

Milwaukee Neighborhood Forum

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Milwaukee Neighborhood Forum is a bimonthly newsletter that highlights assets, history, events, and resources for and about Milwaukee neighborhoods. Residents and neighborhood organizations are encouraged to submit press releases on their events and successful programs. See back page for details.

Chapter I-3: Milwaukee's Socialist Leaders

Book is reproduced chapter-by-chapter in this newsletter

In June, the book, *Milwaukee's Socialist Leaders: Principled, Productive Governance—But Not for All*, was published at Milwaukee Ethnic Collection of Arts and Humanities (MECAH). The book is available for sale, but will also be accessible chapter-by-chapter in this newsletter and in full, in in a PDF format online on the website of Urban Anthropology, Inc.—both without cost to readers. (https://www.urban-anthropology.org)

Milwaukee's Socialist Leaders: Principled, Productive Governance—But Not for All

Section I. Milwaukee and Socialism

Chapter I-3. Victor Berger and the rise and decline of the Socialist Party



In almost every way, the Milwaukee branch of the Social Democratic Party of America (later to become the Socialist Party of America) and the gradualist wing of the national party mirrored each other; and both owed much of their underpinnings to Victor Berger. Paying little attention to philosophy and much more attention to practicalities, Berger steered the local party into battling corruption and amassing infrastructure and the national party into one that could oper-

ate, albeit briefly, within the American system (Miller, 1973; Wells, 1970).

Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

October/November activities in Milwaukee neighborhoods (most under \$10)



Total of 63 events under the categories of museums, arts, family, holiday events, get-moving, walks/tours, farmers markets, and several more

FOR THE FAMILY

What? STORYTIME AT THE DOMES When? Oct. 8, 15, 22, Nov. 12, 19, 10:00 to 10:30am. (see website Storytime at The Domes - Friends of the Domes (milwaukeedomes.org), Where? Mitchell Park, 524 S. Layton Blvd. Description Stories in Spanish and English. Admission Unk.

What? FAMILY FREE DAY AT THE ZOO When? Sat., Nov. 1, 9:30am. Where? 10001

W. Blue-mound Rd. Description
Animals from every continent. Free day is sponsored by the North Shore Bank. Admission
Free.



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HOLIDAY EVENTS

What? DIA DE LOS MUERTOS OFRENDOS When? Oct. 20 to Nov. 14. Where? Gallery at Latino Arts, 1028 S. 9th St. Description Families make altars to honor their dead. Admission \$1 donation.

What? MARTIN DRIVE NIGHTIME TRICK OR TREAT When? Fri. closest to Halloween, evening. Where? Martin Drive neighborhood. Description Annual Halloween outing. Photos & Information, Night Time Trick & Treating - Martin Drive Neighborhood (martin-drive.org) Admission: Registration may be required. (See right column.)

What? CARVING FOR PUMPKIN PAVILION When? Oct. 15 through 18, 5 to 9pm Where? Humboldt Park, 3000 S. Howell St. Description Pumpkin carvings, displays, and more. https://county.milwaukee.gov/EN/Parks/Experience/Events-Calendar Admission Free. (See right.)

What? VETERANS DAY PARADE When? Sat., Nov. 8, 11am-12:30pm. Where? Parade begins at Wisconsin Avenue and N. Water Street. Description Parade honoring veterans. Admission Free.

What? DAY OF THE DEAD 5K WALK/RUN When? Oct. 25, 9:30am (run). Where? Forest Home Cemetery. Description Stay for Dia de Los Muertos celebration (10-3pm) after run, with food trucks music, dancing, and altars to the dead. Dia De Los Muertos - Forest Home Cemetery Admission unk.

MUSEUMS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

What? CHARLES ALLIS ART MUSEUM When? Thu. and Fri., 11am to 5pm; Sat., 12 to 4pm; reservations helpful as hours may vary. Where? 1801 N. Prospect Av. Description Selfguided tour of Tudor-style mansion of entrepreneur Charles Allis designed by Milwaukee architect Alexander Eschweiler in early 20th century. Admission free to \$20.

What? VILLA TERRACE DECORATIVE ARTS MUSEUM When? Thu. and Fri., 11am to 4pm; Sat. and Sun. 11am to 4pm. Where? 2220 N. Terrace Av. Description Self-guided tour of mansion informed by the design of a villa in Lombardy, Italy, complete with Renaissance Garden, and antique furnishings and artifacts. https://www.villaterrace.org/ Admission free to \$15.

What? MILWAUKEE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY When? Mon., Wed. thru Sat., 9:30am to 5pm Where? 910 N. Martin Luther King Dr. Description Permanent and rotating exhibits of Milwaukee County's history plus a research library. Current exhibit, "Brew City: The Story of Milwaukee Beer." Permanent exhibit: "Meet MKE" sponsored by Visit Milwaukee. http://www.milwaukeehistory.net/ Admission \$8, \$6 seniors, military, students; children < 12, and members free.

Happening in the Martin Drive neighborhood



Martin Drive night time trick or treat

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What? HAGGERTY MUSEUM OF ART When? Most days 10am to 4:30pm Where? Marquette campus at corner of 13th & Clybourn Sts. Description Permanent collections include Old Masters' prints, Ralph Steiner photos, Marc Chagall Bible series, Barbara Morgan photos, and Finnegan, Fishman, Tatalovich, and Rojtman collections. http://www.marquette.edu/haggerty/ Admission Free.

What? GROHMANN MUSEUM When? Mon. through Fri., 9am to 5pm, Sat. 12 to 6pm, Sun. 1 to 4pm Where? 1000 N. Broadway Description More than 1,000 paintings and sculptures representing the long evolution of human work. http://www.msoe.edu/about-msoe/grohmann-museum/ Admission \$5, \$3 students, seniors; free <12.

What? NORTHPOINT LIGHTHOUSE MUSEUM When? Sat. and Sun., 1 to 4pm Where? Northpoint Lighthouse, 2650 N. Wahl Av. Description A historic, maritime experience, with artifacts related to the history of the Great Lakes. http://northpoint-lighthouse.org/ Admission Free to \$8.

What? MILWAUKEE PUBLIC MUSEUM FREE DAY When? Free 1ST Thu. each month Where? 800 W. Wells St. Description Chance to visit one of the premier natural history and science facilities, world- renowned for its exhibits, collections, ongoing scientific research and educational exhibits. www.mpm.edu/ Admission Free (on dates designated).

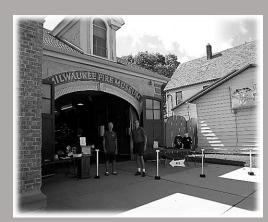
What? MITCHELL PARK DOMES When? Wed. to Fri., 9am to 5pm; Sat., Sun. 9am-4pm. Where? 524 S. Layton Blvd. Description A place to experience a desert oasis, a tropical jungle, and special floral gardens all in one visit. http://county.milwaukee.gov/MitchellParkConserva10116.htm Admission Free to \$8.

What? MILWAUKEE DISCOVERY WORLD When? Wed. through Sun. 9am to 4pm. Where? 500 N. Harbor Dr. Description A science and technology center and museum. https://www.discoveryworld.org/ Admission \$14 to \$20.

What? MILWAUKEE FIRE MUSEUM When? 1st Sun. of each month, 12 to 3pm, (except holidays). Where? 1516 W. Oklahoma Av. Description Opportunity to see exhibits and artifacts of the Milwaukee Fire Department back to the 1800s; stories of history of the department and fires. http://city.milwaukee.gov/MUSEUMHISTORICALSOCIETY.htm#.VkOAEMAr-LIU Admission Free. (See right column.)

What? HARLEY-DAVIDSON MUSEUM When? Daily 10am to 5pm. Where? 400 W. Canal St. Description Exhibits on the history of the Harley-Davidson motorcycle. https://www.harley-davidson.com/us/en/museum.html Admission Free to \$22.

Happening in the Polonia neighborhood





Enjoy a bit of Milwaukee fire history at the Fire Museum

1516 W. Oklahoma Avenue Open first Sunday of every month at 1 to 3pm

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GAMES

What? BINGO When? Second Tue. of every month, 1:30 to 5:30 pm. Where? Bay View Community Center, 1320 E Oklahoma Ave. Description Game of bingo. Admission Unk.

SPECTATOR SPORTS

What? MARQUETTE WOMEN'S BASKETBALL When? Nov. (regular season) Where? Al McGuire Center, 770 N. 12th St. Description Marquette University women's basketball games. http://www.gomarquette.com/sports/w-baskbl/sched/marq-w-baskbl-sched.html Admission Some tickets \$5 and \$10.

FAIRS/FESTIVALS

What? OKTOBERFEST OUR LADY OF LOURDES When? Oct. 11, 12, 13. Where? Catholic church, 3742 S. 58th St. Description Cakewalk, food, games, beer and a wide array of live music — including a Saturday evening polka mass. Admission Free to attend.

What? OKTOBERFEST BAVARIAN BIERHAUS When? Oct. Fri., Sat., Sun... Where? 700 W. Lexington Blvd, Glendale Description Spanferkel, chicken, sausage, Bavarian pretzels, Doner kebab and schnitzel, kid-friendly and vegetarian meals, rainbow trout on a stick and cod fish fry Admission \$0 to \$10.

NEIGHBORHOOD CELEBRATIONS

What? BRADY STREET PET PARADE When? Sun, Oct. 6 11am to 4pm Where? Brady St. & Arlington Pl. Description Parade and contests; register with pet or just watch. Admission Registration fee for pet; to watch is free. (See right/photo by Flickr)

WALKING/STREETCAR TOURS

What? SELF-GUIDED TOUR OF VA GROUNDS When? Daily, daylight Where? Just north of Zablocki VA Medical Center, 5000 W. National Av. Description A walk through the historic district which includes the Soldiers' Home, barracks building, old fire station, old hospital, Ward Memorial Theater, and more. http://www.milwaukee.va.gov/visitors/campus.asp Admission Free.

What? GUIDED TOUR OF BASILICA OF ST. JOSAPHAT When? Reserve tour on website. Where? Basilica of St. Josaphat, 2333 S. 6th St. Description Opportunity to see and learn about one of the most beautiful churches in America. http://the-basilica.org/visit Admission Free.

What? UNGUIDED TOUR OF BASILICA OF ST. JOSAPHAT When? Mon. through Fri., 9am to 3pm Where? Visitor's Center, Basilica of St. Josaphat, 2333 S. 6th St Description Opportunity to see and learn about one of the most beautiful churches in America with informational exhibits on lower level. http://thebasilica.org/ Admission Free.

Happening in the Brady Street neighborhood



Pet Parade

Brady Street and Arlington Place

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What? INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE, WALKER'S POINT When? Oct. 5, 1-3pm. Where? 131 S. 1st St. Description The First and Second Street Historic District celebrates the almost continuous development of the area from the 1840s to the 1920s and to the current times. http://historicmilwaukee.org/walking-tours/ Admission \$8 to \$20. Preregistration required.

What? DOWNTOWN WALKING TOUR When? most Wed./Sat, some Fridays in Oct., see website, 1pm. Where? 235 E Michigan St, Description This tour of the city's most prestigious downtown buildings starts at the Mackie Building and ends at the Milwaukee Art Museum where participants can view its stunning architecture. http://historicmilwaukee.org/walking-tours/ Admission \$8 to \$16. Preregistration required.

What? THIRD WARD WALKING TOUR When? Oct. 2, 4, 11, 16, 18., see website, 1pm. Where? 235 E Michigan St. Description Learn about the area's early immigrant settlers and explore the warehouses that once housed a diverse group of industries. Today, the area is home to trend-setting businesses. http://historicmilwaukee.org/walking-tours/ Admission \$8 to \$16. Preregistration required.

What? RIVERWALK When? Oct. 6, 20, 27, 5:30 to 7:30pm, see website. Where? 235 E. Michigan St. Description Tour highlights the architecturally significant buildings that flank the Milwaukee River, sculpture along the RiverWalk and history about the creation of this important public walkway. http://historicmilwaukee.org/walking-tours/ Admission \$8 to \$16. Preregistration required.

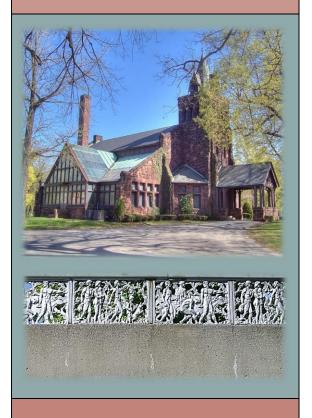
What? SELF-GUIDED TOUR OF FOREST HOME CEMETERY When? Daily 8am-4:30pm Where? 2405 W. Forest Home Description Tour the beautiful Chapel Gardens, Landmark Chapel, and the Hall of History that tells the story of Milwaukee dignitaries, including European founders of Milwaukee, several mayors, major African American activists, and brewery tycoons. Admission Free. (See right column.)

What? WATER TO WESTOWN When? Oct, 8, 24, 5:30pm. See website. Where? 235 E. Michigan St. Description Explore downtown in an area that is west of the Milwaukee River including theaters, civic and commercial buildings along N. Water Str. And N. Broadway. http://historicmilwaukee.org/walking-tours/Admission \$8 to \$16. Preregistration required.

What? THE HOP STREETCAR TOUR When? Oct. 2, 11am, see website. Where? 235 E Michigan St. Description Explore urban renewal from the edge of the Menomonee Valley to Downtown's Yankee Hill neighborhood. http://historicmilwaukee.org/walking-tours/ Admission \$8 to \$16, preregistration required.

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Happening in the Forest Home Hills neighborhood



Self-guided tour of Forest Home Cemetery

2405 W. Forest Home Avenue

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What? MILWAUKEE PUBLIC MARKET. When? Oct. 19, Nov. 16, 9:45am. Where? Second floor of market, 400 W. Water. Description Celebrate the market's 20th anniversary with a new tour. http://historicmilwaukee.org/walking-tours/ Admission \$8 to \$16, preregistration required.

What? BAY VIEW TOUR When? Oct 4m 25, 1pm. Where? Corner of S. Superior and E. Russell. Description Learn history of Bay View via Kinnickinnic Avenue. http://historicmilwaukee.org/walking-tours/ Admission \$8 to \$16, preregistration required.

What? NORTH POINT MANSIONS When? Oct. 12, 19, 26, 1pm. Where? North Point Fountain, 2284 N. Lake Drive. Description See the impressive mansions of this neighborhood. http://historicmilwaukee.org/walking-tours/ Admission \$8 to \$16, preregistration required.

What? WALK THROUGH MILWAUKEE'S LATINO HISTORY When? Daily Where? United Community Center, 1028 S. 9th St. Description Opportunity to learn about Latino history by visiting tannery and foundry exhibits, photos, and art inside the UCC building, and historical murals on two sides of Bruce Guadalupe School next door. http://www.unitedcc.org/index.htm Admission Free.

What? BEYOND BRADY STREET TOUR When? Oct. 5, 16, 11am. Where? St. Hedwig's/Three Holy Women Parish, 1702 N. Humboldt. Description Explore the Polish and Italian roots of this neighborhood. http://historicmilwaukee.org/walking-tours/Admission \$10 to \$20, preregistration required.

ARTS, THEATRE, AND CRAFTS

What? WALKER'S POINT CENTER FOR THE ARTS When? 1 to 5pm during exhibitions, see website. Where? 839 S 5th St. Description Ongoing exhibitions in a community setting. http://wpca-milwaukee.org/ Admission Free to look.

What? TERRY MCCORMICK CONTEMPORARY FINE AND FOLK ART GALLERY When? Call (414) 264-6766 to visit. Where? 2522 N. 18th St. Description Contemporary art by the founder, Evelyn Patricia Terry, along with several friends whose work she exhibits. https://www.facebook.com/terrymccormick-gallery/_Admission Free to look. (See right column.)

What? ART BAR When? Daily 3pm to 12am. Where? 722 E. Burleigh St. Description Permanent and temporary art exhibits. https://www.facebook.com/artbarmke/ Admission Adults, free to look.

Happening in the North Division Neighborhood





Virtual tour of the Terry McCormick contemporary fine- and folk-art gallery

The work of Evelyn Patricia Terry and a tour of her neighborhood museum can be accessed at the following websites:

evelynpatriciaterry.com and Virtual Tour: Terry McCormick Contemporary Fine and Folk Art Gallery.

Above are examples from the series, Pastel Drawings, and Artists Books on the general website

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What? GALLERY AT MILWAUKEE INSTITUTE OF ART & DE-SIGN When? Mon. through Sat., 10am to 5pm. Where? 273 E. Erie St. Description Rotating exhibitions of renowned artists, MIAD students, and MIAD faculty. http://www.miad.edu/ Admission Free.

What? GALLERY 218 When? Sat., 12 to 5pm. Where? 207 East Buffalo St. Suite 218. Description The cooperative gallery of the Walker's Point Artists Assoc., Inc. https://gallery218.com/Admission Free, donations welcome.

What? VAR WEST GALLERY When? Thu. through Sat., 11am to 4pm. Where? 423 W Pierce St. Description Focusing on exhibiting solo shows for emerging and established artists, including full bar for purchases during events. https://www.varwest-gallery.com/about Admission Free to look.

ECO/NATURE ACTIVITIES

What? EARLY MORNING BIRDWALK—WASHINGTON When? Most Wed., 8 to 10am. Check website. Where? Washington Park, 1859 N. 40th St. Description A walk for bird watchers of all ability levels to walk through different habitats for birds. http://urbanecologycenter.org/programs-events-main.html Admission Free. (See right column.)

What? EARLY MORNING BIRDWALK—MENOMONEE VAL-LEY When? Most Tue., 8 to 10am. Check website. Where? Menomonee Valley, 3700 W. Pierce St. Description A walk for bird watchers of all levels to explore Three Bridges Park for birds. http://urbanecologycenter.org/programs-eventsmain.html Admission Free.

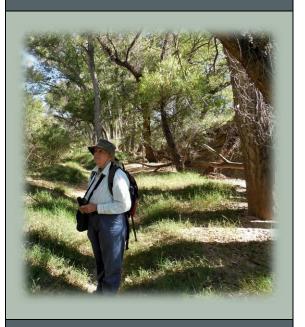
What? EARLY MORNING BIRDWALK—RIVERSIDE When? Most Thu., 8 to 10am. Check website. Where? Riverside Park, 1500 E. Park Pl. Description A walk for bird watchers of all ability levels to explore different habitats for birds and other animals. http://urbanecologycenter.org/programs-events-main.html Admission Free.

GET-MOVING ACTIVITIES

What? HANK AARON STATE TRAIL When? Daily. Where? Multiple access points; see map on website Description Opportunity to enjoy natural and urban views and walk or bike trail across Milwaukee, from the lakefront to 94th Pl. http://hankaaronstatetrail.org/ Admission Free.

What? INDOOR SKATING When? Weekdays, check website for times. Wilson Ice Arena (milwaukee.gov) Where? Wilson Park Arena, 4001 S. 20th St. Description Indoor skating. Wilson Ice Arena (milwaukee.gov) Admission \$3.75 to \$6.75, skate rentals extra.

Happening in the Washington Park neighborhood



Early morning birdwalk

> Washington Park 1859 N. 40th Street

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What? RUN/WALK TRACK AT THE PETTIT When? Hours vary, see website. Where? Pettit National Ice Center, 500 S. 84th St. Description Walk or run on 430-meter track with lockers and showers for \$1 extra at limited times. http://thepettit.com/sports/run-walk-track/ Admission \$4.

What? PUBLIC ICE SKATING AT THE PETTIT When? Hours vary, see website. Where? Pettit National Ice Center, 500 S. 84th St. Description Indoor ice skating and skate rentals. http://thepettit.com/public-skate/ Admission \$7.50, \$6.50 kids 13-15; \$5.50 kids 4-12 and seniors; free <4. (See right.)

FOOD AND FARMERS MARKETS

What? BROWN DEER FARMERS MARKET When? To Oct. 15, Wed. 10am to 3pm. Where? 4120 W. Green Brook Dr. Description Produce, bakery, crafts. Admission Free.

What? CATHEDRAL SQUARE MARKET When? To Oct. 12, Sun., 9am to 2pm. Where? Cathedral Square Park, 520 E. Wells St. Description Produce, bakery, crafts. Admission Free.

What? ENDERIS MARKET When? To Oct. 27; Sun., 9am to 1pm. Where? 2938 N. 72nd St. Description Produce, bakery, crafts. Admission Free.

What? JACKSON PARK FARMERS MARKET When? To Oct. 2, Thu., 3 to 6:30pm. Where? Jackson Park Boathouse, 3500 W. Forest Home Ave. Description Produce, bakery, crafts. Admission Free.

What? RIVERWEST GARDENERS MARKET When? To Oct. 26, Sun., 10am to 2pm. Where? 2700 N Pierce Street. Description Produce from local gardeners. Admission Free.

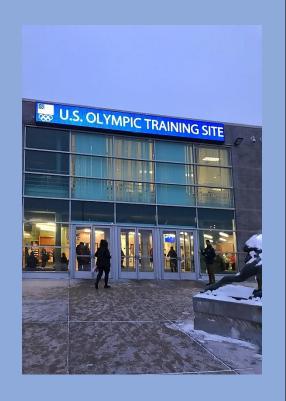
What? SHOREWOOD FARMERS MARKET When? To Oct. 26, Sun., 9:30am to 1pm. Where? 4100 Estabrook Pkwy. Description Produce, bakery, crafts. Admission Free.

What? SOUTH MILWAUKEE DOWNTOWN MARKET When? To Oct. 2, Thu., 3 to 7pm. Where? 11th and Milwaukee Ave. Description Produce, bakery, crafts. Admission Free.

What? TOSA FARMERS MARKET When? To Oct. 11, Sat., 8am to noon. Where? Parking lot, 7720 Harwood Ave. Description Produce, bakery, crafts. Admission Free.

What? WHITEFISH BAY FARMERS MARKET When? To Oct. 25, Sat., 9am to 1pm; Night market Jun. 20, Jul. 26, 5 to 9pm. Where? Aurora Parking Lot, 324 E. Silver Spring Dr. Description Produce, bakery, crafts. Admission Free.

Happening in the Fair Park neighborhood



Pettit National Ice Center

500 S. 84th Street

Continued from Page 8

What? WEST ALLIS FARMERS MARKET When? To Nov. 29, Tue. and Thu., noon to 5pm, Sat., 1 to 5pm. Where? 6501 W. National Ave. Description Produce, bakery, crafts. Admission Free.

What? FONDY'S FARMERS MARKET When? To Oct. 30 (regular season), Sat., Sun. 7am to 2pm. Where? 2200 W. Fond du Lac Ave. Description Produce, bakery, crafts. Admission Free. (See right column.)

BEER GARDENS

What? SOUTH SHORE TERRACE When? Fall hours: Thu./Fri. 4-8pm, Sat./Sun. 12-7pm, Where? 2900 South Shore Dr. Description Beer, socializing, great view of Lake Michigan. Admission Free to look.



Jane Jacobs on traffic

Wherever cities are thinly settled rather than densely concentrated, or wherever diverse uses occur infrequently, any specific attraction does cause traffic congestion. Such places as clinics, shopping centers or movies bring with them a concentration of traffic—and what is more, bring traffic heavily along the routes to and from them. . . In dense diversified areas, people still walk, an activity that is impractical in the suburbs.

From The Death and Life of Great American Cities.

Happening in the Park West neighborhood



Milwaukee's most successful farmers market

FONDY'S
2200 W. 40th Fond du Lac Avenue

Fernwood: A very Catholic history

From a German Catholic hamlet to Saint Francis de Sales Seminary

Fernwood has a densely populated area that borders the lake and extends to the city's southern border just north of the city of St. Francis. The houses are mainly early 20th century bungalows and two-story wood frame houses. There are a few newer homes on South Lake Drive. The Archdiocese of Milwaukee occupies the largest parcel of land in the neighborhood, comprising nearly half of Fernwood from South Lake Drive east.



Saint Francis de Sales Seminary on the border of Fernwood

There are two parks. Bay View Park is a 39-acre stretch of green space that runs along the lake just east of South Lake Drive. There is also Morgan Triangle, a small park between Kinnickinnic Avenue and South Pennsylvania Avenue.



Morgan Park

History

If there was one word that can describe the history of the Fernwood neighborhood, that word would be "Catholicism."

Early populations

By the middle of the 19th century, German farmers—mostly Catholic—had settled on today's southeast side of Milwaukee. A German Catholic hamlet called New Koln thrived within the expanse that had been the unincorporated Town of Lake that encompassed today's Fernwood neighborhood. Having arrived from Cologne (German *Koln*), these 50 settlers founded St. Stephen's Catholic Parish. The German population gradually gained force in the region.

Catholic Bishop John Martin Henni recognized the need for priests to serve German-speaking Catholics in the wider area and in 1843 organized the St. Francis de Sales Seminary in his Milwaukee residence. Henni and others of the newly formed Archdiocese of Milwaukee soon sought a larger site for the Seminary, and in 1853, a papal envoy accompanied the bishop to an area on the border of today's Fernwood area. Legend has it that the envoy, overcome by the site's beauty, exclaimed: "Make this place holy!" By January of 1856, a new building, designed by Victor Schulte, was dedicated on the feast day of St. Francis de Sales. In 1861, Bishop Henni consecrated Christ King Chapel and the original 11-foot, gilded cross was placed on top of the cupola.

Preserving German culture

Archbishop Henni and his successors Archbishops Michael Heiss and Frederick Xavier Katzer stamped a strong German character on the new jurisdiction. This "Germanization" policy was continued to a lesser extent by Archbishop Sebastian Messmer. Strongly believing in the aphorism, "language preserves faith," the local German Catholics worked to maintain a secure, homogeneous religious community where German language and ethnic traditions would be preserved. This became a practice that was most strongly reproduced in the diocese of Milwaukee with the building of German-speaking parishes and schools. For many years, St. Francis Seminary specialized in the education of German-speaking youth for service to German Catholics in the Midwest and elsewhere.

See profile of John Martin Henni on the following page.

FERNWOOD NEIGHBORHOOD

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Fernwood resident profile (mid-1800s)

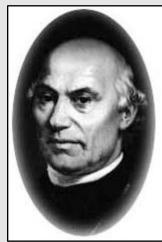
(Information from census and other public records)

John Martin Henni

John Martin Henni (photoⁱ to right) was born to a German-speaking family in Switzerland in 1805. He was educated in St. Gallen and Lucerne and went to Rome in 1824 to advance his studies in philosophy and theology.

Henni arrived in the United States in 1828 at age 22, on the invitation of Bishop Edward Fenwick, to join the Diocese of Cincinnati. In 1829, he was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Fenwick.

While in Ohio, Henni became interested in the religious leadership to Germans in the United States. He proposed a seminary for the education of priests to



minister among German Catholics. This mission was advanced when he was appointed to the newly created Diocese of Milwaukee by Pope Gregory XVI. Henni took up residence in the First Ward on Milwaukee's East Side. The 1850 census has him living with three other clergymen; one an Irish immigrant, and two others from the East Coast; a theology student from Ireland; a gardener; and two apparent maids. While none of these colleagues had German names, it was apparently here that Henni organized the St. Francis de Sales Seminary a few years earlier. Henni and others of the newly formed Archdiocese of Milwaukee soon sought a larger site for the school, which brought them to the Fernwood and St. Francis area and resulted in the dedication of St. Francis Seminary at its current site in 1856.

Henni became a naturalized citizen of the United States in 1854. He was also instrumental in the establishment of another Catholic institution—Marquette University—which opened just days before his death in 1881.

Dissent within the ranks

Not everyone was happy with the German domination of the diocese. Conflicts between German and non-German clergy (particularly the Irish) broke out. English-speaking clergy and laity claimed they were slighted by German hegemony and worked to have English-speaking bishops appointed in 1881 and 1890 respectively. Germans were less interested in cultural assimilation and insisted that their schools and religious life remain distinct. Moreover, they continued to request German-speaking bishops to minister to their needs.

However, by the late 19th century the German hold on Milwaukee began to weaken. In the 1880s, the shift of the local economy from commerce to heavy industry brought a large influx of southern and eastern European Catholics to the area, which made it more ethnically diverse. Bohemians, Italians, and Poles were arriving and were founding their own Catholic parishes.

Yet the Seminary remained strong. Additions were made to the original building in 1868 and 1875. Enrolment grew. Eventually the Seminary would also offer graduate degree programs for lay candidates.

Another Catholic institution

With the help of the Sisters of St. Francis of Assisi, another Catholic institution soon found its way into today's Fernwood area. The Marian Center's Loretto Hall was constructed in 1904 as St. Mary's Academy, a high school for young women. Erhard Brielmaier designed the later additions to the Hall in 1922. A chapel within Loretta Hall has windows designed by Sister Mary Thomasita Fessler (who had her studio in the complex) and executed by Conrad Schmitt Studios.

Expansions in 1931 and 1935 created Rosary Hall and Clare Wing, to allow for the development of St. Clare College in 1937. Renamed for Samuel Cardinal Stritch in 1946, that institution outgrew its home and moved to its later location in 1962, just north of Milwaukee's city limits, and was named Cardinal Stritch University. The university is now closed.

St. Mary's Academy continued to grow into the largest high school for young women in the State of Wisconsin. By 1980, Milwaukee County and the State of Wisconsin recognized the school as a historic landmark. With nearby boys' schools gradually becoming coed, St. Mary's Academy closed in June, 1991. They had prepared over 8,000 young women to become responsible citizens serving in various occupations and professions.

In the late century, the center was reorganized into the Marian Center for Nonprofits. The school classrooms, for a time, were converted to affordable offices for other nonprofit organizations.



Marian Center/Sisters of Saint Francis of Assisi

FERNWOOD NEIGHBORHOOD

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Current populations

Today, nearly 9 in 10 residents of Fernwood are European Americans. Germans continue to dominate the neighborhood, with nearly half this group of residents claiming German ancestry. The second and third highest ancestry cited is Polish and Irish respectively, suggesting that Fernwood is still a strongly Catholic neighborhood. Given its history, it should not be surprising that Fernwood has more than two and one-half times more religious organizations than the average for comparable space in Wisconsin.

Residents in Fernwood are well educated with above average incomes. Over half of the residents over 25 have bachelor's or graduate degrees and nearly one-third live in upper middle-income households with annual incomes between \$75,000 and \$150,000. The highest number of occupations in the neighborhood are in administration, management, and food service.



Houses on Fernwood Ave. and S. Vermont Ave.



Houses on Springfield Ave.

Jane Jacobs on cities

Cities, like anything else, succeed by making the most of their assets.

Dull, inert cities, it is true, do contain the seeds of their own destruction and little else. But lively, diverse, and intense cities contain the seeds of their own regeneration, with energy enough to carry for problems and needs outside themselves.

From The Death and Life of Great American Cities.

Jane Jacobs on traffic

Wherever cities are thinly settled rather than densely concentrated, or wherever diverse uses occur infrequently, any specific attraction does cause traffic congestion. Such places as clinics, shopping centers or movies bring with them a concentration of traffic—and what is more, bring traffic heavily along the routes to and from them.

. . In dense diversified areas, people still walk, an activity that is impractical in the suburbs.

From The Death and Life of Great American Cities.

Jane Jacobs on children's sidewalk play

Children "need an unspecialized outdoor home base from which to play, to hang around in, and to help form their notions of the world. It is this form of unspecialized play that the sidewalks serve—and that lively city sidewalks can serve splendidly. When this home-base play is transferred to playgrounds and parks it is not only provided for unsafely, but paid personnel, equipment, and space are frittered away that could be devoted instead to more iceskating rinks, swimming pools, boat ponds and other various and specific outdoor uses."

From The Death and Life of Great American Cities.

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At the local level

Why Milwaukee?



Why was Milwaukee the only large city in America to foster a strong socialist movement? The major reason was that Milwaukee was also the only large U.S. city that was developed chiefly by Germans (Judd, 1989; Olson, 1952). The influx of Germans began in 1833. By the 1840s more than 1,000 Germans were arriving every week; by 1870 more than half the Milwaukee population self-identified as German-American (Lachner, 1995; Stachowski, 1966). And socialism in many ways was a Teutonic brainchild. German philosopher Karl Marx, building on the Hegelian idea that history inevitably produced a series of contradictions and solutions, argued that class struggle and conflict were predestined outcomes of human history. Less conflict oriented in his approach was another German, Ferdinand Lassalle, who maintained that the conditions of the working class could be improved through organized effort and legislation.

A party for Germans

Socialism found German Milwaukeeans receptive for two major reasons. First, Milwaukee had a strong base of Forty-Eighters who, given their recent European experiences, were ideal receptacles for a progressive movement. The Forty-Eighters had left Europe when the Liberal Revolution of 1848 failed. Most were Germans. They organized Turner societies which, following their German models, were mainly gymnastic clubs that also promoted the right of free speech and clean government (Stachowski, 1966; Wittke, 1952). While not large in numbers, Forty-Eighters developed power disproportionate to their membership, and the numerous Turner halls became podiums for progressive political rallies (Wells, 1970).

Second, German union membership was also a valuable receptacle for socialism. Union activity among Milwaukee Germans began very early. Between 1852 and 1855 Germans developed unions for saddlers, shoemakers, girthmakers, carpenters, and cabinetmakers (Conzen, 1976). Of particular importance was the Milwaukee Federation Trades Council (FTC),

an AFL affiliate, which was an association of German workers who barred other ethnic groups and unskilled labor because they deemed the craft union also to be a social club. By 1889, Socialists gained control of their executive board.

A party by Germans

Once Socialist leaders such as Victor Berger found their way into Milwaukee wards, party leaders at all levels began to use German rituals and traditions to consolidate the effort. Formal practices were modeled after the German Socialist prototype, which included the organization of subunits to the existence of a daily Socialist newspaper run by Berger (Berquist, 1987; Lackey, 2007).

Germans in Milwaukee, as elsewhere, were said to have a "large capacity for the enjoyment of life" or *gemütlichkeit* (Tolzmann, 2000, p. 381). Leisure time activities at party functions had a particular German flavor, which included music, art, gymnastics, and a penchant for Sunday frolicking (Lackey, 2007; Tolzmann, 1999). The Socialists were also the only political party locally to oppose the growing call for prohibition (Bergquist, 1999).

Milwaukee Socialist leaders even exploited the obsession that Milwaukee Germans had with theatrical performances. By the early 20th century, the city had fifteen German language theaters offering live stage shows (Merrill, 2000). Socialists also produced theatre. One example was the play, *The Strike of Santa Claus*, which, as the title implies, argued for the cause of labor.

The appeal to German values and practices was a necessary process in cementing early support from Milwaukee's dominant German population. As the party rose to power, other issues would take precedence.

The Socialist rise to power

Milwaukee was the scene of tribulations that may have helped advance American Socialism. In the late 19th century employers across the nation typically demanded that their employees work up to 16 hours a day, six days a week. Locally, German-born newspaper editor Paul Grottkau helped organize laborers to walk out of their workplaces on May 1, 1886 as part of a nationwide strike for an eight-hour day (Anderson, 2019). Approximately 14,000 employees of the Milwaukee

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Iron Company rolling mill walked out on May 4. They were met by 250 National Guardsmen under orders from Governor Rusk to shoot to kill any strikers trying to enter the mill. The captain interpreted the order more generally and directed his men to pick out and shoot advancing protesters at random. Within 24 hours, seven were killed—including a 13-year-old boy—and many more injured. The following day, approximately half of Milwaukee's voting population joined the general protest (Anderson, 2019; Gurda, 2007).

Through these events, as well as rational reflection, Victor Berger saw trade unionism as an effective strategy in a socialist battle to raise the potential of workers and in the process mitigate class divisions. He could not commit to the more radical aims of Marxist socialism that necessitated violent revolution as the only path to a classless society (Ross, 2015). Berger, pointing to the success of unions in other contexts, believed that the labor movement could achieve the same ends, but through evolution by peaceful means. He repudiated the program of the Socialist Labor Party and its leader Daniel De Leon who had opposed trade unions (Still, 1948). He coaxed union support for the Milwaukee Socialist movement, and by 1899 the very large Federal Trades Council (FTC) began backing Socialist Party candidates in the city (Wells, 1970). Union collaboration became a lifelong commitment for Berger.

The integration of Socialism and trade unionism in Milwaukee was one of Victor Berger's master accomplishments, an integration he had worked for consistently from the time he arrived in Milwaukee until his death. During those years the leaders of the state and city, central labor bodies and most of the local unions and many of the members were local Socialist Party members. (Beck, 1982, p. 29)

In addition to labor unrest, another tribulation that Milwaukee faced at the turn of the 20th century was political corruption. The city's mayor between 1898 and 1906 was David Rose. Milwaukee Historian John Gurda (2009, 21:14) described him as a "small-town lawyer who became a silver-tongued orator and a full-time scalawag" able to form friendships with Milwaukee madams and gambling den proprietors. Nicknamed "all the time Rosie," Rose justified prostitution by saying that men will . . . well . . . be men. Bribery was also very common among both Democrats and Republicans during these years (Anderson, 2019). By 1903 leaders of Milwaukee institutions began to fight back. On September 28, 1903, the Milwaukee Turner Society held an "indignation" meeting at downtown Turner Hall over the ethical abuses of the Rose administration. Speeches articulated in German and English went on for hours (Wells, 1970).

The Milwaukee Socialists under Berger saw corruption as another vehicle to advance their cause. The local Socialist Party had been making slow inroads at the ballot box for years. In 1877 the Social Democratic ticket elected two aldermen, two supervisors, and two constables (Olson, 1952). At the time, most Catholic Irish and Polish in the city generally voted

Democratic and most tied to business generally voted Republican. In 1898 the Socialists picked up 5 percent of the municipal vote in Milwaukee, but the majority came from five German wards (Still, 1948). In an effort to appeal to a wider electorate, Socialist candidates began focusing on city corruption and equating it with capitalism, arguing that capitalism concentrated wealth and power within a small segment of society that controlled the means of production and fostered the practice of bribery (Miller, 1973). Berger had routinely made known his views on political corruption through the Vowaerts and the Herald (Olson, 1952). Despite Berger's disparaging views on religion, some Socialists argued their cases to Catholic priests and, where they consolidated opinions, circulated the writings of the priests to garner support from Catholics on the Polish South Side and Italians of the city's Third Ward.

By 1904 the Social Democrats elected nine aldermen and eight other officials to office. Despite having fewer than 300 members in 1910, the party picked up 21 of 35 seats on the Milwaukee Common Council, and the offices of the mayor, city attorney, and city treasurer (Stachowski, 1966). Later that year the party also won a majority of seats on the Board of County Supervisors, and Victor Berger was sent to Congress (Wells, 1970).

Maintaining power

Although the rise of the Milwaukee Socialists comprised a relatively brief period in the historical perspective, the movement required an immense effort to sustain itself.

General policy

Under Victor Berger, the Socialist Party was able to focus on the immediate and practical problems of Milwaukee. Together with Emil Seidel, Berger combined a scientific management plan with the labor movement. Party leaders induced union support and in turn recommended that party members join unions (Olson, 1952; Still, 1948).

Berger led a platform that in some ways advocated for modern international socialism but was localized to meet the immediate needs of the city. It included free medical care for the poor, improved hospitals, better schools and recreational centers, improved

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housing, a municipal garbage collection system, slum removal, clean streets, and better road maintenance (Miller, 1973; Stachowski, 1966). The platform also advocated for an eighthour day for city workers, employment of union labor, and fair taxation of large corporations, but never pressed for a fully collectivized society (Zeidler, 2006).

Formal organizing

While at times criticized as the "Socialist Tammany," Victor Berger excelled at coalition building; he could organize both labor unions and businessmen (Judd, 1989). While not himself a champion of familiar forms of ethnic diversity, he understood the need to go beyond his German base and attract a multicultural electorate. Under his leadership the party operated a celebrated bundle brigade that could reach every household on any issue with literature in any language they desired within 48 hours (Gurda, 2009). Included under the Socialist umbrella in Milwaukee County were Bohemian, Italian, Jewish, Russian, Polish, several Scandinavian, Slovenian, and Slovak foreign language groups (Beck, 1982).

The party was financed by dues collected through the local branches. Wherever possible, Berger contributed his own funds. During his first term in Congress, he donated up to 4,000 dollars annually to the *Leader* from his government salary (Olson, 1952). But gradually the Milwaukee party began to rely heavily on communal events—not just for social solidarity—but for economic support as well.

Social affairs

Frederick Olson (1952, p. 83) listed some of the wide range of leisure time activities that Milwaukee Socialist leaders organized for members, including picnics, masked carnivals, bazaars, card tournaments, minstrel shows, dramas, fancy dress balls, vaudeville shows, and dances. Most of the party funding came from the annual mask balls and picnics. In his chapter entitled "Social Democratic Party" from his memoirs, Emil Seidel (n.d.-b, p. 9) described the way that picnics were successful in attracting diverse ethnic participants.

The picnics of the party were the largest (and perhaps greatest) held in Milwaukee. . . These were annual gettogether affairs always featuring the most prominent speakers to be had in the labor or political movement. These picnics left a lasting impression upon Milwaukee's development, social, political and cultural.

It was the resourceful Edmund T. Melms, receiving \$33.33 a month from the city as alderman, and five dollars a week from the party as county organizer, who organized and managed these picnics. It was Comrade Victor L. Berger who always knew where to get the best speaker as a drawing card for the day. The two made a

fine team. And Milwaukee-? Well, it just trekked for the day to the Social Democratic picnic, by the tens and tens of thousands as to an annual pilgrimage. . .

Now, "Eddie" Melms had an uncanny knack to win nationals - Finns, Russian, Greek, Serbs, Croates [sic], Italian, and so forth; of understanding them, making himself understood and remembering their names. And they promised to come and help to make the picnic a success; and they came.

Decline of the Milwaukee party

Berger's reliance on joining forces with labor unions helped in the rise of the Milwaukee branch of the (now) Socialist Party of America: it also played a part in the decline. On the one hand, organized labor helped build the branch. It also assisted the party when it began to experience financial difficulties between 1912 and 1916. Needing support against the growing prohibition movement, one union helped bail the party out of an immediate financial shortfall (Olson, 1952, p. 98).

Among individual unions the Brewery Workers were most sympathetic to the socialist cause, nationally as well as in Milwaukee. They supplied the party with much needed votes in Federation gatherings, and they provided the *Leader* with cash when it was particularly hard pressed, as it was in 1915.

On the other hand, the unions began to abandon the local party when they experienced alternative supports. Early in the Great Depression years, the local Socialists increased their membership and representation on the Common Council, but as the 1930s pressed on, the New Deal Democrats began to usurp many of the old Socialist platforms (Beck, 1982). Trade unions moved away from the Milwaukee party, even abandoning their shared space in Brisbane Hall, the home of the Socialists. Union members were also seeing the long-range effectiveness of their own bargaining (Beck, 1982, p. 298).

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. . . the success of the collective bargaining contract practically negated the need for workers to expropriate the capital of their employers . . . the generation of workers who came of age during the 1930s were [sic] too far removed from the first and second generational forebears who had come from despotic European countries to America and had become more thoroughly "Americanized," all of these and more have been contributing factors.

Another cause of the decline of the Milwaukee party was the rapid growth of non-German ethnic groups in the city and the corresponding erosion of Germanism (Stachowski, 1966). In his discussion of the decline of the German influence in the party, Emil Seidel bemoaned the time when his Socialist branch meetings no longer opened with singing of the first verse of the "Arbeiter Marseillaise" and closed with the last verse (Seidel, n.d.-b).

A third cause of the decline of the Milwaukee party was a growing level of intransigence among members. Some party elites were becoming so doctrinaire that, despite positive changes in social conditions, they refused to make even minor concessions to doctrine. Many members were excluded. Some were expelled. Others resigned. In the chapter entitled "Adieu" in his memoirs, Emil Seidel recalled the party dissension he witnessed during the last years of his career in political office (Seidel, n.d.-b, p. 2).

However, it was not the arduous work which made my last four years as alderman the hardest of my life. Several young aldermen with more zeal than experience and understanding wanted discipline in the socialist ranks - in their words, "lay down the law". Shouted one of them at a branch meeting: "Heads must come off". Following such talk the branch lost three active members that evening. It was not the way our party was built up.

Instead of doing real work they succeeded to get into a fight with the city treasurer over a few jobs. Not getting their way they preferred charges and had the treasurer expelled from the party. At this point the treasurer was offered non-partisan support if he would agree to run for mayor against D. W. Hoan. . .

In that election Mayor Hoan was again elected chief executive of the city. But the Socialists had fewer alderman in the Council to support him. Sitting through those internal quarrels and seeing the movement for which we had worked so hard being wrecked is what hurt us old-timers - Strehlow, Dietz, Baumann, me and others more than words can tell. And how I warned them!

Members' propensity toward intransigence and exclusion also played roles in the eventual decline of the national party. And Victor Berger was a definite animator in the party's downfall—as well as in its birth and development.

At the national level

Victor Berger was a founding member of the Social Democracy of America (SDA) that helped form the Social Democratic Party of America in 1898. He served on the governing National Executive Committee of the party for its entire duration until the SDA combined with a disaffected element of the Socialist Labor Party and became the Socialist Party of America. Berger would then strongly influence the gradualist wing of the Socialist Party of America (SPA).

Competing ideologies

From its founding, the national Socialist Party by either name had divisions. Those following the writings of Karl Marx were influenced by the dialectical materialism of Hegel which in turn promoted the belief that the ultimate goal of economic emancipation was imminent through violent revolution (Miller, 1973; Zeidler, 2006). Others believed in the gradual evolutionary change of Ferdinand LaSalle. As he frequently did in other contexts, Victor Berger looked to the German Socialists for inspiration. He was influenced by the ideas of Eduard Bernstein in Evolutionary Socialism (1899) which, like LaSalle, maintained that a collectivist society would emerge from a process of political/social evolution. Bernstein went further. Pointing to the historical record, he showed how the ownership of capital was becoming more diffuse through small businesses and landowners. He urged labor to become involved in collective action and electoral politics. The Bernstein model became known as revisionist or gradualist theory (Miller, 1973).

Berger promoted Bernstein's book in the *Herald* and his ideas in the party generally (Ross, 2015). Berger saw the party as organizing workers politically and the labor unions as organizing them economically (Miller, 1973).

The gradualists win out

By the turn of the 20th century, the gradualist element, strongly influenced by Victor Berger, was guiding the national party. In 1901 Berger played a key role in negotiating with the east coast dissident faction of the Socialist Labor Party and the SDA to form the new Socialist Party of America (SPA).

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Those following Marx continued to view the gradualists and the labor movement with contempt, but Berger, being nondoctrinaire, insisted on the freedom to choose between the two theoretical paths to the same end—an end that would result in collective ownership and management of the means of production and distribution.

He wanted the party to stand on a platform of updated Marxism from which it could wage a struggle against the status quo. He did not believe that the Socialist party must either sell its own soul [through opportunism] in political action or remain immobilized until the historic resolution arrived. (Miller, 1973, p. 14).

Through necessity, Berger had cajoled the national party into working within the American system. By 1912 the party had a multitude of branches—49 territorial, 25 foreign-language, and 5 belonging to women (Stachowski, 1966). As with the Milwaukee branch, the national party's membership grew to its height by 1912. But shortly afterwards, and with concurrence if not leadership from Victor Berger, the Socialist Party of American took a divergent path and pulled away from both American consensus and actual American constituency.

The first major cracks

In trying to analyze the reasons that Socialism eventually failed to thrive in America, Bell and Kazan (1995) and Judd (1989) argued that shortly after its rise, the party began to retreat from mainstream culture of the United States. One of the first, clear-cut divergent decisions that lacked farsightedness was opposition to World War I which prompted numerous consequences including Congressman Victor Berger being convicted under the Espionage Act. Berger's biographer, Sally Miller (1973, p. 160), asked why other paths were not considered.

The choice was not simply blind acceptance or blind opposition to the war. Another path was open: the party's consideration of American public opinion (by which it would remain a part of American Society) and working for the maintenance and advancement of democracy within a nation at war. But the party with Berger's concurrence, chose opposition to the war at the expense of the party's existence, for it ultimately turned itself into a paper tiger.

The Bolshevik Revolution presented other challenges. While World War I was still in progress, leftist revolutionaries led by Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin launched a coup d'état that ended centuries of imperial rule and led to the formation of the Soviet Union. No longer could the gradualist wing of the Socialist Party claim that peaceful transformation was the surest route to social ownership of the means of production. Berger and his allies were now viewed by many as standing in the way of a truly revolutionary delegation (Richardson, 2007). The Bolshevist

victory fractured the party, sending many members in other directions and gave rise to the Communist and Communist Labor parties (Judd, 1989).

But these events were only partially responsible for the decline of the Socialist Party of America. Berger and other party elites also failed to take into account the true constituency of the nation they were hoping to represent—a constituency that was becoming more and more diverse.

A North European male party



Stock/Adobe photo

In "For White Men Only: The Socialist Party of America and Issues of Gender, Ethnicity and Race," Sally Miller argued that Socialist women, many immigrant groups, and African Americans were *in* but not *of* the party.

On all three issues, gender, ethnicity, and race, it appears that the Socialist Party presented a picture at variance with the misogynist, discriminatory and exclusionary policies prevalent in American society. Yet a closer look at both party policies and practices in fact suggests a different scenario. (2003, p. 285)

While Miller acknowledged that the party officially proclaimed equality for all persons, and offered a gender-free and colorblind invitation to membership, it did not address their specific needs nor did it take advantage of their potential contributions (Miller, 2003; Schneirov, 2003). Achieving little recognition, some ethnic groups departed. The Ukrainians broke off and formed their own Socialist party. Polish Socialists left and founded the Polish Alliance of the Socialist Party of America and in 1916 numbered 800. unwelcome immigrant changed their allegiance to the Wobblies and others to the Communist or Communist Labor Party (Miller, 2003).

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Labor and diversity

Clearly Victor Berger and the gradualist wing of the Socialist Party of America wanted to continue collaborating with trade unions and needed union support. And many of the organized unions were practicing racial exclusion and refusing to admit some immigrant groups as well as African Americans to their ranks. Speaking on national immigration policy at a party convention, Berger and Ernest Untermann, both German Americans and immigrants themselves, drafted an unsuccessful resolution to exclude Asian immigrants, and not, Berger claimed, on racial grounds, but "if we admit the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Korean . . . it will be clear to America's workingmen that the party does not want to help them." (Miller, 2003, p. 296)

But possibly a stronger reason that the Socialist Party of America failed to take needs of specific groups into account was the monolithic way party members viewed the working class. Influenced as much by neoclassical as Marxian economic theory, all wings of the party envisaged and treated labor as a uniform bloc (Berger, 1917). But the heterogeneity of work forms and practices on the ground, from labor/employer networks to migrant workers to kin-based fisheries to freelance conclaves—all with their own strategies for satisfying needs—did not fit the party's models (Hannerz, 1996; Rees, 2006; Russell, 2006; Wolf, 1997).

Furthermore, by stressing the homogeneity of labor, the Socialists were disinclined to consider the specific effects that racial, ethnic, and gender discrimination had on the workforce.

Neither gender nor ethnicity nor race held serious relevance to this party committed to the class struggle on behalf of the workers of the United States. While all workers were welcome to join the party in the class struggle, the party and Debs himself denied that specific struggles on behalf of defined groups were necessary. Although women, immigrants, and African Americans all bore distinctive burdens in their participation in the class struggle, the consensus within the Socialist Party denied that fact and ultimately minimized the party participation and the prospects of the three groups. (Miller, 2003, pp. 302-303)

This blindness to difference and the exclusionary postures it engendered may have been embedded in party beliefs and practices but were not uniformly held by the American Socialist leaders. At the top of the exclusionist list was Victor Berger.

Uneven Exclusionary Postures

Not every Socialist leader was indifferent to the effects of discrimination. Leaders assumed varying postures toward targets of bigotry. The party's recurrent presidential candidate, Eugene Debs, was a case in point. On the one hand Debs opposed party resolutions to help blacks. In the article, "The Negro in the Class Struggle" (1903, p. 1), Debs appealed to the socialists' belief in the homogeneity of labor and argued that Socialists should not offer special treatment to African Americans.

The Negro, given economic freedom, will not ask the white man any social favors; and the burning question of "social equality" will disappear like mist before the sunrise. I have said and say again that, properly speaking, there is no Negro question outside of the labor question—the working class struggle. Our position as Socialists and as a party is perfectly plain. We have simply to say: "The class struggle is colorless." The capitalists, white, black and other shades, are on one side and the workers. white, black and all other colors, on the other side.

On the other hand, Debs articulated sympathy for the current state of blacks in America. In the same article, he expressed admiration for Negro contributions to the U.S. economy, using the term "genius" to describe their talent in cotton cultivation.

As a matter of fact the industrial supremacy of the south before the war would not have been possible without the Negro, and the south of today would totally collapse without his labor. Cotton culture has been and is the great staple and it will not be denied that the fineness and superiority of the fibre that makes the export of the southern states the greatest in the world is due in large measure to the genius of the Negroes charged with its cultivation. The whole world is under obligation to the Negro, and that the white heel is still upon the black neck is simply proof that the world is not yet civilized.

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Debs also refused to give talks before audiences that were segregated and joined forces with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to condemn the film, *Birth of a Nation* (Harder, 2019).

Another Socialist leader, Joseph Sharts, disparaged racism, equating it with primitivism. Sharts, who sat on the governing National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America between 1925 and 1932, wrote an editorial in a socialist-oriented paper in Dayton Ohio on a 1923 Ku Klux Klan rally.

As I watched those muffled and masked thousands pouring along the street, flaunting their symbols of "Americanism" with the contrary insignia of the "Invisible Empire," the thought came to me: "What a fearful weapon in unscrupulous hands are these great blind forces of religious antagonism and racial prejudice." How oddly we Socialists underestimated the enduring quality of primitive influences, how sadly overestimated the disillusioning and enlightening influences of the machine process of Capitalism. (Sharts, 1923, p. 2)

Sharts went on to admit, with regret, that most of the Klan members appeared to be working class individuals.

Morris Hillquit, the leader of the Socialist's east coast wing, was more accepting of discrimination, particularly on the topic of new immigrants. Miller (2003, p. 295) expounded.

No clearer evidence exists of the party's contempt for the newer immigrants than that found in its heated debates over immigration policy during these years. In 1907, when the Congress of the International convened in Germany endorsed unrestricted immigration policies, a bitterly divided delegation from the Socialist Party of America was on the losing side of the debate. Morris Hillquit, the Latvian-born New York attorney who led the party's east coast reformist wing, served as vice-president of the committee charged with developing a policy on immigration. With delegates from receiving nations tending to be concerned about rising immigration figures, the issue of capitalists artificially-inducing immigration captured the bulk of the delegates' attention. Hillquit proposed banning immigrants who were incapable of being educated to the class struggle, by which he meant on the basis of nationality, arguing that such restrictions would promote a stronger workers' movement. Hillquit's position was overwhelmingly defeated, winning the support of only delegates of two of the other twenty-two socialist parties present, white-supremacist South Africa and Australia.

However, no leader in the Socialist Party of America was more exclusionist in posture and policies than Victor Berger. Identified as the leader of both the overtly racist and the anti-immigrant factions of the party (Harder, 2019, p. 8; Miller, 2003, p. 297), Victor Berger supported, on the one hand, legislation

and policies that promoted equality of all people, and on the other hand, voiced disparaging statements about those targeted for discrimination. For example, on the topic of gender, Berger professed support for women suffrage, but remarked that women would be of little use to the Socialist Party, as they tended to be dominated by priests and pastors, voice their clerical opinions, and hence would diminish the cause of socialism (Olson, 1952).

But it was on the subject of race and ethnicity where Berger expressed virulent bias. As a unionist, he saw the Negro as unorganizable; as a German he saw the Negro and many others as inferior (Miller, 1971). An avid reader, Berger used Social Darwinism and related evolutionary theories on race (sometimes labeled [pseudo-] scientific racism) of the mid to late 19th century to argue for the inferiority of some groups. These models, whose premises were already being refuted by scientists at the time of most of Berger's writings, were based on the use of craniology, the process of natural selection, and the concept of survival of the fittest to rank racial and ethnic groups in hierarchical orders, with Negroes at the bottom and modern Aryan (North European/Nordic) whites at the top (Morton, 1839, 1844; Nott & Gliddon, 1854; Pressmen, 2017).

Per the models, all societies had developed from the earliest "savage" stages through "barbarianism," and eventually some reached "civilized" stages (Scupin, 2012). The populations that evolved into more cultured and powerful positions did so because they possessed unalterable traits that were innately superior, not because of greater opportunities. Parents passed on both physical traits to their children and learned qualities as well, such as morality and frugality. The evolutionary process would eventually weed out "unfit" groups of the general populationhence legislation to support the weak was futile because nature would inevitably run its course (Spencer, 1896).

Scientists, such as anthropologist Franz Boas and his students, began responding with rigorous studies. By the time the Socialists began their rise at the turn of the 20th century, Franz Boas was conducting research in the Pacific Northwest and among American immigrants. Insisting upon inductive ethnographic research, he questioned

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whether race limited ability to achieve high civilization and argued that it was usually *opportunity* that led to unequal social and economic status. He also claimed that human traits were not immutable (Boas, 1911; Baker, 1998; Lewis 2001).

In Changes in Bodily Forms of Descendants of Immigrants (1912)—a congressionally sponsored study—Boas produced over 500 pages of formulas, graphs, and statistics showing the difference in growth patterns from first to second generation American children, demonstrating that the purported inferior racial traits of Eastern Europeans were malleable and responded to changes in the environment. Once in an American environment, eating an American diet, the children were quickly becoming more like other Americans. While parts of the Boas study were presented to Congress while Berger served in the House of Representatives, Berger never acknowledged any views on race beyond Social Darwinism and pseudo-scientific racism.

He first outlined his belief on racial hierarchy in a 1902 front page article in the *Social Democratic Herald*.

There can be no doubt that the negroes and mulattos constitute a lower race—that the Caucasian and even the Mongolian have the start of them by many thousand years—so that negroes will find it difficult to ever overtake them.

He then corroborated claims of proponents of pseudo-scientific racism that blacks had inherent rapist tendencies, particularly directed toward white women (Brinton, 1890; Pressman, 2019).

The many cases of rape which occur wherever negroes are settled in large numbers prove, moreover, that the free contact with the whites has led to further degeneration of the negroes, as of all other inferior races. . . And in the case of the negro all the savage instincts of his forefathers in Africa come to the surface. It is mainly the 'submerged negro'—quite a numerous element—which is a constant source of danger. (Berger, 1902, p. 1)

While Berger did condemn the Ku Klux Klan and lynchings in the House of Representatives (Sheasby, 1928), unlike Debs and Sharts, he never opined over or condemned the enslavement of or discrimination against blacks. In fact, in a February 3, 1926 speech before Congress he suggested that white workingmen of his time lived a more vulnerable existence than had Negro slaves prior to emancipation.

The Negro was property and represented about a thousand dollars in value—sometimes more, sometimes, less. He was property which the master owned. Therefore the master, if he had any sense, took good care of his human chattel. The master was eager to have the slave as long and in as good condition as possible. When he became sick or when he died, the master lost money. The case is entirely different with the white workingman, the so-called free workingman. When the white man is

sick or when he dies, the employers usually lost nothing. (Berger, 1929, p. 202)

Blacks were not the only group that Victor Berger denigrated. In the Socialist Party he condemned all non-Caucasians, arguing that white civilization had to be protected against the encroachment by others (Miller, 2003). While he praised Germans, Jews, and at times English, Scandinavians, Italians and Poles, he was opposed to any new immigrants from nations east of Poland. During his first term in Congress in 1911, he referred to these incomers as "modern white coolies," a racist term for low-income people of Asian descent (47 Cong. Rec. 2018, 1911).

And Berger had nothing positive to voice about Asians generally. In a speech to Congress on March 15, 1928, he had the following to say about the Chinese while discussing the Opium War.

These backward peoples have a moral code of their own. And they do not willingly enter into lasting business relations with civilized men. These backward folks do business in their own way and according to their own notions. They often lie and cheat and are hard to do business with [laughter] . . . these backward nations—or ancient nations—[must] be compelled to be "honest," that they be compelled to live up to such rules of conduct as will make trade possible and lucrative for civilized Americans, Englishmen, Germans, or other "Nordics" who have invested their money. (Berger, 1929, pp. 437-438)

Berger's biographer, Sally Miller (1973, pp. 81-82), stated that during his time in Congress, he missed a great opportunity to help and thereby incorporate a large African American population into the party. . . . an enormous blind spot obstructed his efforts to represent American workers. Berger's committee assignment was that of the District of Columbia, thereby giving him the opportunity to represent the city's large and exploited black population. But his racist attitude did not allow him to recognize the opportunity.

Ultimately, the failure of Victor Berger and other Socialists to acknowledge the value of a diverse population limited new membership and opportunities to organize new vulnerable groups in the labor movement.

Continued from Page 20

Berger's racist influence on the local party?

As leader of the Milwaukee branch of the Socialist Party of America, how did Berger's overtly racist beliefs affect the city's other Socialists? The answer is—unevenly. The influence of Berger's views on inclusion and exclusion at the local level is a complex one. It will be reviewed in detail in Section III.

Chapter summary

The Milwaukee branch of the Socialist Party succeeded primarily because of its appeal to the city's German majority. Under the leadership of Victor Berger, the party grew by advocating for organized labor, condemning local corruption, and developing creative and effectual organizing strategies. The Milwaukee branch declined in the New Deal era as unions found alternative supports, the city's German share of the population shrank, and party leaders became more intransigent over doctrine.

The national Socialist Party of America—also led in part by Victor Berger—grew to its height between 1910 and 1916. The party began to decline when it diverted from U.S. consensus over World War I and additionally failed to incorporate more diverse populations into its ranks. Victor Berger led the overt racist and anti-immigration sectors of the party.

Section II, that follows, will discuss the neighborhoods lost under Milwaukee Socialists, and what these losses reveal about the administrations of mayors Hoan and Zeidler.

This book is available for sale, but will also be accessible chapter-by-chapter in this newsletter and in full, in in a PDF format online on the website of Urban Anthropology, Inc.—both without cost to readers. (https://www.urban-anthropology.org)

Jane Jacobs on neighborhood sidewalks

The sidewalk must have users on it fairly continuously, both to add to the number of effective eyes on the street and to induce the people in buildings along the street to watch the sidewalks in sufficient numbers. Nobody enjoys sitting on a stoop or looking out a window at an empty street.

From The Death and Life of Great American Cities.

Jane Jacobs on neighborhood safety

There must be eyes upon the street, eyes belonging to those we might call the natural proprietors of the street. The buildings on a street equipped to handle strangers and to insure the safety of both residents and strangers, must be oriented to the street.

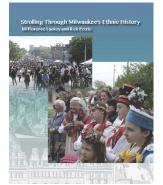
From The Death and Life of Great American Cities.

Jane Jacobs on neighborhood parks

Neighborhood parks fail to substitute in any way for plentiful city diversity. Those that are successful *never* serve as barriers or as interruptions to the intricate functioning of the city around them. Rather, they help to knit together diverse surrounding functions by giving them a pleasant joint facility.

From The Death and Life of Great American Cities.

Books on Milwaukee Neighborhoods



Strolling through Milwaukee's Ethnic History
By Jill Florence Lackey and Rick Petrie

This latest work provides an "up close and personal" look at local ethnic life by directing readers to the neighborhoods and venues where the groups left their marks. It brings readers directly into their experiences, whether it involves strolling through the neighborhoods they built or participating in contemporary ethnic activities. "Strolling . . . is an intriguing guide to the ethnic history in our midst and a colorful reminder that Milwaukee has always been a city of newcomers." - JohnGurda. http://mecahmilwaukee.com



Milwaukee, City of Neighborhoods By John Gurda

Milwaukee: City of Neighborhoods is the most comprehensive account of grassroots Milwaukee ever published. Richly illustrated, engagingly written, and organized for maximum ease of use, the book is a fine-grained introduction to the Milwaukee community, and its communities, that will endure as a standard work for years to come.

https://historicmilwaukee.org/milwaukee-city-of-neighborhoods/.

Milwaukee's Brady Street neighborhood began in the

mid-19th century as a crossroads between middle-

class Yankees from the east and early German set-

tlers. Polish and Italian immigrants soon followed, working the mills, tanneries, and brewers that lined

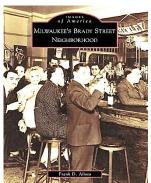
the riverbank. The hippies arrived in the 1960s. By

the 1980s the area fell into blight, neglect and decay.

Now, a true model for new urbanism, the Brady Street neighborhood is the midst of a renaissance.

Milwaukee's Brady Street Neighborhood

By Frank D. Alioto



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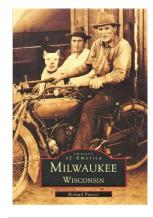
MILWAUKEE'S BRONZEVILLE 1900–1950

Milwaukee's Bronzeville: 1900-1950

https://www.arcadiapublishing.com/Prod-

By Paul H. Geenen, Introduction by Rueben Harpole

With the migration of African American sharecroppers to northern cities in the first half of the 20th century, the African American population of Milwaukee grew from fewer than 1,000 in 1900 to nearly 22,000 by 1950. Most settled along Walnut Street, an area that came to be known as Milwaukee's Bronzeville, a thriving residential, business, and entertainment community. Bronzeville is remembered by African American elders as a good place to grow up. /9780738540610



Milwaukee Wisconsin By Richard Prestor

Over the years, Prestor has amassed a fascinating collection of historic photographs of Milwaukee. On many personal levels, the reader will see how people lived, worked, and entertained themselves. https://www.arcadiapublishing.com/

The dramatic gift of one author

Mystery writer and Milwaukee native, Sienna Jacks, is creating a series of novels that take place in Milwaukee neighborhoods called "The Milwaukee Series."

Mystery novels that are currently available or will eventually be included in this series will take place in these Milwaukee neighborhoods:

- Brady Street
- Bronzeville/Brewer's Hill
- Lincoln Village
- Walker's Point
- Riverwest

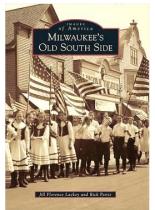
Currently, all of Sienna Jacks' novels have perfect five-star ratings from readers at Amazon.com

To enjoy wonderful reading and to contribute to neighborhood museums and exhibits, purchase the Jacks' books from the publisher at

http://mecahmilwaukee.com/Fiction.html

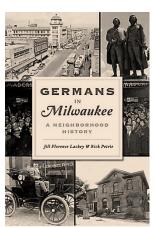


Books on Milwaukee Neighborhoods (Cont.)



Milwaukee's Old South Side By Jill Florence Lackey and Rick Petrie

In the late 1800s, the Old South Side was developed by immigrant Poles, who became the dominant population for over 100 years. While other Milwaukee ethnic neighborhoods gradually dissipated in the mid-20th century because of assimilation pressures, freeway building, or urban renewal programs, the Old South Side remained solidly Polish. A survey nearly a half century later revealed that people of 110 national backgrounds now lived in the Old South Side, with the three largest groups being Mexicans, Poles, and American Indians. https://www.arcadiapublishing.com/Products/9780738590691

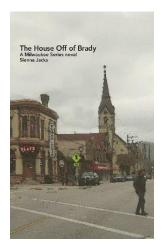


Germans in Milwaukee: A neighborhood history By Jill Florence Lackey and Rick Petrie

Germans dominated Milwaukee like no other large American city. Their presence inhabits the city's neighborhoods, from its buildings and place names to its parklands and statuary. Their influence also lives in the memories shared by local residents. A small Milwaukee neighborhood south of Miller Valley was christened after a farmer's pigs, and a busboy turned beer baron built the famous Pabst Brewery in West Town. A ghost is said to haunt the old Blatz Brewing compound. And the remains of the early tanning industry can still be seen in Walker's Point. Compiling more than 1,200 interviews, authors Jill Florence Lackey and Rick Petrie share these ground-

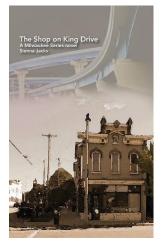
level perspectives of the lasting German influence on the Cream City. www.arcadiapublishing.com/Products/9781467147286.

Fiction



The House Off of Brady *A Milwaukee Series novel* By Sienna Jacks

Two young anthropologists, trying to convince a local nonprofit to sponsor a neighborhood house museum, must show that the historical occupants of the house were representative of Milwaukee's Brady Street, and that they project positive images for the neighborhood. Their efforts are boosted by a personal journal left behind by one of the home's occupants--Giuseppe Russo. But as the young anthropologists translate and transcribe the journal, they learn that Giuseppe had been banished from his former community in the Third Ward. Are they about to stumble on information that could kill the project—or something perhaps even worse? http://mecahmilwaukee.com



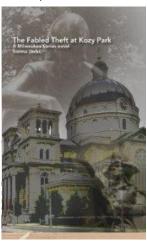
The Shop on King Drive A Milwaukee Series novel By Sienna Jacks

A mystery arises out of the ruins of urban renewal. Two young anthropologists, conducting research that would illuminate one dark period in Milwaukee's central city history, confront painful but sometimes puzzling accounts. During the 1950s and 1960s, over 8,000 homes and an entire business district of the African American Bronzeville community were razed. While

interviewing survivors, the anthropologists note that the name of a particular attorney kept entering the conversation. The lawyer claimed to be helping the black community fight the removal, but his efforts had the opposite effect. Suspicions remained for over 50 years over who was behind the deception and why. ttp://mecahmilwaukee.com

The Fabled Theft at Kozy Park A Milwaukee Series novel By Sienna Jacks

The anthropologists at City Anthropology were asked to use their research skills to look into a man's confession that might crack the longest unsolved mystery on Milwaukee's old South Side—the theft of the squirrel lady statue at Kozy Park. According to reports, the man Raf (now deceased) also implicated members of a local Polish club with an



agenda of removing non-Polish influences from the neighborhood. Assigned to the project, Enid and Meyer are baffled by the information they are getting from those who witnessed the confession, little of which supports Raf's story. Further inquiry points to events surrounding Raf's stepson. Who really was he and why did he inexplicably appear on the scene all those years ago? Their quest for answers leads them to the club in question, but with unexpected results. The ul-

timate mystery they must solve is the true reason why Raf made this confession and steered them to a list of alleged conspirators.

http://mecahmilwaukee.com

Milwaukee Neighborhood Forum

Milwaukee Neighborhood Forum is published bimonthly by Urban Anthropology Inc. and is managed by volunteer anthropologists. The purpose of the newsletter is to offer neighborhood groups and individuals opportunities to share news and information about their neighborhoods. The newsletter does not receive funds from any external source. The editor is Dr. Jill Florence Lackey.

Subscriptions

The newsletter is emailed to anyone wishing to receive it. If you wish your email or that of a friend to be added to the subscriber list, send the email addresses to JFLanthropologist@currently.com and indicate the name of this publication.

Submitting events

Milwaukee Neighborhood Forum is interested in events from individuals, businesses, and organizations that have a neighborhood appeal. These can include block parties, church picnics, local music festivals, sports on the block, get-moving activities that take place outdoors, and art and theatre events involving neighborhoods. All event submissions should include a one-sentence description, date and time, location, and website or phone number for additional information. Photos may also be submitted.

Submitting stories/press releases on neighborhoods

In the spirit of Jane Jacobs, stories should always focus on assets of neighborhoods. They must be between 100 and 400 words. Some editing will be done to match our style guidelines and spatial constraints. We will write the stories for you if you simply send us a list of the information that you want included. A photo is always required.

Submission deadlines

Submit events or stories by the 25th of the month preceding publication. Publication dates are on the 1st day of June, August, October, December, February, and April. Please send your stories to Dr. Jill at JFLanthropologist@currently.com.

Website on 191 Milwaukee neighborhoods

Links on each neighborhood include:

- 6 to 35 pages of information
- Brief neighborhood description
- Population-focused history (including ethnic roots)
- Snapshots of commercial districts of the past
- Quotes from residents
- Quotes from oral histories (where available)
- Low cost nearby outings for families
- Demographics of current neighborhood
- Photos of neighborhood

The website currently includes 190 of the neighborhoods, courtesy of Urban Anthropology Inc.

http://neighborhoodsinmilwaukee.org/

¹ Photo attribution: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/60/Bischof_Johann Martin Henni.jpg