

# FIRST MAYOR OF BLACK MILWAUKEE J. ANTHONY JOSEY

by Genevieve G. McBride and Stephen R. Byers



In the last decade of the last millennium, owing to the growth of African American-owned businesses in Milwaukee, the city began to realize the vision of journalist J. Anthony Josey, a pioneer in its black press almost a century before. "When we can have businesses like the other races, employing our boys and girls, we shall have made a long step in the solution of the problem," Josey wrote in his *Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade*. "The men and women who are conducting business houses in Milwaukee are worthy of our support. With our help they can develop into powerful institutions that will give employment to thousands of our boys and girls."

## Bronzeville Has New Mayor, and His Election Is Cheered

"And the winner is . . . Mr. J. Anthony Josey! Congratulations, Mr. Mayor!" A roar of joy and con-



"Mayor" Josey

gratulations swelled up from the crowd which had collected Monday night at the Community club room of the YWCA, 738 W. Walnut st., and with a mile wide grin, J. Anthony Josey, 715 W. Somers st., a staunch Republican, university graduate, friend of the people, and now mayor of Bronzeville, stood up to receive the applause. The official ballot count, following the month long campaign, showed Josey had amassed 5,260 votes, more than double of those for his nearest rival, Sanford Carter, 511 W. Lloyd st., who had 2,128. Third was Mrs. Helen Reid, 1620 N. 7th st., with 2,066 and fourth, Lawrence Miller, 1833 N. 10th st., 1,020.

The margin of victory was a true vote of confidence in the man who

for the next two years will act as official "greeter" for the district, leader of social affairs, unofficial spokesman of the Negro population, and "friend in need" to any and all of his constituents.

The new mayor of Bronzeville was born in Augusta, Ga., and attended high school there. Then he moved to Atlanta and was graduated from Atlanta university. Two years in the University of Wisconsin law school came next and then Milwaukee, where he has lived for the last 20 years.

"You know," Josey told well wishers, "I haven't missed a single Republican convention since 1906, but this is the first time I ever ran for an office. I'd always rather make the other man win."

Though he has never held public office, Josey has been in the public eye since coming to Milwaukee. He was sent to Washington once as the representative of Wisconsin at a memorial meeting for Negroes. He is sergeant-at-arms for the Republican American committee.

He was at one time editor and manager of the *Enterprise Blade*, a weekly Negro newspaper in Milwaukee and a member of nearly every committee in the city which deals with interracial affairs.

Although his title of mayor was unofficial, Josey gave a voice to a long-disenfranchised portion of Milwaukee's population.

*Milwaukee Journal*, 11/13/1945, p. 1

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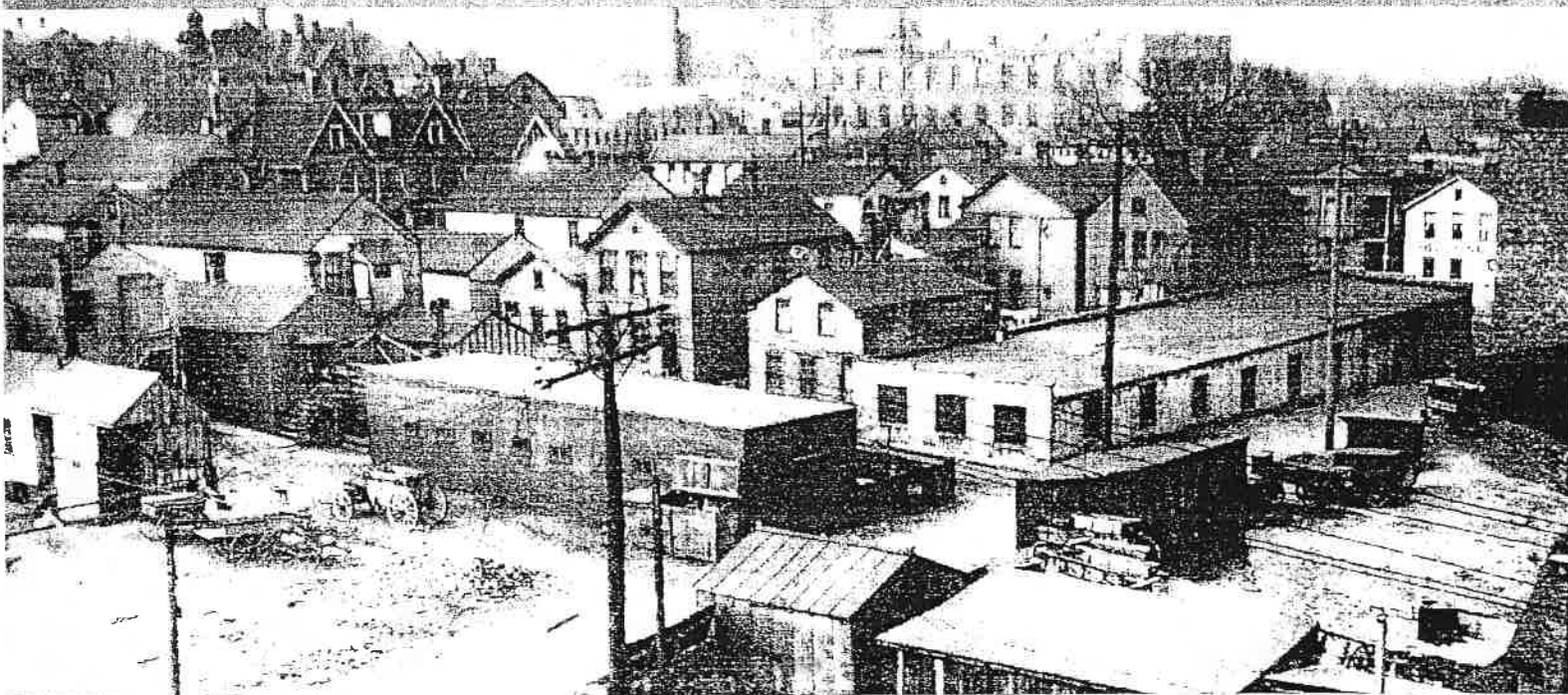
American citizens," as he wrote in the era of racial lynchings.<sup>3</sup> In his earlier role as an editor and publisher, Josey was well-known by his nemesis among Milwaukee newspapers, the *Journal*. He also never refrained from a fight with City Hall. As early as 1919, he attacked "racially biased news judgment" in *Journal* headlines that noted race only in the case of criminals of color, and Josey actually won a public apology that merited front-page play, at least in his own newspaper. "Your point of view is absolutely right," wrote the managing editor of the *Journal* in that paper, although mainstream media did not stop the practice. Nor did Josey stop his protests of stereotypical portrayals in their pages for decades, such as a *Milwaukee Sentinel* photo in 1932 of an African American girl with a slice of watermelon.<sup>4</sup>

The African American sector of the highly-segregated city has yet to fully recover from two blows to its "Bronzeville" in the decade after Josey's death. Both occurred in many Northern cities but had an especially devastating impact in Milwaukee. First, in the late 1950s and 1960s, in order to better serve suburbanites driving to downtown Milwaukee, property condemnation and construction in the African American area of the city came at the expense of businesses, services, and property values. Providing this service to commuters created what is now referred to as the "Inner Core." Then, after decades of segregated and substandard education, employment, and housing for African Americans, came the frustrations of the "long, hot summer of 1967." Months of nightly housing marches for a fair housing law brought no promise of relief or even recognition of their concerns by the city's power structure, despite predictions in a report by the previous mayor, prior to the 1960s, of the potential for problems. The "growing level of

discontent," according to an analysis by the city's Urban League, was exacerbated by increasing incidents of poor police-community relations in 1967, until the African American area finally erupted. After two days of violence and ten days of curfew enforced with a call-up of five thousand National Guard troops, the result was three residents dead, seventy injured, more than seventeen hundred arrested and a half a million dollars in property damage in the "Inner Core," the once-thriving Bronzeville of Josey's era.<sup>5</sup>

Josey remained optimistic about race relations in his city, and much that has transpired in Milwaukee's troubled racial history since his death fifty years ago might have surprised him. More than half a century after Josey's election as its unofficial minority "mayor," Milwaukee began the new millennium as Wisconsin's only "majority minority" city, including Hispanics, Asians, and Native Americans as well as African Americans. However, as late as 2004, Milwaukee's first official African American mayor, Marvin D. Pratt, attained the position only by appointment. He filled out a term for a few months, but lost the office in the next election. As for growth in African American-owned businesses, Milwaukee's community of color has no place to go but up. In the early 1990s, the city had ranked last among major metropolitan areas in that measure of economic success.<sup>6</sup> This was not the future that Josey had envisioned for African Americans or for his city.<sup>7</sup>

Bronzeville became a thriving African American community during the first half of the twentieth century as a result of racial tensions and segregative housing practices in Milwaukee.





to historian Joe William Trotter Jr., for the next three decades, “Josey took a position on almost every issue of importance in the lives of Afro-Americans in the city,” first in Madison, then in his city of Milwaukee.<sup>9</sup>

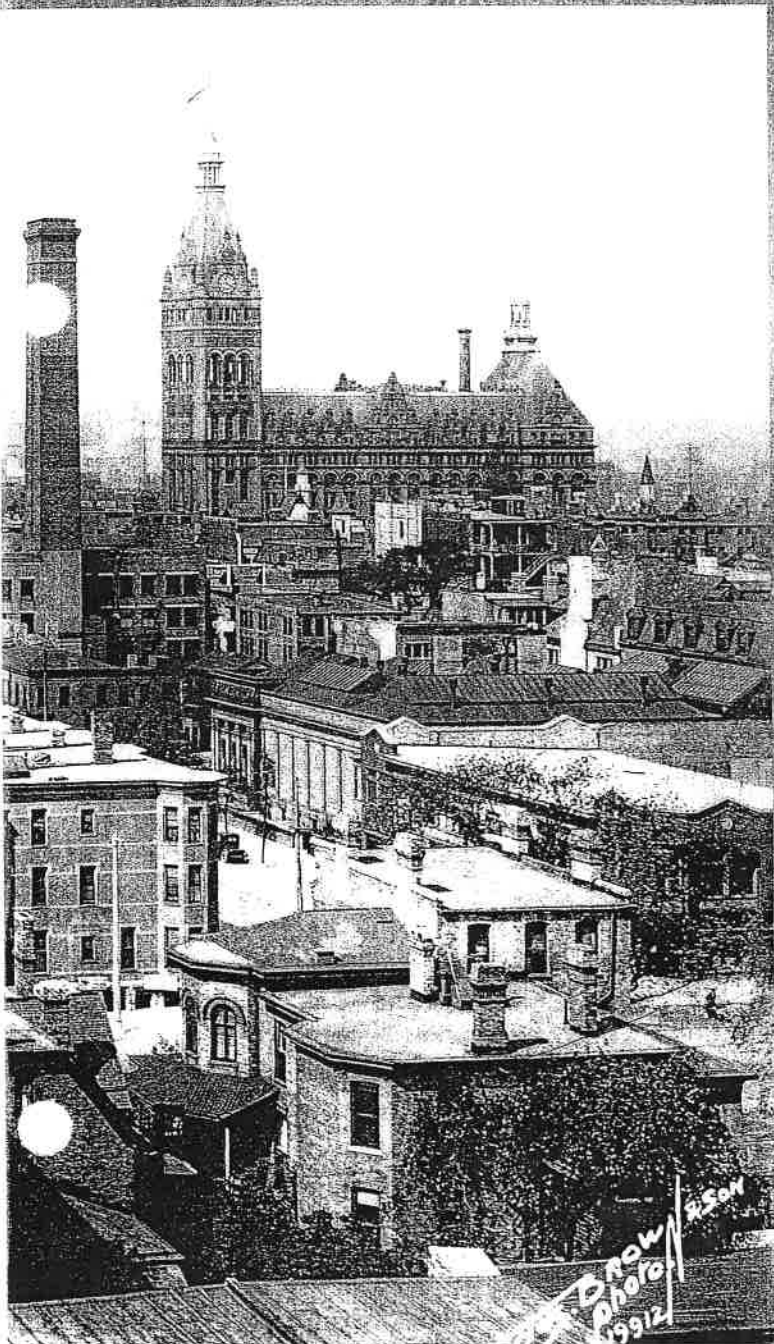
Josey built a journalistic reputation and earned the respect of both his community of color and Madison’s media community, as was clear in colleagues’ coverage when he made front-page news in March, 1921. A minister was murdered, and Josey wounded, in a shooting by a deranged World War I veteran who had roomed with the Joseys—an incident that merited banner headlines in other Madison newspapers. “Negro Minister Is Murdered,” read the *Wisconsin State Journal* on March 5, 1921, with a subhead reporting that “J. A. Josey Badly Wounded.” The front page of the *Capital Times* declared that

Josey was “at Death’s Point,” and was an innocent victim in the incident, which arose from a discussion on “religious differences.” The shootings occurred in the Joseys’ home, at that time a flat behind a grocery store at State and Gorham streets. The Baptist preacher from Beloit died immediately, and Josey was hospitalized in critical condition. Madison media issued almost daily bulletins. The *State Journal* first reported his recovery as “doubtful,” then that the “Negro Editor Has Chance for Life,” and finally announced ten days later that Josey was “believed to have won his fight for life.” More than a month after he was wounded, Madison newspapers reported his release from the hospital. By then, they also had reported that the killer was sent to the State Hospital for the Criminally Insane for an indefinite term of incarceration. Throughout, Madison media coverage indicated their esteem for their brother of the press, if in terminology of the time, the *Capital Times* called Josey already “a well-known figure in negro [sic] political circles.”<sup>10</sup>

Josey’s reputation as an economic and political force continued to grow when he established the presence of the first successful black press in Milwaukee. His was not the first newspaper for African Americans in Wisconsin—the last state in the Midwest to have an indigenous black press—but it was the first to endure. The first newspaper was for, but not by, African Americans. The *Wisconsin Afro-American*, from white publishers George A. Brown and Thomas Jones, was founded in 1892 to recruit workers of color northward, but it went under after a few months. Richard B. Montgomery, born into slavery in Mississippi, debuted his *Wisconsin Weekly Advocate* in Milwaukee in 1898—more than seven decades after the first issue of the first African American newspaper in the country, *Freedom’s Journal*, was published in 1827 in New York City. In Milwaukee, the *Advocate* was edited and published by Montgomery, with the assistance of A. G. Burgette, for almost a decade, although publication became irregular as competition increased in the twentieth century.<sup>11</sup>

Montgomery’s *Advocate* and subsequent attempts at a local black press in Milwaukee failed for lack of subscribers and advertisers until Josey moved to the city. His success was due to his business acumen as much as it was to his courage as editor. In the first issue published in Madison, Josey had proclaimed on the paper’s logo that the *Blade* served as “A National Journal of Opinion and Circulation.” Although the circulation claim was overly optimistic, Josey did establish fiscal stability for the *Blade* from the start.

The *Blade* served as the press organ for the African American Order of Odd Fellows and Household of Ruth in both



The large buildings and handsome architecture that characterized Milwaukee’s commercial district (seen here in 1919) contrasted dramatically with the crowded conditions in nearby Bronzeville.

its black citizens." The *Blade* also reported the "lynching record" in the South for the previous year, when fifty African Americans had been murdered by mobs for affronts such as "brushing against a white girl on a street." However, Josey increasingly focused less on his people's past in the South and more on their future in the North. Combining his journalism and activism—and increasing his circulation at the same time—Josey called a "Great Gathering of Representative Negroes of the State" and presided when the group apparently first met at Oshkosh in 1916, then called another "Race Convention" at Fond du Lac in 1917 to found a Co-operative Development and Progressive Association for "Americans of African descent" with plans to meet again in 1918 in Milwaukee. The series of conventions, writes Trotter, "briefly succeeded in creating greater unity among blacks throughout the state in their fight against racial discrimination."<sup>14</sup>

#### Josey's Activism in Black-Press Journalism

Josey's new brand of black-press journalism in the *Blade*, more militant than previous attempts at a black press in Wisconsin, established his editorial dominance over S. H. Lane's *Milwaukee Enterprise*, also founded in 1916. Both papers subscribed to a similar editorial philosophy that countered the prevailing, more accommodationist African American ideology of the previous era as espoused by Booker T. Washington. Their fellow local publisher Montgomery, especially, had been a proponent of accommodationism and of Washington. The *Blade* broke from the past with "a strong attack on Washington's legacy of leadership and philosophy." That placed Josey in the forefront of "the emergent 'New Negro' movement," as his "ideology of civil rights protest" had the "most articulate and consistent focus," compared to his competitors, for decades to come.<sup>15</sup>

Josey dominated the black press in Wisconsin despite circulation wars with the ever-encroaching *Chicago Defender* that served to weaken the *Blade's* only local competitor, the *Milwaukee Enterprise*, and eventually led to their merger. Publication of the *Enterprise* became increasingly sporadic until Josey purchased the newspaper in 1917 and became sole editor and publisher of the merged *Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade*, although lawyer George DeReef of Milwaukee continued as a contributing editor.

In 1918, Josey's journalistic crusades took on a local focus, with a campaign against the exclusion of African Americans from Milwaukee juries. He won that campaign in 1919, when a headline hailed the first "Colored Man Serving on Milwaukee Jury," Lawson Ford, as a "victory for [the] *Blade*." Josey

turned to other causes, including his campaign against the *Journal*, a newspaper that he accused of unjustly "Damning a Race," as a headline read on one *Enterprise-Blade* editorial. Josey reported that the *Journal* had headlined a story: "Negroes Confess Looting 40 Places in Milwaukee," after three African American boys under the age of 20 confessed to robbing another black male. Yet the very next day, when a twenty-two-year-old white man was arrested and confessed to

# THE KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

Miller's Park on State Highway No. 13, two miles south of Madison

Madison, Wis., Saturday, October 4th  
AFTERNOON AND EVENING

Band Concerts. Lectures. Parade Around Capitol.  
Naturalization. Fire Works.  
Entire Public Invited

## PROGRAM

- 1:00 Meeting Begins.
- 3:00 Lecture by JUDGE CHAS. B. ORBISON, Past Grand Master Grand Lodge F. & A. M., Present Potentate, Murat Temple Shriners, Member Imperial Kloneiluum Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.
- 6:30 Formation of Parade at Miller's Park. March to, around State House and return. This will be the largest parade ever staged in the State of Wisconsin. Thousands of Klansmen and Klanswomen in Regalia, several Klan Bands and floats.
- 10:00 Naturalization Ceremony, at the close a wonderful display of fire works.

—EATS AND DRINKS SERVED ON THE GROUNDS—

# EVERYBODY WELCOME!

Although Ku Klux Klan activities continued in Milwaukee and Madison throughout the 1920s—as demonstrated by this poster for a KKK picnic in Madison—in 1922, Josey successfully convinced the mayor to prevent the KKK from meeting in municipal buildings.

WHI Image ID 51778



tutions." Josey also assailed the city for assigning African American social workers, public health nurses, and probation officers solely to clientele of color, while he campaigned for more such municipal services in his community amid housing that was increasingly crowded even prior to the economic Crash of 1929 that precipitated the Great Depression of the next decade and worsened the living conditions of African Americans.<sup>18</sup>

He also was heard at the highest levels of government. Reminding his readers that the Democratic Party had responsibility for segregationist Jim Crow laws in the South, Josey called "The Negro a Natural Republican" and hailed its candidate in 1928, Herbert J. Hoover, as "the Hope of America." Republicans rewarded Josey, who "conferred with President Hoover on racial problems" in 1929, according to a later account by the *Milwaukee Journal*, and was named in 1930

to a nationwide commission "created by Congress to erect a national memorial building as a tribute to the Negro's contributions in America." The memorial never was built. Instead, many African Americans and millions of others made homeless by the Great Depression had to build shacks in makeshift communities in Milwaukee and elsewhere that came to be derisively called "Hoovervilles." Still, Josey called on his readers to "Stand By the Republican Party."<sup>19</sup>

Josey's loyalty to the Republican Party never wavered, and he later reported that he had attended every Republican convention for almost half a century, from 1906 until his death. However, he had editorial advice for Hoover as the 1932 election neared: "If the Republican Party would win, it must inquire for the old path of human liberty, and walk therein. It must return to the policy of human rights and serve all the people, or a just God will drive it forever from the face of the earth." His advice was histrionic, and his message was not heeded, but Josey was correct in forecasting the Republicans' loss of the presidency for the next two decades. Throughout the 1930s, as the Great Depression deepened, he attacked President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his federal relief projects; Josey thundered—correctly—that the New Deal deliberately provided far more work for white men than for minorities and women.<sup>20</sup>



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In 1956, one of Josey's great political goals was realized when Vel Phillips was elected to the Milwaukee Common Council. Phillips was both the first African American and the first woman to serve as an alderman on the council.

However, the local African American community remained resoundingly Democratic at the polls, while opportunities for editorial opposition to Roosevelt became less frequent for Josey. As discriminatory federal policies further impoverished his readers and advertisers, the *Enterprise-Blade*—rarely more than four pages per week, with few advertisements even at its peak—endured ever-declining circulation and revenues and published irregularly by the end of the Great Depression. During World War II, Josey could wage only intermittent editorial warfare on discrimination against African American defense workers on the homefront and on segregation of soldiers overseas, because he lost his own battle for the *Enterprise-Blade*.<sup>21</sup>

But to the end, Josey's paper was pivotal in several local political campaigns at a crucial time for African Americans in Milwaukee. As increasingly racist

housing practices concentrated their growing numbers within a few wards in the city, they also increased efforts throughout the 1930s to elect an African American alderman. To the consternation of many in the community, the *Enterprise-Blade* in its editorials had not endorsed early candidates of color, based on Josey's analysis of their dismal prospects at the polls as well as the prospect of losing a white incumbent whom he deemed one of the African American community's few friends in City Hall. However, he supported several candidates of color for the state assembly from Milwaukee, culminating in an election-day victory in 1942 that seemed to signal a new day for the African American community. Their celebration was premature, as a recount of ballots and subsequent legal battle returned the seat to a white representative from the minority of residents in the district.<sup>22</sup>

In 1944, the African American community at last sent one of their own to the state legislature. Unfortunately, however, local readers had to look to the *Chicago Bee* and the *Defender* for full coverage of the political coup, because Wisconsin was again without a black press. Josey's *Enterprise-Blade* folded just as the black press nationwide was "enjoying ever-growing prestige and power" and an "unprecedented level of popularity," according to historian Patrick Washburn—and as the

Courtesy of the Josey Family



Josey (second from left) shakes hands with Bernice Lindsay, his longtime assistant.

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Despite opposing political views, *Capital Times* editor William T. Evjue and Josey were amiable colleagues. After Josey's death, Evjue published a heartfelt eulogy in the *Capital Times*.

long-time leader of the local black press. The *Defender* also devoted the top of its front page to the man who “had faith in himself and in his community and taught many the power of the ballot” through “three major fields in which to work, the church, the press, and politics.” All three fields were celebrated at a “splendid tribute” in Milwaukee, the first of two funerals for a leader who had served several communities of color statewide. The “double rites,” as billed in the *Defender*, were befitting for a man who “had a bigger-than-life personality,” as his nephew later recalled. “There was a huge turnout in Milwaukee, not as big in Madison,” said Edwin Hill Jr., although “there was a big procession from Milwaukee to Madison,” where services were held in the Mount Zion Baptist Church that the Joseys had helped to found.<sup>26</sup>

Most in attendance at the services in both cities were African American, although “the longtime friend to many leaders of both races,” according to the *Defender*, had “friends [who] often differed with his political beliefs” as “one of Wisconsin’s most ardent Republicans.” Influenced by the man he called “Uncle Joe”—or “Fire-eater,” for his habit of inhaling his cigars then exhaling a “big billow” of smoke—Hill would follow Josey into the field of politics, later serving as an alderman in Madison. However, Josey also had taught an aspiring journalist with liberal leanings about the power of the press in Madison, where the younger man had become editor of the *Capital Times*. “I knew Mr. Josey very well,” wrote William T. Evjue in a letter to

the family. “Although he was a Republican he always gave me great encouragement in the early days of the *Capital Times* when we were having tough sledding.” In his column, Evjue publicly bemoaned that the *Capital Times* obituary had comprised “a bare paragraph”—actually, it gave four paragraphs to Josey—and penned two more himself that recounted the remarkable record of the *Enterprise-Blade* and fondly recalled the “wonderful smile” of his press colleague. “Everybody seemed to know Josey in his day,” Evjue wrote in a eulogy published on the day of the second funeral in Madison, where his fellow editor was buried in Forest Hill Cemetery.<sup>27</sup>

The extent of Josey’s influence on future journalists of any color and of his extraordinary editorial longevity could not be fully evaluated in “his day” of three decades in Wisconsin’s black press, nor even a decade later at his death. Only in the next decade would Milwaukee’s community of color begin to achieve the size sufficient to support a black press with impact similar to Josey’s journalism. By 1960, although African Americans remained little more than eight percent of Milwaukee’s population—the city had its greatest decade of growth in the twentieth century—its community of color had almost tripled since mid-century to more than sixty-two thousand residents and would continue its rise.

Several newspapers soon emerged to serve the community of color, and some would survive into the next millennium. The *Milwaukee Star* started in 1960, followed in 1962 by the *Mil-*



Notes

1. "Bronzeville Has New Mayor and His Election Is Cheered," *Milwaukee Journal*, November 13, 1945.
2. Edwin Hill Jr., personal interview, March 13, 2007, Madison, Wisconsin.
3. "Being Jealous," *Wisconsin Weekly Blade*, November 9, 1916; "Boost Milwaukee Business," *Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade*, September 24, 1927; Marc V. Levine and Lisa Heuler Williams, *Minority Business Ownership in Metropolitan Milwaukee in the 1990s: Some Statistical Indicators and Comparisons to the Nation's Largest Metropolitan Areas* (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Center for Economic Development, May 14, 2001), 1-2. On the "late Great Migration," see Paul Geib, "From Mississippi to Milwaukee: A Case Study of the Southern Migration to Milwaukee, 1940 to 1970," *Journal of Negro History* 83:4 (Autumn 1998), 229-248.
4. "Bronzeville Has New Mayor," *Milwaukee Journal*, November 13, 1945; "Milwaukee Journal Makes Honorable Admission/Acknowledges Injustice of Headlines Featuring Negroes in Crimes," June 5, 1919, *Weekly Wisconsin Enterprise*, and "That's Why Darkies Were Born," April 23, 1932, both in the *Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade*. Josey's headline, "That's Why Darkies Were Born," had been the caption on the photograph in the *Sentinel*. In the 1960s, the *Journal* and *Sentinel* announced an end to "racial markers" in their headlines.
5. Karl H. Flaming, *Who "Riots" and Why: Black and White Perspectives in Milwaukee* (Milwaukee: Urban League, 1968), 7.
6. Jack Norman and Georgia Pabst, "Majority Minority: Seeds of City's Future Lie in Its Diversity," August 22, 1999, and Steve Schultze and Greg J. Borowski, "Mayor-Elect Calls for Unity, Celebrates City's Diversity," April 7, 2004, both in the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*; Levine and Williams; *Minority Business Ownership*, 1-2.
7. "Race Relations in Milwaukee," *Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade*, February 14, 1925.
8. "Death Claims Negro Leader," *Milwaukee Journal*, July 8, 1957; "J. Anthony Josey," July 9, 1957, and William T. Evjue, "Hello Wisconsin," July 10, 1957, both in the (Madison) *Capital Times*; "Double Rites for J. A. Josey," *Milwaukee Defender*, July 11, 1957. See also "Necrology," *Wisconsin Alumnus* 50:2 (October 1957), 43, which incorrectly lists Josey as founder of "the state's first Negro newspaper." The UW Law School lists William Noland in 1875 as the first African American student and William T. Green in 1892 as the first African American graduate. By then, the state bar apparently already had admitted Everett E. Simpson, an 1888 UW graduate who had not attended the law school but is believed to be Wisconsin's first African American lawyer. See *University of Wisconsin Alumni Directory, 1849-1919* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1921), 310, and Leslie H. Fishel Jr., "William Thomas Green: Black Milwaukee's Lawyer-Leader, 1887-1911," *Milwaukee History* 19 (Autumn 1996): 85-94. Madison city directories list the Joseys at 312 N. Henry Street through 1916, then the Joseys and the *Blade* at 319 N. Henry Street in 1917, and both at 326 State Street by 1919, although Madison media reported their address as 328 State Street in 1921.
9. Joe William Trotter, *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat 1915-45* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 98.
10. "Negro Minister Is Murdered," March 5, 1921, "Negro Editor Has Chance for Life," March 7, 1921, "Josey Recovering from Wounds," March 17, 1921, "Negro Slayer Will Be Sent to Waupun," March 22, 1921, and "J. A. Josey Recovers from Bullet Wound," April 6, 1921, all in the *Wisconsin State Journal*; "1 Dead, 1 Dying," March 5, 1921, "Madison Negro Slayer Found Insane," March 22, 1921, "Josey Leaves Hospital; Has Fully Recovered," April 8, 1921, all in the *Capital Times*.
11. "Notice to Our Southern Readers," *Wisconsin Afro-American*, October 22, 1892.
12. "Our Anchor Is in the Republican Party—No Hope for Us in the National Democratic Party," June 22, 1916 and (repeated) September 21, 1916; "Washington and Lincoln Put Righteous Before Peace," "An Estimate of President Wilson," October 26, 1916, "Wilson Not Our Friend," November 2, 1916, all in the *Wisconsin Weekly Blade*.
13. "Prejudice vs. Patriotism," October 10, 1918, "Black Soldiers Club," July 10, 1919, both in the *Wisconsin Weekly Blade*.
14. "The Negro Moving North," October 12, 1916, "Let the Exodus Continue," November 16, 1916, "To Our Southern Brothers," January 18, 1917, "A Great Gathering of Representative Negroes of the State at Oshkosh, Wisconsin/Meeting a Success—Next Meeting at Milwaukee," August 9, 1917, "Milwaukee NAACP Holds Warm Meeting," June 5, 1919, all in the *Wisconsin Weekly Blade*; Trotter, *Black Milwaukee*, 119. The meeting planned for Milwaukee in 1918 apparently was not held; other organizations also cancelled conventions in 1918 owing to World War I and the worldwide Spanish flu pandemic.
15. Trotter, *Black Milwaukee*, 106.
16. George DeReef, "Milwaukee County Jurors," April 25, 1918, "Victory for Blade: Colored Man Serving on Milwaukee Jury," February 27, 1919, "Damning a Race," January 17, 1925, all in the *Wisconsin Weekly Blade*; Trotter, *Black Milwaukee*, 138; see also Robert A. Goldberg, "The Ku Klux Klan in Madison, 1922-27," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 58:1 (Autumn 1974), 31-44.
17. Trotter, *Black Milwaukee*, 39-44; "Milwaukee and Her Progressive Citizens," January 4, 1917, "Victim of Circumstances," August 5, 1922, "Milwaukeeans Frown Upon Strike-breakers: Colored Population of City Resent Importation of Colored Men From Other Sections; Think It Bad Move of Railroads," August 12, 1922, all in the *Wisconsin Weekly Blade*; "Milwaukee's 'Harlem' Is a Busy Changing Community," *Milwaukee Journal*, November 26, 1939.
18. "A Friendly Protest," November 22, 1917, and "A Citizen," January 3, 1918, both in the *Wisconsin Weekly Blade*; "Police Women Needed in This Community," *Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade*, April 23, 1932; Trotter, *Black Milwaukee*, 107, 120, 124.
19. "The Negro a Natural Republican" and "Hoover, the Hope of America," November 23, 1928, and "Stand By the Republican Party," April 9, 1932, all in the *Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade*; "Death Claims Negro Leader," *Milwaukee Journal*, July 8, 1957.
20. "The Party of Human Liberty," April 9, 1932, and "New Deal Practices Discrimination

- Against Negro Owners Here," September 28, 1940, both in the *Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade*.
21. "Bronzeville Has New Mayor," *Milwaukee Journal*, November 13, 1948. Few extant issues of the *Enterprise-Blade* exist from the 1940s to ascertain a final publication date.
22. "We Are Going to Eliminate Whom? How? Hidden Hands Behind the Scenes," January 30, 1932, "What Next? Same Old Trick," February 27, 1932, "Eliminators Admit There Was No Elimination," March 5, 1932, "Truth Will Out," March 5, 1932, all in the *Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade*; Trotter, *Black Milwaukee*, 133, 211-214.
23. Trotter, *Black Milwaukee*, 149, 211; Patrick Washburn, *A Question of Sedition: The Federal Government's Investigation of the Black Press During World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 202.
24. "Colored Home Owners in Milwaukee Increase," November 16, 1940, and "Race Hatred Is Growing All Over the Country," July 17, 1943, both in the *Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade*; "Double Rites," *Milwaukee Defender*, July 11, 1957.
25. Genevieve G. McBride, "The Progress of 'Race Men' and 'Colored Women' in the Black Press in Wisconsin, 1892-1895" in Henry Lewis Suggs, ed., *The Black Press in the Middle West* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 328-329; "Death Claims Negro Leader," *Milwaukee Journal*, July 8, 1957; McBride, "Progress of 'Race Men,'" 342.
26. "Double Rites for J. A. Josey" and "Loss of First Publisher Felt," *Milwaukee Defender*, July 11, 1957; Hill, personal interview.
27. Hill, personal interview; "J. Anthony Josey," July 9, 1957, and William T. Evjue, "Hello Wisconsin," July 10, 1957, both in the (Madison) *Capital Times*; William T. Evjue to John W. Hill Family, July 9, 1957, in the J. Anthony Josey File, Milwaukee County Historical Society Archives.
28. Geib, "From Mississippi to Milwaukee," 231; McBride, "Progress of 'Race Men,'" 347. On Jones' ancestor, see Jane Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).
29. "Press Club to Honor Sandburg Posthumously," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, October 22, 1998.
30. "Weekly Laurels and Laments," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, April 2, 2004.
31. Felicia Thomas-Lynn, "City Offers Housing Help/Grants, Loans Target 'Bronzeville' Area," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, April 3, 2005.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



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Stephen Byers is an adjunct assistant professor of Journalism at Marquette University. He holds a doctorate in Urban Studies from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. His dissertation, *Diverse Community, Diverse Newspapers*, was an examination of Milwaukee black press. He has presented numerous papers at national conferences in four disciplines: history, journalism, sociology, and archeology. He also has more than thirty years experience working for newspapers, including Milwaukee's black press. His publications include encyclopedia entries, magazine articles, a book (*Touchdown, Raintree*, 1978), and a monograph (*An Annotated Bibliography to Add One*, Northwestern University, 1971).