different, but they need to know, they need to see, that young people can and do have a role to play in making this a better world for us all.[137]

The freedom schools organized in Milwaukee and across the nation were, at their core, projects of similar optimism: they were premised on the idea that change, while difficult, could be achieved through individual and collective conviction, voice, and action. Educational projects today, like the freedom schools fifty years ago, should not seek to inspire students to overcome oppressive circumstances, but to empower students to challenge them. Now, as fifty years ago, students should be able to engage in the ongoing struggle for freedom and equality, and now, as fifty years ago, students' educational experiences should affirm that it is their right and within their power to shape the future of their own communities.

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Notes

[1] The quotation used in the title of this piece is from: "Essay contest directives, 1966 March 28," Box 1, Folder 4: North Division High School Boycott, March 28, 1966, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/437.

[2] "Freedom School program," Box 1, Folder 3: Freedom Day School, May 18, 1964, and Public School Boycott, October 1965, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/397, 1; "Seventh to twelfth grade schedules," Box 1, Folder 3: Freedom Day School, May 18, 1964, and Public School Boycott, October 1965, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/408, 1.

[3] "Freedom Day parent instructions," Box 1, Folder 3: Freedom Day School, May 18, 1964, and Public School Boycott, October 1965, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/march/id/430, 1; "Facts about the Freedom Day School withdrawal," Box 1, Folder 3: Freedom Day School, May 18, 1964, and Public School Boycott, October 1965, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/393; "Teachers' guide for Freedom Schools," Box 1, Folder 3: Freedom Day School, May 18, 1964, and Public School Boycott, October 1965, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/407, 3.

[4] "Teachers' guide for Freedom Schools," 3.

[5] Marc V. Levine, *Perspectives on the Current State of the Milwaukee Economy* (Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Center for Economic Development, 2013), https://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1013&context=ced_pubs, 11-12; Patrick D. Jones, *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 6-7, 257; James K. Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee: How One City's History of Segregation and Struggle Shaped Its Schools* (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2015), 9.

[6] Jack Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle: The Evolution of Black School Reform in Milwaukee* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 76.

[7] Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee*, 23-6.

[8] See, for example: Jon N. Hale, *The Freedom Schools: Student Activists in the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016); Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 109-10, 119-21; David S. Cecelski, *Along Freedom Road: Hyde County, North Carolina, and the Fate of Black Schools in the South* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 101; Russell Rickford, *We Are an African People: Independent Education, Black Power, and the Radical Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 33; Robert Trumbull, "Freedom School Staffs Varied But Classes Followed Pattern," *The New York Times*, February 4, 1964, http://www.nytimes.com/1964/02/04/freedom-school-staffs-varied-but-classes-followed-pattern.html; Christopher Bonastia, "Black Leadership and Outside Allies in Virginia Freedom Schools," *History of Education Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (Nov. 2016); Leonard Nathaniel Moore, "The School Desegregation Crisis of Cleveland, Ohio, 1963-1964: The Catalyst for Black Political Power in a Northern City," *Journal of Urban History* 28, no. 2 (Jan. 2002), 152-4; Barry M. Franklin, "Community, Race, and Curriculum in Detroit: The Northern High School Walkout," *History of Education* 33, no. 2 (Mar. 2004), 140; Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008), 453.

[9] See, for example: Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee*, 24; Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 71-2; Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 111-2; and for a slightly longer treatment, see Barbara J. Miner, *Lessons from the Heartland: A Turbulent Half-Century of Public Education in an Iconic American City* (New York: The New Press, 2013), 29-34.

[10] On this point, see: "Introduction: The Mississippi Freedom Schools," in Hale, *The Freedom Schools.*

[11] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 163-6.

[12] See generally: Bonastia, "Black Leadership and Outside Allies."

[13] Hale, *The Freedom Schools*, 35, 176; Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 297, 453.

[14] Hale, *The Freedom Schools*, 35; Bonastia, "Black Leadership and Outside Allies," 556-7.

[15] Moore, "The School Desegregation Crisis of Cleveland, Ohio," 152-3.
[16] Hale, *The Freedom Schools*, 173-4; Alan B. Anderson and George W. Pickering, *Confronting the Color Line: The Broken Promise of the Civil Rights Movement in Chicago* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1986), 154; Franklin, "Community, Race, and Curriculum in Detroit," 140, 153; David L. Kirp, "Race, Schooling, and Interest Politics: The Oakland Story," *The School Review* 87, no. 4 (Aug. 1979), 375. It is unclear from these accounts whether plans to open freedom schools in Chicago in 1965 and Detroit in 1969 were actually carried out.
[17] Robin D. G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2002), ix.
[18] See generally: Hale, *The Freedom Schools*; Bonastia, "Black Leadership and Outside Allies." "Black Leadership and Outside Allies" builds on Bonastia's earlier book *Southern Stalemate: Five Years without Public Education in Prince Edward County, Virginia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), which did not itself address the Prince Edward County freedom schools in depth.
[19] Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*, 8.
[20] See, for example: Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (Mar. 2005); Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, especially chapter 5, "Uniting the Movements for Integration and Black Power"; Peniel E. Joseph, *Waiting 'til the Midnight Hour: A Narrative History of Black Power in America* (New York: Owl Books, 2006); and, for a shorter summary, Peniel E. Joseph, "The Black Power Movement: A State of the Field," *The Journal of American History* 96, no. 3 (Dec. 2009). I am grateful to Walter Stern for recommending early on in the development of this piece that I explore this literature and consider its relevance to the Milwaukee context.
[21] See generally: Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, especially chapter 5, "Uniting the Movements for Integration and Black Power"; Jones, *The Selma of the North*; and Patrick D. Jones, "'Not a Color, but an Attitude': Father James Groppi and Black Power Politics in Milwaukee," in *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America*, ed. Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard (New York: New York University Press, 2005).
[22] Hale, *The Freedom Schools*, 153.
[23] On this point, see: chapter 3, "The Evolution of Movement Schools," in Rickford, *We Are an African People*; Cecelski, *Along Freedom Road*, 101; Donna Jean Murch, *Living for the City: Migration, Education, and the Rise of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 178-83; Heather Andrea Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 5, 7-8, 67; Hale, *The Freedom Schools*, 4, 13, 180-1, 226; "Introduction," "Ex-Slaves and the Rise of Universal Education in the South, 1860-1880," and "Epilogue: Black Education in Southern History" in James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988). Note that in this piece, I do not attempt to impose my own meanings or visions for concepts like "freedom" and "liberation"; it would be inappropriate to do so, particularly given that civil rights activists in Milwaukee did not agree even amongst themselves as to how such abstract ideas should be realized [see, for example: Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 80-5]. Rather, I seek to understand the freedom schools in the context of MUSIC's own vision of a path to freedom and liberation through integration.
[24] Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 11-23.
[25] Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee*, 16; Miner, *Lessons from the Heartland*, 17.
[26] Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee*, 16; Charles T. O'Reilly, *The Inner Core–North: A Study of Milwaukee's Negro Community* (Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, 1963), 5-6, 10-1; Dionne Danns, *Desegregating Chicago's Public Schools: Policy Implementation, Politics, and Protest, 1965-1985* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 11; James N. Gregory, "The Second Great Migration: A Historical Overview," in *African American Urban History since World War II*, ed. Kenneth L. Kusmer and Joe W. Trotter (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 22, 26, 30; Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, 3rd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 23, 29-30; Moore, "The School Desegregation Crisis of Cleveland, Ohio," 135.
[27] Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee*, 14; O'Reilly, *The Inner Core–North*, 65-75, 89; Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 25.
[28] Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 54-7.
[29] Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee*, 14-8; Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 24, 232-4; O'Reilly, *The Inner Core–North*, 1-2, 43.
[30] Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee*, 9, 18, 26-8; Governor's Commission on Human Rights, *Racial Imbalance in the Milwaukee Public Schools* (Madison, WI: Governor's Commission on Human Rights, 1966), 5-15; "Why Boycott information sheet," Box 1, Folder 3: Freedom Day School, May 18, 1964, and Public School Boycott, October 1965, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/425; Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 72-3. For an overview of legal interpretations and arguments regarding school

segregation in Milwaukee as they stood in the mid-1960s, see: Governor's Commission, *Racial Imbalance*, 19-29. Although contemporaries characterized Milwaukee's situation as "*de facto*" segregation, recent scholarship has challenged this characterization in other contexts by emphasizing the role of school and other public policies in creating and perpetuating school segregation, even in the absence of the explicit policies of segregation outlawed by *Brown*. [See, for example: Matthew D. Lassiter, "De Jure/De Facto Segregation: The Long Shadow of a National Myth," in *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism*, ed. Matthew D. Lassiter and Joseph Crespino (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).] In Milwaukee, residential segregation and district policies appear to have worked in tandem to perpetuate school segregation; therefore, I have chosen to employ the *de jure*/*de facto* distinction as little as possible in this piece.

[31] O'Reilly, *The Inner Core–North*, 81-7. For more on the development of Milwaukee's black middle class in earlier decades, see: Joe William Trotter, Jr., *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915-45* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

[32] O'Reilly, *The Inner Core–North*, 87.

[33] Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 60.

[34] Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 51-4, 62-70; Murch, *Living for the City*, 19-21, 29-31, 38, 40, 42, 48, 50.

[35] Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 52-70.

[36] Governor's Commission, *Racial Imbalance*, 30.

[37] Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 64-70.

[38] O'Reilly, *The Inner Core–North*, 33; United States Department of Labor, Office of Policy Planning and Research, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Labor, Office of Policy Planning and Research, 1965), 29; Murch, *Living for the City*, 41; see also: Bianca J. Baldridge, "Relocating the Deficit: Reimagining Black Youth in Neoliberal Times," *American Educational Research Journal* 51, no. 3 (June 2014), 441, 445; Rickford, *We Are an African People*, 53-4.

[39] Barbara Beatty, "Rethinking Compensatory Education: Historical Perspectives on Race, Class, Culture, Language, and the Discourse of the 'Disadvantaged Child,'" *Teachers College Record* 114, no. 6 (June 2012), 2, 5; Sylvia L. Martinez and John L. Rury, "From 'Culturally Deprived' to 'At Risk': The Politics of Popular Expression and Educational Inequality in the United States, 1960-1985," *Teachers College Record* 114, no. 6 (June 2012), 5-10, 16-23.

[40] Governor's Commission, *Racial Imbalance*, 30.

[41] "Lloyd A Barbee letter" [to David Llorens, 1966 March 23], Box 1, Folder 1: Correspondence and Memos, 1965-1966, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/228, 1.

[42] Baldridge, "Relocating the Deficit," 440; also see generally: Richard R. Valencia, ed., *The Evolution of Deficit Thinking: Educational Thought and Practice* (Washington, D.C.: Falmer Press, 1997); Sandra J. Stein, *The Culture of Education Policy* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2004).

[43] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 27-30, 6; Michael Fultz, "The Displacement of Black Educators Post-*Brown*: An Overview and Analysis," *History of Education Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (Spring 2004), 16; Williams, *Self-Taught*, 29, 153.

[44] Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 52, 62, 80-2, 90-1; Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee*, 21. One of the NAACP's objectives, promoting employment for black teachers, could be seen as conflicting with the goal of desegregation. Michael Fultz, for example, has described the widespread adverse impacts of desegregation in the South on black teachers and administrators, who were often demoted or replaced by white professionals. [See generally: Fultz, "The Displacement of Black Educators Post-*Brown*."] Milwaukee's story has an interesting twist, however: Milwaukee hired few black teachers prior to the 1950s, but a campaign led by the Milwaukee Urban League in the 1950s arguing that the *Brown* decision required integrating school faculty, coupled with the dramatic demographic changes during that decade, actually significantly increased the number of black teachers employed in the district. However, even into the mid-1960s, these teachers were still typically teaching in majority-black schools, and this contributed to disagreements between Lloyd Barbee and other local black leaders over objectives and priorities in the early part of the decade. [The Milwaukee Urban League, *Negro Teachers in the Milwaukee School System: A Survey Conducted under the Direction of the Milwaukee Urban League* (Milwaukee, WI: The Milwaukee Urban League, 1965), 20-1; Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee*, 28, 35; Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 45-9, 80-5.] A related point of contention was the quality and desirability of all-black schools, a question that recurs in Dougherty's *More Than One Struggle*. Vanessa Siddle Walker's examination of this question in the Southern context provides useful background for understanding the disagreement between Barbee and other local leaders. [Vanessa Siddle Walker, "Valued Segregated Schools for African American Children in the South, 1935-1969: A Review of Com-

mon Themes and Characteristics," *Review of Educational Research* 70, no. 3 (Fall 2000); also Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 83-4.]

[45] William John Dahlk, "The Black Educational Reform Movement in Milwaukee, 1963-1975" (MA thesis, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, 1990), 38-9; Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 77; Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 21-3.

[46] Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 34-5, 41-4, 47-8, 50-5, 63; Dahlk, "The Black Educational Reform Movement," 38-9.

[47] "James Farmer letter, 1964 February 21," Box 1, Folder 1: Segregation of Milwaukee Public Schools, Correspondence, 1963-1964, Congress of Racial Equality, Milwaukee Chapter: Records, 1963-1964, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/2348, 1; August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 193, 246, 248; Trumbull, "Freedom School Staffs Varied But Classes Followed Pattern"; Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 453; Moore, "The School Desegregation Crisis of Cleveland, Ohio," 139-44.

[48] Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 80-5.

[49] Bisbing Business Research, *Attitude Study among Negro and White Residents in the Milwaukee Negro Residential Areas* (Milwaukee, WI: Bisbing Business Research, 1965), http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=1189, 60; also see generally: chapter 5, "Uniting the Movements for Integration and Black Power," in Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, especially 108-19.

[50] Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 40-1, 74-7, 80-5. Note that in pursuing this strategy, these advocates carried on a tradition that allowed for "self-segregated black cultural institutions" and declined to "'reacculturate'…to white society" – a tradition that foreshadowed black power in its own way. [Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 40-1]. However, that lineage is beyond the scope of this piece.

[51] Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 75-7, 80-5, 92-3.

[52] Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 77, 92-3; Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 62-5; Governor's Commission, *Racial Imbalance*, 9-10.

[53] Governor's Commission, *Racial Imbalance*, 10-3.

[54] Governor's Commission, *Racial Imbalance*, 11; Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 111.

[55] Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee*, 24; Governor's Commission, *Racial Imbalance*, 11.

[56] Governor's Commission, *Racial Imbalance*, 12-4; Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 75; Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee*, 26.

[57] Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee*, 26; Governor's Commission, *Racial Imbalance*, 15.

[58] Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 126-7.

[59] "What is a Freedom School," Box 1, Folder 3: Freedom Day School, May 18, 1964, and Public School Boycott, October 1965, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/390.

[60] Trumbull, "Freedom School Staffs Varied But Classes Followed Pattern"; Bonastia, "Black Leadership and Outside Allies," 533, 544-5, 550.

[61] Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee*, 24; also see generally: Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/280.

[62] Nelsen, *Educating Milwaukee*, 24; "Freedom School program of activities for intermediate grades," Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/282, 1.

[63] "Songs, nurse guide and vocabulary list," Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/308, 6.

[64] "Freedom School program of activities for primary grades," Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/286, 1.

[65] "Facts about the Freedom Day School withdrawal"; "Why Boycott information sheet."

[66] "Why Boycott information sheet."

[67] "Freedom School teaching guide," Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/382, 9; "Seventh to twelfth grade schedules and curriculum," Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/371, 2; "Freedom School facts and pending boycot," Box 1, Folder 3: Freedom Day School, May 18, 1964, and Public School Boycott, October 1965, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/428; "Why Boycott information sheet"; "What is a Freedom School"; "Freedom Day School, keep your children out of school," Box 1, Folder 3: Freedom Day School, May 18, 1964, and Public School Boycott, October 1965, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/391. Passages like these suggest organizers imagined that both black and white children would attend the freedom schools. Indeed, although the freedom schools were designed with black children in mind, white students also would have benefitted from the opportunity to unlearn the assumptions of black inferiority conveyed through district policies and question the city's racial hierarchy. However, as the Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records collection does not include documentation like enrollment lists or attendance records, it is unclear whether or to what extent the freedom schools were integrated.

[68] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 27.

[69] Hale, *The Freedom Schools*, 5, 7-8.

[70] Heather Lewis-Charp, Hanh Cao Yu, and Sengsouvanh Soukamneuth, "Civic Activist Approaches for Engaging Youth in Social Justice," in *Beyond Resistance! Youth Activism and Community Change: New Democratic Possibilities for Practice and Policy for America's Youth*, ed. Shawn Ginwright, Pedro Noguera, and Julio Cammarota (New York: Routledge, 2006), 22.

[71] "Freedom Day School, keep your children out of school."

[72] "A Unit of Study of Negro History for the Negro Schools," Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/328; "Freedom School teaching guide," 9.

[73] "A Unit of Study of Negro History for the Negro Schools."

[74] "Let My People Go," Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/364.

[75] "Poem lesson for grades kindergarten through third," Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/333.

[76] "Lesson taken from the First Book of Negroes," Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/357, 1.

[77] "A Unit of Study of Negro History for the Negro Schools," 3-5.

[78] "Contributions of Negroes," Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/361, 1-2.

[79] "Lloyd A Barbee letter," 1.

[80] "What is a Freedom School."

[81] "Freedom School program of activities for intermediate grades," Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/282, 1, 3-4; "Freedom School program of activities for primary grades," 1, 3-4; "Seventh to twelfth grade schedules and curriculum," 1, 4-5.

[82] "Essay contest directives, 1966 March 28."

[83] "Seventh to twelfth grade schedules and curriculum," 7; "Freedom School teaching guide," 8.

[84] "Directives for Freedom School principals," Box 1, Folder 3: Freedom Day School, May 18, 1964, and Public School Boycott, October 1965, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Ar-

chives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/433.
[85] "Freedom School teaching guide," 9.
[86] Florence Howe, "Mississippi's Freedom Schools," Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/317, 4-5.
[87] Robert L. Heilbroner, "Don't Let Stereotypes Warp Your Judgement," Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/367, 1, 3.
[88] "Social Studies lesson on stereotypes, objectives and procedure," Box 1, Folder 2: Curricula and Lessons for Freedom School, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/366.
[89] "Lloyd A Barbee letter," 1.
[90] Howe, "Mississippi's Freedom Schools," 5.
[91] "What is a Freedom School"; "Freedom school day schedule, 1966 March 28," Box 1, Folder 4: North Division High School Boycott, March 28, 1966, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/445.
[92] "Lloyd A Barbee letter," 1.
[93] "Freedom Day School, freedom certificate," Box 1, Folder 3: Freedom Day School, May 18, 1964, and Public School Boycott, October 1965, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/388.
[94] "Freedom School certificate," Box 1, Folder 3: Freedom Day School, May 18, 1964, and Public School Boycott, October 1965, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/394.
[95] "Freedom Certificate, 1966 March 28, side 1," Box 1, Folder 4: North Division High School Boycott, March 28, 1966, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee Records, 1964-1966, Archives/Milwaukee Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Libraries, http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/march/id/435.
[96] Joseph, "The Black Power Movement," 755.
[97] Quoted in Daniel Perlstein, "Minds Stayed on Freedom: Politics and Pedagogy in the African American Freedom Struggle," in *Black Protest Thought and Education*, ed. William H. Watkins (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 48.
[98] I am grateful to Walter Stern for bringing to my attention the historical roots and later critiques of this approach to black history.
[99] Carter G. Woodson, "Some Things Negroes Need to Do," *The Southern Workman* 51, no. 1 (Jan. 1922), 36.
[100] Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-education of the Negro* (New York: Clearlight, 2012/1933), 110.
[101] Vincent Harding, *Beyond Chaos: Black History and the Search for the New Land*, Black Paper No. 2 (Atlanta, GA: Institute of the Black World, 1970), 7, 16.
[102] For more detail on Harding's views on black history, see generally: Harding, *Beyond Chaos*.
[103] For more in-depth discussion of the Mississippi freedom schools' pedagogy and its progressive roots, see generally: Perlstein, "Minds Stayed on Freedom."
[104] Perlstein, "Minds Stayed on Freedom," 41.
[105] Charles Cobb, quoted in Perlstein, "Minds Stayed on Freedom," 38.
[106] "Essay contest directives, 1966 March 28."
[107] Perlstein, "Minds Stayed on Freedom," 38.
[108] Howe, "Mississippi's Freedom Schools," 5; "Freedom Certificate, 1966 March 28, side 1."
[109] Hale finds that participating in the Mississippi freedom schools could have a lasting impact on students, and many participants continued social justice work, in one form or another, throughout their lives. [Hale, *The Freedom Schools*, 15-6, 150-71, 196-207.]
[110] Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 120; Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 119-31, 150-7.
[111] Jones, "'Not a Color, but an Attitude,'" 265-6; Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 120.
[112] Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 101, 112-4.

[113] Jones, *The Selma of the North*, 16, 122, 169-209, 183, 228, 230, 227-35; Miner, *Lessons from the Heartland*, 64.
[114] See generally: chapter 7, "1967-68: Open Housing Moves to Center Stage," in Miner, *Lessons from the Heartland*; chapter 7, "The Struggle for Open Housing," in Jones, *The Selma of the North*; "Crossing the Line: The Milwaukee Fair Housing Marches of 1967-1968: A Traveling Display," The Wisconsin Historical Society, accessed Jan. 3, 2018, https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS15090.
[115] Dahlk, "The Black Educational Reform Movement," 38-9; Jones, "'Not a Color, but an Attitude,'" 260-1, 265-6; Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 119-23.
[116] Joseph, "The Black Power Movement," 760, 763-5; also see generally: chapter 2, "Early Protest Politics," and chapter 3, "The Campaign to End School Segregation" in Jones, *The Selma of the North*.
[117] Jones, "'Not a Color, but an Attitude,'" 259-61; Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 122-3.
[118] Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 119-23.
[119] Joseph, "The Black Power Movement," 755.
[120] Williams, *Self-Taught*, 7-8; Hale, *The Freedom Schools*, 4, 13, 226; also see generally: chapter 1, "'The Pathway from Slavery to Freedom': The Origins of Education and the Ideology of Liberation in Mississippi," in Hale, *The Freedom Schools*; "Introduction," "Ex-Slaves and the Rise of Universal Education in the South, 1860-1880," and "Epilogue: Black Education in Southern History" in Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South.*
[121] Quoted in Williams, *Self-Taught*, 67.
[122] Quoted in Murch, *Living for the City*, 181.
[123] Howe, "Mississippi's Freedom Schools," 4-5.
[124] Hale, *The Freedom Schools*, 226.
[125] Gloria Ladson-Billings, "Landing on the Wrong Note: The Price We Paid for *Brown*," *Educational Researcher* 33, no. 7 (Oct. 2004), 5; on this point, see generally: Baldridge, "Relocating the Deficit."
[126] See, for example: Shawn Ginwright and Julio Cammarota, "Youth Activism in the Urban Community: Learning Critical Civic Praxis within Community Organizations," *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 20, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 2007); Jessica T. Shiller, "Preparing for Democracy: How Community-Based Organizations Build Civic Engagement Among Urban Youth," *Urban Education* 48, no. 1 (Jan. 2013); Baldridge, "Relocating the Deficit"; Bianca J. Baldridge, Nathan Beck, Juan Carlos Medina, and Marlo A. Reeves, "Toward a New Understanding of Community-Based Education: The Role of Community-Based Educational Spaces in Disrupting Inequality for Minoritized Youth," *Review of Research in Education* 41 (Mar. 2017), 392.
[127] Hale, *The Freedom Schools*, 219-23, 16, 2.
[128] Quoted in Lewis-Charp et al., "Civic Activist Approaches," 26.
[129] Lewis-Charp et al., "Civic Activist Approaches," 27.
[130] Ginwright and Cammarota, "Youth Activism in the Urban Community," 699. Although these scholars focus on youth of color, it is also worth thinking about how this type of pedagogy could be used to help white students understand and unlearn racist ideologies and resist, rather than perpetuate, racist social structures.
[131] "Platform," The Movement for Black Lives, accessed Mar. 17, 2018, https://policy.m4bl.org/platform/; "Political Power," The Movement for Black Lives, accessed Jan. 13, 2018, https://policy.m4bl.org/political-power/; "Community Control," The Movement for Black Lives, accessed Jan. 13, 2018, https://policy.m4bl.org/community-control/.
[132] "Community Control"; "Invest-Divest," The Movement for Black Lives, accessed Aug. 1, 2017, https://policy.m4bl.org/invest-divest/.
[133] Williams, *Self-Taught*, 69-70; Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 4-5.
[134] Erin Richards and Lydia Mulvany, "60 Years after Brown v. Board of Education, Intense Segregation Returns," *JSOnline.com*, May 17, 2014, http://archive.jsonline.com/news/education/60-years-after-brown-v-board-of-education-intense-segregation-returns-b99271365z1-259682171.html; Jon N. Hale, "The Forgotten Story of the Freedom Schools," *TheAtlantic.com*, June 26, 2014, https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2014/06/the-depressing-legacy-of-freedom-schools/373490.
[135] Marc V. Levine, *Zipcode 53206: A Statistical Snapshot of Inner City Distress in Milwaukee: 2000-2012* (Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Center for Economic Development, 2014), https://dc.uwm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1006&context=ced_pubs, 15, 4; Dougherty, *More Than One Struggle*, 59.
[136] For a statistical summary of continuing challenges in this particular neighborhood, see generally: Levine, *Zipcode 53206*.
[137] "Freedom Walkers for Milwaukee | Web Extra | Peggy Rozga," Milwaukee Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), accessed Aug. 1, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WFxEVEXR2HU, beginning 16:31.

Peer Review Process

The initial manuscript was uploaded to an online submission system with the author's name and institutional affiliation removed from the file. Colleagues' names were also redacted in certain places to further mask the author's institutional affiliation and identity. Three external reviewers read the manuscript and shared comments anonymously via the online submission system. The author revised and resubmitted the article based on this feedback and included an anonymized cover letter describing the ways in which the revisions addressed the reviewers' comments, after which the editor accepted the article. This article is also identified as peer-reviewed in the ERIC record submitted independently by Teachers College Record: https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1271628.

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