When Martin Luther King Jr. spoke at UW-Fox Valley in 1967, he challenged the Fox Cities to become a haven for Black families. Today, the area continues to evolve into a diverse community in line with King’s vision, but the journey has been long and difficult.

Appleton’s story adds complexity to the nation’s racial experiences. Many of the city’s residents have been unwelcoming to Blacks who visited on business or tried to make Appleton “home.” Blacks have faced discrimination and segregation. But, as King said, there has always been a stone of hope. Everyday activists have kept the hope of equality alive.

"Those who have no record of what their forebears have accomplished lose the inspiration which comes from the teaching of biography and history." - Carter G. Woodson, Black historian (1875-1950)

Initially, some free opportunities existed as Europeans began to shape the Atlantic World. Blacks first came to the area in the 1700s to work in the fur trade. Two free Black men operated a fur trading post near present-day Marinette. However, while some lived in freedom, many Blacks along the Fox River were enslaved by French settlers.

French slavery also included Indians and whites. After the American Revolution, England surrendered control of the Great Lakes to the United States, including present-day Wisconsin. The Americans organized the region under the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery within its boundaries. However, federal fugitive slave laws also allowed slave catchers to recapture escaped enslaved people or return them to slaveholders.

Blacks continued to face hostility in Wisconsin after it became a state. The 1848 Constitution of the State of Wisconsin and Black Laws formally excluded Blacks from voting, attending public schools, serving on juries, and serving in the militia. Discrimination was apparent from the state’s beginnings, weakening early hopes for equality.
Before the Civil War, Wisconsin’s Black population grew to 1,200 people who lived in all corners of the state. Black pioneers like Andrew Jackson helped name the Town of Freedom and Moses Stanton helped found Chilton, formerly known as Stantonville.

Entrepreneurial opportunities before the war were limited for Blacks who lived in Appleton. Blacks only had access to a small range of jobs, including barbers, musicians, and factory laborers. In 1860, Norman Anderson worked as a barber and Samuel Johnson was a fiddler for local businesses. The Appleton Stave Factory employed William Rollins. Black women had even less access to local jobs, typically finding work as domestics.

From the 1850s to 1920, local white families recruited help by advertising to Blacks who lived in Milwaukee. Their tasks included cleaning house, preparing meals, and caring for the children of the household.

Before Emancipation

The experiences and opinions of local Blacks are hard to document in Appleton before the Civil War. Free Blacks occasionally visited the Fox Cities to speak against slavery. In one instance, a free man came to Appleton to raise funds to purchase his family who remained in bondage in North Carolina. Black-owned newspapers were a valuable source of criticism on slavery. Rev. William F. Newman, a Black abolitionist from Ohio and part-time editor of the Wisconsin Freeman, became prominent in the failed support for a federal bill to ban the slave trade in the Reconstruction movement. Because of discrimination, he argued that Blacks should emigrate to Haiti. After his death in 1865, his brother-in-law Henry C. Douglass continued to advocate emigration to Haiti.

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Saving the Union, Ending Slavery

In 1845, after the Emancipation Proclamation, Blacks and Whites grew increasingly eager to fight for the ended enslavement. Horace Artist, William Cleggett, and Joseph Elmore, all of whom later moved to Appleton, all served in the United States Colored Troops. Saving the Union and ending slavery were key motivations for Northern soldiers to continue their enlistment in the Civil War.

Reconstruction: Minimal Expansion of Rights

With the Emancipation Proclamation, many white Northerners slowly began to view themselves as participants in a war for freedom. But how far would the nation’s new freedoms reach?

Few whites were willing to support intermarriage, better job opportunities, sharing of public facilities, and other forms of social equality. After the war, during a period known as Reconstruction, moments of hope suggested broad changes were still possible. State and federal legislators passed the 14th Amendment granting citizenship and additional protections to Black people, while the 15th Amendment ensured voting rights only to men regardless of color or prior enslavement.

Richard Prather challenged the state constitution in 1867 on the grounds that it violated the 14th Amendment. He lost, and the U.S. Supreme Court in 1873 declared that states could recognize the citizenship of freedmen.

Laramie University was the site of one of the nation’s debates about emancipation and post-war freedoms for Blacks. Richard Prather at the Castle

There is no evidence any of the Fox Cities were involved in the Underground Railroad.

Thomas South’s depiction of emigration to Haiti as a means for free Blacks in the United States. Library of Congress

Gregg, Monument, 227 Union street, Appleton, has already received a historic marker in its relevant family, and the home loving. Anyone desiring to personally obtain further information, may address, THOMAS H. THOMPSON, 30 Fifth street, Appleton, Wis. A coming white student identified with the expanding anti-slavery movement, but was asked most limited routes of equality and instead debated gradual, compensated or otherwise delayed emancipation. They openly questioned whether free Blacks should relocate to Africa or immigrate to Canada.

During the debate over the Negro Suffrage Amendment of 1867, legislation proposed changing the state constitution to extend suffrage to Black men over the age of 21. Along with the rest of the state, Outagamie County voted to uphold the constitution. A student at Lawrence University challenged the proposing by voting in the special election. Records indicate his vote was uncalled in Appleton. Internationally programed world War

Some white residents identified with the expanding anti-slavery movement, but they adopted more limited views of equality and instead debated gradual, compensated or otherwise delayed emancipation. They openly questioned whether free Blacks should relocate to Africa or immigrate to Canada.

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Who were some of the early Black families?

Cleggett-Hollensworth Family

The Cleggett-Hollensworth families were originally from Ohio and Pennsylvania. William Cleggett's grandfather, Rev. William P. Newman, was a noted Black abolitionist and father of Lucretia Newman Coleman, who attended Lawrence in 1876 before moving to Arkansas to teach. Eventually, Lucretia moved to Lawrence, Kansas, where she married Robert Pendleton, the school's first Black student. Ada Cleggett lived the longest in Appleton, appearing in local records until 1900.

Why Move to Appleton?

Immediately after the Civil War, Blacks began moving to the Fox Cities in significant numbers. Emancipation and Reconstruction created hope for new possibilities. Many Blacks took advantage of opportunities in an attempt to create a new identity and sense of belonging.

In 1899, a Black resident named Mary Cleggett described Wisconsin as having the “Free Air of Liberty.” Why did she describe the state as a place of freedom? Cleggett belonged to a group of Black citizens who referred to themselves as the “Black Aristocrats.”

Arts Family

Before Emancipation, the Arts family was enslaved near the crossroads of Chuckatuck, Virginia, just outside Norfolk. Horace and Rebecca Arts were married while in bondage in 1860. During the summer of 1863, the Union Army helped freed slaves residents around Norfolk. The Arts family moved to Washington, D.C., where they owned a home on College Avenue. Joseph ran away at the age of 15 from his home in St. Paul, Minnesota, to enlist in the Union Army in Milwaukee. He and Emma met after the war and moved to Appleton where they raised their three children in a Black neighborhood.

Education Provides Hope

Lawrence University first admitted a Black student, Robert Pendleton, in 1875. During the 1870s, Mary Vandegrift Cleggett and Lucretia Newman Coleman both attended Lawrence. Newman Coleman later taught at Lawrence. Lucretia Newman Coleman's student, Mary Vanderhoop Cleggett, graduated from Lawrence in 1876 and was active in theWoman's Suffrage movement.

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Young and former soldiers were welcomed as the political and social leaders of Appleton’s Black community. In 1868, Joseph was named a delegate from Racine to the Republican National Convention.

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Social Work and Education

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Emma’s daughter Gertrude and sister Ada also worked as teachers in Appleton’s schools. Little is known about their careers or positions held in the district.

Saloonkeepers and Performers

Ephraim Williams became a show business legend as a performer for Black circus performers and managers.

Barbers and Hairstylists

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What happened to Appleton’s Black community?

The late 19th century had offered examples of hope for the community, but by the end of World War I, new challenges had re-emerged. Despite some instances of individual opportunity and limited freedoms, there was renewed racism in the Fox Cities. By 1920, Black residents in Appleton experienced racial antagonism and violence perpetrated by whites.

The growing discrimination forced many area Blacks to lose hope and leave for larger Black communities in urban areas.

Hotel Discrimination

In the early 1900s, a few hotels, including the Northwest House, advertised to and provided services for Blacks. However, by 1915, hotel owners began denying Blacks service at their establishments. The first known discriminatory occurrence involved the Tuskegee Singers, who were barred from staying the night after a performance at Lawrence. Home Ownership

After the Civil War, some Blacks had access to home ownership throughout Appleton, but that changed by 1920. New subdivisions began excluding Blacks. However, deeds that denied Blacks property rights were not widespread and appeared mostly in new construction south of the river.

Popular Culture

Racist popular culture had the largest influence on discrimination in the Fox Cities. Minstrel shows were among the most popular forms of local entertainment. White performers painted their faces black and spoke in “plantation talk” that stereotyped Blacks. Minstrel performances justified racism and laid the foundation for future discrimination.

Almost every local organization held minstrel performances. Churches and fraternity shows at funerals and banquets held shows for entertainment, both reinforcing feelings of white superiority.

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The Clansman, which was later adapted by D.W. Griffith into The Birth of a Nation, played to sellout audiences for several months in 1907.

In 1915, the Tuskegee Singers toured Northern states to garner support for educational opportunities for Blacks.

In 1946, the Riverview Country Club reformatted their property deed and included a statement that excluded Blacks from owning the property.

In 1953, Lawrence students wore blackface and performed a minstrel show as part of Lawrence’s homecoming celebrations in the fall of 1953.

The first report of hotels conspiring to deny Blacks service was reported in the Appleton Evening Crescent in 1915.

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Witnesses to Murder

Reports of Southern Black lynchings, burnings at the stake, and shootings were common stories in area newspapers. Appleton editors inconsistently condemned the actions.

At least two white Appleton residents witnessed vigilante mob killings of Blacks in the South. In 1905, Herman Kamps saw five Black men burned at the stake near Mobile, Alabama. In 1913, while visiting Hot Springs, Arkansas, Charles Sheldon witnessed the lynching of a Black man. In both instances, the men were taken from their jail cells after a mob formed outside and were dragged to a public space for the execution. All six men were never given due process of the law.

Violence against Blacks increased throughout the South, but exploded yet again in the North, as in Marion, Indiana, where two Black men were lynched in 1930.

Charles Sheldon described the lynching he witnessed to readers of the Appleton Evening Crescent.

Segregation Takes Hold Again

Blacks had largely left Appleton before the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan entered the Fox Cities.

After the Civil War, white former Confederates organized the Klan as a secret, oath-bound organization to reinstate white supremacy. After federal indictments against the Klan, the organization began to fall apart, only to be reborn in the Midwest by 1915.

The Klan formed in the Fox Cities in 1923 with the help of fliers distributed to white Protestant men. Local Klansmen targeted Blacks as well as Catholic immigrants and other marginalized people. The Klan held large meetings near Strobe Island, organized chapters in New London and Waupaca, and tried to intimidate their targets by burning three crosses along College Avenue.

In 1925, the Ku Klux Klan recruited from the pulpit through religious services at the First Baptist Church, German Methodist Episcopal Church, and Emmanuel Evangelical Church.

Courage in Migration

Blacks who had fled from the South to Appleton before the appearance of the Ku Klux Klan returned to the city.

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Black migrant workers returned to Appleton throughout the 1930s. The Black press reported widespread racism throughout Wisconsin but noted that unemployed Blacks were willing to travel to find work. Many businesses in tourist regions posted “whites only” signs, a common practice in Door County.
Civil rights activist Jim Zwerg described his hometown as “lily white Appleton.” He recalled no persons of color living in the city during his childhood. The lack of racial diversity was not a coincidence. Many whites saw Blacks as an inherent problem. Leaders warned about the “Negro Problem” and encouraged whites to keep Blacks out of Appleton. Many longstanding residents remember Appleton as a sundown town.

### What is a Sundown Town?

Sundown towns were communities that required Blacks to leave by sunset. Usually this form of racial exclusion was supported by an ordinance, but sundown also emerged as a custom reinforced by individuals who feared Blacks. Appleton did not have an official ordinance, but many people supported a sundown custom of harassing Black visitors or potential residents. The custom was irregularly applied.

### Investigating Sundown

During the era, the sundown custom was so widespread and so accepted that many white residents assumed Appleton had an ordinance.

In 1947, the First Congregational Church planned a convention that would include Black members from Milwaukee. Congregationalists feared the city’s sundown ordinance would prohibit their attendance. They requested a city investigation to research the ordinance and find an evidence of a formal law. Perhaps the most thorough study of racial exclusion was completed in 1948 by Rosalie Keller, a white student at Lawrence. The initial local businesses were not as open to discrimination. Many managers assumed the man was Black. Keller reported that in Cramer Hotel, a manager asked about Black patrons and maintained his policy of excluding all blacks. It was a departure from the usual practice. Most restaurants said they would only serve “respectable looking” Blacks, while the La Villa Restaurant only allowed Black musicians.

In 1952, the Wisconsin Equal Rights Division investigated discrimination in local businesses. Victor Bloomer, who was president of Appleton Machine Company, refused to hire Blacks because of an “unwritten law which evidently keeps negroes [sic] out of Appleton even for an overnight stay.” Other factory owners refused to hire Blacks based on stereotypes that they were unintelligent or untrustworthy vagrants.

At Jake Skall’s Colonial Wonderbar, Rosalie Keller learned that Blacks could get service, but they had to order and wait from the back door. Only Black businessmen could eat indoors, but they had to stay in the kitchen.

### Job Discrimination

Factory owners also cited the city’s sundown custom as an excuse not to hire Blacks. In 1947, the Wisconsin Equal Rights Division investigated discrimination in local businesses. Victor Bloomer, who was president of Appleton Machine Company, refused to hire Blacks based on an “unwritten law which evidently keeps negroes [sic] out of Appleton even for an overnight stay.” Other factory owners reported that Blacks had applied for jobs but were refused based on stereotypes that they were unintelligent or untrustworthy vagrants.

### History Museum at the Castle

Victor Bloomer, president of Appleton Machine Company, cited Appleton’s sundown custom as the reason not to hire Black employees.
There were people who refused to accept the area's support of segregation. Discrimination primarily targeted the working-poor, students, and tourists who had no access to legal protection. Black celebrities who visited Appleton had supporters from Lawrence and area churches who helped find accommodations. Everyday activists kept hope for equality alive during the most difficult times.

Speakers and Performers

Black speakers and entertainers helped fight stereotypes held by many whites who assumed Blacks were uneducated and unable to support themselves. Many major Black celebrities and leaders visited Appleton during the 1890s to 1960s. For example, Booker T. Washington spoke at the First Congregational Church about Black education and Jesse Jackson addressed Lawrence students about campus inequality.

Although Black celebrities had patrons upon arriving in Appleton, they still encountered racism in 1961. Lawrence urged the Conway Hotel to provide Marian Anderson with accommodations despite the hotel's practice of denying Black patrons. To keep her stay a secret, the hotel refused to serve her in public and required her to eat privately in her room. By the 1960s, hoteliers had listened to their patrons and musicians like Ella Fitzgerald and Louis Armstrong had reservations downtown.

First Congregational Church

Among the most consistent white advocates against racism was the First Congregational Church. Horace and Bercina Artis were active members, along with their daughter Nellie. During the peak years of racial discrimination in Appleton, Reverends Harry Peabody and Dascomb Forbush frequently gave sermons about racism and inequality in the United States. Church leaders continued to provide a voice of reason as the city grappled with discrimination.

Hope through Reconciliation

By 1949, some white residents acknowledged racism in the community and worked toward reconciliation through a unified association of area churches. A coalition of religion leaders organized by Dr. Nathan Pusey and Samuel Sigman formed the Interfaith Committee on Tolerance and Understanding. The committee held public lectures and wrote frequent editorials about how the Fox Cities could become a more tolerant community through diversity.

Glimmers of Hope
In 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled that “separate but equal” segregation was unconstitutional and “inherently unequal.” This ruling, known as Brown vs. Board of Education, provided activists with the legal footing to challenge segregation in the north and south. Despite the legislation, violence and discrimination continued against Blacks. In 1955, a 14-year-old Chicagoan named Emmett Till was brutally murdered by whites while visiting relatives in Mississippi. In response to white aggression, many Blacks protested and sought actions to draw attention to injustices. The successful use of peaceful resistance evolved into such actions as lunch counter sit-ins and Freedom Rider protests in the South.

An Appleton Freedom Rider

A Freedom Rider from Appleton was beaten in Montgomery, Alabama, on May 20, 1961. Jim Zwerg graduated from Appleton West High School before attending Beloit College. While studying in an exchange program in Nashville, Tennessee, Zwerg joined the Freedom Rider movement when he was 21 years old.

On a protest trip through the south, the bus was stopped in Montgomery, Alabama, where he and fellow riders were violently beaten by a white mob. Circulated images and descriptions of Zwerg’s bloodied body generated public debate about equality. Suddenly, the Civil Rights Movement was not isolated to the South. Debates on segregation began to appear in the Appleton Post-Crescent’s editorial section.

Violence on College Avenue

Following Zwerg’s beating, tensions were high in Appleton. The Des Moines Demons visited Appleton for a weeklong baseball series against the Appleton Papermakers. Both teams were interracial. Their hard-fought games garnered local attention, but off the field, events would make national headlines.

After the series, on May 30, seven Black ballplayers from the Demons and Papermakers sought respite on College Avenue. Entering Carl’s Tap, the men were confronted by Carl Ziesmer after they sat at the bar. Carl rushed the men with a leather club and demanded they leave the tavern because they were Black.

Carl claimed he feared the men were Freedom Riders or Jamaican migrant workers, who he believed were “going to ruin [his] business.” Using the state’s anti-discrimination law, Wisconsin brought charges against Ziesmer. The Des Moines players, fearing for their lives, declined to return to Appleton to testify, and consequently, Ziesmer avoided any punishment for his actions. Despite the violence and outcomes of the event, Appleton began to debate discrimination and how to move the city forward.

This Associated Press image of Zwerg’s bloodied body brought attention to racial violence in the South.

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Increased involvement by activists helped draw attention to discrimination and violence toward Blacks. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson pushed forward the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which “prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.” Before the bill’s passage, Appleton residents debated the merits of the Civil Rights Act and invited national leaders to speak in favor of or against the legislation.

**Debating Civil Rights in Appleton**

Many local whites still supported segregation nationally and within the Fox Cities. On March 17, 1964, Alabama Governor George Wallace, a staunch segregationist, arrived in Appleton to launch his presidential campaign. Invited by the Appleton Rotary Club, Wallace spoke at the Conway Hotel and condemned the proposed Civil Rights bill as “the Involuntary Servitude Act of 1963.”

In response to Wallace’s visit and to support the bill, the Student Executive Committee (SEC) at Lawrence hosted a Civil Rights Week on campus in April. Several Black leaders spoke at the program, including NAACP leaders Charles Evers and Sydney Finley.

Wallace returned to the Fox Cities on two occasions. In 1972, he spoke by invitation at the Lawrence University chapel. Black students attended the program and walked out of the lecture to demonstrate their opposition.

**A Haven for Black Families**

In 1966, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. announced plans to expand the Civil Rights Movement to challenge racism in northern cities. Dr. King criticized Northern housing discrimination and widespread racist employment practices. He launched a lecture series in the summer of 1967 to reach all-white northern communities, including Wausau and UW-Fox Valley.

Dr. King said the Fox Cities could become a haven for Black families, but only if the community worked toward inclusion. He encouraged whites to provide opportunity for housing and jobs. He also challenged whites to judge Blacks by their souls and minds, not by their color.

Citing his strong faith, Dr. King believed that the Fox Cities could emerge from a “mountain of hate” as a “stone of hope.”

**A Better Chance: Access for Some**

With King’s visit, voices against racism grew louder and some organizations in Appleton launched anti-discrimination efforts. Like a Better Chance program, started in 1964, provided college preparatory education for disadvantaged high school students of color throughout the United States. The program came to Appleton in 1968 and was the first ABC chapter in Wisconsin. Many students of color continued to face racism and were further discouraged by the city’s lack of Black-owned businesses and cultural institutions.

**Open Housing Act**

The passage of the National Fair Housing Act of 1968 influenced the enactment of the Appleton Fair Housing Ordinance that same year. The legislation provided equal housing opportunities regardless of race, creed, or national origin. In Appleton, the ordinance was passed unanimously by the city council on February 16, 1969. The ordinance was modeled after the federal housing law, with the exception that all complaints would be investigated by the city attorney.
The late 1950s to 1960s saw an increase of student-led protests at many college campuses. From the Little Rock Nine in Arkansas, to the sit-ins by Black students in Greensboro, North Carolina, all of these influenced local activism in Appleton.

Topics of discord focused on the Vietnam War but expanded into drug policy, free speech, environmental protection, and equality for members of various marginalized groups, including women, members of the LGBTQ community, and Blacks.

The Black Power movement inspired many students to become activists. In Wisconsin, protests regarding the unfair treatment of Black students were held on the campuses of Beloit College and UW-Oshkosh, among other Wisconsin schools. Lawrence University was no exception.

A new era of activism at Lawrence began with the formation of the Association of African Americans (A.A.A.) in May 1968. On February 24, 1969, the A.A.A. presented a list of 10 demands, known as the "Now or Never" list, to President Curtis Tarr. Thirteen out of the school's 20 Black students signed the list of demands. The students demanded an increase in the number of Black students on campus, Black representation on the school's Community Council and in the Office of Admissions, the hiring of a Black dean, and the formation of a Committee on Black Student Affairs.

Due to a lack of campus-wide support and President Tarr's decision to interpret the list as a series of suggestions, Lawrence changed very little, if at all. According to the Lawrence Alumnus and Post-Crescent, the school had about 1,300 students at the time, meaning that Black students represented less than 1.5% of the student body.

The "Now or Never" list demanded changes that are now a part of many campuses and important contributions to the quality of student life.

Lawrence students made another attempt to improve Black student life on campus during the early morning of April 17, 1972. Five members of the A.A.A. barricaded themselves in the Administration building. Two young women awakened President Thomas Smith and a student-led march in front of the Administration building gained momentum. That afternoon, President Smith held a meeting that was open to the entire student body. Gilbert Bond, spokesman for the A.A.A., began the meeting by presenting their list of demands. Smith refused to sign the document. The following weeks, Smith faced additional protest from faculty who cited "reverse discrimination" in his promise to fill open faculty positions with Black instructors. President Smith was able to implement a transitional program for incoming Black students in the summer of 1972. In The Lawrentian, Bond emphasized that the small number of black students on campus would not be able to dismantle the racism that existed at Lawrence. Change would only occur with cooperation and an understanding of the needs of Black students.

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WIDENING THE PATH OF HOPE

Further inspiring growth through inclusion were new cultural and anti-discrimination organizations. In 1995, a diverse coalition of activists formed Toward Community, an organization to “promote acceptance” and “help others.” Their educational efforts included a pledge drive to make Appleton an anti-discrimination town. Education and unity (the 800-person crowd listening to the pledge drive) were contacted and 25 strongly refused to commit to nondiscrimination services.

In 1998, Black scientists, professors, business leaders, and community advocates formed African Heritage, Inc. The organization encourages educational and cultural exchanges, foster relationships with governmental agencies, and promote cultural harmony in the Fox Cities. Their efforts brought the first ever community-wide Black history month events that spotlight the history, contributions and experiences of Blacks. Organizations currently working to encourage diversity and equality at Lawrence include African Diaspora, Young Women of Color, and the Black Student Union.

Earth’s Most Endangered Species: THE WHITE RACE
Help preserve it. Write or call
NATIONAL ALLIANCE

Throughout local history, individuals have made personal choices to be either welcoming or exclusionary.

How will you keep hope for equality alive in the Fox Cities?

Hope for a Better Future

Despite progress toward equality, many challenges still linger for Blacks in the Fox Cities. Blacks continue to face racism in the areas of employment, housing, and education. This is still true for Black employees and students at Lawrence University, who describe a lack of diversity in public school classrooms long access to higher education.

Wisconsin’s incarceration rate for Blacks is double the national average. About 1% of Wisconsin’s Black youth are incarcerated. Appleton’s Police Department is working toward fairness. In 2006, the Police and Appleton Area School District created a Equal and Like Treatment Team (ELT) to help minority students, but there is need for wider support.

City of Appleton officials once discouraged diversity. Today, they embrace and encourage diversity and inclusion. Appleton works to lead by example through dedicated staff, race, education, policy work, fair housing, and ordinances.

What brought Blacks back to Appleton?

By the 1960s, Blacks slowly began relocating to the Fox Cities again. High school and college students were the first to relocate to Appleton. Individuals, including Ira Hadnot, recalled feeling isolated when whites stared and pointed at her.


Among the new families were Henry and Bobbie Tolliver, who moved from Texas to work for the Farmers Home Administration in 1974. Job opportunities improved as positions in all levels of employment began opening to some Blacks and other people of color.

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